



# Identity, Health and Health Capital: The Case of Macedonians in Australia

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IDENTITY, HEALTH AND HEALTH CAPITAL:  
THE CASE OF MACEDONIANS  
IN AUSTRALIA

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Statement of Authentication

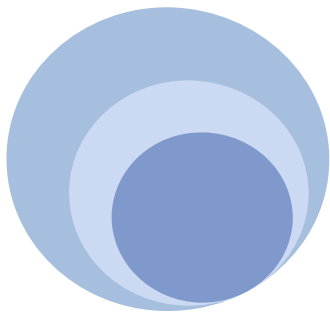
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For my father Trajche Blagoj Cholakov

(За мојот татко Трајче Благој Чолаков)



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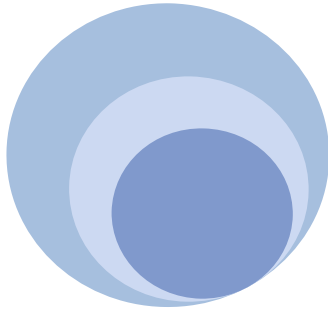
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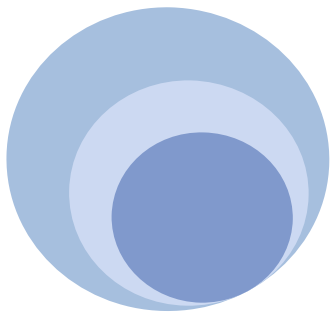
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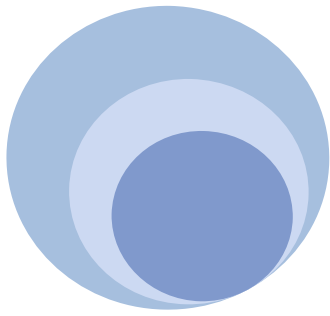
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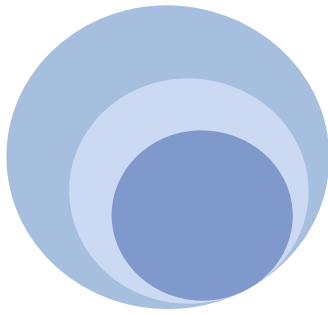


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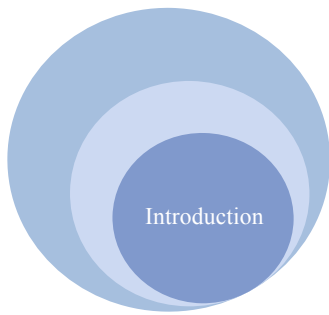




## Abstract

A significant volume of academic literature explores the relations between overt ethnic violence and health; however, the relations between symbolic ethno-violence and health appear to have been overlooked by the research community. Symbolic ethno-violence, that is, the covert violence directed at a people exerted by the means of '[imposing] meanings ... as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force' (Bourdieu and Passeron 2000 [1977]: 4), can seriously impact upon ethno-cultural health attitudes amongst victim ethno-cultural communities and their ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices. The symbolic ethno-violence perpetrated against Macedonians in Australia, i.e., the non-recognition of their ethno and civic identity, has the potential to affect community health attitudes and the people's ethno-specific health accumulation practices. More specifically, it affects them in a non-uniform manner: some have *doxic* experiences of health; others, who may be more reflexive, persevere with their traditional healing practices in conventional or complementary ways. While symbolic ethno-violence affects the social environment for health, Macedonians utilise their ethno-cultural capital (spiritual healing, traditional medicine, familial security, and belief in 'God's foreknowledge') to maximise their health capital accumulation, rendering them proponents of a 'people centred' approach to health. Five focus group sessions (Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Port Kembla, and Queanbeyan), Australia-wide survey of ethno-Macedonians ( $N=817$ ), and document analysis were performed to arrive at these findings.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields and capital was employed: the absence of any general theoretical approach to accounting for the multiplex developments in the field of health *viv-a-vis* symbolic ethno-violence against a people was noted. Bourdieu's contribution proved useful for interpreting the tensions within the field of health (neo-liberal undertones of commercialisation of the field) and the dynamics within the ethnocultural field (the Macedonian people's quest for showcasing Macedonian ethno and civic culture as 'modern', in a bid to overcome the stigmatisation of 'primitive'). Further development in the realm of health capital (objectified, embodied and equity), which accounts for the individual ethno-cultural capital informed agency within an ethnocultural field, will also inform ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices.



## **Introduction: Identity, Health and Health Capital**

The aim of this thesis is to consider individual and collective health as an outcome of individual and collective histories, subject to power dynamics within the individual and collective milieu. In the early days of my doctoral candidature, I became aware of the lack of literature and research into how Macedonians experience health and ageing in Australia. In a bid to rectify this paucity of information, I aim to bridge this knowledge gap by focusing on Australian-domiciled Macedonians in the context of ethnocultural distinctness, health and health capital. Exploring ethnocultural distinctness seems both a practical and useful way of approaching the topic. Engaging with this concept will facilitate an understanding of the health status of the ethno-Macedonians in Australia, their attitudes towards health and their health accumulation practices. One great challenge will be to try to determine if and how the fact of Macedonian ethnocultural distinctness influences their health and health related practices. Consultations with the Macedonian community - one among Australia's culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities - in the St George local government area in 1999 'revealed that mental health illness [among the community] was highly stigmatised and that people were reluctant to access services as a result'; instead, they sought out folk healers (Woodland and others, 2009: 9). Fearing loss of face and community ridicule, Macedonians experiencing mental illness often contact service providers for 'involuntary and acute treatment' (ibid.). The findings of the South Eastern Sydney Illawarra Health Multicultural Health Service funded Macedonian Mental Health Project Phases 1 and 2 reiterated the earlier findings of 'negative views regarding mental illness within the Macedonian community' (ibid.). It was further revealed that:

Macedonians saw their community as cruel and discriminatory towards people with mental illness and their families. People with mental illness were often viewed as having a 'personal failure' or 'weakness'; some felt it was necessary to hide the mental illness in the family for fear that they would experience stigma and discrimination from their community' (ibid.).

These findings suggest a theatre-based approach as a culturally appropriate way of de-stigmatising mental illness among Macedonians. Woodland and others (2009) suggest that education and increased mental health literacy within the community is the favoured way forward (ibid.). Regarding the health of Macedonian women in Australia, Brown et al. (1997) also suggest education and increased health literacy within the community.

As a member of the Macedonian community myself, I recognise the urgent need for intervention; that is, the dire need to establish how and why these negative views have become reified and the basis of their persistence in Australia's ethno-Macedonian community. Are they entrenched in the Macedonian 'way', and, if so, will education and increased mental health and health literacy be effective in the long run?

As with all public health campaigns, the above public health campaigns aim to secure health behavioural change amongst the Macedonian community, the goal being a healthier target population.

Campaigns adopt the approach that knowledge empowered health-related knowledgeable individuals will modify their health-related behaviour in accordance with their changing health beliefs. A group of authors (Blaxter 1990, Calnan and Williams 1991, Calnan 1994, Williams, 1995) argue that the connection between health beliefs and health-related behaviour has been overestimated and that there is sufficient empirical evidence to suggest that the relationship between knowledge and action is ‘problematic’ (Williams 1995: 580). Explaining health-related behaviour should occur within the milieu of the people’s own ‘logic, knowledge and beliefs, which are grounded in the context of people’s daily lives’ and are a product of their individual and collective trajectories and histories (Williams, 1995: 580). People do not experience their daily lived reality in a social vacuum. Different social factors come into play creating a circumstantial social environment within which people pursue their lives. This circumstantial social environment plays a crucial role in both individual and collective health. It should be conducive to good health, to good health being obtained, and for a public health campaign to be effective in the long term. Here it becomes evident that a comprehensive exploration of the collective health of a people cannot be ignorant of its history, collective identity and the social environment within which the people’s health is explored. Thus, the research focus will be upon exploring Macedonians in this particular context.

While there has been no paucity of research into - and literature addressing – the identity and experiences of illnesses (Lawton 2003, Pierret 2003), there is a recognised need for ‘medical sociologists to be more open-minded to the use of novel and seemingly unconventional theoretical and methodological approaches’ (Lawton 2003: 23). Seemingly novel approaches to health in the context of identity and health have emerged within the last two decades (evident in the writings of Lock 1999, Williams, Spenser and Johnston 1999, Briscoe 2003, Kelleher and Cahill 2004, Scambler, Ohlsson and Griva 2004, Moore 2004 and Dutta 2008). Notwithstanding, the volume of literature is at best minimal. This thesis contributes to the development of this area of study.

The approach employed by this thesis considers the individual’s state of being in terms of his/her health capital volume; that is, the individual’s cumulative health capital (embodied, objectified and equity). Each individual, at a particular time of life, has a particular health capital volume, which can be more or less and has a tendency to increase or decrease. Thus, the individual’s state of being can be assessed along a continuum and not according to healthy-unhealthy, health-illness binaries. Each individual accumulates health capital by various means, e.g., by exercising, socialising, engagement with spiritual healing, and use of traditional medicine. Another feature of the approach employed by this thesis is the call for an anthropic contextualisation of the healing practice, either medical or alternative, which in the main facilitates the self-realisation of the individual by virtue of which the collective human condition is ameliorated. The last feature of this approach is the relevance of history, collective identity and collective trajectories of people to the spectrum of their ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices. Each individual engages in health capital accumulation practices which maximise his/her health capital volume. The facilitation of just and health conducive social environments is of core relevance to maximisation of the accumulation of health capital. Against this framework, the aims of this thesis are as follows: (1) to explore the health capital volume of the ethno-Macedonians in Australia; (2) to identify their ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices;

(3) to explore their collective and individual trajectories, the histories of which these practices are a product; (4) to identify the locus of interplay between collective identity and health; and (5) to explore the social environment in Australia vis-à-vis the ethno-Macedonians.

This thesis, which comprises seven chapters, is organised synchronously with the methodology for research that employs Bourdieu's field theory (see chapter II, section 3.2). Following the first (*Macedonian 'Group Particular': History and Counting*) and second (*Conceptualisation, Genetic Structuring, and Well-Being of 'A People': Theoretical Framework*) chapters, chapter III discusses the Macedonian ethno-cultural field: this is followed by a chapter discussing the field of health. Following a discussion of the methodology employed for the purposes of this thesis, in chapter V (*Community Participatory Research Route to Emics*), the findings relevant to Macedonians' collective identity and their health capital accumulation practices are discussed in chapters VI and VII, respectively.

In chapter I, I introduce Vincent's (2002) concept of 'group particular', that is, groups as moral entities, and argue the effect of celebration of difference and mutual respect for group based 'customs, law, culture and communal traditions' (ibid.: 4). This seems a normatively desirable outcome. I introduce the Macedonian ethno-collective in similar vein. In line with the third aim of this thesis, the first chapter delivers a brief historical account of the ethno-Macedonians in their land of origin and in Australia. Here I adopt a two tiered approach: the historical context at various historical periods and the position of the Macedonian people within that context. The brief historical account reveals a people who have experienced a long history of oppression, and contestation of their ethno-collective distinctiveness.

The focus in chapter II is upon the theoretical frameworks used in this thesis. The ways of conceptualising 'a people' are discussed with particular focus on conceptualisation of the Macedonian people. I argue that genetic structuralism can offer a framework for analysing the 'genetic structuring' of a people, in the case of this thesis, the Macedonian people. Lastly, the usefulness of the theoretical framework of genetic structuralism is demonstrated in reference to explaining the well-being of 'a people'. Here, the relevance of genetic structuralism to the relationship of identity and health is depicted via the notion of ethnocultural fields and the relevance of the concept of habitus in the formation of the ethno-collective. The need for further development of the field of theory of health capital is also stressed.

Empowered with both theoretical and conceptual tools, in chapter III, I discuss the social environment in Australia within which Macedonians live and maintain their health. This chapter is essentially a findings chapter, written mainly as the findings emerged from the document analysis. The Macedonian ethno-cultural field could be considered a contested field by virtue of its distinctness. For example, the social environment in Australia has proven symbolically violent in the case of the ethno-Macedonians, hence an environment that cannot be deemed conducive to good health. This discussion addresses aim five of this thesis, i.e., exploring the social environment in Australia.

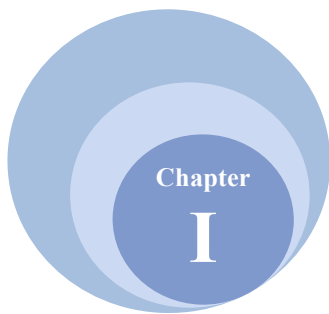
Following the discussion presented in chapter III, chapter IV discusses developments in the field of health. This discussion reveals the power dynamics at play. Based upon a brief historical account of the rise of the medical profession to dominance within the field of health, through a critique of

these developments and the accompanied discourse of language I suggest an alternative approach to health: the reconceptualising of health in the cumulative state of health capital.

Chapter V explicates the methodologies employed for the purposes of this study. The community participatory approach employed aims to discover knowledge that would prove valuable for both the researcher and the researched population. The particular methodologies document analysis, focus groups and survey are discussed and critically reflected upon.

The second and last chapters represent the thesis' findings chapters: they incorporate the focus groups findings and a national survey of ethno-Macedonians. Chapter VI, *Genetic Structuring of Macedonian People: Enacted Macedonian-ness*, makes the case that at the core of Macedonian-ness is practice. This chapter explores in great detail the various ethno-identity attributes that make Macedonians feel and identify as Macedonian. These include their cultural practices, the ethno-sanctioning mechanisms that operate within the Macedonian cultural field, and their role in the preservation and continuity of Macedonian-ness in Australia. In addition, it is suggested that the locus of interplay between identity and health is - in fact - the individual and collective habitus of the Macedonian people. This addresses the fourth aim of the thesis. Here it becomes clear that the components that function and exist as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness, such as cuisine/foods, have a powerful effect on one's or the people's collective health.

A propos of the first and second aims of this thesis, chapter VII discusses the overall health capital volume of the ethno-Macedonians and their ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices. The discussion takes into consideration the historical developments outlined in chapter I, and the developments within the field of health (outlined in chapter IV) specific to Macedonians; in other words, the ethno-specific field of health. All three components of health capital are discussed: objective health capital, embodied, and equity health capital. The discussion reveals that the collective health of Macedonians is affected by their long history of oppression and the absence of an environment conducive to health. The last mentioned is evident in the symbolically violent Australian environment, the social space which Macedonians occupy and within which they live and try to maintain their well-being.



## Macedonian ‘Group Particular’: History and Counting

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Concluding remarks

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In this thesis, the case of the Macedonian people is explored in the context of the relationship between identity, health and health capital in a symbolically hostile environment. My definition of the community of research interest, i.e., of the ethno-Macedonian people in Australia as a distinct moral entity, follows the fairly recent<sup>1</sup> developments in political theory known as ‘the drift to particularity’ (Vincent 2002: 1). Andrew Vincent explains recent developments in political theory as ‘a gradual but marked shift of interest away from the universalist forms of argument towards favouring communities and groups’ (2002: 1). The shift has been in favour of particularity, i.e., ‘group or collective forms of particularity’ (Vincent 2002: 1), the most prominent reflection of which is observable ‘in sociological,



anthropological and ethnographic theory, where the social and the communal are, quite literally, the key unit of analysis for the [relevant] disciplines' (ibid.: 3). Given that this thesis draws from the aforementioned theories, it is imperative to have a basic understanding of the conceptual substance of 'a group particular' as a moral entity. Considering the community of research interest, some discussion on the Macedonian collective, i.e., the Macedonian group particular, will be provided ranging from a brief account of the most prominent historical developments to the symbolically violent character of the contemporary environment. Finally, nation and ethnicity, as forms of conceptualising a people in general and the Macedonian people in particular, will be discussed. This chapter will address each of the aforementioned tasks respectively.

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### **1. The Matter of Moral Entity: Group Particularity versus Universalist Particularity.**

Aiming at a 'critical engagement with the shifting momentum to the [collective] particular' in political theory and practice, Andrew Vincent, in his book *Particularity and Nationalism* (2002,) explains that the core of the shift is the [re]conceptualisation of the basic moral entity which informs the fundamental premise of political reasoning and practice. Liberal-individualistic theory proponents' theorising begins with the fundamental premise of the moral and sociological primacy of the human individual vis a vis the group. The liberal-individualistic theory puts forward a universalist<sup>2</sup> form of argument which maintains that the individual is the fundamental particular which is real and morally relevant. This would suggest that being Irena Veljanova comes prior to being ethno-Macedonian and an Australian national. Thus, groups are no more than a sum of individuals: they cannot be considered as singular entities with substance and as having a distinct moral status prior to the individual. Groups can only 'be explained via individuals' (Vincent 2002: 3). This argument was taken to great heights when the former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher addressed the question of 'what has caused a deterioration in the [UK] nation's moral standards' in an interview for *Woman's Own* (3 October 1987: 10).

... I think we've been through a period where too many people have been given to understand that if they have a problem, it's the government's job to cope with it. "I have a problem, I'll get a grant." "I'm homeless, the government must house me." They're casting their problem on society. And, you know, there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families (ibid.).<sup>3</sup>

Her assertion of a societyless world has been echoed significantly: it has 'unleashed a torrent of social scientific, social theoretic, and socialistic critique' (Fuller 2006: 12).<sup>4</sup> Critics of liberal individualism argue that 'the group is morally and sociologically prior to the individual' (Vincent 2002: 3). In other words, 'envisaged as a morally complete entity in its own right, the group is the fundamental particular (ibid.). In turn, this would mean that being an Australian national and an ethno-Macedonian comes prior to being Irena Veljanova. Consistent with this premise, 'the group explains the nature of individuals' (ibid.). At this stage the question of which form the *group particular* takes gains importance. The most publically debated group particular is the nation; however, over the last several decades, ethno-collectives, i.e., ethno-cultural collectives have claimed a 'big chunk' of both the intellectual and public debate. Steve Fuller, in his book *The New Sociological Imagination* (2006:

146), draws the readers' attention back to 'humanity as itself a collective project' that is, the human collective. Adopting a strong critical stance against *bioliberalism*,<sup>5</sup> the current manifestation of the liberal-individualistic informing ideology, Fuller states that the human collective 'cannot be realised by single individuals, or even single nation-states, but only together in an opposition to a common foe, be it defined as ignorance and infirmity' (ibid.). He argues for support of the 'drift to particularity' as far as the moral and fundamental values of the collective, i.e., a human collective according to his line of argument are concerned, but also offers a critique in relation to the notion that no distinct collective can be solely explained through particulars. In the case of the collective human project, the drift to group particularity has unfavourably changed the focus. A variation to this argument is Edward Said's conception of the human collective as 'an interrelated plurality of cultures' (Hussein 2002: 17). This argument, which invokes 'humanity's collective destiny' (Hussein 2002: 17), explicitly supports the 'rich diversity of human cultural forms' (ibid.: 18) that exist in a complementary fashion as autonomous cultural forms. Both authors argue for the moral value of the distinct collective, the human collective. The various reasons for the 'drift to particularity' in political theory are discussed in brief in the following section.

## ***2. The Drift to Particularity: The Inescapable and The Desired Outcome.***

The reasons that underpin *the drift to particularity*, can be 'crudely' categorised as two 'sets of reasons focusing on realism and normativism' (Vincent 2002: 4). As regards the set of reasons focusing on realism, consider the developments in the Balkans, Northern Ireland, Indonesia and Rwanda in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in understandings of the collectives 'as immovable social and political facts' (Vincent 2002: 4) whereby individuals are almost exclusively mediated through group identity. Realists argue that it is an undesired political development warranting only an inescapable 'grudging acceptance' (ibid.). It is a situation calling for 'constitutional and pragmatic solutions' (ibid.); in other words management. An example of this would be the diversity management policies employed during the 'Howard Liberal Era' in Australia which masqueraded as 'life chances' multicultural policies (Hage 2003: 59) which were authentic during the Whitlam Government era.<sup>6</sup> An example of considerable relevance to the subject matter of this thesis is the example of Australia's *in-effect dissociative policies*, introduced in the mid 1990s in response to tensions that arose between the Greek and the Macedonian communities in the Australian State of Victoria. In order to 'pacify the Greek community following the official recognition of the [Republic of Macedonia] under its provisional name' (Veljanova 2010: 5) of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Australian Government managed the situation by introducing policies which had the following effects: first, official re-narration of the individual biographies of the ethno-Macedonians; second, 'creation of an empty shelled Slav-Macedonian distinct collective'; and, third 'the official re-naming of [the] Macedonian language [as] Macedonian (Slavonic)' (Veljanova 2010: 11).<sup>7</sup>

As regards the set of reasons focusing on normativism, group particularity emphasising the celebration of difference and mutual respect for group based 'customs, law, culture and communal traditions' was considered a desired political development (ibid.).<sup>8</sup> Vincent observes:

... Movement[s] which [emphasise], for example, indigenous and ethnic communities , and which encourages respect for communal or state-based customs, laws, values, or rights to self determination, is a normatively desirable development' (Vincent 2002: 4).

As a 'normatively desirable development', the *drift to particularity* has given rise to various subsequent developments maintaining the centrality of the group particular. These include: a move towards parallel jurisdictions in the legal systems<sup>9</sup> and admission of cultural defences in the criminal court system<sup>10</sup> and a move towards acknowledgement of the usefulness of ethnomedicine to communal and individual health. This will constitute one of the main arguments that drive in this thesis.

Having been acquainted with the concept of a group particular as a distinct moral entity, I will now proceed to discuss the distinct moral status of the Macedonian people amidst the perpetual challenges to their distinct status and/or the straightforward denials thereof. In order to generate a valuable discussion, it is essential to have some historical knowledge of the Macedonian collective. The historical account is inextricably related to the issue of non-recognition of ethno-Macedonian distinctness which apart from the overt violent character that marks its past, in recent times acquired a covert symbolic character which Bourdieu refers to as 'symbolic violence' (see chapter II. Section 2.6.).

### **3. *Brief Historical Account of the Macedonian People***

The implicit promise of a short yet concise and informative account of the Macedonian collective contained in the title of this section is almost impossible to deliver. What follows is a brief overview that attempts to provide some clarity of the historical developments pertinent to the history of the Macedonian people, which is in fact comparatively extensive, dense and contested. This section will comprise two discussion threads: the first will focus on historical developments in the Balkans and the interpretation of the [Eastern] Macedonian Question by the great political powers of the day; the second will focus on the effects of those developments on the Macedonian collective, i.e., the Macedonian people.

The history of the Macedonian people extends back long before the period of Ottoman imperialism<sup>11</sup> and colonialism<sup>12</sup> in Europe. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the period during and from the Ottoman imperial rule in Europe onwards will be considered in some detail. It is important to stress here that what follows does not make the author a historian; rather, it challenges the author's knowledge of historical matters in her bid to bring some contextual clarity to data on the researched population.

#### **3.1. *The Ottoman Rule and the Macedonian People***

##### **3.1.1. *The Historical Context***

Ottoman imperialism had its roots in the rise of Osman Gazi, the first Ottoman Sultan following the Seljuk Sultanate in north-western Asia Minor at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Following the Byzantine collapse, and the swift imperialist advancement of the Ottomans into Europe by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Balkan Peninsula was fully incorporated into Ottoman territory (Stefov 2008,

Atanasovski 2008). The Macedonian region of the peninsula had experienced an Ottoman imperial presence since ‘the late fourteenth century ... the land remained an integral and strategic part of the [Ottoman] Empire until 1912’ (Anastasovski 2008: 31). As an imperial power, the Ottomans were relatively tolerant of their ‘Christian subjects [inclusive of the Macedonian majority] so long as they paid their taxes and remained submissive’ (Anastasovski 2008: 31). The Ottoman Empire saw roots of its gradual decline in its 1683 defeat at Vienna (ibid.). The period leading up to the fall of the Ottoman Empire was marked by the gradual demise of Ottoman imperialism, an international power balancing struggles between the Great Powers of the day. Of particular significance was the Russian imperialist design vis-a-vis the territories of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of post-colonial nation states in the European, Balkan and Macedonian territories; e.g., Serbia (independence in 1815), Greece (independence in 1821) and Bulgaria (independence in 1878) (Popovski 1981).

As the Ottoman Empire weakened, it ripened the conditions for liberation movements and a proliferative national movement period to emerge. However, the success of the Macedonian people’s efforts for an independent state was fully dependent upon the Great Powers’ resolving the strategies of the newly emerged ‘Eastern Question’<sup>13</sup> (Stefov 2008: 156). The efforts of the Macedonian people for an independent state fell prey to the ‘creative answers’ of the Eastern question: ‘What will happen to the Balkans when the Ottoman Empire disappears?’ (Stefov 2008: 156).

As a great Christian Power, the Russian Empire had developed expansionist plans for the European Region under the declining Muslim Ottoman Empire. The *Kuchuk Kainarji Treaty* negotiated between the Russian and Ottoman Empires, ended the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774). Russia benefited greatly from the Treaty. It gained access to the northern shore of the Black Sea, secured ‘governing powers’ over the Orthodox millet and commercial access to the markets within the Ottoman Empire (Stefov 2008). The Western Powers, which saw these inroads as Russian expansionism, responded with rival claims. From 1815 to 1878, ‘Great Britain was Russia’s strongest rival for Balkan influence’ (Stefov 2008: 157). The *Treaty of Paris* which signalled the end of the Crimean War (1853-1856), saw a shift in power to the detriment of Russia. In their efforts to minimise Russian influence over the Balkans, the British Empire and the Kingdom of France ‘granted the Ottomans “legal status” in the Balkans that was far beyond its ability to control’ (Stefov 2008: 159).<sup>14</sup> Keeping a highly Western dependent Ottoman Empire presence in the Balkans facilitated the ‘becoming of ... a resources base for the benefit of the capitalist powers’ (Poplazarov 1978: 9). The financially and militarily depleted Ottoman Empire experienced ‘some agricultural failures, military expenses and the worldwide economic depression’, factors that combined to render the Empire unable to pay its foreign debt interest for the year 1874. A very real chance for the prospective bankruptcy of the Empire loomed (ibid.:160). The Empire’s financial crisis resulted in the 1875 takeover of the management of its revenues by the Great Powers. The international agency Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA), a key agency operated by the capitalist countries, executed the ‘rescue plan’ whereby access to credit funds was subject to the full control of the OPDA over state income and economic internal and external policies (Stefov 2008: 160). Dissatisfied with the *Treaty of Paris* solution, Russia embarked upon yet another Russo-Turkish War (1877-78). Russian victory culminated in the signing of the *San Stefano Treaty* in March 1878, a treaty that was never fully

implemented. While it undoubtedly proscribed expansion of the Russian influence in the region, it also made a territorial assignment of significant proportions to a prospective newly independent 'SanStefan or Greater Bulgaria' (Poplazarov 1978: 15, 73, Vishinski 1978<sup>15</sup>). This territory was inclusive of a greater part of the Macedonian region in the Balkans Peninsula.<sup>16</sup> Alarmed by the 'new draft' of the Balkan territories, the Great Powers, in the concluding act at the Congress of Berlin (*The Treaty of Berlin*, July 1878), proposed new territorial redistribution, a proposal supported by the Great Powers' signatories to the Treaty. The new territorial redistribution reallocated the Macedonian region back under Ottoman Rule thus significantly reducing the territory of the newly emerged Bulgarian state (Stefov 2008). Out of all of the aforementioned historical developments 'in relation to Macedonia[,] the Treaty of San Stefano was [the] most ill-used by ... Bulgarian historiography'(Poplazarov 1978: 15). It has proven to have grave consequences for the Macedonian People as it informed almost exclusively the Bulgarian Balkan-focused foreign policy at the time. In the following section, the effect of these events on the Macedonian people is discussed.

### 3.1.2. *The Macedonian Collective*

During the course of the aforementioned developments the Macedonian people did not remain passive; rather, active on many counts, for example, in their efforts to create an independent Macedonian state. Anti-colonial sentiments were wide spread among the colonised people of the Balkans and those who took part in the 'national struggles for liberation from the centuries-long domination of the Ottoman Empire', which were a prominent feature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Stefov 2008: 155). Trusting in the genuine care of their 'Christian Brothers' (Stefov 2008: 155), the Macedonian people supported various uprisings against the Muslim Ottomans, e.g., the Serbian uprising (1804) and the Phanariot Uprising (1821) (ibid.).

Very soon into the post independence/autonomy periods of Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, the Macedonian people were faced with a harsh reality. The territory of Macedonia, with its ethno-Macedonian majority had been a 'residual' Ottoman territory in the Balkans. Concomitant with the decline of the Empire, the imperial sentiments of the newly emerged nation states rose swiftly, resulting in the Macedonian people becoming subject to new foreign, non-Ottoman, imperialist, colonising forces. The official administrations' policies were fashioned around the non-recognition of the ethno-Macedonians as a people. This was evident in their alike claims of the non-existence of 'such' people, competitive claims for the official merging of the Macedonian collective with the Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek ethno-collective. In his attempt to make sense of this scenario, Nick Anastasovski, in his book *The Contest for Macedonian Identity 1870-1912* (2008: 87), states as follows:

Living within a contested territory, Macedonians too came to be a contested people. Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs labelled Macedonians as Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs respectively, in accordance with the design of these three nations to annex Macedonian territory.

The earlier established countries of Serbia and Greece and their strongly waged nationalistic-expansionistic propaganda campaign targeting the Macedonian region faced a new contestant in Bulgaria's Russian supported designs on the territory. The populace in Macedonia, inclusive of the

Macedonian ethno-majority, were exposed to the ideological and cultural expansionism of the aforementioned countries in the latter's bid to annex the Macedonian region.<sup>17</sup>

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### 3.2. *The Macedonian People amidst the Balkans' early 20<sup>th</sup> century political turbulence and warfare*

#### 3.2.1. *The Historical Context*

Following the withdrawal of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the territories of the Balkan Peninsula continued to be distributed and redistributed amidst warfare competitive territorial claims from the emerged and emerging nation states in the region (Veljanova 2010: 8). During this period of 'intense (...) nation-building' (Karakasidou 1997: 105) in the territory of Macedonia, the Peace Treaty between Roumania, Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria (known as *The Treaty of Bucharest*) which signalled the end of the Second Balkans War and was signed in Bucharest in 1913, resulted in the territorial division of the Macedonian region in favour of Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia.<sup>18</sup> What is known as Vardar Macedonia (named after the Vardar River) was annexed to Serbia, Pirin Macedonia (named after the Pirin Mountains) was annexed to Bulgaria (Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, 1994: 4), and the Aegean Macedonia was annexed to Greece. Out of a territory of 66, 474 square metres, a sizable portion (33,953 square metres) of the Macedonian region was allocated to Greece (Simovski 1978: 9). As regards the demographic profile of the Macedonian region, immediately before the signing of *The Treaty of Bucharest*, 'a fairly reliable estimate'(Australian Archives Item A981/4: 127) was provided in a report titled *The Macedonian Question and Komitaji Activity* prepared by the Central Department, Foreign Office on 26 November 1925 for the Britannic Majesty Government, External Affairs Department.<sup>19</sup> The demographic profile is presented in the Table below:

**Table I.1.** Estimates of resident population in the Macedonian region in 1912

**2**

(cf. Walachia). It is impossible to make an accurate statement of the numbers of each, but a fairly reliable estimate made in 1912 divides the population as follows —

Slavs	---	---	---	---	1,150,000
Turks	---	---	---	---	400,000
Greeks	---	---	---	---	300,000
Vlachs	---	---	---	---	200,000
Albanians	---	---	---	---	120,000
Jews	---	---	---	---	100,000
Gypsies	---	---	---	---	10,000

Roughly, therefore, half the population of Macedonia is Slav, and until 1870 the Macedonian Slavs were a people quite separate and apart from the Slavs in Bulgaria and Serbia.

Source. Australian National Archive File No. A981/4: 127

The demographic profile presented in this table identifies a majority presence of 'Macedonian Slavs', as a distinct people from the 'Sevians' and Bulgars'. This distinct majority in the Balkans is the ethno-Macedonian majority. Populating a contested territory in the Balkans, this majority became a contested majority (Anastasovski 2008).



Greece's expansionist nation building had proven to be effective at least in respect to its territorial designs. The territorial distribution put forward in *The Treaty of Bucharest* was reiterated by the *Peace Treaty of Versailles* (28 June 1919), ending the war between Germany and the Allied forces (Stefov 2008: 233), and by a series of post WWI treaties including the *Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine* (27 November 1919) and the *Treaty of Sèvres* (10 August 1920) (Simovski 1978: 9).

Almost immediately, the newly emerged nation states opted for extreme assimilationist measures for the Macedonian people living within the territories of the new nation states. The assimilationist policies of the Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian administrations, consistent with their monocultural (that is monoethnic) nationalistic plans for their newly emerged and emerging nation states, aimed at the ethno-cultural extinction of the Macedonian collective, i.e., culturecide. As suggested earlier, the official administrations' policies were non-recognition of the ethno-Macedonians as a people, evident in their alike claims of the non-existence of 'such' people and/or the official merging of the Macedonian collective within the Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek ethno-collective.

The monocultural or monoethnic nationalistic plans of the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian administrations for their newly emerged nation states were outlined in *The Treaty of Bucharest*, which ended the Second Balkans War. This Peace Treaty between Romania, Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria, signed in Bucharest in 1913, aimed at:

...[putting] an end to the state of war at present existing between their respective countries, for the sake of order, to establish peace between their long suffering peoples, have resolved to conclude a definitive treaty of peace (Treaty of Bucharest 1913: 1).

It further asserts:

From the day on which the ratification of the present treaty [is] exchanged there shall be peace and amity between His Majesty the King of Roumania,<sup>20</sup> His Majesty the King of Bulgarians, His Majesty the King of Hellenes, His Majesty the King of Montenegro and His Majesty the King of Serbia, as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective States and subjects (The Treaty of Bucharest 1913: Article I).

There is a strong hint of ethno-nationalistic discourse in the peace statements – one state, one nation – as evident in the above excerpt from the Treaty. It makes reference to 'their peoples', 'their [s]tates' and 'their subjects', implying notions of ownership and sameness of their peoples. Aspiring to monolithic national unity within the boundaries of their newly, redrafted, state territories, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria continued in an intensified and brutal manner to repel any 'threats' to their aspirations for monolithic populations for their nations, evidenced in the existence of Macedonian ethnic people within their state territories. The culturecide *modus operandi* of the newly established imperial powers in the Balkans were versatile, ranging from ideological wars to military intimidation and assaults (Popovski 1986).

### **3.2.2. The Macedonian Collective: Homeland Diasporic Existence.**

The difficult internal situation in the Ottoman Empire sowed the seeds of the Macedonian custom *pacalbarstvo* ('fortune seeking', for more detail see Chapter III). Ethno-Macedonians were scattered throughout Europe beyond their homeland of Macedonia in the Balkan Peninsula, making their livelihoods and seeking education 'in cities [such as] Sofia, Paris [and] London' (Stefov 2008: 170).

The partition of the Balkan territory of Macedonia in accordance with *The Treaty of Bucharest* 1913, scattered ethno-Macedonians in foreign countries without leaving their homeland. Supporting a similar line of argument, Anastasia N. Karakasidou, in her book *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood*<sup>21</sup> (1997: 135), states:

With the territorial partition of Macedonia, Slavic-speakers of the region were transformed from a people without a nation to a transnational ethnic group.

The ‘Slavic-speakers’ referred to in this excerpt were nation-less in a sense of being a stateless people. It follows logically, by means of elimination, that this distinct ethno-collective which ‘had resisted both Greek and Bulgarian national labels’ and ‘had conceptualised their identity as [Macedonians]’ (Karakasidou 1997: 73), were ethno-Macedonians. This was of grave consequence for the ethno-Macedonians in the Balkans. Ethno-Macedonians, in Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, were subjected to denial of their ethnic identity.<sup>22</sup> While assimilationist tendencies were active in each of the beneficiary countries, given the relevance of the Greek official discourse vis-a-vis the identity hardships of ethno and civic Macedonians in Australia, my particular focus is on the effects of these political developments on the diasporic ethno-Macedonians living in Greece.

What is known as the Aegean part of the Macedonian region became part of the Greek state territory (Popovski 1981, Stefov 2008, Shea 1997). Greek assimilationist policies were evident before and after the signing of *The Treaty of Bucharest*. After the signing of the Treaty, Greece ‘followed a policy of assimilating the Macedonian minority and Hellenizing the Macedonian region in Northern Greece’ (Human Rights Watch/Helsinki 1994: 5-6). Popovski (1986) alludes to the following assimilationist practices in the Aegean part of the Macedonian region under Greek rule: ideological war aimed at diminishing the Macedonian national consciousness by establishing of Greek schools and churches; mobilisation of academics, both Greek and from Greek allied countries, in order to ‘academically’ prove the Greekness of the Macedonians; and, military intimidation and assaults. The signing of the 1920 *Treaty of Sevres* and the 1924 Kalfov-Politis agreement failed to secure for the ethno-Macedonians in Greece (a) usage of the Macedonian language ‘in education and for official purposes’, and (b) the League of Nations’ protection it had promised respectively (Underdown 1994: 4). After withdrawing from the Kalfov-Politis Agreement on 15 January 1925, the Greek Government administration moved towards extreme assimilationist practices by renaming places and people. ‘Even [Macedonian] texts [found] on icons adorning churches were overpainted with Greek texts’ (Danforth 1995, Underdown 1994: 4, Human Rights Watch/Helsinki 1994). In November 1926, the Greek government of the time issued a legal act changing ‘the Macedonian geographic names into the Greek version’ (Association of Macedonians in Poland 1995 [1992]: 8). The Greek Government official gazette *Efimeris tis Kiverniseos* No. 322 of 21 November 1926 delivered the news. A further edition of the Gazette (No 346) published the Greek nomenclature of the geographical places. In addition, first names, as well as, family names of all Macedonians were changed (ibid.). For example, Stamkovski Teodor was renamed Stamkos Theodoros. Born in 1917 in *Postol*, he was officially recorded as born in *Palia Pella* (for additional examples see appendix I.1.). This was followed by the legal act *On the Protection of Public Order* issued in 1929 under the Eleaterios Venizelos, which stipulated perusal of ethnic (ethno-national) rights as high treason (ibid.). During the years preceding

the Second World War, ethno-Macedonians made many attempts to raise awareness of the hardships they were experiencing in Greece. But the Macedonians' efforts to raise awareness of these hardships and to secure protection were in the main futile.

It may be argued that the fascist regime, known as *The Fourth of August*, which existed in Greece in the 1930s and was lead by General Ioannis Metaxas (Metaxas Project 2010: approx screen 1), introduced the gravest period of culturecide of the Macedonian ethno-collective. Due to his being a prominent royalist politician in the Greek Republic (1924-1923), the reestablishment of the monarchy in Greece secured General Ioannis Metaxas' post as Premier in April 1936. Soon after - in August 1936 - a National Socialist regime was established (Markessinis 2007: approx screen 2). In his article *Who Was Metaxas?* (2007: approx screen 2), Markessinis states:

Metaxas' grandiose vision was to create a Third Greek Civilization based on its glorious Ancient and Byzantine past, but what he actually created was more a Greek version of the Third Reich. Within 6 years, he implemented dozens of social, industrial and economic reforms while stabilizing the tumultuous political situation of those years.

Out of the dozens of reforms consistent with the Metaxas vision of 'nation building', I will focus briefly on two enactments that heralded the culturecide of the ethno-Macedonians. The first was the legal act issued on 18 December 1936 *On The Activity Against State Security* (Stefov 2008: 238; Association of Macedonians of Poland 1995[1992]: 8) 'on the strength of which thousands of Macedonians were arrested, imprisoned or expelled' (Association of Macedonians of Poland 1995 [1992]: 8). In addition, a government directive issued on 7 September 1938 'prohibited the use of any language except Greek in public' (Karakasidou 1997: 187), a directive that had a profound effect on the cultural sustainability of the Macedonian collective (Association of Macedonians of Poland 1995[1992]; Macedonian Welfare Workers' Network of Victoria Inc. 1998).

### ***3.3. The post-WWII history of the Macedonian people***

#### ***3.3.1. The Historical Context***

The continuing nation building efforts of the ethno - Macedonians in the Balkans<sup>23</sup> led to the establishment of the independent state of Democratic Macedonia in 1944. Shortly after, the state was incorporated into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) as one of the constituent republics. Before proclaiming its independence under its constitutional name of Republic of Macedonia in 1991, the constituent federal state was known as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. It is worth noting that by the end of the Second World War, all of the nation states fully or significantly situated on the Balkan Peninsula - apart from Greece - were administered by Communist governments. Greece was the only 'standing' ally of the ideological West (Veljanova 2010: 9).

The newly emerged Republic incorporated the territory of Vardar Macedonia (formerly annexed to Serbia) only. The Macedonian language was established as the official vernacular of the Republic. This meant that a portion of Macedonian people were finally able to declare their ethno-collective sentiments freely and to freely perform their culture. But, for the Macedonians in neighbouring Bulgaria and Greece, the situation failed to improve. Immediately after the proclamation of the independence of Democratic Macedonia, the nation building efforts of the Macedonian rather than subsiding, were further intensified. They had experienced hardship in the pre-WWII period: now there

was a possibility of succeeding in ‘national unification’ (Rossos 2008: 212), seen in the establishment of an independent Democratic Macedonia.

The aftermath of WWII saw four nation states fully or partially situated in the Macedonian region: Greece, Bulgaria, Albania and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SRM). The declaration of the SFRY as a non-aligned country, i.e., as independent from the Eastern [Soviet] bloc and the ideological West, and the drafting of its foreign policies synchronous with that position, affected the outcome for the Macedonian people during and after the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). The persistence of the independence of foreign relations is believed to be the reason for the ‘Cominform’s expulsion of Yugoslavia on 28 June 1948’ (Rossos 2008: 211). As a consequence, support for the Macedonian liberation movement which was aligned with the communist forces during the Greek Civil War, ceased with the reintroduction of ‘the interwar Comintern program on Macedonia – a united Macedonian state in an illusionary future Balkan communist federation’ (Rossos 2008: 211). With the reintroduction of the Comintern, Yugoslavia started to worry about its own survival and territorial integrity (Rossos 2008). In Rossos’ words, ‘Macedonian unification died in the ashes of the Stalin-Tito conflict – the first cold war dividing the communist bloc’ (ibid.: 211). The ideological war between the East and the West, that is, between the communist forces and the non-communist forces in Greece backed by British and later American forces (Poulton 1995) resulted in great atrocities (Popovski<sup>24</sup> 1981, Seraphinoff and Stefou 2008) for the Macedonians in the Aegean region. Danforth (1995: 54) writes:

...Thousands ... were killed, imprisoned, or had their land confiscated, and many Macedonian villages were completely destroyed. Fifty thousand Aegean Macedonians were forced to flee... 28000 Aegean Macedonian children, known as “child refugees” (*deca begalci*), were separated from their families and settled in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union in an attempt to save them from the terror, slaughter, and the bombing inflicted on Aegean Macedonians by the Greek Government.

In the years that followed, successive Greek Governments issued directives and enacted acts of a discriminatory nature against the Macedonians from Greece. One of these was the legal act No. 106841 issued on 29 December 1982 under the governance of Andreas Papandreou (Association of Macedonians in Poland 1995 [1992]). The Act proscribed the conditions of return of the refugees from the Greek Civil War. According to it, only ‘Greeks by origin’, i.e., Greeks by ethno-nationality, were eligible for citizenship restoration and the right to return to Greece (ibid.) (see appendices I.2. and I.3.).

### **3.3.2. *The Macedonian Collective***

The historical developments described in the previous section saw more Macedonians scattered throughout the world. Those who stayed in their homelands, only the Macedonians in the Former Socialist Republic of Macedonia enjoyed relative freedom. Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece continued to be the targets of nationalistic, assimilationist discourses. Amongst those scattered throughout the world many found their way to Australia. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.

### ***3.4. The post- independence history and the Macedonian people.***

The disintegration of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the late 1980s resulted in the emergence of many independent nation states in the Balkans amongst which was the Republic of Macedonia. A referendum was held on 8 September 1991: the people of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia voted for an independent Macedonian state; shortly after Republic of Macedonia proclaimed its independence (Veljanova 2010: 4). The disintegration of the SFRY was considered an opportunity for the implementation of Greece's long standing expansionist plans. While the people of the SRM were voting for independence, Greece 'held talks with both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in September 1991 in efforts to have the [republic] incorporated into Greece' (Underdown 1994: 6). But these talks did not result in the desired outcome for Greece, which launched an international campaign aimed at non-recognition of the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name. The campaign further advocated the:

...Promotion of the 'artificiality' of Macedonian ethno sentiments<sup>25</sup> and cultural rapprochement of Bulgarians and Macedonians by which process Macedonians will reconcile with the fact [that] they are Bulgarians.<sup>26</sup> In addition, Greece continuously denied the existence of [a] Macedonian minority in Greece in favour of 'Slavophone Greeks'<sup>27</sup> (Veljanova 2010: 4).

Due, in a rather peculiar way to the success of Greece's international campaign, the Macedonian civic – nation was and still is 'held hostage' over its name (Einarsson 2009). The political and economic challenges that the Republic of Macedonia is facing at the present time are closely related to the longstanding supremacist policies of its neighbouring countries and to the selective inclusionary EU policies drafted to cater for veto exercising member Greece. These political and economical pressures have trickled down to impact on the everyday lives of the Macedonian citizens, causing hardship of a pivotal nature. In the following paragraphs I describe the forms of political and economic hardship that the Macedonian citizens are facing in more detail. Knowledge of the socio-political and economic environment within which Macedonians go about their daily lives is critical as it provides a contextual framework relevant to the constructing of identities.

#### ***3.4.1. Economic Hardships***

The Republic of Macedonia is a country with a population of approximately two million. The economic challenges that the country is facing include economic isolation from regional and global economic networks: massive unemployment; poverty; and, extreme class polarisation. I will now discuss issues of unemployment and poverty and how they are experienced at the everyday micro level.

Unemployment is a massive problem in Macedonia. In a country of approximately two million people, the number of unemployed persons at the end of May 2009 stood at 349, 879 (BBC Monitoring European 2009). The [Macedonian] State Statistical Office informs that the unemployment rate in Republic of Macedonia stood at 33.8 per cent in mid 2009 (cited in BBC Monitoring European 2009). A high percentage of the Macedonian population resides in households within which all working age members are unemployed. The Government Report on The Millennium Development Goals (2005) stated that in 2004, 27.7 per cent of the Macedonian population lived under the above conditions. These rather devastating figures render Macedonia a country with the

highest unemployment rate in the world (van Selm 2007). Furthermore, the report estimates that in 2004, 29.6 per cent of civic-Macedonians lived below the poverty line. Over the last six years the situation has remained unchanged with 30 per cent of the population living below the poverty line in 2005, 29.8 per cent in 2006, 29.4 per cent in 2007 and 28.7 per cent in 2008 (Republic of Macedonia State Statistical Office 2010: screen 1).

Data from the survey conducted by GfK Skopje in 2009 shows that the main ‘worries’, of the Macedonian citizens, are money and good health. Out of the 1, 050 participants surveyed, while 87 per cent stressed that financial security is the main impediment to their happiness, 82 per cent stressed that they ‘prefer ... good health’ (BBC Monitoring European 2009a: 1). The same poll indicated that only one to two per cent of the respondents ‘attach importance to free time, love, happiness, culture, and arts’ (ibid.). This suggests that the greater majority of the population is dealing on a day-to-day basis with needs critical to their survival.

Faced with high unemployment and lives of poverty, the ultimate goal of a significant number of the Macedonian people is survival. It seems that significant number of the contemporary Macedonian citizens at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century are sharing the same fate as that experienced by Macedonian villagers at the turn of the 20th century - ‘[the struggle] for the means of livelihood’ (Goff 1921: 10). In the main, this situation is due to the obstructed economic, political and social integration of Republic of Macedonia, into the European Union and at international level, by the Greek official campaign against the recognition of the Macedonian state and the ethno-Macedonians as a distinct people discussed earlier in section 3.4. of this chapter.

### ***3.4.2. Political hardships***

The following are the two most prominent political hardships affecting the Macedonian people: non-recognition by the international community the independence of the Republic of Macedonia by its constitutional name, and claims of the non-existence of the Macedonian people, particularly by the neighbouring countries of Greece and Bulgaria. In addition, and of most relevance to my thesis, are non-recognition and pressure from the Greek lobby in countries to which Macedonians have migrated and in which they reside, countries such as Australia.

#### ***3.4.2.1. Indefinite temporality: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia***

Wider recognition of the independence of the Republic of Macedonia by the international community has been jeopardised by Greece. Considering the analysis thus far, I suggest that Greece’s foreign policies include: (1) maintaining the Republic of Macedonia as a non-member of the European Union and inhibiting any regional integration within which ethno-Macedonians will have the opportunity to culturally unify and prosper economically; (2) non-recognition of Macedonian ethno-nationality: recognition could result in serious political pressure to acknowledge and apologise for the atrocities inflicted on the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia; (3) acknowledgement of the lastmentioned could result in the obligation to return their properties to the ethno-Macedonians and the empowerment of the ethno-Macedonians in Greece; and, (4) the political capital of Greece could

well be jeopardised by acknowledgement of these atrocities and open Greece to possible condemnation by its Western 'allies'.

In his collection of journal articles and commentaries titled *Macedonia: A Nation at the Crossroads*, Vaknin (2009) states that Greece justifies its policies with a claim for a perceived apprehensive political stance of the Republic of Macedonia. This argument, I will suggest, is inherently flawed. It is presented *Agrumentum ad Baculum*, that is, an argument appealing to fear. It is an apprehension well captured by Vaknin (2009: 8-9) who writes:

The Greeks felt that Macedonians have designs on the part of Greece that borders the tiny, landlocked country and [that] the use of Macedonia's constitutional name internationally will only serve to enhance irredentist and secessionist tendencies, thus adversely affecting the entire region's stability. .... [t]he disparities in size, military power, geopolitical and economic prowess between the two countries make Greek "fears" appear to be ridiculous.

Since 1991, successive governments of the Republic of Macedonia have had to deal with the issue of the Republic's constitutional name. They have had little choice in the matter but to address the issue as it was - and still is - an issue of power. The interim solution was for the Republic of Macedonia to instrumentally adopt a provisional name of temporary character - the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - for the purposes of acceptance by the UN. The Republic of Macedonia is still campaigning for international recognition under its constitutional name (MWWNV 2000: 13).

Greek political pressure has not subsided with time; rather, it has intensified. As a consequence, international integration and the development of a Republic of Macedonia have been jeopardised. The provisional name *FYROM* has been attached to the Republic of Macedonia for almost 16 out of its 19 years of independent existence. Given the ongoing character of the imperialistic Greek discourse related to Macedonian-ness, the temporality of the provisional name seems to adopt more of an indefinite character.

#### **3.4.2.2. The 'Orient' in the Balkans**

The focus in this section is upon the role of academics as agents of Greek hegemony. Here, I would like to clarify my position. To suggest uniformity of academic literature would be rather naive: hence, I do not suggest that all Greek academic literature is uniformed vis-a-vis the distinctness of ethno-Macedonians. The diversity in academic literature, for example the work of Karakasidou (1997), is eminently present.

As stated on many occasions, the Greek official position towards the Macedonian people is that they do not exist. Their physical existence cannot be denied; but their collective identity continues to be denied by Greek officials. Contemporary Greek hegemonistic discourse is in essence the same as it was at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas, at the turn of the century, the proliferation of Greek schools, press and religious influences amongst the Macedonians in the Balkans showcased the performing power of Greek hegemony, nowadays, this performing power includes selective academics, global media and paid professional lobbyists. Their allies seem unchanged although support is wearing off (Vaknin 2009a). Greek hegemonistic discourse can easily be detected in the works of Zahariadis (1994) and Christidis (2006). A brief review of their papers provides a good understanding of the key assumptions of the discourse.

To demonstrate the role of academics as agents of Greek hegemony, I will first review Zahariadis's (1994) paper titled *Nationalism and Small State Foreign Policy: The Greek response to the Macedonian Issue*; identifying the key discursive themes/assumptions employed in that paper. Orientalism underpins the ideology of Greek discourse. This is immediately recognisable from the employment of the notion of 'Western response' to the 'emerging nationalism in [the] lands of former Eastern Europe' (Zahariadis 1994: 647). Orientalism is a discourse that justifies imperialism and European colonial expansion. It implies the existence of a morally superior West and a morally inferior East (Said 1978, Hawkins 2006). As a consequence, the West has a moral obligation to 'educate' the East. Said (2007) argues that the discourse surrounding Orientalism is as powerful today as it was in the early days of its emergence. Unchanged in essence, the beneficiaries of the discourse are reinventing and re-appropriating it to fit contemporary developments. The Greek re-appropriation of Oriental discourse implies superior Greeks and inferior 'Slav-Macedonians' even 'Skopians'.

The following are the key discursive assumptions noted in Zahariadis (1994): (1) 'Natural' versus 'artificial' ethnicity: Greek ethnicity is natural; Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia transformed indigenous Slavs into ethnic Macedonians by means of 'mutation'<sup>28</sup> for the purposes of eradicating of 'Bulgarian' sentiments amongst them; thus, Macedonian ethnicity is artificial; (2) Cultural 'purity' versus cultural 'impurity': the pure Greek culture versus the impure Macedonian culture; (3) Rationality versus irrationality: rational Greek political defensive stance versus irrational Macedonian 'charged' political stance; Macedonians are trying to eradicate the existence of the Greeks and Bulgarians in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia respectively; and (4) Greece is carrying the moral burden of protecting the stability of the region by impeding international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

Although not exclusively present, this discourse has been consistently present in both Greek literature and Bulgarian literature. In Christidis's (2006) *Bulgarian Foreign Policy and FYROM, 1989-2006*, Bulgarian government sources are quoted to support the relevance of the discourse. The key discursive assumptions in this article include the following: an historically justified claim to Bulgarian nation versus historically unjustified claim to Macedonian nation. Just as the West reduced the 'rest' to primitives, this discourse reduces Macedonians to sub-national people. As a consequence, Greek and Bulgarian supporters of the discourse assume the approach of the knowledgeable over the lay peoples. Bulgaria is also carrying the moral burden of protecting the stability of the region by outlawing the United Macedonian Organisation (Ilinden-Pirin).<sup>29</sup>

The self-ascribed quality of moral superiority has been the unifying force of the two neighbouring nation states that were once enemies at war (as explained earlier). The main aim of this discourse is to reduce and maintain a sub-national Macedonian existence so that they will not be able to lay rightful claim to self-determination and sovereignty. The operative assumption is that the ethno-Macedonians will become aware of their Bulgarian ancestry and will 'culturally reapproach' with the Bulgarians (Christidis 2006: 10).

The above hegemonic nationalistic discourse is used as a platform for Greek lobbying in the countries where Macedonians can be found, countries such as Australia. This can be detected in the official Government position of non-recognition of the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional



name and in the *in-effect dissociative policies* discussed later in this thesis, in chapter III. As regards Australia, it appears that successive Australian Governments have managed to rise above this to a degree by granting a full residence embassy for the Macedonian Diplomatic post while still not extending official recognition of the Republic under its constitutional name.

It is evident from the section above that the Macedonian collective has endured throughout centuries of contestation and cultural assimilation. But, their presence in modern history has been undermined by the very product of modernity – by powerful nationalistic discourse. Here I pose the following question: what validates the existence of *a people*?

#### 4. *The Problem of Validation of 'A People'*

Against the historical background provided in the preceding section I will now proceed to discuss the conventions of validation of the distinctness of a collective. Focus is upon the case of Macedonian people. This discussion is inextricably related to epistemological matters, that is, to the construction of knowledge. The question of relevance is: what is the epistemological nature of the claims of existence of a people or its non-existence? In order to address this question, I will now explore *emic* and *etic* knowledge constructs.

Linguistic anthropologist Kenneth Pike (1912-2000) coined and developed the *emic* and *etic* knowledge constructs that 'are current in a growing number of fields including education, folklore, management, medicine, philology, psychiatry, psychology, public health, semiotics, and urban studies' (Lett 2010: approx. screen 1). In his intellectual corpus from 1950s onwards, the adoption of these concepts beyond their original field of use, i.e., linguistics, has seen variations in the application of the terms *emic* and *etic*. Before considering these variations, which are of crucial relevance to the aforementioned question, a conceptual understanding of them is imperative.

In *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (1990), Pike states that an *emic* unit or construct is 'a physical or mental item or system treated by insiders as relevant to their system of behaviour and as the same emic unit in spite of etic variability' (Pike 1990, cited by Franklin 1996: approx. screen 3). Lett's (2010: approx. screen 2) interpretation of Pike's *emic* constructs appears below:

Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories that are regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the members of the culture under study. An emic construct is correctly termed as 'emic' if and only if it is in accord with the perceptions and understandings deemed appropriate by the insider culture.

In this sense, *emic* knowledge about the studied Macedonian collective will be knowledge deemed appropriate by insiders, in this case, ethno-Macedonians. An *emic* construct of the existence of a Macedonian distinct collective is treated by ethno-Macedonians as relevant to their system of behaviour and as a same construct while 'Slav' for example is not, despite the changes in the 'eyes' of the outsiders. *Etic* constructs vary from *emic* constructs vis-a-vis who validates the construct: a scientific observer or, in general terms, an outsider (Lett 2010: approx. screen 1).<sup>30</sup>

Disagreement between Kenneth Pike and cultural anthropologist Marvin Harris in respect to *emic* and *etic* constructs concerned the definition and application of the concepts, in particular the aim of the *etics* (Headland, Pike and Harris 1990, Lett 2010, Pike 1996<sup>31</sup>).

For Pike, *etics* are a way of getting at *emics*; for Harris, *etics* are an end in themselves. From Pike's point of view, the *etic* approach is useful for penetrating, discovering, and elucidating *emic* systems, but *etic* claims to knowledge have no necessary priority over competing *emic* claims. From Harris's perspective, the *etic* approach is useful in making objective determinations of fact, and *etic* claims to knowledge are necessarily superior to competing *emic* claims (Lett 2010: approx. screen 1).

It is my conviction that the debate about the [non]existence of the Macedonian collective lies - at least partly - herein; to be more precise, in the suggestion that *etic* claims to knowledge are superior to *emic* counterclaims.

With this in mind, I will now proceed to discuss the construction of an *etic* construct. In doing so, I will look at the 'hard data' available on the Macedonian collective and discuss said data within the construction of knowledge.

### **5. Discussing the 'Hard Data' on Macedonians**

Given the contested nature of the Macedonian region in the Balkans and the contested collective identity of the Macedonians, the 'hard data'<sup>32</sup> available on ethno-Macedonians in the Balkans are mostly based on the *etic* constructs of outsiders. Right up until the establishment of an autonomous administration in the independent state of Democratic Macedonia in 1944, which was almost immediately incorporated as a constituent republic into the former Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (Veljanova 2010: 4), very few *emic* accounts of data related to Macedonians were available. Hence, ignorant of the *etic* partisan nature of the 'hard data' concerning the Macedonians (e.g., the non-recognition of their collective identity as Macedonians in Australia) the Australian Government opted for a 'geographical referent' of Slav Macedonians because of the 'neutrality' of the term, i.e., the referent 'Slav'. This was evident in the Minister of Foreign Affairs Senator Gareth Evans' answer to the Senator Chamarette question: 'what is the origin of the suggestion to use the prefix 'slav' and what alternative nomenclatures were considered?' (31 May 1994): 'the term "Slav Macedonian" is one that is used in historical and scholarly literature in a neutral way'.

The term 'Slav Macedonian' and related derivatives, such as Slavic speakers, have been used by government administrations, scholars and historians to refer to the Macedonian collective. Such *etic* constructs appear to exist as 'an end in themselves'. The counter *emic* claims for the referent Macedonians are not well documented; hence, the *emics* are not supported, apart from in very limited cases, by 'hard data'. The claimed 'neutrality' of the prefix 'Slav' and its attribution to the term 'Macedonian', which has a profound effect on the collective identity of the Macedonians, particularly regarding their non-recognition, is due in the main to the philosophical poverty of the Australian politicians and bureaucrats whose *etic* constructs of knowledge are, on occasions, fully endorsed. Political and administrative imperatives are reflected in the construction of 'hard data'. To exemplify this flawed construction vis-a-vis ethno-Macedonians, in the following sections of this chapter, I will discuss the construction of the census data. Focus will be upon examples from both Bulgarian Census Data and Australian Census Data.

### **5.1. *The mysterious disappearance of the Macedonians in Bulgarian Census Data.***

The prominent Australian Scholar James Jupp stated that 'what is measured by the census is determined by political and sometimes administrative imperatives' (Jupp 1995: 1). This is starkly evident in the Bulgarian Census data in the 1956 and 1965 censuses.

As discussed above, Macedonian identity and the presence of Macedonians in various countries have been subjected to political pressures of non-recognition and contestation. The census data was not immune to serving the various governing elites in respect to the Macedonian contested existence on both the collective and individual levels. In support of this criticism, I present the somewhat curious case of the nominal disappearance of approximately 170, 000 Macedonians in Bulgaria over the period 1956 to 1965. In the September 23, 1973 issue of *The Economist*, an article titled '*Et tu, Leonid?*' was published in the *International Report* section. The importance of this article to my argument is vested in the following:

... [T]he Bulgarians claim that there is no such [Macedonian] minority in Bulgaria; their 1965 census lists fewer than 9,000 Macedonians. But the earlier 1956 census, carried out during one of the friendlier periods between the two [Yugoslavia and Bulgaria] countries, recorded about 180, 000 Macedonians. What happened to the rest? (*Et tu, Leonid?* 1973: 54).

From the above, it is obvious that the character of the relation between the two states of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, 'friendlier' or vice versa, affected the outcome of the Bulgarian census data in 1956 and 1965. This is an indication that the presence of ethno-Macedonians, on the territory of the Bulgarian state in a given historical period, is a matter of politics. It may be concluded that the said Bulgarian census data, as an *emic* construct, make no attempt to getting at the *emics*, i.e., generating data meaningful for the ethno-Macedonians whose presence was measured. The *emics* in the case of the Bulgarian Census 1965 have been teleologically neglected.

### **5.2. *Macedonians in the Australian Census Data***

Before I discuss the problems with the reliability of the available data in accounting for the Macedonian presence in Australia, it is imperative to have some understanding of the measuring techniques employed by the Census administrators when measuring the presence of 'a people' who are conceptualised as an ethnic category.

#### **5.2.1. *Ethnic Category and Measurement Techniques***

The challenges of measuring ethnicity are closely related to the challenges faced when attempting to define ethnicity 'in a way that is both useful and generally acceptable' (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005: 4; Kee 1986). Eriksen (2001) defines ethnicity as 'an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction' (Eriksen 2001: 39). Considering themselves as culturally distinctive, agents either resort to self-identification or 'entertain a subjective belief in their common descent', which is a widely acknowledged feature of establishing ethnicity or ethnic belonging (Nazroo 1997, 1997a, 2001; Weber 2001:18). According to Bulatao and Anderson (2004: 10), 'a self-identification has become the norm' for measuring ethnicity. Eriksen's (2001) self-identification definition of ethnicity does not exhaust the list of definitional criteria. The 1986 Australian Population

Census Ethnicity Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor W.D. Borrie, delivered a report to the Australian Statistician titled "*The Measurement of Ethnicity in the Australian Census of Population and Housing*", which adopts the definition of an ethnic group contained in a United Kingdom Law Lords statement reported in *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol.17, No 2, 1983 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005: 4).

According to the UK Law Lords, the key factor for constituting an ethnic group is 'that the group regards itself, and is regarded by others, as a distinct community by virtue of certain characteristics not all of which have to be present in the case of each ethnic group' (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005: 4, 5). Certain characteristics include: a long shared history, the memory of which is kept alive; a cultural tradition, including family and social customs, sometimes religiously based; a common geographic origin; a common language; a common literature; a common religion; being a minority, often in a sense of being oppressed; and, finally, being racially conspicuous (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005: 5).

The Australian Bureau of Statistics uses a number of statistical variables to measure ethnicity and cultural diversity amongst the Australian population. But, none of the statistical variables employs the 'self-identification approach'. These statistical variables refer to a person's origin (country of birth, country of birth of the mother/father); a person's language abilities (main language other than English spoken at home, proficiency of spoken English); religious affiliation; year of arrival in Australia, and ancestry (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005).

The only attempt to adopt a 'self-identification approach' in regards to peoples' ancestry in the Australian Census of Housing and Population ended unsuccessfully, that is, in favour of the 'ancestry approach'. In 1993, Australian Bureau of Statistics tested the 'self-identification approach' and 'the ancestry approach' as part of the Census Test carried out in areas of 'relatively high proportion of overseas born persons' in Melbourne, in August 1993 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994: approx. screen 3). The self-identification approach took a form of 'Does the person identify with an ancestry different from their country of birth?'. The ancestry approach took a form of 'Is the person's ancestry different from their country of birth?'. The test results and the results of the follow up interviews indicated that 'census data on ethnic origin would be subject to serious problems of interpretation, validity and stability' (ibid.: approx. screen 9). The results of the follow-up interviews indicated that 'ancestry' is not 'clearly understood and consistently interpreted by the community' in the Census test context (ibid.). People felt that 'identifying' and 'ancestry' in the same sentence 'is particularly confusing' (ibid.). As a consequence, the question of ancestry was not included in the 1996 Australian Census. In 2001 and 2006 Censuses, the question was included utilising the ancestry approach, that is, 'What is the person's ancestry?', omitting the explanatory note that ancestry can be different to one's, or one's parent's country of birth. According to Kunz and Costello's (2003: 3) the inclusion of the question of ancestry in the 2001 Australian Census enabled 'identification of those groups which cannot be identified adequately' by sole usage of the aforementioned statistical variables and provided a 'good indication of the ethnic background of first and second generation Australians'. Experiencing the same methodological challenges in developing statistical variables for measuring ethnicity, New Zealand's latest review of ethnicity statistics, embodied in Statistics New Zealand (2004), sets out the

following variables to measure a person's ethnicity: name, ancestry, culture, where a person lives and a social context, race, country of birth and/or nationality, citizenship and religion and language (Callister, Didham and Potter 2006: 6 - 7).

The solutions provided above appear to map out ethnicity in a direct and methodical way. Yet, in some cases, such as the case of Macedonians in Australia, there still are problems with the reliability of the available data in Australia.

### ***5.2.2. Problems with reliability of the available data in accounting for the Macedonian presence in Australia***

Information about the ethnic origins of those living in Australia, among other sources, can be sourced from the Australian Census of Population and Housing, from the Australian immigration statistics and British subjects' naturalisation papers during the period of colonisation. Pro-census demographers such as Charles A. Price and James Jupp argue that overall the census produces workable data, and when combined with data from the other relevant sources, it is an effective way of determining the ethnic origins of the Australian peoples. Overall, this may be the case; but, the reliability of the available data in reference to the Macedonians in Australia is problematic. How reliable are the government sources in accounting for the Macedonian presence in Australia?

In 2006, I published an article in *Kompas* titled *Macedonians in Australia: Perception versus Reality*. In this article, I adopt a very pro-census approach. I strongly argue for the reliability of available data in accounting for the Macedonian presence in Australia.

**How many of 'us' are there in Australia?** – Undoubtedly, this is a question that is of interest to all Australians with Macedonian origin residing in Australia. Not once, through a course of a casual conversation amongst Macedonians, this question has spontaneously made the agenda and without hesitation answers were given – 100 000, 200 000, 'less than that', 'more than that'...

However, these answers seem highly speculative. It is not the answer-givers that are speculative people; rather there are many social stimulants that influence the perception of the Macedonian demographic portion. [...]

Once drawn to give speculative answers myself, I have now moved to investigate how close to the real picture was I? My investigation led me to the Australian Bureau of Statistics' data and Siew-Ean Khoo's & David Lucas's 2004 Publication "Australian Ancestries" [...] Khoo & Lucas (2004) analysis of 2001 census data provides us with useful information about Macedonians and their families in Australia. (Veljanova 2006: 27).

In the article, I strongly suggest that the census data reflects 'the reality' and that all other answers that are not in line with the census data are 'speculative'. I also claim that my conclusion is the result of my investigative efforts at the time. In summary, my argument was in line with the arguments of the aforementioned pro-census demographers, that is, that the available data are reliable in accounting for the Macedonian presence in Australia. Nevertheless, I have changed my position. I am now strongly convinced that the Australian census data are not as reliable as regards the numbers of Macedonians in Australia. In the following paragraphs, I will explain how I arrived at the current understanding of the problematic reliability of Australian census data in respect to Macedonians living in Australia.

The problems with reliability of the available data in accounting for the Macedonian presence in Australia are not unknown to the pro-census demographers. Community leaders have challenged the reliability of the available data. But in their responses to the Macedonian community leaders'

challenges, in general they maintain their pro-census position. I will closely examine the works of Jupp (1995) and Price (1996) to demonstrate how these pro-census authors have dealt with the aforementioned challenges.

In his paper *Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Australia*, Jupp (1995) critically discusses the employed census measuring of ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia. Jupp (1995: 2) argues that religion and birthplace as employed measures of respondents' ethnicity are useful especially for first generation migrants, overall, they present 'only limited problems of interpretation'. As regards the challenges of the community leaders in terms of the reliability of the data, Jupp (1995) deals with the issue collectively. He states:

There is a tendency in Australia, as elsewhere, for organisations representing groups to exaggerate their numerical followings in order to gain political significance or to impress funding agencies. Hard census data counters this and provides a base for rational measurement of services and entitlements. This does not prevent interested parties from questioning the census process itself. Claims that respondents are 'afraid' to call themselves, for example, Muslims or Macedonians may well be true in limited cases. But the overall picture is reasonably sound, and certainly as much as so as in any other census system (Jupp 1995: 3).

Jupp (1995), while acknowledging the problems relating to factors of fear and apprehension that affected Australians of Macedonian origin, nonetheless maintains that such cases are limited and that in general the data is reliable, or at least not less reliable than that of other census systems.

As one of the 'interested parties', I would like to critically assess the above statement. The investigative efforts I have employed throughout the course of my doctoral candidature have lead me to believe that apprehension among Macedonian respondents was very real, especially amongst the Macedonian migrants from the Aegean region of Macedonia. The causes of their fear resulting in Macedonians not declaring themselves as Macedonians publically, is well captured by Bozin Pavlovski in his book *Macedonians Behind the Equator* published in 1971. He writes as follows:

The pressure that Aegean Macedonians [in Australia] were exposed to was initiated by the Greek consuls, who are in existence in all sizable cities in Australia: Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart and Canberra. They intimidate the [Macedonian] *pechalbari* with threats to the safety of their extended family members who remain in their homelands; [and] by the means of not being allowed to return [to their homelands]. Because of this, a significant number of Aegean Macedonians who have relatives under Greek rule in the Balkans, despite their embracing the Macedonian migrant churches and associations, they have stayed remote. They secretly support the [Macedonian] national movement, but will not publically declare themselves... (Pavlovski 1971: 36).

Pavlovski (1971) further argues that the Greek anti-Macedonian propaganda between WWI and WWII (1918-1939) and immediately after WWII (post 1945) made the most of the British Empire's and Australia's anti – communist stances: the main operative assumption of the Greek propaganda at the time was that the Macedonians were nothing more than 'a prolonged arm of the Yugoslav communists' (Pavlovski 1971: 36). This summation had been of some concern to the Australian authorities: it facilitated a political venue for Greek anti-Macedonian propaganda in Australia. How big a concern was the presence of a so called 'prolonged arm of the Yugoslav communists' in Australia for the Australian authorities?

In a bid to answer this question, I have examined some of the original documents archived in the Australian National Archives, Canberra. The External Affairs Department file *Miscellaneous - Macedonian Political Club in Melbourne* dated 1935 (Australian National Archive File No.

A981/MIS62) contains documents concerning the establishment of the Macedonian Political Club in Melbourne in September 1934. The main concerns of the Commonwealth of Australia at the time were the possibility of this club developing 'into a hatchery for Macedonian revolutionary plots' and its association with the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) (ibid.: 3). The CPA might 'make use of such national political clubs for the furtherance of its own aims' (ibid.). At this stage, I can safely suggest that the political context was ripe for the Greek political anti-Macedonian lobby to play their anti-communist political card. The intensity of the Greek political propaganda during this period in Australia was in itself intimidating. Therefore, I will argue that the quotation marks around 'afraid' in Jupp's (1995) argument aim at undermining the intimidatory forces and their effect on the Macedonians. The term should be unquoted so it can express its full meaning.

The other part of Jupp's (1995) argument is that apart from limited instances, Australian census data are reliable, or at least not less reliable than any other census system. While this pro-census statement might inspire reader confidence in the Australian census data, it does quite the opposite for me. In the following paragraph I will explain why Jupp's (1995) statement sows doubt in my mind when it comes to the reliability of the data accounting for the presence of Macedonians in Australia. Jupp (1995) argues that apart from limited instances, Australia's census data are reliable, or at least not less reliable than any other census system. But, when it comes to the Macedonians, I have more doubt than confidence. While I disagree with Jupp vis-a-vis the reliability of the census data for Macedonians in Australia, I am in full agreement with his statement that 'what is measured by the census is determined by political and sometimes administrative imperatives' (Jupp 1995: 1). I can only conclude that his pro-census statements are just that - pro-census.

In his paper *The Ethnic Composition of the Australian Population* published as part 3 in *Immigration and Ethnicity. The Work of Charles Price* in 1996, Price states explicitly that he was challenged by community leaders from both communities, Greek and Macedonian, in relation to his Macedonian ethnic strength estimate published in 1978. When preparing his Macedonian ethnic strength<sup>33</sup> estimate, which was published in 1987, he consulted with community leaders and drew upon overseas statistics which, in his words, 'suggested that by mid 1987 the Macedonian ethnic strength could be as high as 90,000' (Price 1995: 89). His cross-analysis of the data at hand with the 1986 census data on language and birthplace convinced Price that the estimate of 90,000 was too high: he duly reduced it to 75,000. Price (1996) explicitly rejects the Macedonian community leadership's estimates of over 150,000 as well as Hill's (1987) estimate of 100, 000. In his conclusion, Price (1996: 100) concludes (amongst his other concluding remarks) that he does not claim his estimates to be exact; rather, they paint 'the general picture', at the same time rejecting the community leaders' 'exaggerated' estimates. Overall, Price (1996) supports the argument surrounding the reliability of the census data in respect to the Macedonians in Australia.

For the sake of my argument for problems with the reliability of the census data in respect to Australia's Macedonians, I would like to state that the seemingly 'exaggerated' estimates by community leaders and (it appears) by myself throughout the course of this thesis are closer to the reality than Price's estimates. The most straightforward cause for the problems with reliability of the census data pertaining to Macedonians in Australia is the ineffectiveness of the measures employed

regarding ethnic origin, especially the question of birthplace. Given that up until 1960, Macedonian immigration to Australia was almost exclusively represented by Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (see chapter III, section 3), taking the birthplace as a measure for ethnic origin would imply that all people born in Greece are Greeks. This is simply not true. While I am in disagreement with Price on the matter of the reliability of the census data for Macedonians in Australia, I am in full agreement with him when he states: ‘...Though many Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs have all fiercely denied it, there has long been a distinct Macedonian people, both in Europe and in Australia’ (Price 1996: 70). I can only conclude that his pro-census approach is simply that - pro-census.

So far, I have demonstrated the reasons why the census data in respect to the Macedonians in Australia needs to be recognised as problematic. The reliability of other Government data informing the ethnic origins of the Australian population can be challenged for the same reasons, especially with regard to fear, as suggested earlier. Potentially valuable sources are the Commonwealth of Australia naturalization papers, some of which are short biographies (Price 1963) of newly naturalised British subjects at the time. While, some Macedonians boldly declared their Macedonian national belonging in their naturalisation applications, I am inclined to think that there may be instances where the fear factor takes precedence.

In her article *Stability and Change in Ethnic Identity: An Aggregate Level Analysis*, Khoo (2006: 67) explored the ‘stability and change in ethnic identification in Australia’ using relevant Australian census data on ancestry from 1986 and 2001<sup>34</sup>. Khoo (2006) conducted an aggregate level cohort comparative analysis of the data collected in reply to the ancestry question. The findings indicated that out of the selected ancestry groups, Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovenian ancestry groups experienced increased ethnic identification. She states:

[The] increases indicate a shift in ethnic identification on the part of many Australian residents with origins in the former Yugoslavia that was likely to be related to political change in the Balkan Peninsula in the 1990s and the formation of separate Serbian, Croatian and Macedonian nation states (Khoo 2006: 79-80).

As regards to the ethno-Macedonians in Australia, a significant political change in the Balkan Peninsula, in addition to the proclamation of independent Republic of Macedonia in 1991, is Greece’s membership in the European Union and the relative improvement of the conditions for the ethno-Macedonians in the Aegean Part of the Macedonian region, a Greek state territory, upon the demand of the international community, particularly after the Human Right Watch inquiry into the discriminatory practices against the ethno-Macedonians in Greece leading up to the publication of the report: *Denying Ethnic Identity: The Macedonians of Greece* in 1994. With the relative improvement of the conditions for the ethno-Macedonians in the Aegean Part of the Macedonian region, the fear of public identification as ethno-Macedonian without worrying about the situation of the fellow co-ethnics in the homelands has been/is gradually subsiding. Currently, a public identification as an ethno-Macedonian from Greece may not result in an inability for them to return in their homeland. But ‘Macedonians who are active in human rights organizations abroad or who are political [r]efugees’ may result in ‘blacklisting’ of the said by Greece (AMHRC 2010: 4). Consequently, they are not able to return to their homeland. In support of this, I provide a recent case study of Mr. Nikola Kosturski. Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee Newsletter (2010: 4) reveals:



The latest reported incident occurred on December 19, 2009, when Macedonian citizen, Nikola Kosturski, a member of the Association of Child Refugees (Detsa Begaltsi) in Bitola, was denied entry because he "*is a person for whom an alert has been issued for the purposes of refusing entry*" and is "*in the national register*" (italics in the original).

This practice of 'alert ... [issuing] for the purposes of refusing entry' is affecting 'citizens of Canada, Australia, the United States, and many Western European countries' (idid.). As discussed in chapter III, section 3., up until 1960s, most of the Macedonian migrants in Australia were Aegean Macedonians. Many of them are living their lives in a constant negotiation between partaking in Macedonian communal activities and organisational affiliation and a desire to visit their homeland and family members residing in Greece. The ambiguity as to what may be interpreted by Greece as a basis for issuing an 'alert ... for the purposes of refusing entry' in the country affects the lives of many ethno-Macedonians in Australia.

In mid 2010, the *Association of the Refugee Children from Aegean Macedonia* in association with *Australian-Macedonian Theatre of Sydney* launched a campaign titled *Freedom from Fear*, as part of the Australian Refugee Week also themed *Freedom from Fear*, aiming at overcoming the fear of the past and healing through theatre. Multiply productions of the play *Mr. Balkan*, a 'funny and sometimes bittersweet true story of a Macedonian man locked in a time of fear and upheaval' (Refugee Council of Australia 2010: approx. screen 15) is directed by Stefo Nantsou the son of child refugees (*Detca Begaltsi*) couple, now in their later life, whose life stories have inspired the play. The play 'celebrates the survival of Macedonian refugee children ... who [have] struggled through the harshest moments of history' (ibid.). The campaign is still in progress at the time of submitting this thesis. The effectiveness of the campaign is yet to be assessed.

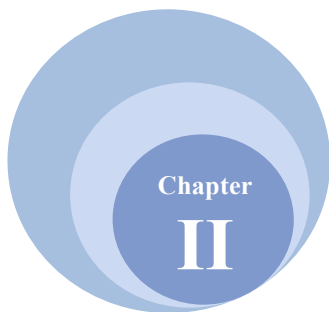
From the discussion above, it can be concluded that the reliability of the 'hard data' (Jupp 1995) on Macedonians in Australia, as well as the official statistics of other countries to which Macedonians have migrated, including the Balkan countries where Macedonians have been subjected to the imperialistic forces of the other Balkan nations, are problematic, if indeed they are reliable at all (such as the aforementioned example of the Bulgarian census data). Here, I would like to clarify my position. For the purposes of this thesis, the available Australian census data are used as estimates of *etic* value only: in chapter VI, I use the Australian census data in comparison with the statistics generated through my research.

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At the beginning of this chapter, the matter or moral entity: group vis-a-vis individual is discussed. Adopting Vincent's (2002) notion of 'group particular', the Macedonian ethno-collective is seen as a 'group particular', that is, a distinct moral entity. Synchronous with the normative approach, the distinctness of the ethno-Macedonian customs, law, culture and communal traditions are approached with respect and as normatively desirable.

The historical account of the ethno-Macedonian collective from the period during and from the Ottoman imperial rule in Europe onwards was provided. The developments in the Balkan Peninsula with the emergence of the Greek, Bulgarian and the Serbian nation states, and the unsuccessful attempts of the ethno-Macedonians for national unification, has left the Macedonian ethno-collective contested and its distinctness denied by the contenders for the Macedonian territory to which ethno-

Macedonians are native. To this date, Macedonian state and the ethno-Macedonian collective are contested most fiercely by the Greek government. The problem of validation of the Macedonian ethno-collective is proposed to be a matter related to the construction of knowledge: *emic* construction of knowledge vis-a-vis *etic* construction of knowledge. The contestation of the Macedonian ethno-collective and its stateless national existence has affected the presence of the Macedonians in the official data. In some cases such as the presented case of the Bulgarian Census in section 5.1., the census data are purposefully 'adjusted' to address the political imperatives of the Bulgarian Government at the time. In cases such as Australia, the ineffectiveness of the measuring techniques to account for peoples without a nation state, non-adoption of the 'self identification approach' and the fear and intimidation experienced by the ethno-Macedonians in Australia affected/s the reliability of the census data. Focusing on the Macedonian people in the main, the following chapter will discuss the ways of conceptualising 'a people' and will offer a theoretical framework for 'genetic structuring of a people'. It will also provide a theoretical framework for analysing health and well-being.



## Conceptualisation, Genetic Structuring, and Well-being of 'A People': Theoretical Framework

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Concluding remarks

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Following my discussion of the Macedonian ethno-collective in historical context and in the context of the recorded 'hard data' provided in the previous chapter, in this chapter I provide a theoretical discussion of the conceptualisation of a people, as well as a theoretical discussion of the genetic structuring of a people. Firstly, the focus will be upon the ways of conceptualising 'a people'.

### **1. Ways of conceptualising 'a people': Macedonian nation, ethnicity or both?**

Numerous concepts in academia, state administrative rhetoric, as well as at the popular level are used to refer to a category of *a people* (*narod*); e.g., tribe, race, nation[ism] and ethnicity. A 'specific

group particular that has had most publicity' in the last few decades 'has been the nation, although it also clearly overlaps with cultures, communities and ethnicities' (Vincent 2002: 4). Hence, the following question gains in importance: What is the conceptual reference when a reference is made to a specific people, for example the Macedonian people? In his article *Are Ethnicity and Nationality Twin Concepts?*, Banton (2004) argues that at the popular level ethnicity and nationality might be able to be/are used side by side implying mutual descent. However, the conceptual substance of ethnicity and nationality suggests a difference between the two. I will now proceed with a discussion of the conceptualisation of 'a people' as a nation and as an ethnicity. In particular, I will attempt to answer the following three questions: How is nation defined?; What are the relations between nationality and ethnicity?; and, How does an ethno-cultural construct (nationality of ethnicity) come into being, i.e., how is it constructed? I will now proceed to address the first two questions with specific focus on the Macedonian people. I will deal with question three in chapter II.

### ***1.1. Nation as a distinct collective***

As opposed to the understanding that ***a nation is*** and needs to be self - realised, my conviction is that ***collective humanity is***, and that humans - by virtue of self-realisation - construct collectives by means of agency. National conciseness is not there: it is resting and needs to be 'awakened' (Katrandgiev 1980, Klimovski 1997); rather, it is to be constructed into being. This clearly defines my constructivist approach to this thesis. In section 1.1.1. I will discuss the difficulties experienced in defining nation[alism]; as well, I examine definitions of 'nation'. Finally, I will discuss the collective state of Macedonians in Australia, both past and present.

#### ***1.1.1. Amid Paradoxes: Conceptualising 'Nation'***

When defining the concept of nation, students of nationalism are challenged by realities of a seemingly paradoxical existence. According to Anderson (1983, 2001), these challenges are visible in the following three paradoxes:

The objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of the nationalists; (...) The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality (...) vs. the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations (...); [and] The 'political' power of nationalisms vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence (Anderson 2001: 44).

The existence of these paradoxes is an indication that the concept of nation can only exist as an imagined construct. The nation can be imagined as ancient, as modern, as civic, ethnically pure and/or ethnically mixed. As an imagined construct, the concept of nation offers a remedy for irremediable paradoxes. I will now follow with a discussion relevant to the first paradox.

##### ***1.1.1.1. The First Paradox***

There is a general consensus in academia that the concept of 'nation' gained momentum with the onset of modernity, that is, in tandem with the change in the economical and political scenery in Europe from the 1600s onwards. The 'modern history' of the nation and nationalism can be dated back to the French revolution in the late 1700s (Klimovski 1997: 645). The proliferation of the

intellectual class and the citizenry during the time of the French revolution ripened the conditions for a 'unique modern national feeling' (ibid.), a concept closely related to the social-economic revolution, i.e., the onset of capitalism, to the formation of the centralised states, and to the historical victory of the principle of state sovereignty over papal supremacy (Klimovski 1997: 645-646, Katrandgiev 1980). With reference to the 'modern history' of 'nation' Anderson (1983, 2001) agrees that the concepts of nation and national belonging have developed inextricably from the emergence of capitalism, a direct consequence of the development of print capitalism. He further argues that the creation of nationhood was closely related to the emergence of administrative vernaculars<sup>1</sup> in the period leading up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century's 'erosion of the sacred imagined [communities]' (Anderson 2001: 48, Anderson 1991 cited in Calhoun 1993a).<sup>2</sup> In their 'political and social form', nation-states gained momentum after the signing of the *Treaty of Westphalia* in 1648, ostensibly during the period between the 18<sup>th</sup> and mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Walby 2003: 5). Anderson (2001:51), who supports this line of argument, acknowledges the '...large cluster of new political entities that sprang up in the Western hemisphere between 1776 and 1838, all of which self consciously defined themselves as nations...'.

I am personally satisfied that the emergence of nations and nation states is a modern historical achievement (Klimovski 1997, Hawkins 2006, Anderson 2001, Vincent 2002), although, according to Connor (2004: 44) 'the chronological fixing of any nation is usually a matter of great dispute'. In this respect, no nation can put forward a substantiated claim to national antiquity. The claim that the Macedonian nation is 2,500 years old (Historyofmacedonia.org 2009) would seem as unsupportable as the claim to a 'three-thousand-year-old Greek nation' (Mackridge 2009: 21). And this is not just the case with the Macedonian and Greek nations, rather, it is the case with all nations. Conversely, nationalists strongly believe in the antiquity of the nations.

Many authors, for example Stefov (2008), Trposki (2004), Donski (2009) and Shea (1997), have researched the historical and cultural heritage of the Macedonian nation and have put forward claims to the antiquity of the Macedonian nation. The works of these authors emerge amidst the extant and contemporary claims of authors including Slijepcevic (1958), Kofos (1985) and Tamis (1994), in line with perceived, competitive, politically driven research agendas that have advocated direct dismissal of the existence of a Macedonian nation and its historical heritage. The antiquity of the Macedonian nation is an assumption of contemporary Macedonian political ideology: it is an emerging paradigm in academia and an individual and collective sentiment of the Macedonian ethno-nationalists. Here, I should clarify the approach I adopt throughout the course of this discussion when it comes to nationalism and the 'nationalists' to whom I repeatedly make reference. My approach is synchronous with the *group particularity* approach; that is, the 'normatively desirable development' discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Hence, I focus on the depiction of nationalism as a *locus* of 'positive social, moral, political and economic value' (Vincent 2002: 5).

The antiquity of the Macedonian nation is an assumption of contemporary Macedonian political ideology. In support of this assumption, I will start with supportive evidence sourced from the most up-to-date draft of the 'Vrednosti na VMRO-DPMNE'<sup>3</sup> (20 February 2008), a document containing the political doctrine<sup>4</sup> of the elected governing party following the 2008 Republic of Macedonia national elections. The section of the document subtitled *Nation* clearly outlines the commitment of

the political party to the Macedonian nation as a civic nation. Later in the document, there is implicit reference to the Macedonian nation as an 'ethno-nation'.<sup>5</sup> Claims vis-a-vis the antiquity of the Macedonian ethno-nation are evident in the numerous references to the nation's 'centuries old history and tradition' (VMRO-DPMNE 2008: 1). VMRO-DPMNE's political doctrine imputes the following:

The national identity of Macedonia is crucially determined by that which has been passed down from generations to generations throughout the centuries.

In 1991, Macedonia committed to national legitimisation and commenced the exploration of many marginalised aspects of Macedonian history, culture and traditions. Historical remembrance gave way to the renaissance of the [Macedonian] tradition. What need to be recaptured are the old traditional values of the typical Macedonian way of life throughout the centuries (VMRO-DPMNE 2008: 15).<sup>6</sup>

It is evident from the above quote, that VMRO-DPMNE is making reference to the antiquity of the Macedonian nation. It refers to 'that which has been passed down' throughout the centuries. In other words, their political platform is based on an assumption of the antiquity of the Macedonian nation.<sup>7</sup> In this respect, it is a gesture of support for the antiquity of the Macedonian nation, an assumption of the contemporary Macedonian political ideology.

The antiquity of the Macedonian nation is an increasingly supported historical paradigm in the academic field of nationalism. Aleksandar Donski argues to the effect that:

...Macedonians have vested their blood, culture and national name in the Macedonian nation, a nation that nowadays rests upon the same territory that once was [Ancient Macedonian territory]. That is completely logical. The [Ancient] Macedonians did not evaporate to thin air with the appearance of the Macedonian Slavs [...] ... [A]t the beginning, they were each other's enemies [...] later, they assimilated into one people. Thus, it is the Ancient Macedonians who are the true ancient ancestors of the contemporary Macedonian nation (Donski 2009: 25-26).

The antiquity of the Macedonian nation has both individual and collective sentimental value for the modern, Macedonian ethno-nationalists. These sentiments are manifested in numerous press articles and non-academic publications such as Kocin's (2008) and Trposki's (2004). Pero Damcevski - Kocin, a renowned community press correspondent from Sydney, publishes widely in the Macedonian ethnic and national press. In one of his articles that appeared in the Macedonian weekly newspaper in Australia - *Today – Denes* - Kocin refers to contemporary Macedonians as 'loyal children of our religion and church, and true descendants of the Macedonian roots from Filip and Aleksandar, the descendants of Goce, Cento' (Kocin 2008).<sup>8</sup> As the true descendants of the ancient Macedonians, Macedonians will 'offer to the world a civilisation older than 10 000 years, literacy that is older than 9 000 years, paleontological map that is older than 50 000 years (...) and other precious [offerings]' (Trposki 2004: 9).

Kocin's and Trposki's quotations demonstrate the collective and personal sentimental value of the antiquity of the Macedonian nation to the Macedonians. When asked '[w]hat makes you feel and identify as Macedonian in Australia?', one of the participants in the Sydney focus group provided an answer that supports the personal sentimental value of the antiquity of the Macedonian nation to individual Macedonians. The following is an excerpt from the relevant transcript:

**Participant T:** I would like to answer this question - [w]hat makes me identify and feel as a Macedonian in Australia? I came in this country as a Macedonian by birth. My Macedonian ancestries go back all the way to grandparents, grand-grandparents and further back. [...] From my point of view, I realise that I am a member of a people with an ancient history. An ancient people. And I personally feel that I am a descendant of the Ancient Macedonians. It is well

known in the world history who ancient Macedonians were and who are their descendants. .... We know since forever (pamtivekovi) that we are who we are.

The symbolic ethno-collective attribute 'Macedonian history' is a relevant identity factor for 67.2 per cent of the overall surveyed population ( $N=817$ ) (this is discussed in chapter VI). Some among the surveyed participants took the opportunity to express 'the [fact] that we [the Macedonians] are the oldest nation' (case 228); 'a biblical country' (cases 608 and 623) and, '[being descendants] from Alexander the Macedonian' (case 771) makes them feel and identify as Macedonians.

It is clear from the above that the only approach that will account for all manifestations of nations and nationalisms is the constructivist approach. The concept of nation is an imaginative construct. This way, it can be equally argued that the Macedonian nation emerged during the early period of modernity concomitant with the emergence of all of the other nations in Europe. As well, it has the same roots in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>9</sup>

#### **1.1.1.2. The Second Paradox**

The second paradox, that presents a difficulty when defining a nation, is the paradox of 'formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality (...) vs. the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations' (Anderson 1883, 2001: 44). The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept assumes that everyone inescapably belongs to a particular nation, i.e., to a socio-culturally distinct moral entity. In this respect, nationality is conceptually equal to ethnicity: the terms can be used synonymously. Each individual is able to align herself or himself with *a people* as a social-cultural collective; for example, the Macedonian or the Australian collective. In more recent times, social sciences literature recognises hybrid identities; for example, Macedonian-Australian and transnational identities. Nevertheless, one would be able to make the aforementioned alignment.

The sense of 'we the people', or nationalism (Hawkins 2006), is constructed and maintained against peoples' understandings of the nature of the concept of a nation. The 'irremediable particularity of ... [nationalism's] concrete manifestations' has its roots in the differences in these understandings, in the variations in imagining a nation.

One difference in understanding vis-a-vis the popular conceptualisation of a nation is the primordial versus constructivist conceptualisation of *a people*. A *sui generis* character of the nation is imagined either as natural, whereby communities share the same biogenetical material, or as social, whereby group belonging is identified by law (Schneider, 1968, 1969 and 1984, cited in Danforth 2009). The contemporary primordial conceptualisation of a nation, otherwise referred to as 'nation-tribes' (Gilberg 1998: 83), is considered to be an undesirable manifestation of nationalism. As stated earlier in this chapter, collectives are 'viewed as immovable social and political facts'. Hence, belonging to a group is a given and unchangeable. One is born into a group (Vincent 2002: 4) and national belonging is seen as exclusive. This understanding can often lead to irredentism and jingoism. The literature associates this form of attachment to peoples from the Balkans: this includes the Macedonian people. At this stage, the question of whether or not primordiality is a way of imagining a nation amongst Macedonians gains in importance.

According to Danforth (2009: 16), Macedonians in Australia have developed a 'biologized'<sup>10</sup> conception of national identity ... expressed both explicitly and metaphorically. Consequently, one is born a Macedonian. If one is born to Macedonian parents, one is naturally Macedonian. A Macedonian nationalist biologi[s]ed (primordial) stance is evident in the writing of Stefov (2008a). In his article 'What is a Macedonian?' which appeared in *The American Chronicle* on 23 September 2008, Stefov states: 'Macedonians want to be Macedonians because that is what they are, Macedonian. There are no choices to being Macedonian just as there are no choices to [being] a human' (Stefov 2008a: 3). Thus far, primordial attachment is favoured and supported. However, the results from this study fail to support this assumption fully. It is deemed an over-generalisation. The passive identity attribute *ancestry* was ranked by 144 respondents to the survey as a first defining attribute of their collective identity. This made it the most prominently ranked first defining attribute. But, it was only ranked in the top three defining attributes by 262 respondents out of the overall  $N=817$ . This is a clear indication that for some Macedonians 'being born into a group' is still a very relevant conceptualisation. But, for the majority of respondents, this was of lesser importance.<sup>11</sup> In conclusion, generalisations of the aforementioned type are not as relevant, at least not for the Macedonian community in Australia. What makes Macedonians feel and identify as Macedonians is in detail discussed in chapter VI.

Danforth (2009) uses a case study to explicate the difference between the primordial nationalistic stance and the constructionist stance in reference to national identity.

... [This is a] story about two brothers from a village near Florina. One ... settled in Yugoslavia after the Civil War; the other ... remained in Greece. Eventually they both came to Australia (one on a Yugoslav passport, the other on a Greek passport) where they lived together with their mother in the same house in Melbourne. They were constantly arguing with each other because one brother identified himself as Greek, while the other brother identified himself as Macedonian. Finally they confronted their mother; they asked her how a woman could give birth to one Greek and one Macedonian. The narrator of the story did not [disclose] what the mother replied. Instead he offered his own answer to the question. "It's not possible," he said emphatically. "By blood, by birth, they're both Macedonians." (Danforth 2009: 20).

The above case study is a further indication that some Macedonians do conceptualise nation in a *biologised* way; however, the Greek-ness and the Macedonian-ness of the brothers is a clear indication that a nation is an imagined construct. While it is not possible for two brothers to have different national identities according to a nationalist *biologised* stance, the constructionist stance assumes social construction of national identities and thus allows for two brothers to have different nationalities (Danforth 2009).

Furthermore, a nation can be either a civic nation (normative community) or an ethno-nation (ethnic community). The civic-ethnic dichotomy has its origins in Hans Kohn's (1944) *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (Bald and Couton 2009: 648; Calhoun 2005). To talk about the dichotomy of Western liberal civic (good) nations (isms) in contrast to Eastern illiberal ethnic (bad) nations (isms) almost seems natural, when in fact it is socially constructed (Kohn and Calhoun 2005). Members of civic nations see themselves 'as connected to each other [primarily] through the shared rights and responsibilities inherent in citizenship of the state'. Members of ethno-nations see themselves as connected to each other - primarily - through shared descent as well as through 'shared language, culture and history' (Hawkins 2006: 9). As imagined communities, nations can be imagined as ethno-nations and civic-nations as well as natural (primordial) or normative.



A propos of the second paradox, there is some difficulty in defining a nation due to conflicting notions regarding ‘formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will ‘have’ a nationality (...) vs. the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations’ (Anderson 1983, 2001: 44). The constructivist approach to defining the concept of nation may also offer a remedy. From the argument above, it may be concluded that nations can be variously imagined, for example, as primordial (biologised) communities - ethno nations; as normative communities; as ethno-exclusive communities; and as culturally monolithic communities. Out of all of these particular manifestations of the concept of nation, what stays unchanged is the universal reference to the very concept of nation.

### **1.1.1.3. The Third Paradox**

The third paradox that presents a difficulty when defining a nation is the paradox of “the ‘political’ power of nationalisms vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence” (Anderson 1983, 2001: 44). To exemplify this paradox, I will once more use an example that is of relevance to the ethno-Macedonians and is thus relevant to this thesis as well.

In the post-independence period, the Republic of Macedonia suffered immeasurable detriment to every aspect of its development, due to being kept ‘hostage’ because of its name (Einarsson 2009). At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Macedonians<sup>12</sup> are not much better off than were the Macedonians at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that ‘[the struggle] for the means of livelihood’ (Goff 1921: 10) is still a core concern for many Macedonians living in the Republic of Macedonia. In addition, their Macedonian-ness continues to be contested by many. Until present, Republic of Macedonia is not a European Union member. The expansionist nationalistic discourse of the comparatively powerful Bulgaria, particularly in the period preceding its full membership of the EU in January 2007, was reiterated in the Bulgarian practice of granting Bulgarian citizenships a poorly designed strategy to demonstrate the Bulgarian origins of the, *inter alia*, ethno-Macedonians. I will now briefly detail the particulars of the development.

A sizable number of the ethno-Macedonian citizens of the Republic of Macedonia have applied for and were granted Bulgarian citizenship between 2002<sup>13</sup> and 2007. According to an article published in *EUbusiness* in 2008 titled *Some 25,000 new Bulgarians from Macedonia, Moldova*, during the aforementioned period, 39,000 Macedonians applied for - and 13,925 Macedonians were granted - Bulgarian passports. This information was disclosed by Bulgaria’s Vice President Angel Marin in a press conference (EUbusiness 2008) in January 2008. Bulgaria’s Vice President also stated at the same press conference that Bulgarian citizenship was granted only to applicants who supported their claims of Bulgarian descent with evidence (*Bulgarian Passports “Suicidal” for Macedonia* 2008: 1-2).

For various reasons, ethno-Macedonians, now civic-Bulgarians, were motivated to resort to ‘ethnic mimicry’ (Vasiliadis 1989), i.e., instrumental ethno-nationality, the main reason being the prospect of ‘Bulgarian citizenship entitling them to the rights of fellow European Union citizens’ (Mahony 2006: 1). In an article published by the Bulgarian newspaper *Standart*, Simeonov (2005) reports on the

acknowledgement of one of the applicants for Bulgarian citizenship and of the instrumental nature of his actions:

...A middle-aged man [Simeon Vangelovski] confessed he was after ... Bulgarian citizenship to be able to travel freely in Europe and to give the opportunity for his children to study in Bulgarian [Universities]... (Simeonov 2005: 1).

These developments were ill-used by the governments of Bulgaria and Greece for Bulgarian-centric and Greece-centric political purposes. The ethno-instrumentalism of contemporary Macedonians has generated very welcome statistical data on pure *etic* quality; notwithstanding, it is statistical data that fits quite well with the reappropriated discourse of *Orientalism* in South Europe (as explained in chapter I. section 3.4.2.2.). These data are being interpreted by the Bulgarian government and the propagators of the Macedonians as Bulgarians as the 'awakening' of the Macedonians towards their cultural roots. To demonstrate, I will briefly discuss to the case of Ms. Spaska Mitrova.

In 2009, Spaska Mitrova served out her prison sentence in the Republic of Macedonia corrective facility Idrizovo for obstruction of the parenting rights of her dependent daughter's father Voislav Savik (Duvnjak 2009). What started off as a guardianship matter has transcended the private realm to be manipulated by the Bulgarian media into a political - diplomatic affair with nationalistic undertones. The Bulgarian media representation discourse was that a single mother has been targeted and that her child has been taken away due to her Bulgarian national belonging. It is portrayed as though civic Bulgarians are targeted and victimised in the Republic of Macedonia because of their very Bulgarian-ness. The Bulgarian media also portrayed her former partner as a Serbian radical supported by the Macedonian government (Duvnjak 2009). Voislav Savik declared that:

...[H]is former spouse...has never declared herself as a Bulgarian. She obtained Bulgarian citizenship only in April-May this year after she became aware of the penalty (Duvnjak 2009: 2).

The Bulgarian media has portrayed me as a monster ... As for me, I never wanted, nor do I have an intention to exploit my Serbian ancestry (Duvnjak citing Savik 2009: 3).

Ethno-instrumentalism of Macedonians was practiced by Macedonian villagers a century ago and is still practiced nowadays as a survival skill. For many, a Bulgarian passport is simply a means to an end – a ticket to a better life.

Aware of the ethno – instrumental practices of the Macedonians and other nationals who have obtained Bulgarian citizenship, EU officials have remarked on the Bulgarian practice of issuing passports. In the meanwhile, UK has regulated its labour market to the Bulgarian labour force by introducing quotas (Ivanovski 2008). The UK government has asked the Bulgarian Government to abstain from ill-usage of its position of power as a 'solution to some old historical frustrations' (ibid.). The Bulgarian official position, as declared by Bulgaria's Vice Minister for Justice Bojko Raskov in his statement to the *Daily Telegraph* (cited in Ivanovski 2008) is that the applicants are all people with Bulgarian cultural roots and ancestry. While the UK is aware that they are all economic migrants

obtaining tickets to the wealthier European countries, Raskov maintains that the applicants are declaring their intentions to live and work in Bulgaria (Ivanovski 2008).

As suggested earlier, Bulgaria's official stance was that Bulgarian citizenship was granted only to applicants who supported their claims of Bulgarian descent with evidence (*Bulgarian Passports "Suicidal" for Macedonia* 2008: 1-2). In an investigative effort to ascertain the nature of the procedure and the required supporting evidence deemed necessary for Bulgarian citizenship, the reporters found that in a JP certified application one must declare, in the Bulgarian language, the following:

Respectable Mr Minister,

I ask you to acknowledge me as a Bulgarian citizen because I have Bulgarian ancestry. My mother and my grandmother were Bulgarians and I am a Bulgarian. My grandmother and my grandfather were Bulgarian citizens. My father from Macedonia is Bulgarian, just as same as my mother (Kostovska 2009).

Applications for Bulgarian citizenships dramatically dropped in number following the recommendation that Macedonia, along with Serbia and Montenegro, will be accepted into the Schengen Zone (*Schengen Exemption for Macedonia Reduces Demand for Bulgarian Passports* 2009).

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that the philosophical poverty and poorly strategised national expansionism on the part of relevant Bulgarian governments have not affected its effectiveness on *etic* grounds. Being aware of the paradoxes that present a difficulty in defining 'nation', I will proceed with discussion on the available definitions.

### **1.1.2. The Definition**

Taking up the challenge to define nation amidst the aforementioned paradoxes, Anderson (1983: 44) provided the following definition:

... [a nation] is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

Adopting Anderson's definition, Hawkins (2006: 9) writes:

...[T]he nation is an 'imagined community', the members of which view themselves as connected to each other through the shared rights and responsibilities inherent in citizenship of the state, as well as through shared language, culture and history.

These definitions of nation emphasise several conceptual properties. Firstly, a nation is a community, an imagined community: secondly, the community has a political character; thirdly, it is imagined as limited and sovereign; and fourthly, it can be either a civic or an ethnic community.

The Macedonian nation is, as is every other nation by definition, an imagined community. This implies that despite the fact that it is impossible to meet and know all 'fellow- [Macedonian] members', in their minds they have the image of 'their communion' (Anderson 2001: 44). This is evident in everyday Macedonian rhetoric, in the usage of the term *nashi*,<sup>14</sup> which literary translates as 'ours'. Although this is a contemporary practice among Macedonian diasporic<sup>15</sup> communities, Anastasovski (2008: 93) explains that this popular term was used as early as the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century among Macedonians resident in the territory of Macedonia, as a term 'of identification indicating separateness from others, and acknowledging an individual or a group as being

Macedonian'. This kind of rhetoric is also supportive of the defining element of the nation as limited. If *nashi* are ours (Macedonians) then the operative assumption is that there are others who are not ours. So, the Macedonian nation is imagined as 'finite': beyond its boundaries there are other nations (Anderson 2001: 45). *Nashi* implies inclusiveness based on Macedonian-ness: and its usage does not seem to discriminate on the basis of class, region or village belonging. Thus, it is supportive of the claim that the nation is imagined as 'horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 2001: 45), i.e., in a non-discriminatory way.

As a political community, the nation is imagined as inherently sovereign. This implies by extension that the Macedonian nation, as a political community, is inherently sovereign. Broadly, this would imply monopolisation of power for the benefit of the members of the Macedonian national community by the Macedonian collective. In relation to this property of a nation, as discussed above, Greek nationalistic discourse aims at reducing the Macedonian existence to a level of ethnicity at best. This way, with minority status at best, Macedonians are in no position to put forward nation-building claims as these are related to a national existence. Sovereignty discourse 'focused on individual and [group] particular identity [...] provides the driving energy for the nation' (Vincent 2002: 34). Without the assumed property of sovereignty, 'the nations would have little interest and significance' (ibid.). This calls for a discussion on the relations ethnicity and nationality.

### **1.2. The relations between ethnicity and nationality**

As suggested earlier in this chapter, the terms 'ethnicity' and 'nationality' are often used interchangeably and are experienced as the same at the popular level. Their distinct conceptualisation does, however, imply difference. This is explored in detail by Thomas Eriksen in his work *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (2002). In the section titled *Nationalism and Ethnicity Reconsidered*, Eriksen (2002: 146) states:

The distinction between nationalism and ethnicity as analytical concepts is a simple one, if we stick to the formal level of definition. A nationalist ideology is an ethnic ideology which demands a state on behalf of the ethnic group. However in practice the distinction can be highly problematic.

The practical existence of civic-nationalism expressive of a 'polyethnic or supra-ethnic ideology which stresses shared civil rights rather than shared cultural roots' (Eriksen 2002: 147), presents the first practical challenge to the 'simple distinction' between ethnicity and nationalism. For Walker Connor, there is only one kind of nationalism: ethnonationalism. In his article *The Timelessness of Nations* (2004: 45), Connor writes: 'identity does not draw its sustenance from facts but from perceptions; not from chronological/factual history but from sentient/felt history. [...] The sense of constituting a distinct and ancestrally related people, [...] is central to the sense of nationhood...'. Hence, nationhood is incomprehensible in the face of ignorance of the psychological component of the national identities. As this component is experienced as a sense of belonging to a distinct group with shared ancestry no other kinds of nations are conceivable. Other authors sit quite comfortably with other forms of nationalism. Two such authors are Bald and Couton (2009), who argue that the structural power shift in the contemporary international political scene signifies a need for a new 'conditionally specific concept' of intercultural nationalism (Bald and Couton 2009: 651). This

concept is discussed and developed in relation to the Quebec national policy framework known as *Interculturalism*.<sup>16</sup> The core substantive value of intercultural nationalism, according to Bald and Couton (2009) is detailed below:

...[I]ntercultural nationalism respects the value of ethno-cultural diversity (...); however it does so with the explicit understanding that a singular cultural tradition will serve as the official discursive medium (Bald and Couton 2009: 652).

The above quote can be interpreted in the same way as Erikson's (2002) duality of nationalism argument, i.e., that while promoting inclusion and civic justice there are mechanisms in place to reproduce the hegemony of the dominant ethnic group. This is also a challenge derived from practice in respect to the 'simple' distinction between ethnicity and nationalism. The other two practical challenges, according to Erikson (2002: 147), are presented through non-consistent usage of the terminology by the mass media and through some collectives that find themselves in a 'grey zone'.

What might be perceived as a prospective development in the field of ethnicity and nationalism and consequently as a more concise distinction between ethnicity and nationalism is depicted in Riggs' (2002) argument. Riggs (2002) maintains that state nationalism, which is closely related to civic nationalism, historically precedes ethnic nationalism. The latter challenges and transcends the state. In line with this argument, ethnonationalisms, i.e., specific ethno-national collectives, will abandon their 'intimate' relationship with the state and claim their sovereignty in respect to the individual and cultural rights of the collective. They will exist as polities with no attachment to particular territory or state. In this way the Romani nation, for example, will be able to claim nationhood, that is, sovereignty in matters relating to the individual and the cultural rights of the Romani people. A nation does not need to claim statehood to exercise its sovereignty; rather it can claim a status of polity. Following Walby's (2003: 7) notion of nation as a polity, I draw the reader's attention to the following argument:

Nations can be a type of polity under certain circumstances. A nation is a social and political group which is perceived to have a common history and destiny and which has a set of governing institutions which root such beliefs in the social and political structure. It can be a polity when its institutions are well developed and it is able to demands some external difference.

Theoretically, it is plausible to argue that ethnonations can potentially develop as polities and assume position as players in the international political scene, alongside some religions (Walby 2003). It becomes clear from the above that what seems a simple distinction between ethnicity and nationalism at the abstract analytical level becomes rather problematic in practice. At the popular level the terms 'ethnicity' and 'nationality' are used interchangeably: they are often experienced as the same; a collective belonging to *a people*, a collective identity. I will now discuss Macedonian collective feelings amongst Macedonians in Australia, both past and present, as well, I will re-examine the established position in the literature in respect to the Macedonian collective identity of Macedonian peasant migrants during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.3. *Imagining a nation – Macedonian Collective Identity*

One of the characteristics of a nation as an imagined community is *horizontal comradeship*, according to which the nation is imagined as monolithic in nature. I will suggest that in practice, this characteristic cannot be supported. Different from nationalistic imagining, communitarianism, an approach focusing on community as central in political life, does not assume an exclusively monolithic nature of communities (or nations). Communitarians<sup>17</sup> allow the existence of 'subnational groups and associations' such as religious communities, families, neighbourhoods, townships and similar (Vincent 2002: 155). Each of these communities, imagined or real, plays a role in collective identity formation. Given the focus of my thesis, I will now discuss the character of the Macedonian collective identity in Australia from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century until the present.

Some authors (Hill 1989, 2001, Price 1963) argue that prior to the Second World War, Macedonians in Australia did not have a 'strong sense' of nationality (Hill 2001). Price (1963) observes that identities such as familial, regional and village identity held primacy over the national identity for the Macedonians during this period. Peter Hill (2001: 573) notes that during this period, Macedonians had a well developed sense of 'local village identity or at most a regional identity'. This would mean that Helen (Nanova) Pazova, who was born in 'the village of Trsja near Lerin, Aegean Macedonia' (Trajcevski 2008a: 4) would have had a strong sense of being Trsjanka and Lerinka, before being a Macedonian. It could also mean that Kris (Risto) Pavlovic, who was born in the village of Bistrice near Bitola, Macedonia (Trajcevski 2008b: 21) would have had a strong sense of being Bistriceanec and Bitolcanec and not a strongly developed sense of being Macedonian at the time.<sup>18</sup> And yet these two people, both of whom arrived in Australia pre-WWII, when interviewed for the Macedonian community magazine *Kompas* in 2008, recalled their efforts to promote the Macedonian culture in Australia, which compliments their (above) senses of being and indicates that Macedonian-ness was also a constructive element of their identity. During 1992-1993, Danforth (2009) explored the national identities of migrants from the Florina region, Aegean Macedonia, who have settled in Melbourne. He found that while some identified as Greeks, and others as Macedonians, some 'local Macedonians' stayed neutral vis-a-vis the question of national identity. The last groups' 'primary sense of identity' was a local village identity (ibid.: 13).

The literature on the Macedonian peasantry at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century leans towards and seemingly feels comfortable with the fact of the peasants' ignorance of national consciousness and their ambivalence regarding Macedonian efforts to establish a Macedonian national state (Vasiliadis 1989). Danforth (1995: 59-60) infers that 'at the turn of the century' Macedonian peasants lacked a developed national consciousness. However, Delcev (n.d. cited in Radin 1993: 62-63), who was also aware of the peasantry's lifestyle and their conservatism, noted a 'latent counter –tendency, conducive to a revolutionary change' (Radin 1993: 62) among the Macedonian peasants which was rooted in their long-standing dissatisfaction with the hardship they experienced under the Ottoman rule.

What is relevant to my research is whether there was a developed national consciousness amongst early Macedonian migrants in Australia? Did they imagine themselves as Macedonians, consistent with the ethno-nationalist tendencies of the time? Did they imagine a shared Macedonian ancestry

and culture or not? If the answer is yes, then the national identity of the Macedonian migrants would have been asserted at the latest during the second wave of Macedonian migrants (see chapter III).

In order to explore these questions, I examined some of the original documents archived with the Australian National Archives, Canberra. The previously cited External Affairs Department file *Miscellaneous - Macedonian Political Club in Melbourne* dated 1935 contains documents concerning the establishment of the Macedonian Political Club in Melbourne in September 1934. I found that the file contained evidence of the existence of a fully developed Macedonian national consciousness amongst the Macedonian migrants at the time (who were primarily Macedonian villagers), and of the Commonwealth of Australia officials' awareness of this national consciousness.

The memorandum states that the applicants for the club's establishment produced a copy of the constitution of counterpart clubs in the USA and Canada, explaining that the club planned to adopt a similar constitution. It further states:

The principal points within the Constitution referred to the freedom of Macedonia and the formation of a Macedonian republic (Australian National Archive Item No. A981/4: 3).

The documents in the file contained the following statements:

The non-communist group of the "U" I.M.R.O. is not very active or important. The claims by the minorities in Macedonia for self-government are reported to be supported by the Communist Party of Greece, which keeps in touch with the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (Australian National Archive Item No. A981/4: 4).

With reference to the Macedonian Political Club in Canada, the document states:

The conduct of the Macedonian Political Organisation indicates their willingness to observe the laws of the dominion of Canada. They are Macedonian "nationals" who are interested in obtaining national independence for their own people (ibid.: 5).

From the above quotes, it is evident that a Macedonian consciousness was fully developed amongst Macedonians in Australia and that Australian officials were fully aware of this. Furthermore, the establishment of a Macedonian state was a long-standing goal of Macedonian nationals worldwide. This is evident in the intercepted cable from the security service on behalf of the Australian Department of External Affairs dated 15 November 1945, sent by representatives of the ethno-Macedonian migrant community in Australia:

Representing the Macedonian Immigrants in Western Australia, we appeal to you in the name of democracy and freedom established at the San Francisco conference to investigate the brutal terror carried out by the Greek Fascist reaction over the Macedonian people under Greece and to grant independence, with every democratic right, to those Macedonians on the lines already given by Yugoslavia, so that they can, as free Macedonian people, contribute to a peaceful solution of the Balkans problems (Australian National Archive File No. 3/45/16/17: 2).

There is also some evidence that the children of the pre-WWII first generation Macedonian migrants had also developed a collective Macedonian consciousness. The Australian National Archive file *Macedonian Peoples League of Australia. Vol. 1*, file no A6122/172, contains information from Laurie Malco, one of the editors of the Macedonian newspaper *Macedonian Spark (Makedonska Iskra)*. Born in Sheftavo, Kastoria, Macedonia in 1923, Laurie arrived in Australia in 1935 as an eleven year old boy. He was 'a naturalised British subject by virtue of inclusion in his father's naturalisation certificate dated 5.1.1932' (Australian National Archives File No. A6122/172: 5). He

became editor of the first Macedonian newspaper published in Australia during the period 1946 -1957 (Pollitecon Publications 2010: screen 1). The naturalisation papers of Macedonian migrants during the pre-WWII period indicate that a Macedonian national consciousness had deeply permeated the psyche of the Macedonian peasant migrant. In support of this, I will list the name of a few of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, that had the chance to declare themselves otherwise but declared themselves as Macedonians: Angelidis Simeon Filipou - Nationality: Macedonian - arrived 17 July 1938 (see image II.1.); Trendos Don Athanas; Nominee - Trendos Ana Athanas; Trendos Olga Don; Trendos Christo Athanas; nationality Macedonian arrived 1937 (see image II. 2.); Borshoff Vasil; Nominee - Borshova Vasilitso; Borshoff Nicholas; Borshova Stefka V; nationality Macedonian arrived in 1927 (see image II.3.).<sup>19</sup> This more than suggests that each of the pre-WWII arrivals had a fully developed Macedonian collective consciousness.

**Image II.1.** Application Paper for Registration for Alien Resident in Commonwealth 1948: Angelidis Simeon Filipou

**COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA**  
 Aliens Act, 1947  
 Certificate No. 12192  
**APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION**

Name (in full) ANGELIDIS SIMEON FILIPOU  
 (Surname or main name in Block letters) (Christian or other names)

Previous name or alias (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

Present address 118 Gertrude St. Melbourne Vic

Federal electorate \_\_\_\_\_

Nationality Macedonian Previous nationality (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

Birthplace { Town or City Bruffee Country Macedonia Date of birth 1903 Sex Male

Married or single Married Occupation Chair dresser

Name and address of firm or employer Self - above address

Date of arrival in Australia 17 July 1938 Port of arrival Sydney

Source. Australian National Archive File No. B78/1954/ANGELIDIS S F: 1



**Image II.2.** Application paper for Application for Admission of Relatives or Friends to Australia 1937: Don Athanas Trendos

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.  
Immigration Act 1901-1935.

Form No. 40.

30/6/1937

**Application for Admission of Relatives or Friends to Australia.**

THE SECRETARY,  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
CANBERRA.

I, DON ATHANAS TRENDOS  
(Insert full name; surname in BLOCK letters)  
of 178 William Street Perth W Australia  
(Full postal address)  
desire permission to introduce to Australia the following person or persons ( 3 in number),  
who are of MACEDONIAN nationality:

Name (State whether "Mr.", "Mrs.", "Miss", or "Mistress". (Write surname in BLOCK letters))	Age (Years)	Birthplace (Town and Country)	Present Address	(a) Present Occupation. (b) Intended Occupation in Australia.	Relationship to Applicant. (State whether "brother", "sister", etc., or merely "friend.")
<u>Mrs ANA. ATHANAS. TRENDOS</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>MAKONAMBO HALARA</u>			<u>WIFE</u>
<u>OLGA. DON. TRENDOS</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>HALARA</u>	<u>HALARA</u>		<u>DOUGHTER</u>
<u>Mr CHRISTO. ATHANAS. TRENDOS</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>HALARA</u> <u>Kastoria</u> <u>GREECE</u>	<u>HALARA</u>	<u>Labourer</u> <u>Labourer</u>	<u>BROTHER</u>

The following are particulars regarding myself, viz:—Native of MACEDONIAN  
nationality (if naturalized, state "British by naturalization").  
length of residence in Australia 9 years; occupation stone mason  
I am married \* (If married, give ages of dependent children one 9 years)  
\* I own (if applicable, here give acreage of land, or number of premises, or class of business)

Source: Australian National Archive File No. A261/1937/1047:1

**Image II.3.** Application paper for Application for Admission of Relatives or Friends to Australia 1927: Vasil Borshoff

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.  
Immigration Act 1901-1926.

Form No. 40.

18/1/1927

**APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION OF RELATIVES OR FRIENDS TO AUSTRALIA.**

THE SECRETARY,  
HOME AND TERRITORIES DEPARTMENT,  
MELBOURNE.

I, Vasil BORSHOFF  
(Insert full name; surname in BLOCK letters)  
of P.O. Box 596 Perth W.A.  
(Full postal address)  
desire permission to introduce to Australia the following person or persons ( three in number),  
who are of Macedonian nationality:

Name (State whether "Mr.", "Mrs.", "Miss", or "Mistress". (Write surname in BLOCK letters))	Age (Years)	Birthplace (Town and Country)	Present Address	Occupation	Relationship to Applicant. (State whether "brother", "sister", etc., or merely "friend.")
<u>Mrs Vasilina BORSHOVA</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>Macedonia Macedonia</u>	<u>Perth</u>		<u>wife</u>
<u>Nicholas V. BORSHOFF</u>	<u>5½</u>	<u>"</u>	<u>"</u>		<u>son</u>
<u>Stefka V. BORSHOVA</u>	<u>3½</u>	<u>"</u>	<u>"</u>		<u>daughter</u>

The following are particulars regarding myself, viz:—Native of Greece  
nationality (if naturalized, state "British by naturalization") Macedonian  
length of residence in Australia 22 years; occupation moulder  
\* I own (if applicable, here give acreage of land, or number of premises, or class of business)

Source. Australian National Archive File No. A261/1927/214:1

So how relevant were their regional and village identities? In answering this question, I will make use of a very recent example and dare to draw a conclusion in retrospect. In an online discussion centring on a Macedonian collective identity, Georgievski (2009a and 2009b) stated:

...I was thinking about what I am, Ancient Macedonian or Slav Macedonian and I arrived at a conclusion that I am a Macedonian from the geographical region of Mariovec (Georgievski 2009a, pers. comm. 26 June).

...I feel Macedonian, without any epithets. My mother tongue is Macedonian. Mariovcite<sup>20</sup> are Macedonians and they belong to the Macedonian [nation] (Georgievski 2009b, pers. comm. 28 June).

It is evident from the above that Mr Georgievski identifies himself as Macedonian as well as Mariovec. Nevertheless, the excerpt indicates the dialectic nature of his collective identity, that is, the dialectic relationship between the national and regional-village identity. While, Mr Georgievski's example is very recent, I am inclined to believe that the Macedonian peasant migrants who arrived in Australia pre WWII, identified themselves similarly.

Following my discussion of the conceptualisation of *a people* provided in the previous chapter, in this chapter I provide a theoretical discussion of the genetic structuring of *a people*. It has been established that the most prominent conceptualisation of *a people* is in terms of nations and ethnic communities. It has further been established that at the popular level, those two concepts at least overlap and at most equate, that is, they are experienced as the same. Hence, the collective identity of *a people* can be most usefully referred in reference to an ethno-cultural construct, be it a nation or ethnicity. For the Macedonians this socio-cultural construct is Macedonianness. Knowing that this is how Macedonians experienced/experience their existence, I will now pose the following questions: How does Macedonianness come into being? What drives Macedonians' collective feeling of being Macedonian?

Almost a quarter of a century ago, G. Carter Bentley posed the same questions in recognition of the fact that none of the discussions on ethno-identity to date had explained 'how people come to recognise their commonalities in the first place' (Bentley 1987: 27). With reference to ethno collective claims he observed:

[Irrespective of] whether an impetus to such [claims] lies in an innate tendency to favour kin (even fictive kin), ecological adaptation, shared positions in structures of production and distribution, or emotional sustenance, ethnic-identity claims involve symbolic construal of sensations of likeness and difference, and these sensations must somehow be accounted for (Bentley 1987: 27).

Sharing the same inclination when accounting for the 'symbolic construal of sensations of likeness and difference', Bentley turned to Pierre Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* formulated in the latter's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). This approach which came to be known as *Practice Theory of Ethnicity* (Jones 1997), was strongly advocated by Bentley (1987, 1991) and Eriksen (1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b). Drawing on Judith Butler's performance theory of gender identities,<sup>21</sup> Kevin M. Dunn argues that national identities could be conceived as an ongoing discursive practice, as 'an amalgam of acts, statements and representations that are constantly reiterated [...] [where] the stability of dominant constructions depends upon such consistent reiterations' (Dunn 2005: 31-32). What these authors have in common is performance (practice) at the core of the construction of collective identities.

Pursuing the same line of argument, i.e., that Macedonianness is constructed through practice, in this chapter I will present the theoretical framework for genetic structuring of *a people*, drawing on Bentley (1987, 1991) and ultimately from Bourdieu (1977). In theoretical synchronism with the latter, I will present a theoretical framework in which to locate an analysis of the relationship between identity, health and health capital in a symbolically violent setting. The theoretical framework presented here draws upon Bourdieu's theory of fields and capital, theory of practice and theory of symbolic violence. Given that the theory, concepts and analytical tools are drawn almost exclusively from Bourdieu's corpus, it is imperative to acquaint oneself with his theoretical approach to genetic structuralism and associated key concepts and analytical tools. I will start by briefly introducing Bourdieu's genetic structuralism and the social- historical settings that impelled its emergence.

## 2. *Genetic structuralism*

Any understanding of Bourdieu's social theory requires prior knowledge of the French post-war intellectual 'field' within which the theory emerged; as well as, it requires knowledge of the intellectual sources (classical social theory) informing Bourdieu's work.

The French post-war intellectual scene saw strong opposition between Sartre's voluntarism and Levi -Strauss's structuralism. This 'exemplary confrontation' furnished 'divergent models of [the] intellectual vocation' and 'two radically different approaches in the study of social life' (Brubaker 2004: 30). Bourdieu identified these opposing approaches as 'nothing extraordinary', as 'antithetical poles of a basic opposition between subjectivism and objectivism', an opposition that has taken on different guises throughout the history of social thought and has been 'the chief obstacle' to the development of an adequate theory of society (Brubaker 2004: 30). In an attempt to overcome this obstacle, Bourdieu embarked upon an intellectual journey to develop a social theory that 'transcend[s] the antagonism which sets ... [the] two modes of knowledge against each other' while at the same time preserving the insights gained by each approach (Brubaker 2004: 30). In doing so, Bourdieu tried to offer 'a sensible third path' between rationalism and relativism, universalism and particularism, modernism and postmodernism and 'the whole linked series of problematic dichotomies' that prevailed within the intellectual field of Social Sciences (Calhoun 1993: 62).

The intellectual source of Bourdieu's work is classical social theory, especially the theoretical contributions of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Brubaker (2004) argues that Bourdieu's programmatic aim derives from his uniting of a 'Marxian program for a sociology of reproduction' with a 'Durkheimian program for a genetic sociology of symbolic forms' (Brubaker 2004: 30-31). Bourdieu shares with Marxism emphasis on 'practical reality' as a starting point for understanding the world. His concepts of cultural reproduction (*The Rules of Art* 1992) and consumption (*Distinction* 1984), his analysis of the state and the role played by bureaucracies and education in the perpetuation of its domination (*Reproduction* 1970, *Homo Academicus* 1988) are developed embodying a Marxist theoretical assumption. This assumption implies that the ruling class will ensure its hold over the means of ideological production, not just for the sake of controlling but also for the sake of legitimisation of its privileged status (Wolfreys 2000). Drawing on Durkheim, Bourdieu imports into his theory the hypothesis of a correspondence between 'social structures and symbolic structures'

(Brubaker 2004: 31). Symbolic or cognitive structures are internalised social structures that social agents implement in their practical knowledge of the world. Following Durkheim, Bourdieu emphasises the social and cognitive functions of 'collective representations' and 'primitive classifications', but refuses to accept them as functions of 'logical and social integration'; rather, he sees them as functions of domination (Brubaker 2004: 31, Bourdieu 1991).

Bourdieu appropriates from Weber the conceptual resources for a theory of the social functions of symbolic goods and symbolic practices. This becomes obvious as Bourdieu develops his systematic theory of symbolic power and its relation to economic and political power around Weber's notions of charisma and legitimacy. Furthermore, he draws upon Weber's notions of ideal goods and ideal interests, as well as other themes and concepts, to develop his theory of 'economy of symbolic goods' and relate it to the material economy (Brubaker 2004:31).

The historical setting (implied above) for the emergence of Bourdieu's social theory resembles that of post – WWII Europe, in particular of France. During this period, Bourdieu, along with many other French youth who had completed their military service, was conscripted to fight in Algeria. During his stay in Algeria (1957 -1960), he conducted the fieldwork that provided the material for his *Sociologie de l'Algerie* (1958), *Travail at Travailleurs an Algerie* (1963) and other sociological texts in which he strives to 'reintroduce agents abolished by structuralists' within social theory and to develop the notion of 'strategies', later defined as the 'logic of practice' (Bourdieu 1998, Wolfreys 2000: 4). At the time, he strongly disagreed with Sartre's position vis-a-vis to the revolutionary role that Algerian peasants and the sub-proletariat should play, as well as their role in post independence Algeria. Having absorbed the influences of a widely proliferating Marxist theory, he analysed the roles of peasants and the sub-proletariat engaging the concept of alienation, finally decided that the most appropriate solution for Algeria was the 'revolutionary solution' (Wolfreys 2000: 4).

Bourdieu was an intellectual who never settled for the Ivory Tower over the possibility of public engagement and activism. He argues that an intellectual is 'a writer, an artist, a scientist, who, strengthened by the competence and the authority acquired in his field, intervenes in the political arena'. And those who decide to stay within their Ivory Towers fail the moral duties of intellectuals (Bourdieu 2002: 2). In sum, Bourdieu never failed to lead by example.

During the events of December 1995 in France, which saw French public sector workers engaged in conflict with the conservative government of Alain Juppe, Bourdieu publically sided with the workers. From that time on, he emerged as a leading intellectual confronting the neo-liberal pushes of the conservative governments that had secured political leadership throughout Europe. Later, faced with the neo –liberal 'troika of Blair-Jospin-Schroder', Bourdieu called for a 'new internationalism' (Bourdieu 1998a: 65, Wolfreys 2000: 2). He argued that this new internationalism should be founded amongst the 'trade unions, the intellectuals and the peoples of Europe' as an undefeatable force by the neo-liberal tendencies of the conservative governments in Europe (Bourdieu, 1998a: 65). Bourdieu's political activism extended to his becoming a leading actor in opposing NATO's war in the Balkans.<sup>22</sup> Overall, his political activism rendered him an intellectual, who had not only fulfilled his moral duties, but who at the same time had fulfilled the basic requirements for being an intellectual (as defined

above). Having addressed the social-historical context of his work, I will now focus on his *Theory of Fields and Capital* and emphasise the analytical relevance of it to this thesis.

## **2.1. *Modi Operandi***

After becoming well advanced in his career as an academician, in his book *In Other Words. Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (1990), Bourdieu stated:

...I am trying to develop a *genetic structuralism*: the analysis of objective structures – those of different fields – is inseparable from the analysis of the genesis, within biological individuals, of the mental structures which are to some extent the product of the incorporation of social structures; inseparable, too, from the analysis of the genesis of these social structures themselves: the social space, and the groups that occupy it, are the products of historical struggles (in which agents participate in accordance with their position in the social space and with the mental structures through which they apprehend this space) (Bourdieu 1990: 14).

This paragraph reveals his theoretical assumptions and *modi operandi* of his approach. Firstly, there is only a tentative condition of an ‘objective form’ (objective structures) and a permanent condition of ‘objectifying’ (genesis). Secondly, the analyses of the former and the latter conditions are deemed inseparable. Thirdly, the objective forms inform the subjective operative schemas of social agents which, by means of operation objectify successive, tentative, objective forms, each of which is a more or less modified version of the preceding one. In addition, Bourdieu’s statement ‘I am trying to develop a genetic structuralism’ indicates the *modi operandi* in operation, which in turn demonstrate the consistency of his world-view.

## **2.2. *Genetic Structuralism: Some Theoretical Assumptions and Concepts***

### **2.2.1. Society**

In strong opposition to claims of the non-existence of society (discussed in the beginning of chapter I), Bourdieu states:

Without going as far as to say, with Durkheim, ‘Society is God’, I would say: God is never anything other than society. What is expected of God is only ever obtained from society, which alone has the power to justify you, to liberate you from facticity, contingency and absurdity [...] [t]he judgement of others is the last judgement; and social exclusion is the concrete form of hell and damnation (Bourdieu 1990: 196).

Bourdieu rejects the concept of society as a ‘seamless unity’ that is achieved by the unifying and integrative properties of a common culture or a dominant ideology. He defines society as ‘a network of objective relations structured in social space and specific microcosms’ (Bourdieu 1991, Swingewood 2000: 212). These specific microcosms represent specific fields (Bourdieu 1991, Bourdieu 2004 [2001]). The social scene is no longer homogenised but differentiated into distinctive fields - multidimensional space (Bourdieu 1991, Swingewood 2000). Bourdieu (1998: 30) explains the necessity to introduce the notion of social space into the lexicon of sociology as follows:

The notion of space contains, in itself, the principal of a relational understanding of the social world. It affirms that every “reality” it designates resides in the mutual exteriority of its composite elements. Apparent, directly visible beings, whether individuals or groups, exist and subsist in and through difference; that is, they occupy relative positions in a space of relations which, although invisible and always difficult to show empirically, it is the most real reality [...] and the real principle of the behaviour of individuals and groups.

One such reality, relevant to this thesis, is collective identification of belonging to a people: the Macedonian people, and the positions ethno-Macedonians occupy within the Macedonian ethno-cultural field, discussed in chapter III.

In an attempt to provide a more 'visible' account of the social scene as defined above, Bourdieu (1990) compares social space to geographical space within which regions are divided up. He argues that there is a distinctive division in social space, similar to the visible division in geographical space. He rejects the notion that the tangibility of the interactions in the geographical regions is exclusive evidence supporting the claim that the closer the agents, groups and institutions are to each other (in geographical terms) the more common properties they share. He further argues that social distance does not coincide with spatial distance: an agent can be close to another in terms of social distance but not necessarily in terms of spatial distance. Although not as tangible/visible as geographical proximity, social closeness tends to secure more common properties amongst the agents, groups and institutions positioned in a certain social field, and, by extension, secures the multidimensional character of the social scene (Bourdieu 1990: 127). Bourdieu's proposition that specific microcosms in the social space are understood as fields will be discussed in the following section.

### 2.2.2. *Fields*

The concept of *field* is 'one part of a trio of major theoretical tools' (Thomson 2008: 81) alongside with *capital* and *habitus*. Bourdieu defines fields as 'networks of objective positions which agents occupy by virtue of possessing different forms of capital' (Swingewood 2000: 212), i.e., economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986, Bourdieu 1991). All fields (education, religion, political parties) are characterised by internal differentiation, hierarchisation and social struggles: they have their own distinctive logic, principles, and bodies of specialists, who 'adjudicate practices, knowledge and products' (Bourdieu 1993, Swingewood 2000: 213, Thomson 2008). All fields share a general law: the dominators (the recognised avant-garde) of the field tend to adopt defensive and conservative strategies (conservation strategies) to secure their domination by generating rules that fortify their domination. Newcomers (the ever-emerging avant-garde) are more likely to adopt 'subversion strategies' that aim to overthrow the existing governing rules and secure the newcomers' upward mobility, at the same time accepting the legitimacy of the field (Swingewood 2000: 213; Bourdieu 1990: 143). Further common (invariable) characteristics of the fields are the processes of 'genesis' and perpetuation (Robbins 2000). Webb et al. (2002: 21,22) in *Understanding Bourdieu*, refer to these fields as 'cultural fields', that is, fields that are understood as 'a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities'. Cultural fields are fluid and dynamic in character. As argued earlier, conflict situations (social struggles), which are constant occurrence in social (cultural) fields, are perpetuated by groups and individuals attempting to determine what constitutes capital within a particular field, and how that capital is to be distributed (Bourdieu 1993, Webb et al. 2002). I will now discuss the next 'part of a trio of major theoretical tools': capital.

### 2.2.3. *Capital*

Bourdieu elaborates upon his concept of capital and its forms in his 1986[1983] publication *The Forms of Capital*. He rejects the monopolisation of economics over the term ‘capital’ and argues the urgent need for reintroduction of other forms of capital, not just ‘the one form recognised by economic theory’ (Bourdieu 1986[1983]: 2). He defines capital as follows: ‘Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialised form or its ‘incorporated’, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor’.

In a further discussion of the properties of capital<sup>23</sup> he identifies the following: [1] capital ‘takes time to accumulate’; [2] it ‘contains a tendency to persist in its being’; [3] it has ‘a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in an identical or expanded form’; and [4] it is ‘a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible’ (Bourdieu 1986 [1983]: 1).

He then reintroduces the three ‘fundamental guises’ of capital: economic, cultural<sup>24</sup> and social capital (ibid.: 3). In addition, he emphasises the relevance of symbolic capital, which can also be considered as a ‘fundamental guise’ of capital. In the most general terms, these forms of capital refer to material property, the accumulation of networks and connections, cultural acquisition and prestige, and acknowledgement and recognition of other types of capital within the field (Bourdieu 1986[1983], Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu 1992; Bourdieu 1993; Calhoun et al. 2002). Any form of capital ‘does not exist and function except in relation to a field’ (Calhoun et al. 2002: 262).

Positions in a particular field are defined by occupation, education or proximity to power: positions are relative to one another in the social space. Social agents claim their social status against said positions and through them, signifying that they understand their place in the world. Social agents engage in position-taking practices through which they acquire, maintain and signify their social positions (Calhoun et al. 2002). As social positioning is inextricably related to capital volume, that is, the overall capital accumulated by social agents, acquisition of capital is at the core of all social struggles within a given field.

Capital that has been generated within a field by an agent, group or institution can be transferred between fields, but not at a fixed exchange rate. The transfer is done simultaneously with a strategic revaluation of the old fields or regeneration of the new (Robbins 2000). The last component in the trio of major theoretical tools is *habitus*, a concept I will now proceed to explain.

### 2.2.4. *The locus of genetic structuring - Habitus*

Manton (2008: 49) maintains that the concept of habitus ‘does a lot of work in Bourdieu’s approach’. In sum, habitus is the locus of genetic structuring. In other words, it is the locus of the processes of structure structuring and being structured. In Bourdieu’s words, habitus is constructed as ‘a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organising principles of action’, positioning the social agent as a ‘practical operator of the construction of objects’ (Bourdieu 1990: 13). When asked ‘Why did you pick up this notion of habitus?’, Bourdieu (1990: 12,13) replied that his aim was to emphasise

that '[the] 'creative', active, inventive capacity was not that of a transcendental subject in the idealist tradition, but that of an acting agent. ... [and] insist[s] on the 'primacy of practical reason''. Maintaining its focus on social agents (individuals, institutions, polities) and their generative practical capacity subliminally informed by established or existing social structures, Bourdieu offers an intellectual tool for understanding the generation and reproduction of the social reality.

Defined as "'sociali[s]ed subjectivity' [...] a system of 'durable dispositions', or properties enabling agents to understand, interpret and act in the social world" (Bourdieu 1993: 86, Swingewood 2000: 214), habitus is the site of the interplay between structure and practice, the 'means by which the 'social game' is inscribed in biological individuals' (Wolfreys 2000: 5). The concept of habitus is dialectic in nature, meaning that it can be both constraining and enabling at the same time. Therefore, it does not operate as a set of strict rules about what to do or what not to do, what to like or what not to like; rather, as a set of guidelines of which actors are not necessarily aware, it leaves room for improvisation and adaptability across fields (Calhoun et al. 2002). The following aspects are relevant to the concept of habitus: firstly, knowledge is always constructed through habitus, rather than being passively recorded; secondly, agents are disposed towards certain attitudes, values and ways of behaving because of the influence exerted by certain cultural trajectories; thirdly, habitus is always constituted in the moment of practice; and, fourthly, habitus operates at a level that is at least partly unconscious (Webb et al. 2002: 38). Building on the aforementioned aspects of habitus, Bourdieu devised a social concept that enabled him to avoid 'mechanicalism' and 'finalism' (Robbins 2000).

#### **2.2.5. *Doxa and doxic experience***

The concept of *doxa* has been widely used by Bourdieu. Despite the slight variations in its meaning, it is broadly known to refer to '...the misrecognitions of forms of social arbitrariness that endangers the unformulated, non-discursive, but internalised and practical recognition of that same social arbitrariness' (Deer 2008:119-120). In other words, doxa refers to 'a point of view' (Bourdieu 1998: 57) which realises itself in an arbitrary fashion and while its arbitrariness is not depicted consciously by individual agents it is tacitly validated. As such, the doxa presents itself as the point of view of the dominant i.e., the dominators in a particular field 'which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view' (Bourdieu 1998: 57). In that respect at a level of conscious non-recognition and tacit validation of arbitrariness, agents experience various aspects of the social world as *doxic* experiences.

#### **2.2.6. *Symbolic Power and Symbolic Violence***

Symbolic power is inextricably related to the notion of symbolic capital. This means 'any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognise it, to give it value' (Bourdieu 1998: 47). The aforementioned categories of perception 'are ... product[s] of the embodiment of the divisions or of oppositions inscribed in the structure of the distribution of this species of capital' (ibid.). Hence, one may be rich or poor, educated or non-educated, modern and primitive, healthy or unhealthy, and knowledge can be emic or etic, for example. In addition, the volume of symbolic capital corresponds with the level of symbolic power.



In their *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (2000[1977]) Bourdieu and Passeron establish the foundations of the theory of symbolic violence. The very essence of symbolic violence is delivered in an axiomatic manner:

Every power to exert symbolic violence i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations (Bourdieu and Passeron 2000[1977]: 4).

In this respect, symbolic violence does not refer to overt violence; rather, it refers to covert violence. Due to its own ability for concealment, it is hardly detectable hence very powerful. Having addressed the relevant<sup>25</sup> basic theoretical assumptions and concepts of genetic structuralism, I will now proceed to discuss their analytical relevance to the argument presented in this thesis.

### ***3. Relevance of Bourdieu to the Study of Identity and Health of Macedonians in Australia***

#### ***3.1. Habitus and the ethno-collective***

In my attempt to answer the question of how Macedonianness came into being and is reproduced, i.e., what drives Macedonians' collective feeling of being Macedonian, I will demonstrate the relevance of Bentley's Practice Theory of Ethnicity.<sup>26</sup> Recognising the usefulness of the concept of habitus, Bentley (1987: 48) observed: 'habitus accounts for ethnic-group formation and coordinated ethnic action without having to assume that ethnic identities represent either artifice or the product of some psychologically improbable process of unconscious interest aggregation'.

The driving force of ethnic-group formation, that is, the recognition of commonalities amongst a people, is a 'shared habitus and symbolic differentiations both cognitively and affectively generated' (Bentley 1987: 36). With reference to the Macedonians who are the subjects of this thesis, this would mean that Macedonians share at least a similar and at best the same<sup>27</sup> system of durable dispositions or properties that enable them to understand, interpret and act in the social world. Prior to any discussion of the results of this study, it is arguable that there is at least one shared durable disposition amongst the researched group, the durable disposition of being a Macedonian. While concepts of shared habitus and symbolic differentiation explain the genesis of ethno-collective identities and the ways in which people come to recognise their commonalities, re-conceptualisation of ethnicity as an ethnocultural field (Fries 2005) accounts for the dynamics within the ethno-cultural field, e.g., the social struggles and power relations within.

#### ***3.2. Macedonian Ethnocultural Field***

Christofer J. Fries, in his article *Ethnocultural Space and the Symbolic Negotiation of Alternative as 'Cure'* Fries (2005: 5), argues to the effect that 'within a Bourdieuvian framework ethnicity, as contemporarily experienced, is better conceived of [...] as yet another field alongside other fields in which agents struggle over meanings and vie for symbolic capital [-] the ethnocultural field'.

After conducting a study on ethnicity as a criterion for social division, with specific focus on the Macedonian migrant community in Sydney (almost simultaneously and yet independent of Fries (2005), Veljanova (2005, 2006) wrote as follows:

To avoid a disadvantaged position in a host society, a migrant will tend to maximise recognition of his/her capital volume by joining or forming a fragmental network which has the highest capitalizing potential (can be beneficially utilised) in terms of social capital generation, cultural recognition and acknowledgement and personal growth - generation of cultural capital and maximisation power of the symbolic capital for the initial person from which the network diverges at large. If all or a substantial majority of the instances in a fragmental network are [is] members of an ethnic group, we can refer to that fragment as an *ethnic field* (Veljanova 2005: 33).

Although the focuses in their studies differed, both Fries (2005) and I (2005, 2006) argue for the analytical usefulness of re-conceptualisation of ethnicity as an ethnocultural field in accounting for the various dynamics within the field.

Both of their approaches, which are not exclusive but rather complementary, will find use throughout this thesis. As a research using field theory, this thesis will methodologically deliver an analysis of the Macedonian ethnocultural field and the field of health based on the methodology developed by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 104 - 105) for research using field theory. To this end, I will follow the *modus operandi* as summed up by Thomson:

[Firstly], analyse the positions of the field *vis a vis* the field of power[.]

[Secondly], map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site[.] and

[Thirdly], analyse the habitus of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within a field ...a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized (Thomson 2008: 75).

The concept of symbolic violence will be used to account, for the longstanding targeting of the Macedonians as a community of interest for the purposes of national security in the period before the fall of the communist-led socialist block. The community was singled out due to their communist political alignment in their state-building efforts. The same concept will be used to account for the discriminatory policies with dissociative effect (discussed in chapter I) used by the Australian Government from mid 1990s to date, against the Macedonian collective in Australia. This line of argument is not isolated; rather, it is utilised in similar fashion by Australian anthropologist Gassan Hage. Hage (2002a and 2002b) uses the concept to explain the position of today's intellectuals, the concept of citizenship and belonging in reference to migrants, and the concept of migration as a guilt inducing concept, all of which I see as relevant to this particular thesis.

Finally, when discussing the field of health, it seems logical to introduce an additional form of capital, which while hinted at, but remained somewhat undeveloped by Bourdieu in his work on physical capital. This will be briefly discussed here and more substantially discussed in chapter VII.

### **3.3. Further development of the theory of capital**

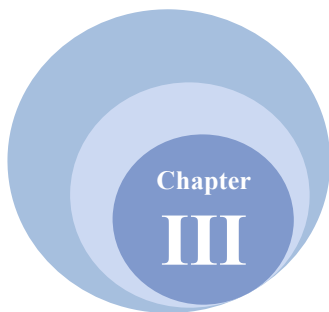
While the overall capital (capital volume) accumulated by agents defines their position in the social milieu, the accumulation of health capital seems rather neglected, both theoretically and in practice. Bourdieu (1978, 1984[1979]), who introduced the concept of physical capital as a form of cultural capital, develops an argument of distinction in relation to access to - and possession of - capital. The dominators of the field can '[bestow] value upon particular bodily forms and lifestyles' (Williams 1995:589). In this way, it may be argued that a healthy lifestyle and an acceptable bodily form are in

fact defined by the dominators of the field. However, there is a notable invariable in relation to health capital, and that invariable is physical death as a consequence of depletion of health capital, below a certain level (Grossman, 1972: 225). Although physical capital can be seen as health capital, health capital is a more encompassing concept, particularly in line with the broader understanding of health as an overall social, physical and psychological well-being. The critical relevance of this capital lies in the fact that it is the only form of capital that can achieve a state of absolute nullity, which can result in the physical non-existence (death) of the human individual. Hence, it is a pre-requisite for accumulation of any other form of capital by the individual as social agent.

The concept of health capital was first developed by Michael Grossman<sup>28</sup> (1972a, 1972b) within the field of political economy. Urging the need to introduce the concept of health capital beyond the economic field, I propose the utilisation of the concept of health capital for social analysis according to Bourdieu, alongside other forms of capital. This represents a significant and a due development of Bourdieu's theory in the field of health. Health capital can exist in three forms: firstly, consistent with the cultural capital it can exist in an embodied state, i.e., 'in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986[1983]: 3); secondly, it can exist as an objectified state, as an objective state of well-being of the individual; and lastly, it can exist as an equity state, the equity of an individual into the public or private health systems and the health related knowledge. I will discuss these three forms at length in chapter VII.

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The discussion provided in chapter I saw the constructivist approach to conceptualising of people as the approach adopted in this thesis. Drawing on Bourdieu's genetic structuralism, this chapter offered a theoretical framework for analysis of 'production and reproduction' of social constructs such as the construct of Macedonianness. It further introduced theoretical assumptions and concepts synchronous with genetic structuralism: society, fields, capital, habitus, doxa, doxic experience, symbolic power and symbolic violence which are seen as relevant to the analysis in this thesis. Habitus is seen of relevance as it 'accounts for [Macedonian] ethno[national]-group formation and coordinated ethnic action', while the concept of field is seen as relevant to re-conceptualisation of Macedonian ethnicity as Macedonian ethnocultural field. Having established the theoretical framework for this thesis, and empowered by the analytical tools of genetic structuralism, I will now proceed to the next chapter where I discuss the symbolically violent environment within which Macedonians are required to maintain their well-being utilising Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and symbolic violence.



## **Macedonians in Australia: Contested Autonomy of the Macedonian Ethnocultural Field**

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Concluding remarks

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In this chapter, focus is upon the experiences of the Macedonian ethno-collective in Australia. Exploration of the migration, settlement and integration experiences of the Macedonians soon reveals the hardships that the Macedonian ethno-collective has endured and continues to endure. Generally, these hardships are visible in the symbolically violent, social environment within which Macedonians have experienced migration, settlement and residence in Australia.

For many Macedonians, Australia was a destination offering a comparatively peaceful and prosperous environment. After enduring centuries of difficult living conditions under Ottoman rule and the culturecidal policies of the newly emerged nation-states in the Balkan Peninsula from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards (as discussed in chapter I), Macedonians saw Australia as a country in which they could avoid the persecution which had tormented them in their homeland in the Balkans. But, would Australia's comparative peace and prosperity afford them a chance for recognition, a chance to be Macedonians, a chance for collective prosperity, or would they be seen as identityless group of individuals contributing to the overall sum of individuals domiciled in Australia? In other words,

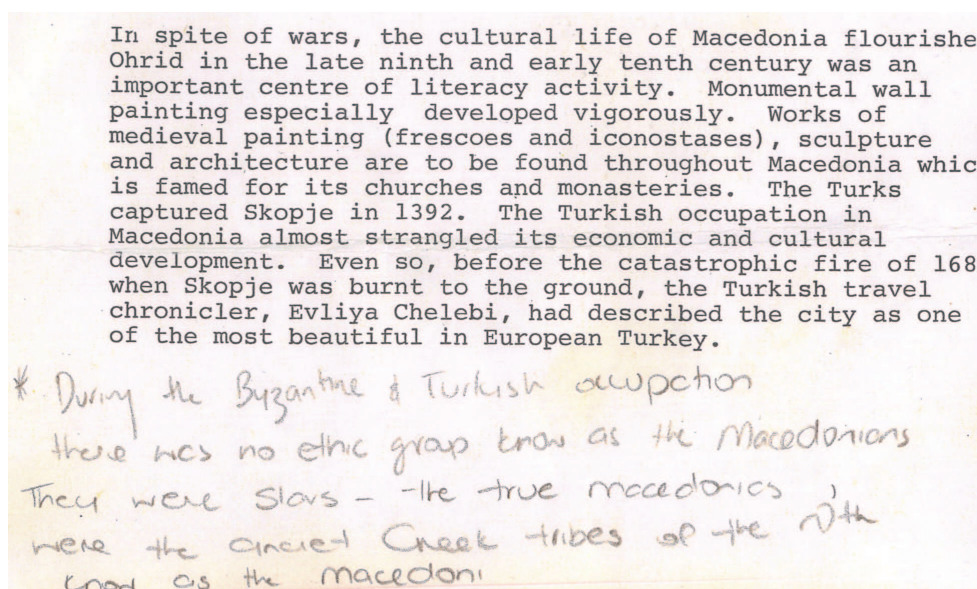
would their collective existence be recognised or not? In answering this question, I will present the findings from the document analysis undertaken for the purposes of this thesis.<sup>1</sup> I will focus on two developments in Australia concerning the Macedonian ethno-collective: undermining of the Macedonian distinctness due to the Australian Government's anti-communist disposition; and, the establishment of *in-effect dissociative policies* in the mid 1990s. In discussing these two developments, I will demonstrate that Macedonians were - and still are - experiencing symbolic violence in Australia. I will discuss how this symbolically violent environment relates to their well-being in chapter VII of this thesis. Before I present my argument, i.e., that Australia has failed to provide a symbolic violence free social environment for the Macedonian ethno-collective, I will explore the migration and settlement experiences of Macedonians in Australia, that is, the emergence of the Macedonian ethnocultural field in Australia.

### ***1. Researching Macedonians living in Australia: The available literature***

Finding sources relevant to ethno-Macedonians in Australia and evaluating their relevance has proven to be one of the most challenging tasks I have had to confront during the writing of this thesis. My claim might sound rather peculiar given the fact that in less than a second an electronic search of the National Library of Australia catalogue under 'Macedonians' produced 1,593 results; the same search of Google Scholar produced 27, 900 results in 0.13 seconds and over a million results on a Google search of the World Wide Web.<sup>2</sup> But, when I researched my host University's library catalogue, the search produced only 98 results. Almost exclusively, these sources either denied the existence of ethno-Macedonians, such as the publication titled *The Macedonian Affair: A Historical Review of the Attempts to Create a Counterfeit Nation* (1995),<sup>3</sup> published by the Institute of International Political and Strategic Studies in Athens, Greece, or represented the ethno-Macedonians in Yugoslavian context only, such as the second edition of *Macedonians in the Australian Society* written by Mato Tkalcevic (1980) published in Melbourne (Government Program). The latter was 'to be disseminated as widely as possible, particularly to schools, libraries, resource centres and to those working in the helping professions' for the purposes of informing about ethno-Macedonians in Australia (Tkalcevic 1980: v). The first source offers 'a rationale' for the non-existence of the Macedonian people in Greece, the Macedonian people in general, and the non-existence of the Macedonian language. It consistently refers to the Republic of Macedonia as, the 'Skopje Republic', using other derivatives in synchronism with the latter such as 'Skopje area' and 'Skopje Government'. This discourse was evident in the then Minister Assisting the Victorian Premier on Multicultural Affairs, John Pandazopoulos MLA, in his 'radio interview on the SBS Greek Language program on 28 November 2002' (Vlahov 2002: 1) during which he referred to the ethno-Macedonian community in Australia as 'Skopians Community', to ethno-Macedonians as 'Skopian People', and to Macedonian written material as 'Skopian [written] material' (ibid.). The relevance of this to my argument is to provide a case study of the dynamics of the 'partisans' of the discriminatory practices against ethno-Macedonians at governmental level.<sup>4</sup> The second book, as stated earlier, only offers an account of ethno-Macedonians 'within a Yugoslav context [while] Macedonians who emigrated from other countries, such as Greece, were not acknowledged' (Macedonian Welfare Workers' Network of

Victoria Inc. 2000: iv). The moment I opened the second source, which is a hard copy thin booklet in a fragile state, my intention was immediately drawn to the handwritten note on page 2 which is readable from the image below. The author of the handwritten note ‘corrects’ the author of the book in his bid to provide historical account of the ethno-Macedonians stating: ‘the true Macedonians were the ancient Greek tribes’. This ‘correction’ appears to be synchronous with the argument provided in the publication titled *The Macedonian Affair: A Historical Review of the Attempts to Create a Counterfeit Nation* (1995). The relevance of this to my argument is to provide a case study of the dynamics of the ‘partisans’ of the discriminatory practices against ethno-Macedonians at popular level.

**Image III.1.** Evidence of discriminatory practices against ethno-Macedonians at popular level



Source: Tkalcevic, M. 1980, *Macedonians in the Australian Society*, Australia: Australia Government Printer, Melbourne, page 2.

Shortly after the commencement of this thesis, it became obvious that the overwhelming numbers of results which constitute ‘rich data base’ for ethno-Macedonians, proved to be an area that is significantly under-researched and neglected and in need of immediate attention. The absence of available relevant literature has been noted by Gary J. Sheppard (1980: v) in his forward to the second edition of Tkalcevic’s book *Macedonians in the Australian Society*: ‘very little literature is available about Macedonians in Australia’. Thirty years later, in effect, the situation has not changed much. While there has been a notable increase<sup>5</sup> in the volume of literature in the English language that informs about ethno-Macedonians, overall, this literature is scarce and underrepresented. I will now provide an account of the ethno-Macedonians in Australia, an account I consider to be the closest to the *emic* accounts of the ethno-Macedonians living in Australia.

## **2. Australia via the USA: The beginnings of Macedonian migration to Australia.**

According to Trposki (2004), the old Macedonian custom of *Makedonskoto pechalbarstvo* constitutes the roots of Macedonian emigration worldwide. Hill (2001) states that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *pechalbarstvoto* or *gurbetcilakot* (Petrov [1908] 1996, cited in Trposki 2004) was a widespread custom amongst Macedonians in the Balkan Peninsula. Hill (2001: 572) translates *pechalbarstvo* into ‘going

away to make money'; Todorovski (2009: xii) translates it as 'fortune seeking' and *pechalbari*<sup>6</sup> as 'fortune seekers'; Radin (1995: 117) translates *pechalbari* as 'itinerant workers'. In today's terms, *pechalbarstvo* can be understood as 'temporary economic migration'.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the reasons for *pechalbarstvo* are not just of an economic nature. Nikolovski –Katin (1999, cited in Trposki 2004) argues that the push factors for migration are not just of an economic character; rather, in some instances, they are of a national-political character.<sup>8</sup> National-political reasons include:

...[T]he dispossessions that occurred in ... Western Macedonia perpetrated by *arnautski razbojniocki bandi* - 'banditry' (Vasiliadis 1989: 141), ... fiscal pressures, the constant territorial pretensions of the neighbouring countries, and the hegemonic tendencies towards the Macedonian people... (Nikolovski – Katin 1999, cited in Trposki 2004: 13).

The origin of the Macedonian custom *pechalbarstvo*, 'a limited option', dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is closely related to urban growth in the Balkan Peninsula (Vasiliadis 1989: 141). At that time, rural ethno-Macedonians had a developed sense of village identity. The urbanisation and industrialisation of the Balkan Peninsula (the processes of modernisation)<sup>9</sup> introduced the need for village-town migration.<sup>10</sup> While the Macedonian majority maintained its village identity, the 'townspeople' were perceived to be '[allying] with the Turks or other nationals who were above them in class' (ibid.: 143). I will argue that *pechalbarstvo* was also a matter of identity. In the words of Vasiliadis (1989: 149):

The [*pechalbar*] as cultural mediator was only partially successful within the village because ... his knowledge of the outside world could be controlled, and had to be, by intrinsic social sanctions including disapproving of his success by arguing that it was not worthily obtained and generally denying that he was a true [Macedonian] villager and was instead behaving more like a Greek,<sup>11</sup> [a] townie or a Turk.'

Over time, the practice of *pechalba* gradually developed into a tradition amongst the Macedonian villagers and by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century it was a fully established custom. Many Macedonian migrants to Australia arrived as *pechalbari*; thus, it is important to know in more detail what this custom entailed. The practice of *pechalba* was of temporary character: there was no intention of actual settlement in host countries; rather, the countries hosting the Macedonian *pechalbari* were initially considered places of temporary *pechalba* only (Hill 1989). The *pechalbarite*, who were almost exclusively young men, would be absent from their homes for various periods of time;<sup>12</sup> but, eventually they would return back to their villages and rejoin their families and fellow villagers (Hill 2001, Vasiliadis 1989, Trposki 2004), either individually or collectively (Trposki 2004). Their return was imagined as a joyful event and accompanied by ritualistic welcoming festivities by family members and/or fellow villagers (Vasiliadis 1989). *Pechalbarstvoto* had both practical value and symbolic meaning for the *pechalbari*. Whereas the practical value was the betterment of one's conditions, one's family and one's village (Halpern 1975, Vasiliadis 1989), the symbolic meaning lay in the burden imposed upon the protagonist. *Pechalbarstvoto* was not the same as just having a job in a foreign land. It was a form of 'self-sacrificing exile' (Halpern 1975,<sup>13</sup> Vasiliadis 1989: 142) during which the *pechalbar* would '[self-impose a] form of hard labour abroad ... a form of wearisome toil...' (Stojanovic 1967, cited in Vasiliadis 1989: 142). The fruits of their labour would support Macedonian villages and village lifestyles and to some extent help sustain the village identity of the Macedonian people. Thus, the symbolism of *pechalbarstvo*<sup>14</sup> can be ultimately interpreted as a burden one has to carry in order to

maintain Macedonian village identity.<sup>15</sup> In practice, however, *pechalbarstvoto* marked the roots of the erosion of the almost exclusively village identities of the Macedonian people, gradually adding to the Macedonian identity a constructive element of national collectivity imagined as a *horizontal comradeship* (see chapter II) without an explicit village – urban dichotomisation.

### *Case Study I. Stojce's Story*

In 1926 Stojce [the father of Krste Grbev] departed for the United States of America in the hope of making a better future for himself and his family. Unfortunately, when he reached America he was not allowed to disembark because of the tough new immigration laws introduced on migrants after the WWI.

This interruption did not hamper Stojce's determination to seek his fortune across the oceans. A month after returning to Macedonia he borrowed a sum of money to go to Australia. He departed .... on the same ship he had earlier tried to enter the USA. [He] reached Sydney in 1926 (Trajcevski 2008: 13).

The practice of *pechalba* was not particularly profitable until it came to be practiced in overseas countries such as the United States of America.<sup>16</sup> Up until this point, farm owners were seen as ideal husbands for Macedonian women in Macedonia. The *pechalbarite* were purchasing and expanding their farms with the money they made working in 'alien lands'. But this meant that their wives had to do all of the hard work related to farming.<sup>171819</sup> When the *pechalbarite* reached the USA as a destination for *pechalba* at the very end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *pechalba* became a very profitable undertaking.<sup>20</sup> With it came the promise of a new, more fortunate life in the host countries. This resulted in the development of settlement tendencies in the Macedonian *pechalbari*. For the Macedonian women, it signalled the promise of a more fortunate life beyond tiresome farming. As a consequence, the *pechalbarite* became permanent migrants: they were increasingly seen as the ideal type of husband (Vasiliadis 1989). Their settlement tendencies resulted in 'Macedonians [seeking] new fortunes [and] establishing new homes for themselves and their future generations' (Trposki 2004: 11) in host countries. In addition, their difficult lives were an effective motivating factor for higher education of later generations, i.e., of the *pechalbari's* children (Halpern 1975: 5). For a sizable number of *pechalbari*, permanent settlement was not mediated by the above push and pull factors (hard work related to farming and *pechalbata* as a very profitable undertaking). Due to the unpleasant political climate in the Balkans region,<sup>21</sup> some Macedonian *pechalbari* had few other options but to permanently settle in host countries.

Macedonian *pechalbari* started coming to Australia in 'sizable numbers' after the USA introduced immigration quotas in the 1920s (Hill 2001: 572; Radin 1995, Price 1963).<sup>22</sup> For many Macedonian migrants at the time, the newly implemented USA restrictive immigration policies meant that a long journey to America would end up with refusal of entry followed by a long journey back to the homeland and a new, and equally long, journey to Australia (see case study I).

Legend has it that the first Macedonian migrants to Australia arrived before the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hill 1989, Pavlovski 1971). By the very early 20<sup>th</sup> century, 'small trickles of Macedonian [*pechalbari*] made their way to Australia [...] but few of them stayed' (Radin 1995: 117). As suggested earlier, with the change of political climate in the Balkans in the period between 1903 and 1949, Macedonian *pechalbari* abroad became more or less permanent settlers in their host countries



(Hill 1989: 12). With particular focus on the reasons for the permanent settlement of Macedonians in Australia, Peter Hill (1989: 12) stated: ‘...They started to buy land and set themselves up in businesses; [then], the second world war broke out and they were unable to return to the old country, and, for the Aegean Macedonians, [it was] after the collapse of the popular resistance in Greece in 1949’.

A propos of the roots of the Macedonian migration to Australia, Macedonian migration waves will be discussed in section 3 of this chapter.

### **3. *Macedonian migration waves and Australia***

Subsequent to the arrival of the pioneering Macedonian *pecalbari* in Australia, Macedonians migrated and settled in Australia in several ‘waves of chain settlement’ (Radin 1995: 116; Price 1963, Hill 1989 and 2001, *Australian Government Commission of Inquiry Into Poverty* 1975<sup>23</sup>), which, up to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, was a shared feature amongst all migrants from South Europe (Price 1963). The five distinct migration waves recognisable in the history of Macedonian migration to Australia will now be discussed.

#### **3.1. *The First Wave***

The first wave of Macedonian immigrants was characterised by the high mobility (itinerant lifestyles) of the migrant workers (Price 1963: 172, Hill 2001, Radin 1995). This is evident in Price’s (1963: 172) account of the Southern European itinerant workers’ movements in and out of Broken Hill, in rural New South Wales:

...Southern Europeans have never made up a large proportion of Broken Hill’s total labour force, but Greeks, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Dalmatians and North Italians have been there in appreciable numbers since [the] 1890s and have been a very mobile element of the working population. The naturalisation records suggest that over the whole period 1892-1921 between one-third and one-half of the southern European section of the work-force entered or left Broken Hill each year – and this is almost certainly a considerable understatement.

During the first wave of migration, Macedonians migrants were almost exclusively from peasant backgrounds (Hill 1989 and 2001, Radin 1995, Price 1963). As they were generally unskilled and undereducated, their itinerant lifestyle was an initial solution to their employment prospects. They had little option but to accept a wide range of menial and hard labour rural-based jobs such as tree-cutting, fruit picking, sugar cane cutting and mining (Radin 1995). For the small minority that had learned a trade, it proved to be advantageous vis-a-vis their employment prospects (Hill 2001).

#### **3.2. *The Second Wave***

The second wave of chain settlement had two distinct, defining features. Firstly, a significant shift in migrants’ occupations eventuated. Secondly, this was the stage wherein most of the ‘unattached’ men, who had come in previously, had formed families by marrying, or by reuniting with their families by bringing them to Australia (Price 1963: 180, Hill 2001, Radin 1995). Many Macedonian migrants succeeded in establishing more secure financial environments by investing their savings in small businesses such as cafes and restaurants, small farms and land (Price 1963: 180, Radin 1995). Once established, they sponsored their families’ arrivals in Australia (see case study II).

### ***Case Study II. The Iliev Family***

Wauchope attracted the first wave of Macedonian migrants with timber cutting employment opportunities (Trajcevski 2008). The Iliev (Ylias<sup>1</sup>) family's migration to Wauchope started with the arrival of two brothers Tome and Tanas ('unattached' men) in 1927, and shortly after this family became the largest in the area. Tome and Tanas started as timber-cutters. After a short while, Tanas purchased his own truck and started a small transporting business, still servicing the timber industry, while Tome started a small farm switching from timber cutting to dairy farming. In 1933, they reunited with their families from Macedonia by bringing them to Australia (Trajcevski 2008).

### ***3.3. The Third Wave***

One of the distinct features of the third wave of Macedonian migration to Australia was the maturity of the second generation migrants and their addition to the pull strength of the migrants who had arrived and settled in Australia during the previous stages (Price 1963). Many second generation single Macedonian men married women from their native villages in Macedonia and brought them to Australia (Hill 2001). Another distinct feature of this wave of Macedonian migration was the high percentage of refugee arrivals from the Greek Civil War (1946-1949); however, they were not recognised as refugee entrants.<sup>24</sup> Many of the Macedonian refugees from Aegean Macedonia, who were scattered throughout the Eastern European bloc (Radin 1995, Danforth 1995), were assisted by their relatives or fellow-villagers to migrate to Australia. The continuous economic migration from Aegean Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, together with the brides and grooms of the second generation of Macedonian migrants and refugees from Aegean Macedonia, accounted for the third wave of Macedonian migrants to Australia. Macedonian migration to Australia peaked during the 1950s and 1960s (Hill 2001). Up until the 1960s, the vast majority of the Macedonian migrants came from Aegean Macedonia (Radin 1995).<sup>25</sup>

### ***3.4. The Fourth Wave***

The fourth wave of Macedonian migrants, the vast majority of whom originated in the then SRM, began in the 1960s (Hill 2001, Radin 1995). The Ohrid and Bitola regions sourced the majority of Macedonian migrants during this period (Hill 2001). Given that the majority of said migrants were villagers, they included mainly fellow villagers and members of extended families. This is evident in Hill's (2001: 572) example below:

...Johnnie Angelovski came out to Geelong to join his father Angele, who had been the second Macedonian in that city, having arrived there in 1937. Angele Angelovski later brought out some 20 other families from the village of Dragos/Bitola.

The 'resultant social patterns' were reflective of the 'chained' character of the Macedonian immigration to Australia (Australian Government Commission for Inquiry into Poverty 1975). The village life, and particularly the collective way of life, was romanticised by Macedonians living in Australia. Consistently, in their 'home-building' (Hage 1997) practices in Australia, they maintained proximity in settling, consequently segregating themselves in particular areas, in areas such as Rockdale and Richmond in New South Wales (Hill 2001).

### 3.5. *The Fifth Wave*

Over the last two decades, the volume of Macedonian permanent migrants has decreased significantly due to Australia's restrictive immigration policies. Since the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence in 1991, many highly skilled and highly educated Macedonians from predominantly urban backgrounds have individually migrated to various countries including Australia (MAWA 2004). Some have found their way directly to Australia while sizable numbers have entered Australia via New Zealand, as New Zealand civic nationals. This wave of Macedonian migration<sup>26</sup> has resulted in a significant *brain drain* for the Republic of Macedonia (Gaber 2006). Business migrants, who had sufficient capital to establish their own businesses, also migrated to Australia during this period (Hill 2001, MAWA 2004). Apart from these new categories of Macedonian migrants, there is still a persistent widespread pattern of second generation migrants marrying Macedonian brides and grooms. Macedonian Australian Welfare Association of Sydney Inc. (MAWA) (2004: 4) reports that '[i]n NSW, 76 [per cent] of [post-independence] arrivals have come under Family Stream Migration'. Following the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian citizenry witnessed a great many economic challenges and political pressures. A significant number of migrants 'have had refugee-like experiences'<sup>27</sup> (MAWA 2004: 4).<sup>28</sup> It is thus arguable that their unacknowledged history has been somewhat repeated. The Aegean refugees arriving in Australia in the earlier stages did not officially come as humanitarian and refugee entrants. It is the same with a number of recent migrants from the Republic of Macedonia (MAWA 2004). From the discussion above it may be concluded that the main features of the most recent wave of Macedonian migration are: chain migration as well as individual migration, predominantly from urban backgrounds, highly educated and skilled, business minded, and some with a refugee-like experiences.

It becomes evident that the profiles of the latest wave of Macedonian migrants differ greatly from those of the previous migrants (MAWA 2004). In addition, the individual biographies of Macedonians differ greatly as well. Their experiences in their homeland, as well as their experiences in Australia differ considerably. The experiences of the migrants migrated as refugees during and post the Greek Civil War period differ from the experiences of Macedonians migrated from Socialist Republic of Macedonia as spouses to second generation migrants, for example. Business migrants from the independent Republic of Macedonia had categorically different experiences. Thus, it is arguable that their cultural experiences as Macedonians also differ; hence the question of what makes them feel and identify as Macedonians in Australia once more gains importance. As a matter of research interest for the study presented in this thesis, the latter will be discussed in detail in chapter VI.

Having explored the migration and settlement experiences of ethno-Macedonians in Australia and the circumstances of these experiences, I will refocus on the question of whether or not Macedonian ethno-collective existence is recognised. To this end, I will explore the social environment within which Macedonians settled and reside in Australia. In the pursuit of these, I will make use of some of Pierre Bourdieu's analytical tools introduced in chapter II: symbolic power and violence peculiar to the Australian state.

#### ***4. Fortunes 'Found': The Macedonian ethno-collective in a symbolically violent environment in Australia.***

##### ***4.1. Macedonian 'threat' to Australian universalism***

As discussed in chapter I, in their nation state-building efforts the Macedonians aligned themselves with the Communists and their efforts for a socialist revolution rather than with the fascist driven expansionism in Europe during the periods prior and immediately after WWII. Capitalist governments throughout the world were not keen on what they saw as the strengthening power of the Communists and with the prevalence of Communist governments in the Eastern Bloc in the post-WWII period. Communist movements within the capitalist West were seen as an even greater threat to national security. Hence, the Macedonians in Australia were almost immediately identified as a group of interest in respect to national security. The Australian Government's interest in the Macedonians further intensified with the developments and outcome of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). The winning 'pro-Western royalist government in Athens' (Rossos 2008) became the trusted and only ally of the ideological West in the Balkans. Rossos (2008) describes the disposition of this trusted and only ally of the ideological West in respect to the Macedonians as follows:

After the Communist defeat in the Civil War, the pro-Western royalist government in Athens equated expressions of Macedonianism with Communism, which became illegal in Greece. It denied even more vociferously than before 1939 a Macedonian identity and national minority and continued to call Macedonians in the republic 'Serbs' or "Skopjans" (Rossos 2008: 212).

The equation of Macedonians to Communists facilitated a symbolically violent environment in Australia within which the autonomy of the Macedonian ethnocultural field<sup>29</sup> was contested on two counts: firstly, by undermining of its distinctness in the struggle for 'monopolisation of monopoly' (Bourdieu 1998: 58); and, secondly, by competitive claims for the objective positions within the Macedonian ethnocultural field by the Greek collective. In the next section I will provide an evidence based argument in support of these claims.

##### ***4.1.1. The Monopolisation of Monopoly: The Australian Case***

Just as the state is constructed to exercise a 'monopoly over physical and symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1998: 58), the Australian state is constructed to exercise a monopoly over the physical and symbolic violence within. Claims of privy to the advantages 'attached to this monopoly' are validated through social struggles within the 'bureaucratic microcosm', i.e., field (ibid.: 58-59). Once a claim is validated, the claimant's world view becomes sanctioned by means of physical and symbolic violence as the claimant monopolises the monopoly of the said violence. Hence, the validated claimant's world view becomes the dominant world view not by means of explicit claims of domination but rather through the effect of universalisation (Bourdieu 1998: 59). As stated, 'the monopoly of the universal can only be obtained at the cost of submission (if only in appearance) to the universal and of a universal recognition of the universalist representation of domination presented as legitimate and disinterested' (Bourdieu 1998: 59). Interpreted as of relevance to the Australian state in the period of the strengthening of Communist power worldwide, it is of no little analytical value to establish the

existence of at least two competitive claims of privy to the advantages attached to the Australian state: the capitalist and the communist claim. As the capitalist claim was the validated claim and the communist claim the contending claim, the capitalist world view was sanctioned by physical and symbolic violence. Hence, the capitalist world view became the dominant world view, not explicitly conveyed as a dominant view but rather as a universal view. As a consequence, the Australian bureaucracy, in its 'neutral and disinterested loyalty to the public good' (Bourdieu 1998: 59), set out to safeguard the 'universal capitalist values' which are factually 'invented and imposed' (ibid.).

Macedonians in Australia, now labelled Communists, were seen as a threat to the universal values of the Australian State. In an imperative for threat subdual, the autonomy of the Macedonian cultural field was tentatively subdued.

The activities of the Macedonian Orthodox Community in Australia have been closely monitored and comprehensively documented for decades: this is evident in the material archived with the Australian National Archives on behalf of various Commonwealth Departments. One example is the closely monitored and comprehensively documented activities of the *Macedonian Peoples League of Australia* as evident in the Australian National Archive files compiled by the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIO) for the Australian Attorney General Department (see the *Macedonian Peoples League of Australia* Vol.1, 2, 2 and 3).<sup>30</sup>

The aims and objectives of this 'non-party, non-sectarian organisation' the *Macedonian Peoples League of Australia* (Western Australia branch) as of 14 October 1952, were reported as follows:

... to organise Macedonians in Australia to care for their particular needs and problems ... to help the movement for democratic freedom of Macedonian people and to uphold the ideals of international brotherhood and a people's democracy (Australian National Archive Item No. A6122/173: 24).

The excerpt above clearly indicates the ethno-collective initiative to 'care for... [the] needs and the problems' of Macedonians in Australia with the same level of clarity as it expresses the socialist affinities evident in the references made to the 'international brotherhood and a people's democracy'. Intelligence from the field suggested that in Geraldton, Western Australia, for example, the Macedonians were a strong group of Communists, who 'associate only with their own countrymen and when visiting Geraldton congregate at the Liberty Club' (ibid.: 116). The following was also reported about the group:

On occasions they have barbeques on the beach, only Macedonians attending. It is reported that speeches are made and communist propaganda disseminated amongst those attending.

...[T]hey travel to each other's houses at night for gatherings (ibid.: 116).

While this excerpt from an intelligence report dated 2 June 1950 clearly refers to the Macedonians in a distinct manner and to their group cohesion,<sup>31</sup> it is the Communist threat to 'universalist capitalist values' within the Australian state that takes precedence. The need for this emphasis was often reiterated by subsequent intelligence reports:

George Manou was the subject of our [report] of 1 September 1953. His mother Sofia Manou, was reported to have "collaborated with the Communist rebels during the Civil War" and to have handed over her two children to the Communists in 1948 (These were the subject's younger brothers) (Australian National Archive Item No. A6122/1460: 63).<sup>32</sup>

Repeated intelligence references to '[collaborators] with the Communist rebels during the [Greek] Civil War' (1946-1949) strengthened the case for the equation of Macedonians to Communists, in synchronism with the aforementioned 'trusted ally's' disposition.

Macedonian efforts and successes, as well as impediments in the form of acquiring communal properties such as Macedonian Social Clubs and Macedonian Churches, are also well documented for intelligence purposes. For example, Chris Altis's (Risto Altin)<sup>33</sup> efforts on behalf of the Macedonian Australian Peoples League (M.A.P.L.) to acquire properties at 52 and 54 Young Street, Fitzroy, Victoria with the intention 'to demolish the present buildings [...] and erect a Church Hall on behalf of the [...] Macedonian Orthodox State Community' (ibid.: 81) was documented as follows:

Chris Altis [...] approached the agents for this property [...] with an offer to buy the property in question and also the adjoining premises [...] for £7000. This offer was accepted and a deposit of £500 (alleged to be Altis's own money) was paid over with a 25-day option for the completion of the deal (ibid.).

Immediately after the arrangement for property acquisition, '[a]n appeal was launched by the M.A.P.L. to obtain the required funds' (ibid.). At a single fundraising event on 27 May 1956, the sum of £3500 was raised from the large crowd in attendance. The M.A.P.L. planned to collect the rest of the funds by organising a door-to-door fund raising activity in the areas of Fitzroy and Collingwood in Victoria (ibid.). Following through with his plan, Chris Altis 'made an application to the Fitzroy Council for permission to erect a Church Hall' and was granted initial approval (ibid.). However, the Town Clerk changed his position, stating 'that it would be most unlikely that the Town & Country Planning Board would give their approval' after being acquainted with the 'facts' of the matter (ibid.: 82) which were represented to the Fitzroy Council as follows: 'M.A.P.L. and its supporters were anti-Christian,<sup>34</sup> and that the hall was believed, in effect, to be needed for political and social gatherings to raise money for the M.A.P.L. and the "Makedonska Iskra"' (ibid.). Given that at the time M.A.P.L. was assessed by the Australian Government to be 'a strong supporter of Communist Party policy through its official newspaper "Macedonian Spark"' (Australian National Archive Item No. A6122/173: 24), the Town Clerk's change of position can be understood as a doxic expression of the loyalty of the common, i.e., the universal good which, as stated above, was invented and imposed. As a last example in this discussion thread, I will now focus on the first *emic* Macedonian newspaper in Australia - *Macedonian Spark* (*Makedonska Iskra*). Ethno-Macedonians have the following understanding of the *Macedonian Spark*:

Makedonska Iskra (Macedonian Spark) was the first Macedonian newspaper to be published in Australia, from 1946 to 1957. [...] The newspaper was published at a time of great historical significance for the Macedonian people: the future Republic of Macedonia had been formed within Yugoslavia, the Greek Civil War had begun [...] The newspaper provided Macedonian immigrants with news from the home country, as well as with reading material in the Macedonian and English languages (Pollitecon Publications 2010: screen 1).

Seen as a Communist propaganda medium in an *etic* sense, the content of every issue of *Macedonian Spark*, while in publication from 1946 to 1957, was filed by ASIO and brought to the attention of the Australian Government.

The discussion in this section provides evidence of the setting of the foundations for - and an establishment of - a vibrant autonomous Macedonian ethnocultural field of *emic* value. In addition,

there is a clear indication of the Macedonian ethno-collective initiative to care for its people and their collective cohesion. Although clear references are made to the Macedonian people in a distinct manner, the latter is undermined by a perception of the Macedonian people as a Communist people threatening the universal public good. Hence, they must be subjected to imperative subdual by the full force of the symbolic violence perpetuated by the capitalist bureaucracies, monopolisation of the Australian state. I will now proceed to discuss the contestation of the autonomy of the Macedonian ethnocultural field by competitive claims for objective positions within it by the Greek collective in Australia.

#### **4.1.2. *The Universalisation of Greekness: The Australian Case***

It may be argued that the universalisation of the capitalist world views held by the Australian state gave an effect of universalisation of Greekness as a matter of general interest, that is, the common good. Thus, the competitive claims to the objective positions within the Macedonian ethnocultural field by the Greek collective in Australia are seen as ‘neutral’ developments and, by extension, unproblematic. To demonstrate the above, I will focus on two specific examples which I consider representative of wider political developments in Australia. Firstly, I will focus on the competitive claims to the objective positions within the Macedonian ethnocultural field by the Greek collective in their attempts (a) to absorb the distinct Macedonian community into a Greek-Macedonian community; (b) to absorb the Macedonian children into the category of Greek children; and (c) to objectively position the ‘Greek-Macedonian Orthodox Church’ within the Macedonian ethnocultural field as evident in the Australian National Archive file *Macedonian Peoples League of Australia* (Item No. A6122/173). For this purpose, I will focus on the case of Daniel Tirpkov in part contained in the Commissioner of Police’s report dated 10 October 1952 (Adelaide, South Australia).

Daniel Tirpkov, born in Aegean Macedonia, i.e., ‘Seopia, Florina, [...] on 11.8.1911’ upon arrival (1939) settled in Melbourne, Victoria and was later naturalised as an Australian subject in 1946 (Australian National Archive Item No. A6122/173: 23). He became a person of interest by his association with the M.A.P.L. Assessed ‘as being one of the most active Communist propagandists in the Greek-Macedonian Community’ in Victoria, his movements were closely monitored and documented (ibid.). The document reports on Daniel’s movements and activities:

In 1949 he was known to have visited a Greek national, a new arrival to this country, and chided the person for coming here, stating that the guerrillas would soon overthrow the Greek Government, and that the Communists would then take over, liberating the country from its Fascist suppressors and allowing the inhabitants to live peacefully under the Communist system. He has similarly taken an active part in attempting to suppress the introduction by the Greek-Macedonian Orthodox Church of Sunday school for Greek children, stating that the People’s League can well look after the interests of the children (ibid.).<sup>35</sup>

As an ethno-Macedonian, Mr. Tirpkov was not comfortable with the prospect of children born to ethno-Macedonians, Greek civic nationals to be subjected to attending ‘Greek-Macedonian ... Sunday school’. Not recognising the distinctness of the ethno-Macedonians, Mr. Tirpkov was referred in the document as a ‘[member] of the Greek-Macedonian Community’, that is, he was absorbed into the Greek-Macedonian community, and indiscriminately, all children, Greek civic nationals were absorbed into the category of ‘Greek children’.

The Greek Community was active in its efforts to dismiss any claims to Macedonian-ness. This was evident in the letter, dated 24 May 1950, addressed to the Honorary Consul for Greece in Victoria for the period of 1949- 1955, Mr. Eugene Gorman, titled 'Stir Yourself, Mr. Gorman'. In it, displeasure with Mr. Gorman's passivity vis-a-vis the Victorian media referral to the Macedonian community as Macedonian was expressed:

...the country of Macedonia does not exist. (...) Efforts for Macedonian autonomy saw the light of publicity by means of Communist propaganda. (...) This being granted the existing Macedonian community is openly anti-national and its propaganda is turned against Greece and as such it must be combated. (...)

Stir yourself, Mr. Gorman, if you wish to serve the country which has entrusted its honor to you: Otherwise give up your position to more capable men (Australian National Archive A6122/172: 15).

The pressure exerted by the Greek Consuls was earlier discussed in chapter I, section 5.2.2. The quote above provides evidence of the expectations of the Honorary Consul of Greece in Victoria, that is, the expectations to 'combat' the 'anti-Greek-national propaganda' seen in the usage of the name Macedonian. The newspaper article that has prompted this reaction was titled '*Macedonians Help the Hospitals*', published in 'the afternoon newspaper ... [Herald]' (ibid.).

The Australian Government position of the time was that there is 'no such thing as Macedonian nationality' (ibid.). What might appear as reference to Macedonians in an ethno-distinct sense, in the de-classified intelligence documents analysed for this thesis, soon becomes obvious that such references are only technical in character. This is evident in the following statement: '[t]hey are Macedonian "nationals" who are interested in obtaining national independence for their own people' (Australian National Archive A981/MIS62: 5). The intelligence report dated 1950 prepared for the Australian Department of External Affairs by the Australian Delegate to the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) Huntington Gilchrist advised:

'My impression ... is that the Macedonian Question [, whether or not ethnic or other elements exist in the Balkans which would justify the creation of a sovereign Macedonian state] is an artificial one, and ...if left alone it would cease to exist within few years' (Australian National Archive File No. A1838/73/1/4/4Part 1: 215, 222).

Deemed as nation-less, Communists and guerrilla supporters, many individual and group applications from ethno-Macedonians for transfer of relief funds during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) aimed at reaching their 'relatives and distressed persons in their own particular villages' were suspended by the Chief Secretary's Department (Australian National Archive A6122/172: 145), vis-a-vis unsubstantiated 'murmurings and suggestions' that the money 'is being used for the purpose of disseminating propaganda prejudicial to the ... Greek regime' at the time'(ibid.).<sup>36</sup>

Against the background provided in chapter I and early in this chapter, the efforts of the Greek collective to symbolically absorb the Macedonian collective soon becomes obvious. The establishment of the referent 'Greek-Macedonian' and its comfortable usage in the compiled intelligence by ASIO at the time, were just a regular course of 'submission to the universal', that is, the state validated Greekness. Attempts to absorb the Macedonian children into the category of Greek children are evident in the references to 'Greek children'. Macedonians, by means of activism opposed 'the introduction by the Greek-Macedonian Orthodox Church of Sunday school'. They



explicitly stated that the 'People's League can well look after the interests of the [Macedonian] children'. Nevertheless, Daniel Tirpkov's Communist affiliation, along with many other Macedonians in Australia posed a threat to the universalised and state validated Greekness. Although the 'Greek-Macedonian Orthodox Church' did not managed to objectively position itself within the Macedonian ethnocultural field of *emic* value in the long run, to date it still holds a symbolic position in the contending symbolic Greek-Macedonian field of *etic* value to which references are made to date.

I will now briefly turn my focus towards a fairly recent effort, from the end of the academia, to reiterate the practices of symbolically violent absorption of the Macedonian collective within the Greek collective, and the equation of the ethno-Macedonians to Communists, as evident in Anastasios Myrodis Tamis's book *The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia* (1994).

Chapter four of this book titled *Settlement of Macedoslavs in Australia* focuses on 'only certain issues of the immigration and settlement patterns of the Macedoslav community originating from Greek Macedonia'. In it, Tamis (1994: 264) aims to inform the reader of '[the immigration and settlement patterns] which affected the life and the welfare of the Greek Macedonians in Australia'. In addition, the chapter aims to 'shed light not only to the facts that surrounding the competing national ideologies in Australia but also on the interpretation of historical causation' (ibid.).

Making use of the same selective Australian National Archive files used in this thesis, Tamis arrived at the conclusion, *inter alia*, that the 'Macedoslav community' did affect the lives and welfare of the Greek Macedonians in Australia. The content of this chapter, however, does not fail to emphasise that 'Macedoslavs' 'have always been inclined to the socialist left side of the political spectrum' (ibid.: 266). Tamis further emphasises that 'it must not be overlooked that [during] the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), [...] Macedoslavs participated on the side of the communist-led partisans' (ibid.).<sup>37</sup>

An interesting observation is that the publication of this book coincided with the Australian Federal Government's issue of a directive instructing all Australian Government Departments and Agencies to refer to 'people living in, or originating from FYROM as 'Slav Macedonians'' (Underdown 1994: 11). Another observation of relevance is the expressed perception of Tamis in presenting evidence in his capacity as a sociolinguist in the case of Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee (Inc) v Victoria [1998] HREOCA 1 (8 January 1998), Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee, September 2000, that: 'the only Macedonians are the Ancient Greeks [...] [t]hey are Macedonians. We are Macedonians. They are the Yugoslavs, we are the Greeks. That's my perception' (ibid.: 25). This is, yet another case of academia as a performing power of Greek national hegemony, discussed in chapter I. section 3.4.2.2. This case and the political developments in Australia surrounding the Macedonian ethno-collective are discussed in more detail in the following section.

The discussion presented in this section provides evidence for the existence of competitive claims for objective positions within the Macedonian ethnocultural field by the Greek collective. Given the operative assumption of equation of Macedonians with Communists and the universalisation and state validation of Greekness in Australia, the autonomy of the Macedonian ethnocultural field in an *emic* sense has been - and still is - contested by counterclaims of a 'Macedoslav' ethnocultural field in an

*etic* sense on the part of the Greek collective in Australia and the Australian Government. The sanctioning of the universalised and state validated Greekness, and the autonomy of the Macedonian cultural field remains contested. Further evidence in support of this argument is provided in section 4.2.

#### **4.2. *Rewriting Biographies: In-effect Dissociative Policies in Australia***

To date, Australia is one of the countries yet to recognise the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name. Australia moved to recognise the Republic of Macedonia under its provisional name of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on 15 February 1994. Recognition of the Republic was ‘exceptionally qualified’ (Underdown 1994:9) by the settlement of ‘all outstanding issues’, which were detailed by the then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs Senator Gareth Evans:

[T]he name issue –the use of the word ‘Macedonia’ – being settled in a way which does not cause further tension with Greece; Greece’s concern about possible territorial claims or aspirations are fully met; and the international community’s concern about the protection of minorities being fully settled (Evans 1992).

In order to pacify the Greek community following the official recognition of the Republic under its provisional name, subsequently to a meeting with the Greek community, on 14 March 1994 Australian Federal Government issued a directive instructing all Australian Government Departments and Agencies to refer to ‘people living in, or originating from FYROM as ‘Slav Macedonians’”(Underdown 1994: 11). This directive, which affected both civic as well as ethnic Macedonians, was issued without community consultation with the ethno-Macedonian community in Australia. Senator Gareth Evans issued the directive on behalf of the Australian Federal Government in his ministerial statement delivered in Parliament on 14 March 1994. In it, he directed:

[T]hat Australian government departments and agencies use the description ‘Slav-Macedonians’ when referring to people who live in, or originate from, the FYROM. ...[...]

It is not proposed that any legislation be enacted to compel any particular usage by government departments and agencies or anyone else. ...[...]

But in relation to those departments and agencies which the government has a capacity to direct, directions will be given to refer, for the time being, to the country as the ‘FYROM’, and to people living in or originating from that country as ‘Slav-Macedonians’(Evans 1994a).

In addition, the Senator stated:

How ordinary members of the respective communities choose to describe themselves, and in particular how they choose to describe their ethnicity, in the census or anywhere else, will remain up to those individuals and communities themselves (ibid. approx screen 2).

The Australian Government maintained that this ‘operational directive on administrative matters’ did not affect or ‘have negative impact on the Slav-Macedonian community’ (Evans 1994b). The referent ‘Slav-Macedonian’ was nothing more than a geographical descriptor. However, it is arguable that the establishment of such policy is an act of ‘[unilateral] redefining [of the Macedonian] ethnicity as Slav-Macedonian’ (Wright 1994). This act of ‘unilateral redefining’ was not welcomed by ethno-Macedonians in Australia, particularly the political pressures accompanying the unilateral redefining of their ethnicity. Their collective ethno-sentiments as ethno-Macedonians remained unchanged.

In establishing its *in-effect dissociative policy*,<sup>38</sup> Australia established an international policy precedent, a fact explicitly acknowledged by the directive issuing Minister himself in his answer to Senator Chamarette's question: 'Are there any precedents either in Australian foreign affairs experiences or that of another country for this directive[?]' (Evans 1994b: approx screen 2). In addition, the conditions under which the Republic's consulate was to be established in Australia also constituted an unprecedented move in Australian foreign policy. The consulate was not to display the 'contentious flag or other symbol ... pending final resolution of relevant outstanding issues' (Evans 1994c). I will now discuss the consequences of the *in-effect dissociative policy*.

One of the consequences of the policy for ethno-Macedonians was the official re-narration of their individual biographies. The individual biography of an ethno-Macedonian, born in the Republic of Macedonia and residing in the Australian State of Victoria during 1995, and in possession of dual citizenship (Macedonian and Australian), was officially re-narrated as a biography of a Slav-Macedonian, born in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in possession of dual citizenship: FYROM and Australian. In addition, if the individual was bilingual (proficient in both the English and Macedonian languages), he/she would be officially known to be proficient in English and Macedonian (Slavonic). Ethno-Macedonians' opposition to the official re-narration of their biographies strongly indicated that the officially re-narrated biographies attracted no individual ethno-sentiments.

Another consequence closely related to the previous one, was the creation of an empty shelled Slav-Macedonian distinct collective. The issuing of the federal directive initiated a debate as to whether or not the practical use of the referent 'Slav-Macedonian' would imply usage of it as a distinct collective denominator. The Australian Government maintained that the referent 'Slav-Macedonian' was a geographical descriptor only (Underdown 1994: 11). A logical interpretation of the directive that 'people originating from FYROM' should be referred to as 'Slav-Macedonian' would imply that Albanians, Romany people and other ethnicities, together with ethno-Macedonians originating from the Republic and residing in Australia should be referred to as 'Slav-Macedonian'. The Australian Government decided that since it 'did not accept the name "Republic of Macedonia" as an appropriate one for the country itself, it simply was not appropriate to refer to its people as "Macedonians" (Evans 1994b). However, the manner in which reference was made on numerous occasions to a 'Slav-Macedonian community' in Australia, including by the directive issuing Minister himself, suggests otherwise. It is arguable that this kind of usage is in fact usage of the referent 'Slav-Macedonian' as a distinct collective denominator. As there is no distinct collective in Australia that nurtures collective sentiments for 'Slav-Macedonianness', the latter remains empty shelled.

A final consequence of the *in-effect dissociative policies* alluded to in this paper was the official re-naming of the Macedonian language as Macedonian (Slavonic). The Victorian State Government's interpretation of the federal directive informed the respective Governments' move to issue a further directive 'as a logical step ... to change the descriptor' of the language used by people who resided in and originated from the Republic of Macedonia (Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee (Inc) v Victoria [1998] HREOCA 1: 31). The effect of this subsequent directive was 'that Government bodies, emanations and departments of the [Victorian State] do not recognise that the language

Macedonian exists' (ibid.: 30). The directive was contained in a memorandum dated 21 July 1994, issued by the Premier of the State of Victoria. The memorandum stated:

Further to the Federal Government's decision to use the term Slav Macedonians (and in order to be consistent and avoid any further confusion) I now request all Victorian Government Departments, and agencies, to refer for the time being to the language that is spoken by people living in [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], or originating from it, as Macedonian (Slavonic) (ibid.: 2).

The Victorian State policy move was also unprecedented: indeed, it was acknowledged as such by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commissioner Alexander Street SC in his finding of unlawfulness taking place by means of issuing such a directive (ibid.: 31). As unlawful, the directive regarding the Macedonian language is no longer effective.

In an unprecedented policy response to the challenges of ethnic diversity in state governance, the Australian Federal Government resorted to *in-effect dissociative policies*, officially disassociating ethno-Macedonians from the ethno-nationality subject of their collective sentiments. Moreover, in the absence of a corresponding collective ethno-sentiment, it created an empty shelled Slav-Macedonian ethnicity.<sup>39</sup>

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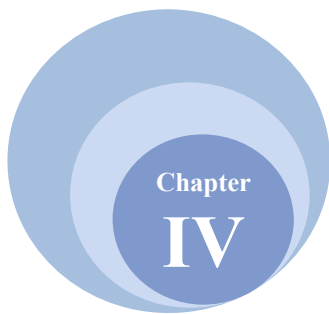
The evidence based discussion of the social environment within which ethno-Macedonians settle(d) and reside in Australia is seen to be symbolically violent in character. This violence is evident in both the contested autonomy of the Macedonian ethnocultural field and in the undermining of the distinctness of the Macedonian ethno-collective in the struggle for monopolisation of the Australian monopoly, i.e., in the state's equation of Macedonians with Communists; in the competitive claims for the objective positions within the Macedonian ethnocultural field by the Greek collective, and by the introduction of the *in-effect dissociative policies* which resulted in official disassociation of ethno-Macedonians from the ethno-nationality subject of their collective sentiments.

Given the character of the socio-political environment in the Balkans, and the character of the socio-political environment in Australia, the collective and individual resilience of the ethno-Macedonians, has been to say the least remarkable. Their ethno-collective or cultural survival and their individual survival in prolonged periods of warfare and symbolic violence, merits an enquiry into their practical strategies for survival, in many instances physical survival. Such enquiry should include their experiences as an ethno-collective: their ethno-collective trajectory in conjunction with their personal experiences; and, the individual trajectories that inform their personal habitus by means of the embodiment of a set of durable dispositions subject to collective and individual trajectories. These durable dispositions have enabled Macedonians to understand, interpret and act in the social world. In addition, they have enable(d) their survival and well-being.

It is arguable that habitus also operate as a set of guidelines of which Macedonians are not necessarily aware of in relation to their understanding of health and health capital accumulation practices. In this respect the habitus becomes a *locus* of interplay between identity and health, i.e., a *locus* of interplay between being who one is - or who one collectively imagines oneself to be - and individual health capital accumulation practices. A detailed discussion of habitus as the *locus* of

interplay between identity and health is presented in chapters VI and VII of this thesis in close consideration of the data generated from the fieldwork component of this study.

As discussed in chapter II, any form of capital can only exist and function in relation to a field. Focus on health capital and habitus, as the site of interplay between identity and health, renders it imperative to discuss the Macedonian ethnocultural field and the field of health. Given that the former has already been discussed at considerable length, and also *vis a vis* the field of power, i.e., the dominators of the world scene, I will now proceed to discuss the field of health in line with the methodological outline in research application of the theory of field discussed in chapter II.



## The Field of Health

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Concluding Remarks

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In this chapter, I will discuss the field of health in line with the methodological outline relevant to research application of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields (see chapter II). As discussed earlier, Bourdieu dismissed the notion of society as a 'seamless unity'. He then developed an understanding of society as a multidimensional space wherein distinctive fields (social microcosms) exist. It is arguable that the field of health is one of the social microcosms of the multidimensional social space.

The field of health represents a network of objective positions in relation to individual and collective health<sup>1</sup> within which social agents are positioned according to their capital volume.<sup>2</sup> Given the central theme of this field – individual and collective health - one would hope that this field operates with an 'irenic vision' (Bourdieu 2004 [2001]: 45), this meaning that the field of health would be one of 'generous exchanges in which all [social agents] collaborate towards the same end' (ibid.). As with all social fields, the field of health is internally differentiated, hierarchised and accustomed to power struggles. While they have their own distinctive logic, principles and specialists,

there is one universal dynamic shared across fields: the struggle between the dominators of the fields and the newcomers to the fields and their respective tendencies as discussed earlier in this thesis (see chapter II, section 2.2.2.). Given the dynamic nature of all social fields, that is, the tentative condition of the ‘objective form’ and the permanent condition of ‘objectifying’, the objective form of the field of health has varied across time and space, i.e., throughout history, as has its engaged proximity to other fields in the social space, for example, ethnocultural fields.

As the methodological outline in research application of Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of fields requires analysis of ‘the positions of the field vis-a-vis the field of power’, the ‘mapping out [of] the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents of institutions’ within the field, and analysis of the habitus of social agents (Thomson 2008: 75), this chapter will unfold in the same fashion. In order to gain an understanding of the positions of the field of health vis-a-vis the field of power it is imperative to account for the history and the respective informing ideologies within the field of health.

### ***1. Informing Ideologies within the Field of Health***

In this section, focus is upon the development of health-related thought; that is, development of the informing ideologies relevant to the field of health. It is important to note that I am not assuming a universal linear progression of health thought from point A in history to point B in contemporary times. What I am presenting below is the development of health thought leading up to the contemporary understanding of what health is in (what is referred to as) the Western world.<sup>3</sup> The contemporary objective form of the field of health is marked by the dominance of the medical paradigm, which goes hand in hand with the dominance of medicine in the field of health. To facilitate an understanding of how the positions within the field of health are objectified as they tentatively are, I will provide a brief historical account of the development of health thought commencing from the period prior to the emergence of the Hippocratic Corpus.

#### ***1.1. Pre-Hippocratic Corpus period***

The pre-Hippocrates period rested upon a fundamental assumption that humans are a functional part of a whole, a moral and meaningful entity under divine auspice. This worldview can be associated with one modification of what is nowadays understood as, an ‘holistic’ approach to health and healing (Russell and Schofield 1992). The period before Hippocrates (460-377 BC) was a period dominated by ‘divine notions of health’ (Awofeso 2010: screen 1):<sup>4</sup> the ‘divine gift’ of health (ibid.) was not to be tampered with; divinity must be shown appreciation; otherwise, serious illness could strike. This can be interpreted as: the state of health is a fully functional state of being whereby all assumed divine rites are observed. Russell and Schofield (1992 [1986]: 8-9), after considering societies committed to this worldview, wrote that:

In such societies, human beings [were]/ are vitally concerned about their relation to the universe, which is conceived as being ‘peopled with spirits’. There tends to be no such distinction as is often made in western thought as the ‘natural’ (including health), the ‘social’ (relationships between individuals and groups in society) and the ‘religious’ (or supernatural). ... [B]oth social and biological issues are explained in supernatural (religious) terms.

In accordance with this world view, the supernatural explains health and illness, ... [t]hus most illnesses, especially serious illness, [are/is] believed to be caused by offences against the spirits...

In this sense, a health capital accumulation strategy of a social agent would be strict observance of religious and spiritual rites. It may be argued that one aspect of the Macedonian traditional, folk, healing system relies on observance of the religious and spiritual rites. This is not discussed further here; it is discussed in detail in chapter VII. The period of Hippocrates and his followers, saw the down of a new era in the history of health.

### **1.2 The legacy of the Hippocratic Corpus**

Often referred to as the ‘father of medicine’, Hippocrates of Cos (460-377 BC) (Awofeso 2010: screen 1) is understood to have been a physician from the period of classical antiquity, interested in what is nowadays understood as clinical medicine. The Hippocratic Theory stems from the Hippocratic Corpus (hereafter termed *The Corpus*), a compilation of writings by various authors<sup>5</sup> believed to have been followers of Hippocratic theory as well as of Hippocrates himself.<sup>6</sup> The appeal that Hippocratic works had for this medieval doctor lay in their authoritativeness and antiquity. What he sourced from the Hippocratic works was ‘medical wisdom’ (French 2003: 10).

The revolutionary aspect of Hippocratic theory with reference to health lies in its explicit opposition to the divine notion of health. This is evident in the Hippocratic writing *On the Sacred Disease*, within which the author rejects the notion of epilepsy being God’s doing and its need to be dealt with by magic (Van Der Eijk 2005). In addition, several other of the Hippocratic teachings made their mark in the history of health-related thought, e.g., the notion of ‘continuum between body and mind’ (Van Der Eijk 2005); the assumption being that the psychological and the physical are not distinct categories in their own right. A psychological disorder cannot be treated without treating the physicality of the patient.<sup>7</sup> When it came to treating the patient, the distinguished physician’s focus was not on a particular part of the body; rather, it was on the whole of the body, as it was the whole of the body that was affected by the illness. What made a physician in classic antiquity a distinguished physician? The author of *The Corpus* writing *On the Sacred Disease*,<sup>8</sup> agreed with Aristotle’s understanding of a ‘distinguished physician’ as ‘both, a competent doctor and a philosopher skilled in physics, logic and rhetoric’ (Van Der Eijk 2005; French 2003).

So, what is the source of illness according to Hippocratic theory? Hippocratic theory is classified as a humoral theory of health and disease (Gordon 1993:17) whereby health is a condition of full balance of the bodily fluids. Misbalance of the bodily fluids results in disease. Hippocratic theory which rescinded notions of health and the divine, focused on the individual as a whole, thus encompassing elements of what are nowadays referred to as an ‘holistic’ approach to health. As regards the individual as social agent, health capital accumulation practices are no longer subject to strict observation of religious rites.

### **1.3 Cartesian era: Dualistic Solution to the Psycho-physical Problem**

The philosophical and epistemological premise of Cartesian dualism – body and mind – established itself as a longstanding postulate in medicine the domination of which was challenged to a degree by



the greening of medicine<sup>9</sup> from the mid twentieth century onwards. Rene Descartes (1596-1650), an eminent figure in seventeenth century European philosophy, managed to successfully promote the notion of the dualistic existence of the spiritual and the material<sup>10</sup> (Ten Have 1987). Man was no longer imagined as a singular entity. This period saw the roots of the mechanistic approach to health and medicine.

What was the essence of the ‘Cartesian image of man’ (Ten Have 1987: 235)? Firstly, man is a ‘structure of [*res cogitas*], a thinking thing, and [*res extensa*], an extended thing’ (Ten Have 1987: 236). These are two distinct components that exist in their own right; while they can influence each other, one cannot be reduced to the other. Secondly, the body (the matter), *res extensa*, is a spatial phenomenon (as is nature overall); thus, it can be quantitatively defined and/or measured and the laws of movement- mechanics- will apply. As a consequence, the human body can be entirely examined and explained by the laws of mechanics, i.e., mathematically and physically (Ten Have 1987).

The Cartesian image of man has been a central image of man in the (still) dominant bio-medical model of health. With the introduction of a new mode of rationality, of scientific thought as opposed to dogma, Enlightenment philosophers, prominent among whom was Rene Descartes, made their mark on developments within the field of health. A new authority, rational science, was introduced into the domain of health (Pietroni 1990). As rational thinkers, and consistent with the bio-medical approach to health, physicians and health workers in general approached the patient as follows:

...[T]he client/patient [is] a physical entity, a ‘case’ or representative of a certain condition and [where] the individual becomes largely invisible behind a case note tag such as ‘lower back injury’ (Grbich 1999: 4).

Consistent with the bio-medical approach, health is defined in opposition to illness. The widely upheld definition of health assumes health as a ‘norm’ and illness as a deviation. Health is, therefore, ‘the absence of symptoms’ (Wilson 1970: 3). Wilson (1970: 4) also mentions a ‘radically different conception of health’ whereby illness is the norm and health is ‘compensated illness’. It is worthy of note that this definition is neither widely accepted nor recognised. Stark (1982), in his publication *Doctors in spite of themselves: the limits of radical health criticism*, criticised this approach as an overly ‘reductionist view’ of health with tendencies to ‘equate health and illness with medicine’ (Davis and George 1988: 23).

Empowered by an opportune ideology, medicine and the medical profession have become dominators of the field of health. In doing so, they have self-ascribed orthodoxy and traditionally within it. In addition, the Western state has universalised medicine as a matter of general interest, that is, as a common good. Positioning medicine as orthodox and conventional maximises its power within the field of health and beyond. Validated by the state, the medical approach to health presents itself as a doxa affecting individuals as social agents in their practice of health capital accumulation, rendering their experiences as doxic experiences of health and health capital accumulation. I will now discuss the positioning practices within the field of health that have secured medical domination over the field of health.

## **2. Positioning Practices of Medical Dominance: Past and Present**

In the field of health, medicine is assumed to be the ultimate authority: it is referred to as traditional, orthodox and conventional. All other authorities in the field of health are referred in a relational manner to 'orthodox medicine': alternative or complementary. The dominance of medicine in the field of health has for some time seemed unchallengeable. But, the field of health is now witnessing what Fuller (2006) refers to as 'a challenge of the medical authority'. Individuals are now entertaining other forms of health services (*Enemies of Reason* 2007). The World Health Organisation's Traditional Medicine Strategy 2002-2005 (2002: 2) reports that the entertaining of other kinds of health services is fuelled by 'concern about the adverse effects of chemical drugs, questioning the approaches and assumptions of allopathic medicine, and greater public access to health information'. But, how did medicine arrive at such an authoritative position? At the position of dominator of the field of health? In a bid to answer this question, I refer to French's (2003) *Medicine Before Science: The Rational and Learned Doctor from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, in which he presents an argument of crucial relevance to this topic. French (2003: 1) writes: 'The premise of the argument is that from the high Middle Ages onwards, physicians build up their trade into an elaborate professional structure, endowed it with an even more elaborate theory, and contrived to present it with great authority'. In pursuance of this argument, I will now provide a detailed discussion of the positioning practices within the field of health that have rendered medicine as field dominator. I will first focus on medieval times prior to the proliferation of bio-technology. Then I will extend the discussion to the late 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **2.1 Pre-biotechnology and positioning practices within the field of health**

The medieval doctor or the pre-scientific medical doctor paved the way to medical dominance of the scientific doctor of today (from the Enlightenment era to late modernity). I will not provide a detailed development of the medical profession but will briefly focus on some significant historical developments that impelled the emergence of medical dominance. The early medieval doctor turned to classical antiquity for its source of authority. The very fact that Hippocratic works informed the healing practices of the time, was sufficient to claim authority in times when 'ancient and authoritative' were highly revered (French 2003: 9). Utilising the Hippocratic medical wisdom the medieval doctor became a learned doctor. By employing the Aristotelian 'use of *argument*', the medieval doctor became a rational<sup>11</sup> doctor as well (French 2003: 18). The period that is now referred as 'classic antiquity' is considered a period which lacked an established system of medical 'licensing'. Doctors relied heavily upon their reputations and their teachers' reputations, in other words, on their symbolic capital. A group of doctors practicing similar medicine techniques (under the tutorship of their teachers) was in competition with other groups of doctors (under the tutorship of different teachers). All were keen to work on and improve their reputations. The Hippocratic Oath was introduced as 'a document of entry' (French 2003: 15) whereby, the new entrant into a particular medical group of doctors would follow the group's ethics, which would by extension, have the effect of improving or maintaining its reputation. In addition to the healed patient, members of organised medical groups became long term beneficiaries of the group's ethics (French 2003: 15).

Claudius Galenus of Pergamum (approximately 131-200 AD) – The Prince of Physicians – was celebrated as a hero by the ‘Latin medical tradition of the West’ (French 2003: 34). In Rome, the rational and learned doctor was removed from medical marketplace competition by means of patronage – a ‘formal relationship between patron and client’ (French 2003: 36). This arrangement vested significant political power in the physician by means of association with a politically powerful patron.

During the formative years of the Latin tradition in medicine - medical tradition based ‘on the classics and Latin’ with ‘minimal connection between theory and practice’ (Russell and Schofield: 1992 [1986]) - the first schools of medicine were established, in the form of physical places where medical training was offered. The schools, which are believed to have been developed from the Methodist Roman sect, later adopted the teachings of the Rationalist Roman sect at the classroom level (French 2003: 87). At this stage, a medical elite emerged backed by ecclesiastical power. Medicine was still imagined as God’s gift to humanity (ibid). By the 13<sup>th</sup> century, medical education had gained in importance and become an ‘industry’ regulated by ‘royal decree’ (French 2003: 91). The end result of the 13<sup>th</sup> century developments was the establishment of a medical faculty at University level. Members of the medical teaching elite, having established their monopoly over medical knowledge reproduction, were becoming more favourably positioned than ever.

During this period of history, the medical marketplace was dominated by University trained, learned and rational doctors, a domination that was ‘nominal and limited to large towns’ (French 2003: 120). However, experienced proven healers, who were also highly regarded, posed a threat to the learned and rational doctor. Between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, ‘less than half of the total number of practitioners had learned their medicine in a university’ (French 2003: 126). By the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the perceived threat to the dominance of the University trained physicians and their elite social position was responded to by the formation of occupational guild(s) (Russell and Schofield 1992[1986]). The physician’s authority grew as he sourced his knowledge from an esteemed University, a privilege which was available to few during medieval times. Elite medicine was performed for the ‘wealthy and powerful’, rendering the profession one of economical wealth as well (Russell and Schofield 1992[1986]: 11). It is important to note here that the health approach of elite medicine, based on the Latin tradition, was holistic in nature. The patient was seen and treated as a whole individual.

As the Latin tradition weakened and empiricism grew within medicine, the medical profession quickly moved to claim that medical doctors alone were equipped to administer treatment. This ideological disagreement, together with the 14<sup>th</sup> century pandemic called the Black Death and the French disease European outbreak towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, combined to weaken the reputation of the medical doctor. The medical profession suffered an ideological and ‘industrial’ crisis. And while the medical doctors focused on the ‘individual and his constitution and circumstances’ were taken by surprise, the practical layman responded. Focus was no longer on the individual: it was on the disease (French 2003: 158). The aforementioned social circumstances opened the door for a period of philosophical novelty in medicine that was heralded by mechanistic and chemist approaches, a development that changed the protagonists’ view of the world and nature. The learned and rational medical doctor now became a scientific medical doctor (French 2003).

The training practices that had empowered the learned and rational medieval physician were now replaced with training practices empowering scientific medical doctors. The training gradually shifted from lectures in university lecture theatres to hospital wards (Illich 1975; Russell and Schofield 1992[1986]).

Foucault<sup>12</sup> (2003[1963]: 243), in his *The Birth of The Clinic*, discusses the historical developments in medicine that led to the birth of the clinic, i.e., ‘the anatomo-clinical method [which] constitutes the historical condition of medicine that is given and accepted as positive’. The emergence of this method is closely related to the emergence of the idea of universal causality of the disease. By now, the disease had become the main focus of the medical profession. The structure that was set up, the space – isolation of the patient and its treatment in the clinic; the language, the medical discourse and the death as a medical experience (Foucault 2003[1963]: 243). The anatomo-clinical method informed a structure of ultimate power of the clinician (the medical professional). The treatment of the ‘case’ was carried by means of decontextualising the patient, by the admitting of him to a clinic, by complete overpowering and exclusion by usage of highly technical language, and by placing matters of life and death into the hands of the doctor.

So far, I have demonstrated the positioning practices that underpinned the dominance of the medical profession in the field of health. It is arguable that this was an outcome of a well strategised and goal oriented collective action of the medical profession. In Bourdieu’s terms, this well strategised and goal oriented collective action can be interpreted as a defensive, conservation strategy on the part of the medical fraternity to secure their domination of the field of health by generating rules that fortified said domination, such as guilds formation. As established dominators, when medical professionals perceive a crisis, manifested in the form of a threat to their dominance of the medical profession in the field of health, the profession takes charge. It employs crises resolution in their own interest aimed at maintaining of their dominant position and at keeping all newcomers (e.g., alternative health professionals) at bay. Such was the case with the emergence of scientific medicine as the successor to the Latin medical tradition. I will now proceed to discuss the more current dynamics within the field of health.

## **2.2 *Biotechnology and positioning practices within the field of health***

Concomitant with the unprecedented biotechnological developments towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the world is witnessing a re-emergence of the grand narrative of modernity in the promise of mending all of the world’s ills by means of biotechnology in the hands of the medical professionals. The grand narrative will ensure that medical dominance of the field of health remains unsuccessfully challenged. But disillusionment with these medically dominated health systems, as hinted earlier, is becoming more and more evident. This is emphasised in Macdonald’s (2005: 1) argument that medicine is faced with ‘a serious crisis’. One particular crisis is a ‘crisis of *credibility*’<sup>13</sup> (ibid.: 2). Macdonald (2005: 2) describes this form of crisis as follows:

People are losing faith in health systems. To be fair, this is sometimes due to unrealistic expectations: in a world in which there is an implicit assumption of the possibility of perfect health, by which is meant the total absence of disease, discontent is inbuilt. The inevitability of some forms of suffering – and death itself- is something often absent from public consciousness in modern global culture.

While in almost full agreement with Macdonald's (2005) argument vis-a-vis the credibility crisis in medicine; I would like to add that in its quest to secure profitability, the medical profession may be harbouring said 'unrealistic expectations'. This will be discussed in the section below in reference to structural iatrogenesis.

In response to the crisis of credibility, it appears that an integrative approach to medicine seems to be one way forward for the medical profession (Diamond 2001, Di Stefano 2006, Pietroni 1990). The other way forward could be the re-assertion of 'orthodox medicine' (Diamond 2001: 10); that is, scientific medicine as opposed to, what Dawkins refers to as, 'the irrational health service' (*Enemies of Reason* 2008). I propose an alternative to the two: an anthropic contextualisation of the healing practice, albeit medical or alternative practice.

The anthropic contextualisation of the healing practice, irrespective of whether it is medical or alternative, has, in the main, facilitation of the self-realisation of the individual by virtue of which the collective human condition is ameliorated. Each appeal for healing will be attended by healers, by healing intervention that will not affect the wellbeing of a fellow human, directly or indirectly. This approach does not allow for the 're-absorption of ... humans into the natural', consistent with the karmic worldview (Fuller 2006: 143). In order for this approach to be implemented the market condition should be no longer within the field of health, its removal rendering it in synchronism with an irenic (peaceful) vision. At the core of this approach to health is a just social environment, non-commercialisation of the field of health and civility. This way, it will be enabled to function as a health promoting social environment. Absence of a just environment runs the risk of becoming environment promoting diseasement and ultimately premature death.

Society has the power to withhold from providing, or, provide a just, constructive and health promoting environment. Invoking Bourdieu's argument (presented in chapter II, section 2.1.), society has the potential to offer all that is expected from God, including health and a healthy environment. However, is such an approach feasible? In a bid to answer this question I will explore in more detail, the relatively recent developments in the field of health under neoliberal conditions; that is, the relatively recent field struggles for determination of what constitutes health capital and how that capital is to be distributed. As well, I examine the social agents' struggle for field domination.

### **2.2.1. *The business with disease*<sup>14</sup>**

The dominance of the medical profession of the field of health is accompanied by the economic power of the medical professionals, which reaffirms the overall dominance of medicine. It is imperative to acknowledge that family clinics are set up in a neoliberal economical setting and operate as profitable business ventures. As with all profitable businesses, the family clinic addresses a demand – a demand for 'good health' (Grossman 1972: xiii). The patient is the consumer: the commodity is the commodity of 'good health'. The expansion of business is subject to an increasing demand for this commodity, one example of which is seen in the medicalisation of society whereby cultural responses to natural processes such as birthing are intensely medicalised. Medicalisation of the birthing process has seen the emergence of clinical births and medically controlled pre and post natal periods.

Illich's (1975) *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health* is widely cited in critiques of the highly commercialised course of medicine. Thus, it is of no little importance to consider Illich's ideas, particularly the idea of medical imperialism in the field of health and the concept of 'medicalisation of life' (Illich 1975: 31). The core message that Illich (1975: 11) conveys is captured in the following excerpt from his introductory section: 'The medical and para-medical monopoly over hygienic methodology and technology is a glaring example of the political misuse of scientific achievements to strengthen industrial rather than personal growth'.

The medical industry and the pharmaceutical industry thrive on the demand for the commodity of 'good health'. In order to sustain the high demand for the aforementioned commodity, consumers need to operate under the impression that they are in constant need of the commodity of 'good health'. Thus, to this end, there needs to be a widely recognised perception of health risks. The greater the perception of risk, the more flourishing the business. Thus, medical entrepreneurs are more or less involved in the business of clinical, social and structural iatrogenesis. Here, I should clarify my position. This argument, does not dismiss the role of the medical profession as a 'helping profession'; it criticises the commercialised aspect of it and the aspect of monopolisation of 'scientific, medical knowledge' –establishment medical science- in the hands of the medical profession.

Before I proceed with further discussion, I will introduce the concept of iatrogenic disease and iatrogenesis. Iatrogenic disease is defined as 'illness which would have not come about unless sound and professionally recommended treatment had been applied' (Illich 1975: 22, Robert 1969). Iatrogenesis is a process of generating iatrogenic disease. In his *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health*, Illich (1975: 27) explores the 'three-tiered iatrogenesis' and demonstrates the process whereby medical agents in the business of curing are concurrent 'pathogens' of other diseases.

Illich (1975) identifies clinical, social and structural iatrogenesis. The term 'clinical iatrogenesis' refers to the notion of disease generation in clinical [or similar] settings where 'the remedies, physicians and hospitals are pathogens or [sickening] agents' (ibid.: 22). One example of this would be the 'nocebo' effect, which I discuss later in relation to the cultural practices of Macedonians regarding the terminally ill. The widespread usage of ARV drugs in (South) Africa (SANCO 2007)<sup>15</sup> and the medicalisation of births (Possamai-Inseedy 2005) can be considered as other examples. Social iatrogenesis refers to a 'second-level impact' of medicine beyond the clinical (or alike) setting (ibid.: 26). This impact is, in fact, medical practice, sponsoring sickness by 'reinforcing a morbid society' (ibid.). Clinical iatrogenesis adds to the preservation of the quality of defectiveness (morbidity) of society with the ultimate goal of perpetuating a 'patient role' as the role of individuals as health services (products) consumers (ibid.). In this respect, the medicalisation of life, of health prevention and health expectation is relevant (Illich 1975). Structural iatrogenesis refers to 'the paralysis of the healthy responses to suffering' (Illich 1975: 27). In other words, structural iatrogenesis refers to the processes of restructuring the cultural processes of dealing with pain,<sup>16</sup> sickness and death, the disempowerment of culturally bound agents and their health-related knowledge, and imperialistic proliferation of the 'engineering method' of health management. Illich (1975: 90) observes that '[M]edical civilisation denies the need for man's acceptance of pain, sickness and death. Medical

civilisation is planned to kill pain, to eliminate sickness, and to struggle against death... – goals which have never before being guidelines for social life’.

Given that at the core of the proposed anthropic contextualisation of the healing practices (section 2.2.) is a just social environment, and non-commercialisation of the field of health and civility, this approach appears at best debatable.

### **2.2.2. Reasoning the ‘business with disease’**

In this section, I will discuss the proponents’ arguments for medical dominance in the field of health. In particular, I will closely examine the argument proposed by former Oxford Professor and evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins, who is a staunch supporter of medicine as an epitome of reason and a challenger of the alternative health practices as an epitome of irrational superstition. His work is considered in this thesis for two reasons: (1) for his explicit opposition to any alternative to medicine healing practices as non-scientific, hence, non-authoritative, and (2) for the provision of theoretical foundation of the Darwinian Left in his popular science corpus.

#### **2.2.2.1. Just Medicine**

Dawkins (featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) seems astonished by the fact that people opt for ‘irrational health service[es]’ instead of medicine, given that ‘superstition profoundly underestimates civilisation’. In his documentary *Enemies of Reason* (2008), delivered by Dawkins in two parts: *Slaves to Superstition* and *The Irrational Health Service*, he argues in support of medicine and conventional medical remedies as evidence-based medicinal remedies. His argument against ‘paranormal phenomena’ is multiplex: there is no evidence in support of it; no testing and re-testing; it is far from harmless fun; there is no ethics consideration; it is a priced commodity; it is in the business of fabricating meaning (such as the *false positive*); and, it is a rather outdated venture, something that our ‘primitive ancestors’ would entertain (ibid.). Overall, Dawkins (featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) argues that the sum of the aforementioned is a ‘betrayal of the Enlightenment’; a ‘divine feeling’ that stands no chance with ‘evidence based reason’ for any reasonable man. Health, Dawkins (featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) argues, has become ‘a battle ground of reason and superstition’. In their attempts to gain their share of the health market, the alternative healers are ‘preying’ on ‘irrational health feeling[s]’ by offering and selling unproven and untested remedies. Dawkins (featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) claims that one of the strategies of any alternative to medicine healing service providers is the ‘usage of scientific language for unscientific healing’. In addition, he seems to advocate for the medical [pharmaceutical] remedies, claiming that the only reason for medical drugs being expensive is the process of durable and rigorous testing of said drugs. Hence, the reasonable man will pay for his health.

Fuller (2010) opposes Dawkins’ (featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) argument of alternative medicine as irrational and non-scientific. He argues that alternative medicine is one of the ‘anti-establishment science movements’ (Fuller 2010: 70), which is best understood considering the following analogy:

... [J]ust as the secularization of Christianity led to the customization of religious life, the same is now beginning to happen in the case of science. ... [S]o-called New Age and other anti-establishment science movements in force today are no more “anti- scientific” than the original dissenting Protestant sects were “atheistic”. Rather, both sides of the analogy reflect people wanting to engage directly with the highest form of knowledge of their day, in order to take personal responsibility for the consequences of that engagement (ibid.: 62-63)

In synchronism with Fuller’s (2010) understanding of alternative medicine, people are conceived as social agents who ‘engage directly with the highest form of knowledge of their day’, that is, they act as protscientists. As recipients of alternative healing services, people take ‘active participation in the healing [processes]’ and instead of ‘[waiting] for the physician’s verdict’ as patients in receipt of medical service,’ clients decide when, if ever, they no longer need [the alternative medical] treatment’ (ibid.: 70-71).

Shifting focus back to Dawkins’ argument – establishment medical science as exclusively scientific - one does not have to go to great lengths to provide a counter argument. In continuation of this argument, I will now briefly critique the assumption that what is on the market is an evidence-based medical remedy, the highest ethical practice, the nocebo effect, and the pricing policies of the ‘evidence-based medical remedies’ purveyors.

#### **2.2.2.1.1. *Medicine and evidence-based medical remedies***

One of the sources of authority for scientific medicine is evidence-based medical remedies. The assumption is that every medicine put on the market has undergone rigorous medical testing/clinical trials until the drug is proven adequately effective and safe. This is one of the arguments that Dawkins (as featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) uses to confront the providers of ‘the irrational medical service’. I will not argue the validity of the efficacy of evidence-based medical remedies as presented on the market because sometimes the evidence shows quite the opposite – the remedy is ‘not adequately effective and safe’ (*Dying for Drugs* 2003, Olivieri 2003). And yet, it manages to reach the market. This is evident in the world clinical trials of the drug Deferiprone, conducted under the chairmanship of Toronto University Hospital for Sick Children employee Dr. Nancy Olivieri in August 1999 and licensed by the European Regulatory Authority under the name of Ferriprox. Dr. Nancy Olivieri was devoted to finding a more convenient alternative to Desferal for the treatment of Thalassemia. While the small scale drug trials proved quite positive and promising of near future licensing for the funding pharmaceutical company Apotex INC., later evidence noted and compiled by Dr Olivieri indicated that at that stage of trials the drug was neither adequately effective nor safe; she wanted to adapt the clinical trials for ongoing testing and an ultimate result of finding an effective and safe drug to treat Thalassemia. The pharmaceutical company Apotex INC. decided to terminate the trials and bring the drug to the market as soon as possible, in the process threatening and intimidating with legal action over non-disclosure of the side effects to her patients and to the medical society at large (Dr. Olivieri as featured in *Dying for Drugs* 2003). At the time of licensing, the Chair of the clinical trials found ‘the drug [to be] neither adequately effective nor safe’ (*Dying for Drugs* 2003, Olivieri 2003).<sup>17</sup> From the case presented, it can be concluded that not all medical remedies on the market are evidence-based as effective medical remedies, as Dawkins would have one believe.



#### **2.2.2.1.2. *Medicine and ethics***

Have all of the medical remedies that appear on the market been subjected to strict observance of ethical protocol? As an emerging researcher myself, I would like to think in the affirmative. The video documented case of a Pfizer clinical trial of the drug Trovan in the Nigerian town of Kano during the meningitis<sup>18</sup> epidemic of 1996 demonstrates the rather alarming reality of ethical misconduct.<sup>19</sup> The particulars of the case are as follows: After learning of a meningitis outbreak, Pfizer's Connecticut Research Office almost immediately positioned a research team in the Kano Infectious Disease Hospital for the sole purpose of conducting a clinical trial on meningitis affected children using the new drug Trovan. Under the pretence of helping the children, the Pfizer research team removed the meningitis affected children from their parents and subjected them to involuntary participation in clinical trials of the drug. At the time of the clinical tests, no ethical protocol was observed. When confronted with a charge of ethical misconduct, Pfizer maintained their ethical observance. The company's response to the issue of not being able to produce written and signed consent forms claimed of parents' illiteracy, despite the video documented contrary claims of the parents.<sup>20</sup> This account highlights the importance of accuracy and truthfulness vis-a-vis verbal interaction between medical officers and patients (and patients' relatives).

#### **2.2.2.1.3. *The Nocebo Effect***

The Nocebo effect, 'whereby expectation of a negative outcome may lead to the worsening of a symptom' (Benedetti et al. 2007: 260), has only recently become the focus of research in the context of healing (Benedetti et al. 2007, Bootzin and Bailey 2005, Liccardi et al. 2004) vis-a-vis the placebo effect which has been, comparatively, the focus of significant volume of health related literature. I will discuss the nocebo effect in relation to the issue of disclosure of 'bad news' to a terminally ill patient. My discussion will draw from the findings of a study undertaken by Catherine Norman, Ethnic Project Officer, in 1994, funded by the Migrant Health Service of the Hunter Area Health Service, a study that included Macedonians in Australia as one of the target ethnic groups in the Hunter Region, New South Wales, Australia. The research explored, death, dying and bereavement practices of migrant communities in the Hunter region, New South Wales (Norman 1995), and, problems that arose between the medical professionals and the 'ethnic families' over the issue of the terminally ill patient's right to information and management of care (Norman 1996: 1583). To sustain relevance, I will only focus on the aspect of the research that deals with 'breaking the bad news' (Norman 1996) thus, making it relevant to the nocebo effect argument.

The findings indicated that Macedonians along with Serbians, Croatians, Greeks, Chinese, Filipinos and Vietnamese, do not believe that people who are terminally ill should be told of the seriousness of their illness. Their attitudes are clearly in support of non disclosure and/or individual disclosure models, with the following considerations: they are aware of the possible nocebo effects if the terminally ill are told of the terminal nature of their illnesses. For example, Serbians are not keen on full disclosure because 'it worries the sick person[; T]he person gets disheartened and dies'

(Norman 1996: 1587). Macedonians believe that ‘by not telling the elderly you save them pain’, while Filipinos believe that if told, ‘the patient becomes anxious and gives up’ (Norman 1996: 1587).

It is arguable that non disclosure of the nature of the illness to the terminally ill can be considered as creating a false positive by means of nondisclosure. While Richard Dawkins criticises the overall concept of false positive due to the very fact that it is false, it is arguable that communities such as the Macedonians, Filipinos and Serbians are more teleological in their focus and utility of the false positive for the greater wellbeing of the terminally ill.

#### **2.2.2.1.4. Pricing Policies and medicines**

Dawkins (as featured in *Enemies of Reason* 2008) argues that the high price of medicines is due to the fact of durable and costly periods of testing and re-testing the drugs before they enter the market. Jamie Love, who is a health economist (*Dying for Drugs* 2003), argues differently: ‘The products [medicines] are priced according to what it is worth to someone to get access to the drug. If it saves your life, it is worth quite a bit’. This is evident in the pricing policy case of the leukaemia treating drug ‘Glivec’, patented by the Swiss firm Novartis. The South Korean participants in the clinical trials of this innovative drug were not able to afford the drug once it was licensed. One pill cost \$US 19 dollars after government subsidy: daily treatment with the drug for some patients totalled four pills per day (*Dying for Drugs* 2003). At this rate, in order to secure access to their life enabling drugs, some patients had to reduce themselves to extreme poverty in order to be able to build their drug purchasing power. In turn, when their purchasing power ceases, their lives will cease too if the price of Glivec is not modified, i.e., reduced in South Korea. According to Jamie Love (featured in *Dying for Drugs* 2003), there is no justification for the high pricing of the drug Glivec:

A lot of the development work is paid by the US Government Department. It was also a product that was approved very quickly. It was on the market several years after the patent was filled. Short trials, small trials and a short development period. That means that *Glivec* is a relatively inexpensive drug to bring to the market.

It is evident that the pricing policy of the medicines is not just subject to durability and the costliness of the developing stages of drugs. In this respect, Dawkins’ argument is insupportable. I will now conclude my discussion of Dawkins’s explicit opposition to any alternative to medicine healing practices as non-scientific and non-authoritative, and proceed to discuss the wider implications of his popular science.

#### **2.2.2.2. Medicine and the Darwinian Left**

So far, I have established that contemporary scientific medicine (the scientific medical man) sources its authority in science, which is highly regarded in today’s rational<sup>21</sup> society, just the same as his predecessor the learned and rational physician, sourced his authority in antiquity, which was highly regarded in that era. But, sourcing authority from science, i.e., science sourced from ‘established scientific authorities’ (Fuller 2010: 1), does not necessarily secure scientifically founded medical practices (as argued above): nor does it secure ultimate effectiveness. Nevertheless, scientific medicine does secure the backing of the political/ideological Darwinian Left (Fuller 2006). Fuller (2006: 107) claims that: ‘The Darwinian Left officially aims to revive the fortunes of progressive

politics in today's post-Marxist world, but in practice it would reinforce current prejudices by justifying the policy path of least resistance to those who already happen to exist'.

Fuller (2006) coins the nascent ideological movement which prominently appears in Peter Singers' works (the brainchild) and Richard Dawkins's works,<sup>22</sup> as the Darwinian Left. He agrees with Singers that the 'Left' requires a scientific foundation to legitimise its claims for policy change; but he insists that the scientific foundation cannot be found in reviving Darwinist informed 'traditional conservative (...) karmic views that would place *a priori* limits on the scope for social change' (ibid.: 108). It seems now appropriate to explore the distinctiveness of the karmic and anthropic world-views. Fuller (2006: 131), who expounds a different view from that of Dawkins, argues that there is no requirement for 'bridging' as religion and science are not 'inherently antagonistic'. He further argues that any 'sense of antagonism' is purely institutional and was accentuated through the power struggles for intellectual and spiritual dominance in the universities of Europe and US between theology and the natural sciences. What cuts across 'the religion and science divide' is the distinction between the anthropic and the karmic world-views (Fuller 2006: 131). The essence of these two 'great scientific-religious world-views' is the 'ennoblement of humanity' (ibid.: 141). The anthropic world-view ennoble humanity while the karmic world-view does not. Proponents of the karmic world-view do not see a privileged relationship of humanity to God: do not see the need for social sciences as independent from the natural sciences, and in politics: do not see 'humanity [as] a collective project above the self-interest of individuals and their loved ones' (Fuller 2006: 140).

How is this relevant to medicine and the field of health? The relevance of the aforementioned discussion to the field of health, and hence to my thesis, may be found in the notion of 're-absorption of the human into the natural' (Fuller 2006: 143). As a consequence, the normal – pathological binary is re-accentuated and the distinctiveness between life forms is dissolved. The karmic world-view's relevance to the field of health is multiplex. One feature is 'as nature intended': the scientific medical practitioner is '[a] facilitato[r] of 'nature's course', which had allowed a good bedside manner to slip into acts of euthanasia' (Fuller 2006: 177); another is 'medicine for the elite': by shifting the focus away from the 'collective humanistic project' towards the non – human inhabitants of the world (Fuller 2006: 181), there will be elite access to the highly-priced medical services, the elite being the 'evolutionary fit', i.e., people with corresponding purchasing power. In addition, the commodification of health' and unregulated drugs pricing is 'nature's way'. If the *laissez-faire* is the natural way, as argued by the Social Darwinists as well as the Neo-Darwinists (Fuller 2006), then commodification of health as well as the liberal pricing of life saving drugs and the direction of medical research should not be interfered with, given it is the natural way of things. This is well captured by Dr Jonathan Quick of the World health Organisation (WHO), who features in *Dying for Drugs* (2003):

[A propos of] the [pharmaceutical] market in the developing countries, the majority of the market is there for tuberculosis, malaria, [and] some of the tropical diseases. It is a market in terms of number of people, but the purchasing power isn't there. If the purchasing power isn't there, than the normal dynamics of the [medical/ pharmaceutical] research and development industry just do not address those problems.

It seems rather clear that the Neo-Darwinian synthesis, synchronous with the karmic world-view, benefits neo-liberal politics as well as favours the medical/pharmaceutical dominance of the field of health. This nascent informing and practiced ideology is depicted by Fuller (2006), who states:

[Bioliberalism is] the emerging dominant ideology of our time, characterised by a politically developed *eugenics* sensibility, in which decisions concerning the design, commercialization and termination of life are taken with minimal state intervention. ...[I]t indirectly promotes the *karmic world-view* ... [and] it may be seen as the natural outcome of *neo-liberalism* when the biomedical industries are the ascendant mode of production (ibid.: 206).

Following Bourdieu, the universalisation of the bioliberal paradigm renders it a *doxa* of the contemporary developed world. This means that bioliberalism is presented and imposed as a state-validated, universal paradigm. Given that, many in need of healing attention experience *doxic* experiences of health, I will now proceed to discuss some indications of *doxic* experiences of health among Macedonians in Australia.

### 3. *Doxic Experiences of Health*

This section will present evidence that suggests that some Macedonians in Australia have *doxic* experiences of health. The thesis also offers evidence that Macedonians do, in fact, challenge the authority of medical dominance; but, this is not the focus of this section as it will be discussed in detail in chapter VII.

Consistent with the biomedical health paradigm, the medical doctor is the knowledge agent: ‘the objective analytical’ agent (Pietroni 1990: 43) and something the individual seeking healing attention is not. As field dominators, medical professionals assess the dominated patients as ‘sick’ and expect uncontested acceptance of their diagnoses. In line with the universalisation of the medical domination of the field of health, individuals may experience *doxic* health experiences due to deeply embedded beliefs that inform/drive the dominated patient into accepting the prescribed medication/treatment with no questions asked. This ‘knowledge monopoly’ is still largely observed by today’s medical doctors. The dominated patient does not feel secure enough to challenge the medical professional and is not confident in his right to know (Pietroni 1990). This became evident on three counts in the study presented below.

The first count was the explicit acknowledgement by a focus group participant that modern times are times of medical dominance of the field of health. The participant dismissed the need to seek alternatives. Immediately, this notion was challenged by other participants in the focus group. Despite their challenge, this suggests that some individuals do go through *doxic* experiences of health:

... [W]e live in a more contemporary world nowadays. You wouldn’t go and apply ointment if you suffer high bodily temperature, rather you would go and visit the doctor. You would run... You would seek out the doctor’s help, you wouldn’t seek out “babi”, or ointments.

It becomes evident that this focus group participant associated the ‘contemporary world’ with [medical] doctors. The intensity of this is seen in her statement, that not only would one seek medical attention, but one would run (do it hastily).

The second count of *doxic* experience of health was evident in the e-mail (21 February 2008) communicated criticism vis-a-vis the nature of the questions included in the survey questionnaire. The

period of communicated criticism coincided with the period of fieldwork undertaken for this study. The following is an excerpt from that e-mail:

I would like to inform you that I and [my partner] have completed the questionnaire that we have received from you.

Also, I would like to express my opinion in relation to some of the questions ... question number 21, in relation to [spiritual healing] “baenje”, if those beliefs really exist, that would be an indication of how backward as a nation we are (Ristov 2008: Pers. Comm.).

What is evident in this excerpt is the immediate association of ‘[spiritual healing] *baenje*’ practices with backwardness, which in turn affects the image of the Macedonian nation. This position is in line with Dawkins’s position that medicine is the epitome of reason and progress and that alternative healing practices are the epitome of irrationality and primitiveness.

The third count suggesting *doxic* experiences of health is drawn from the critical notes included by a survey participant in his/her reply to the survey questionnaire (case 750). Indicating the non-practice of traditional medicine by adding an option of ‘do not practice it’ in addition to the provided optional answers and selecting it, the respondent further wrote: ‘These are very complex and impractical questions ... it appears the premise of this questionnaire is that all Macedonian practices are bad, which is questionable’. This note is positioned in the margins of Question 21, which, asks about knowledge and usage of traditional medicine and spiritual healing and about God’s perceived foreknowledge vis-a-vis health-behaviour modifications.

It is arguable that this participant saw the research focus on alternative healing practices as embodied in the Macedonian practice. He/she criticises this focus as ‘narrow’, as focusing only on ‘bad practices’. And if this were so, it would certainly be questionable. The ‘unnecessarily ... negative survey’ implies a negative quality associated with traditionality, spiritual practices and healing. This negativity threatens to provide a dismal portrayal of Macedonian culture.

It seems clear that some Macedonians have *doxic* experiences of health. This analysis has taken into consideration the universalisation of *bioliberal* ideology and medical dominance in the field of health. A further premise that leads to *doxic* experience of health is the ever present binary healthy-unhealthy, that is, the sick, diseased, unsound when it comes to matters of health. This is closely related to the definition of health. In the following section, I will critically discuss approaches to defining health, and will propose an alternative approach which is in synchronism with the proposed anthropic contextualisation of healing practices. I will proceed with a discussion on the available definitions of health with specific focus on the Macedonian ethno-collective.

#### **4. Defining health**

The World Health Organisation (WHO 1948: 1) defines health as ‘a complete state of physical, mental and social wellbeing, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity’. This definition is a constant reminder of the necessity to contextualise one’s health (Macdonald 2005) and move away from the reductionist, mechanistic definition of health as a mere absence of disease.

Nevertheless, one must acknowledge the rather idealistic, utopian approach to health embodied in this definition. Even with the relative nature of the concept of completeness, the aspired condition of complete well-being is hardly ever obtainable. Consider, for example, the Macedonians in Australia.

Given the symbolically violent social environment discussed in chapter III, the social component of health has been neglected; hence, the ‘completeness’ of wellbeing has not been attainable. For this reason, none of the Macedonians can be considered healthy. But, it is not just the Macedonians. Any impoverished, discriminated against individual will be deemed unhealthy as well. Ultimately, the implications of defining health as an ideal state of being (Grbich 1999, Beaglehole and Bonita 1997) reveal a world in which the majority of peoples is unhealthy. Portrayed as such, what was meant to be inspiring and reflective of the optimism of the post WWII era (Beaglehole and Bonita 1997) implies a rather dim state of the world.

Due to the obvious limitations of this definition of health, in 1957 the WHO redefined health as: ‘a condition or quality of the human organism which expresses adequate functioning under given genetic and environmental conditions’ (Grbich 1999: 7). Deemed as a more realistic definition, this definition allows for a methodologically problematic discretion on the part of the interpreter as to which ‘human organism’ is healthy and which is not. I will use the example of the Macedonians, but this time during the Fascist period in Greece (discussed in chapter I). The outlawing of languages other than Greek, and, as a consequence, the leaving of many ethno-Macedonians with no form communicative tool, may be interpreted as ‘adequate functioning’ given the circumstances. This definition does not place a responsibility on the health authorities and governments to improve conditions of living (Grbich 1999).

In a bid to provide a workable definition for the medical profession, Bircher (2005) proposes a definition that unifies many defining elements of health as proposed by other authors, and compiles them in one definition that allows for cultural difference. In his article *Scientific Contribution [-] Towards a dynamic definition of health and disease*, Bircher (2005: 336) offers the following definition:

Health is a dynamic state of wellbeing characterized by a physical, mental and social potential which satisfies the demands of a life commensurate with age, culture and personal responsibility. If the potential is insufficient to satisfy these demands the state is a disease.

Bircher’s definition aims at offering a universal template for all health stakeholders, at ascertaining the state of health and disease across different life stages, different cultures and different profiles. This definition seems to address the main flaw of omitting responsibility on the part of the government in the 1957 WHO definition on health by locating the milieu within which an individual enjoys a state of health. As such, the onus falls on the government as well to improve the environment for maximisation of the physical, mental and social potential.

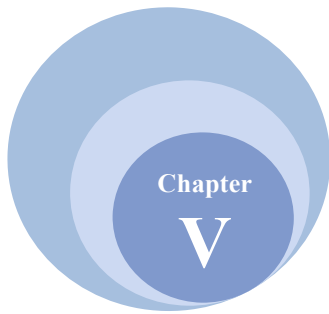
These definitions of health do not even remotely exhaust the long list of definitions that are offered in the literature. But, each seeks a more or less methodological solution to what is health. Each time however, there is an implied healthy-unhealthy binary, which is to say the least discriminative. An approach to health which does not imply this healthy-unhealthy binary is necessary.

I propose that the individual’s state of being should be understood in terms of its health capital volume; that is, its cumulative health capital (embodied, objectified and equity). Each individual, at a particular point in time has a particular health capital volume, which can be more or less and has a tendency to increase or decrease. Hence, the individual’s state of being can be assessed along the continuum and not in reference to the healthy-unhealthy binary. Each individual accumulates health

capital by various means, e.g., by exercising, socialising, spiritual healing, and usage of traditional medicine. This is in synchronism with the anthropic contextualisation of the healing practice, either medical or alternative, which in the main, facilitates the self-realisation of the individual by virtue of which the collective human condition is ameliorated. Each individual engages in health capital accumulation practices which maximise his/her health capital volume. It is the Governments' responsibility to facilitate these practices by ensuring just social environments, the non-commercialisation of the field of health and humility.

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In chapters II and IV I have discussed the social environment within which ethno-Macedonians in Australia resided/reside, as well as the field struggles within the field of health. What still has to be examined are the ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices among ethno-Macedonians in Australia. This brings me to the research question. In an attempt to answer it, I have formulated the argument presented in this thesis: What forms of ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices do ethno-Macedonians in Australia employ to maximise their health capital volume in a symbolically violent social environment? In addition, the relations between the ethno-collective and individual trajectories, and the choice of ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices have been explored. The methodology employed for the study is detailed in chapter V.



## Community Participatory research route to Emics

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Concluding remarks

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The focus in this chapter is upon the research approach and the specific methodologies employed in the study. In response to a perception of a time in which sociology ‘as the flagship discipline of the social sciences, is suffering from an identity crisis’ (Fuller 2006: 1), the method of inquiry I employ is the critical sociological method of inquiry. Developments in the contemporary scientific world, which is ‘[indisputably] ... a social world’ (Bourdieu 2004[2001]: 3), have shed dim light on sociology (Fuller 2006); thus often the onus is on the critical sociological method to ‘[make] the social science scientific’ (Neuman 2003: 63). This method of inquiry, which invokes both ‘nomothetic and indeographic approaches’ to research (ibid.: 81), holds that critical sociology offers not just ‘description and explanation’ but also ‘understanding and interpretation as possible goals of research’ (Punch 2005: 31).

In this study, the critical sociological method of inquiry is employed as a way of describing, explaining, understanding and interpreting the ‘native’ or *emic* worldview of the researched collective.<sup>1</sup> In an attempt to elicit these *emics*, I have conducted my research as a reflexive, community participatory research. I will now proceed to discuss the specific methodologies employed in this research, the ‘epistemological potential of reflexivity’ (Maton 2003: 53), and its concrete manifestations in this research.



### 1. *Community participatory research*

Community participatory research (CPR), as a research approach, has grown noticeably in recent years across various academic disciplines, such as healthcare, early childhood development and health promotion (Power 2002, Dockett and Perry 2005, Paulus and Boldt 2002). Titterton and Smart (2006: 53, 57), with focus on ‘a deprived community in a Scottish city’, explore the possibility of CPR providing ‘a route for disadvantaged communities seeking to overcome social inclusion’. In Australia, Blignault, Woodland, Ponzio, Ristevski and Kirov (2009) employed CPR in their research into the stigma attached to mental illness in the Australian Macedonian Community. All of these authors have approached their research as a ‘collaborative model that promotes the development of critical partnerships and the application of research conclusions ... [vis-a-vis] the process of community development’ (North American Primary Care Research Group 2003: 183, Titterton and Smart 2006). One might argue that the critical sociological method of inquiry is inconsistent with the CPR specific methodology given the narrowing of the research scope to the relevance of the stakeholders in that particular form of research. As regards narrow interpretation of the method, this may be the case. However, Cornwall and Jewkes (1995:1667) state that ‘what is distinctive about participatory research is not the methods, but the methodological contexts of their application’. Moreover, ‘the key difference between participatory and other research methodologies lies in the location of power in the various stages of the research process’ (ibid.: 1668). Herein lies CPR’s relevance to my research. As previously stated, in order to gain access to the *emic* input, it is imperative to shift the power in the research process from top to bottom, enabling the researched collective to partake consistently throughout the research process, particularly in voicing their ‘native’ or indigenous understandings, and interpretations, i.e., symbolic constructs. Cornwall and Jewkes (1995:1669) state that with CPR, it is the ‘local people’s’ input that counts; in the case of this thesis, the Macedonian people’s knowledge. Here, I need to clarify my position and state that this methodology is applied at least as consultative, at best as collaborative, as opposed to contractual<sup>2</sup> and collegiate<sup>3</sup> methodologies (Biggs 1989). As regards the Macedonians in Australia, this means that, at least, their opinions were sought and they were consulted by the researcher before interventions were made, and, at best, the researcher worked with the community on research-related matters ‘designed initiated and managed by the [researcher]’ (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995:1669). The methodologies employed for the purposes of this study included: document analysis, qualitative research (in the form of focus groups) and quantitative research (in the form of a survey). The choice of methodologies was made in synchronism with the research approach (CPR) and the aim of this study. The focus group sessions were conducted prior to the distribution of the survey. The focus groups in this study were used ‘to provide a contextual basis for [the] survey design’ (Bloor et al. 2002: 17). The focus group participation enabled for the research topic related ‘indigenous thought categories’ of Macedonians to be explored and further included in the survey questionnaire. The knowledge generated through conducting the focus groups was used as foundation knowledge for designing the questionnaire for the survey. The survey was conducted to explore the degree to which said topic related ‘indigenous thought categories’ are present and relevant among the ethno-Macedonian population in Australia at large. Document analysis was conducted throughout the research process concomitant with the qualitative and the quantitative phase of the

fieldwork. The documents accessed and analysed were documents mainly archived with the Australian National Archive that related either directly or indirectly to ethno-Macedonians in Australia. As well they addressed, either directly or indirectly, the Macedonian Question viz the period between the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century and post-WWII. The material was compiled on behalf of various Commonwealth Departments. Now, I will proceed with discussion of the various stages of research.

## ***2. Doing community participatory research***

As stated in chapter I, in this thesis, the case of the Macedonian people in Australia is explored in the context of identity, health and health capital. The decision to study the Macedonian people in this context is in part related to my longstanding research and community welfare interest in the community of which I identify myself as part, and is in part related to their peculiar positioning as an ethno-collective, evident in the symbolically violent social environment within which the collective finds itself (see discussion in chapter III). This research was granted a full ethics approval by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) on 5 June 2006 and was allocated an approval number HREC06/068 (see Appendix V.1.4.). Considering the existence of the researched community as a distinct collective, and in compliance with the ethical requirements, I have obtained research project support and embracement from several Macedonian community based organisations (see Appendix V. 1.2. section ‘Human Participant Description, second paragraph). This section will discuss the five stages of research: familiarisation, the qualitative and quantitative stages of my fieldwork, the document analysis, and post- research collaboration.

### ***2.1. Familiarisation with and the establishing of collaborative partnerships***

The process of familiarisation included familiarisation on two counts: (1) familiarisation with the available academic and community literature relevant to the research topic, and (2) familiarisation with the Macedonian ethno-cultural field. Both revealed a complex environment within which this research was conducted. As regards the first count, this is discussed in chapter III, section 1. Familiarisation with the Macedonian ethno-cultural field Australiawide was conducted by numerous means: visiting Macedonian communal sites, meetings with various community leaders, regular perusal of the ethno-Macedonian community press, and by joining various mailing lists. As a matter of courtesy, my visits to the communal sites were always announced as visits in capacity as researcher.<sup>4</sup>

Establishing collaborative partnerships and facilitation of their research potency is crucial to CPR. During this period, five non-government organisations (NGOs) were contacted for possible collaboration. All five, the Macedonian Australian Welfare Association of Sydney Inc.(MAWA), the Macedonian Community Welfare Association of Melbourne (MCWA), the Port Kembla Macedonian Welfare Association Inc. (PKMWA), the Queanbeyan Multilingual Centre Inc. (QMC), and the Macedonian Literary Association of Australia ‘Grigor Prlichev’ of Sydney, consented to collaborative engagement in the research. In Perth, Western Australia, Zoran Cosevski, the current Macedonian Honorary Consul, collaborated in this research in his private capacity. Given the political sensitivity of the Macedonian ethno-cultural field, some challenges have been presented. This is discussed later in this chapter (section 3.1.).

## 2.2. *Qualitative stage: Focus groups*

Five focus groups were conducted in five different locations throughout Australia, locations with sizable concentrations of ethno-Macedonians; e.g., Sydney, Port Kembla, Melbourne, Perth and Canberra/ Queanbeyan. All five focus groups were conducted during the period of 10 July 2006 to 23 October 2006. The focus groups in Sydney, Port Kembla and Canberra/Queanbeyan were facilitated by the researcher: the focus groups in Melbourne and Perth were facilitated by a MCWA staff member and by volunteer facilitator, Mr. Zoran Cosevski, respectively. To insure consistency in data collection and minimise potential bias, the two moderators were briefed on the research protocol and were provided a copy of it after it was approved by the UWS Ethics Committee (HREC 06/068) (See Appendices V.1.1., V.1.2., and V.1.3.). The impact/bias from the two moderators was assessed to be no more prominent than the impact/(possible) bias when I moderated the focus groups. Both facilitators were bilingual and highly regarded by the Macedonian community. The focus groups were facilitated in accordance with the research protocol approved by the University of Western Sydney (UWS) Human Ethics Committee. In order to ensure compliance with the research protocol, a copy of the protocol was sent to all facilitators a fortnight before the scheduled date for the focus groups. Facilitators' roles included: participant recruitment, distribution of information booklet and collection of consent forms, setting up the venues, and actual focus group facilitation. They functioned in close collaboration with the researcher throughout the course of their engagement in the research.

The recruitment of focus group participants involved distributing information booklets<sup>5</sup> containing the information sheet, consent forms and the focus group interview schedule (see Appendix V.1.) among visitors to the various communal sites, inviting them to become participants in the proposed study. The information booklet contained an outline of the project, character requirements, the role of the participants, stipulations of privacy, confidentiality, consensual and voluntary matters, and information regarding the researcher and contact details. In accordance with the nature of the project, the information booklet was designed in both the Macedonian and English languages. The snowballing effect was a welcome outcome of the public campaign to recruit participants.

Thirty-eight ethno-Macedonians participated in the focus group discussions: Sydney (11), Melbourne (8), Canberra/Queanbeyan (7), Port Kembla (7) and Perth (5). The focus group participants were asked to discuss the following questions: (1) 'What makes you feel and identify as Macedonian in Australia?', (2) 'What do you think will happen if you decide not to behave in the 'Macedonian way'? Do you expect any repercussions from the wider Macedonian community if you change your ways?', (3) 'Are there any specific Macedonian unrecorded/unwritten ways of treating particular illnesses, such as [venereal] diseases, mental illness, cold and flu, and obesity?', and (4) 'If the doctor prescribes radically different treatment for your illness, would you be willing to completely disregard the 'Macedonian peoples' cure? What would you do in such cases?'.<sup>6</sup> Each of the focus groups ran for the duration of 60 to 90 minutes. All five focus groups were conducted in the Macedonian language. The group discussion was recorded, transcribed and translated in to the English language.

In conducting focus groups as a research methodology, there are certain limitations to it that need to be acknowledged. Building on Bourdieu (1977) and Williams (1995), these limitations may occur in the form of: (1) omission of important information that in participants' lives go without saying (for example references to churches and church attendances, are references to Macedonian Orthodox churches and Macedonian Orthodox church attendances; as this 'goes without saying', it is familiar); (2) coaching participants at levels of generality excluding any direct reference to particular cases or

events, directly related to ‘the distance between learned reconstruction of the native world and the native experiences of that world which finds expression only in the silences, ellipses, and lacunae of the language of familiarity’ (Bourdieu 1977: 18), and (3) participants acting formal and distant from the practical logic. In Bourdieu’s words, these limitations are due to the ‘discourse of familiarity’, the ‘outsider-oriented discourse’ and the ‘semi-theoretical disposition’ of the participants, respectively (Bourdieu 1993[1977]: 18). It is likely that these limitations occur in this study as well.

Managing the focus groups’ dynamics has presented a challenge, mainly, for two reasons: (1) managing dominating participants ‘monopolising’ the focus groups’ discussions, and, (2) managing ‘sub-groupings’ and development of several concomitant ‘sub-discussions’ among focus group participants. Lastly, some problems with the legibility of the audio recordings were evident due to the said concomitant ‘sub-discussions’, and, on limited occasions, due to poor recording quality.

### 2.3. *Quantitative stage: Australiawide survey*

The data from the focus group was analysed during 2006 and 2007. The analysis of the collected data followed the widely acknowledged process of qualitative analysis: ‘reading ‘data’ within the context of the setting and the researchers purpose... employing a basic, descriptive content analysis’, establish commonalities and code them appropriately (for example: code ‘traditional healing’), as well as, establish patterns among commonalities and code them appropriately (for example: (sub)codes ‘medication therapy’ and ‘non-medication therapy’) (Sarantokos 2005: 345). The qualitative analysis was computer-aided, that is, Nvivo software was used to facilitate the qualitative data analysis. The main themes and conclusions which have emerged from the qualitative data analysis were included in the survey questionnaire, along with general questions about the participants such as: age, gender, health status (see appendix V.2.). A preliminary draft of the survey questionnaire was developed and sent to the NGOs for consideration in respect to cultural appropriateness, translation efficacy and topic development. Before launching the survey, a reference group was called in on 14 November 2007 for the purposes of ‘[consulting] with members of the Australian Macedonian community and representatives of relevant community service providers on the issue of cultural appropriateness of the drafted (and translated) survey questionnaire’ and ‘to undertake proofreading activities in respect to the Macedonian translation’ of the same (see Appendix V.3.). The reference group consisted of two representatives from the collaborating NGOs, a professional interpreter, a journalist for the Macedonian media in Australia, and two members of the ethno-Macedonian collective. After implementation of the recommended changes to the survey questionnaire draft, a final copy was sent to each participant of the reference group for final endorsement.

The survey questionnaires were widely distributed via the collaborating NGOs, at various communal premises and via Macedonian print media in Australia: *Today-Denes*, *Australian Macedonian Weekly*, *Shilo* and *Kompas*. On many occasions, I have personally handed out survey questionnaires and assisted in their completion. In the period between December 2007 and July 2008, some 4,000 survey questionnaires were distributed and 817 questionnaires were responded to. The data were further entered and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software application.

This stage of the study is deemed as quantitative stage due to the volume of statistical data that has generated and was statistically analysed using the SPSS. Although statistical data was generated in the main, the several open ended questions included in the survey questionnaire generated some qualitative data (see question 1, 18, 21 and 25 of the survey questionnaire). These qualitative data were analysed separately.

As regards the survey design, several limitations can be identified that may have affected the response rate: complexity of topics projected in the complexity of language (e.g. ‘ethno-specific sanctioning mechanisms’, see question 17), the length of the survey questionnaire, and, the format, that is, the small font used in the survey questionnaire.

#### 2.4. *Document Analysis*

As stated earlier, document analysis was conducted concomitant with the qualitative and the quantitative phase of the fieldwork. As relevant research and literature relating to ethno-Macedonians in Australia from the period leading up to the establishment of multiculturalism as an official policy in mid 1970s is scarce, I turned my focus to the Australian National Archive. During a period of approximately 16 months<sup>7</sup> (2006-2008), I have analysed 17 files, containing various documents (approximately 1,600 pages) with various data ranges (1925 – 1965). My focus was upon (1) documents related, either directly or indirectly, to ethno-Macedonians in Australia and, (2) documents related, either directly or indirectly, to the Macedonian Question. As regards the former, I have analysed two types of documents: personal naturalisation papers of ethno-Macedonians from the period before the WWII, and, files compiled as result of the Government's scrutiny of the 'Communists', to which ethno-Macedonians were subjected due to their association with the Communist political left (such as the file series A6122: *Macedonian People League of Australia*). As regards the latter, in the main, I have analysed two series: *Bulgaria - Macedonia and Relations with Yugoslavia* (series No. A981), and, *Yugoslavia - Foreign policy - Relations with Greece* (series No. A1838/73). The findings were, in sum, presented in chapter III.

#### 2.5. *Post-research collaboration*

CPR differs from 'conventional' research in that emphasis is upon 'process' as opposed to 'outcomes' (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995: 1669). Consistent with Bourdieu's understanding of an intellectual –seclusion in the Ivory Tower results in one failing to carry out one's moral duty – collaborative efforts continued, e.g., in collaborative conference attendances<sup>8</sup> and the prospective dissemination of the study's findings via a bilingual publication of a book in both the Macedonian and English languages. This book would be published by the collaborative efforts of the researcher and the Macedonian Literary Association of Australia 'Grigor Prlichev' of Sydney (one of the collaborative NGOs), for the purposes of community education. Further collaborative efforts are under consideration at the time of thesis submission.

### 3. *Epistemological potential of reflexivity in research*

Bourdieu (1990a: 1) who argues that '[i]n social sciences, the progress of knowledge presupposes progress in our knowledge of the conditions of knowledge', has contributed greatly towards the progress of social scientific knowledge by realising the 'epistemological potential of reflexivity' (Maton 2003: 53). Reflexivity not only affords more comprehensive descriptive accounts of the social world but also provides a practical adequacy and epistemological security of the social science itself (Maton 2003).

In the shortest introductory way, reflexive research involves studying and criticising oneself, as a researcher, as well as one's research subject matter (Neuman 2003: 81). More specifically, reflexivity in research implies 'that authors should explicitly position themselves in relation to their objects of study so that one may assess researchers' knowledge claims in terms of situated aspects of their social selves and reveal their (often hidden) doxic values and assumptions' (Maton 2003: 54). While earlier lacking in

approval, reflexive research in social sciences is ‘one of near universal approval’ nowadays (ibid.).

According to Bourdieu (2003: 281), ‘[s]cientific reflexivity stands opposed to the narcissistic reflexivity of postmodern anthropology as well as to the egological reflexivity of phenomenology’. It requires that the private person, that is, the researcher, turns ‘the most objectivist tools’ not only onto oneself but also onto the disciplinary and academic fields. This way, reflexivity will not undermine the research process; rather, it will underwrite it (Maton 2003). Maton (2003) argues that the enacted reflexivity in social science research is exemplary of sociological reductionism, individualism and narcissism. This is visible in the enacted forms of reflexivity: autobiographical reflection,<sup>9</sup> the ‘reflexive practitioner’,<sup>10</sup> hermeneutic narcissism<sup>11</sup> and authorship denial.<sup>12</sup> All of these enacted forms of reflexivity are assuming a reflexive quality vis-a-vis the social relations between the knower and the knowledge (ibid.).

Reflexive research needs to introduce an element of reflexivity into the objectifying relations; that is, in the relations between the known and the knower (Bourdieu 2003, Maton 2003). Bourdieu (2000, 2003) argues that knowledge generated by research may be potentially biased due to ‘[a] the social origins and coordinates of the researcher; [b] the researcher’s position in the intellectual field; and [c] intellectualist bias’ (Maton 2003: 57). In his/her attempt to objectify the objectification, the researcher, according to Bourdieu, needs to be ‘pluralised and sociologised’ (Bourdieu 1990, Maton 2003: 57). I will now discuss the factors of potential bias in relation to my research as well as the methodological challenge of conducting a bilingual research.

### ***3.1. Epistemological potential of reflexivity and my research***

In a bid to maximise the epistemological potential of reflexivity in my research, I will briefly discuss my (the researcher) social origins and coordinates, my position in the intellectual field, and ‘scholastic bias’ (Bourdieu 2003), that is, the intellectual bias that the latter informs.

I, the researcher that drives this thesis, identify myself as a civic-Australian, an ethno-Macedonian. Considering the ‘insider/outsider debate’ in ‘sociology, and in racial and ethnic studies in particular’ (De Andrade 2000: 269), my position may be deemed as an insider position, that is, a position of ‘[an individual] who share[s] membership with the social group studied’ (ibid.: 269-270). The insider/outsider debate’s focus is upon the quality of research conducted by an insider: is said research ‘invalid, better, or just different’ (ibid.: 270). However, the insider/outsider positions are not static; rather, they are in constant negotiation throughout research processes. De Andrade (2000: 271) states: ‘because race and ethnicity are ever-present factors in field research, insider/outsider status is also ongoing presence or dynamic in the research process’. In this research, my insider/outsider status was also in constant negotiation. Due to my being recognised by the researched collective as an ethno-Macedonian, I was on many occasions considered both trusted and genuine in relation to my research approach. However, on occasion, I was ‘not to be trusted’. Hence, my position as a researcher within the Macedonian ethno-cultural field may be described as in the ‘grey-zone’; that is, somewhere between being trusted and embraced as an exemplary Macedonian in Australia (an insider) and being a possible ‘manipulator’ siding against the common Macedonian good and thriving on my purely

egocentric research undertaking (an outsider). The symbolically violent social environment for ethno-Macedonians in Australia (as discussed in chapter III) has made the dynamic of constant negotiation and re-negotiation of my insider/outsider position intense. One example is evident in the question that was posed to me on more than one occasion: ‘How is this research going to help with the name issue?’. Although my answer to this question was uniformed, consistent with the information contained in the focus group information booklets and the information contained in the survey questionnaire, the interpretation of my answer to this question was at the base of deeming my position as either an insider or an outsider.

My neutrality as a researcher, vis-a-vis the dynamics within the Macedonian ethnocultural field was also negotiated and re-negotiated through the research process. This is evident in regard to the existence of the two competitive fractions of institutionalised Macedonian Orthodoxy in Australia. Macedonian Orthodox churches in Australia, through the course of their operation, act as cultural hubs. Any attempt to reach Australian Macedonians implies the necessity of access and being welcomed at their churches and communal properties. The first verbal contact, irrespective of whether involves a church attendant, a priest, or a member of the managing committee, may be questions such as: ‘Is this to do with the church?’ or, ‘Which side are you on?’. Declaring my neutrality did not always result in trust in said neutrality by the wider ethnic community. Being seen with ‘someone’ had - on occasions - resulted in compromised neutrality.

As regards my position in the intellectual field, being an emerging intellectual is a weight in itself. The fact of being emerging intellectual in the academic discipline of Sociology, along with the rest of fellow colleagues, exposes me to the neo-liberal and corporate pressures that have ‘reduced [sociology] to a disposable means to the maximisation of policy-relevant research income and employer-friendly accredited degree’ (Fuller 2006:1). Hence, true sociologist at heart, and as a ‘newcomer’ to the field of academia, I have dutifully accepted the rules and strategies imposed in line with the marginalised role of the doctoral candidate. Hence, I had to negotiate and re-negotiate my research from ‘purely’ sociological to ‘policy-relevant’. I also had to negotiate the timely completion of this thesis, amid ‘building of my resume’ as an emerging intellectual, that is, gaining experience in tertiary teaching and governance, and academic research- community engagement, in order to render myself prospectively employable as part of the academia.

### **3.2. *Difficulties with bilingual research***

This research is conducted as a bilingual research, that is, ‘translated instruments’ (Chang et al. 1999: 316) were used for generation of data: focus group schedule and survey questionnaire, both in English and Macedonian languages. Chang et al. (1999: 312) state:

The validity of studies using translated instruments may be questioned when there is a lack of attention to and/or minimal explanation of the procedures used for determining the equivalence between the primary and secondary language tool.

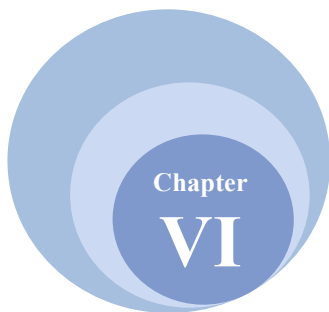
Thus, it is imperative to explain the procedures undertaken for determining of equivalence between the English language focus group schedule and survey questionnaire and the Macedonian language translations of these used in my research. In bilingual research, ‘[i]deally, the method of

description and measurement of any construct should be developed from the perspective of all the cultures under investigation' (Marsella 1978, cited in Chang et al. 1999: 317). However, due to resource and time limitations this was not attainable (ibid.) for this study, hence, the alternative was a translation of the research related material.

In the main, I translated the material used in the research myself. I am a National Accreditation Authority of Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) accredited professional interpreter<sup>13</sup> with over ten years of entrepreneurial professional experience. As regards my experience in research related translating, I have translated all relevant research material, 'translated [research] instruments' and data generated through those, for the purposes of my Honours degree research at the University of Western Sydney, Australia. When translating said material from English language into Macedonian language, and *vice versa*, my aim was to minimise the distortions in meaning, posed by language and cultural differences. One example is evident in the translation and interpretation of the Macedonian term '*baenje*'. I have translated the term into spiritual healing (and women practicing *baenje* in spiritual healers), when in fact it only relates to one form of spiritual healing, and is almost 'untranslatable' in English language. Different to the translation accepted for this study, Obrebski (1977) translated women practicing *baenje*, as 'medicine women'. After consultations with the representatives of the Macedonian ethno-collective and the collaborating NGOs, I have endorsed the translation of the term as spiritual healing. The extent of the community consultations undertaken vis-a-vis translation and cultural appropriateness of the survey questionnaire is outlined earlier in this chapter (see section 2.3.). Although a lot has been done to ensure equivalence in meaning in this study, 'equivalence in all aspects is difficult and rarely possible to achieve' (Chang et al. 1999: 317).

When promoting and conducting the field work, I also engaged in interpreting. Same as with translation, when conducting bilingual research such as this, there is always a risk of disjuncture of meaning due to the two distinct language systems. In regards to the usage of interpreters in research, it is likely that limitations will also occur whenever interpreters are required. In many cases throughout this study, the researcher is both the interpreter and the translator of the research material as well: this may help instil confidence based upon the researcher's perceived clear conceptions and contextualised knowledge. Nevertheless, it is likely that limitations will occur, not only in studies in generally but in this study as well.





## Genetic Structuring of Macedonian-ness: Enacted Macedonian-ness

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Concluding remarks

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In this chapter, the focus is upon the findings of this study regarding Macedonian individual and collective identity. Bearing in mind the overtly and symbolically violent environments within which

ethno-Macedonians maintained and nurtured individual and collective identity, discussed in chapter I, II, and III, this chapter discusses the enactment, that is, the embodied forms of Macedonian-ness, as the core of their ethno-collective survival. The findings presented in this chapter are presented as closest to the *emics*, relevant and meaningful to the ethno-Macedonians. Before the *emics* vis-a-vis what makes Macedonians feel and identity as Macedonians are presented, a description of the surveyed population is provided together with discussion of the sample representativeness and validity of the statistical generalisations. Section 2 in this chapter focuses on the ethno-identity attributes relevant to ethno-Macedonians, that is, of *emic* value to them: performance attributes (communal activity, Macedonian cuisine, Macedonian music, Macedonian language, respecting and following Macedonian customs and Macedonian Orthodoxy), symbolic attributes (Macedonian Orthodoxy, Macedonian History), and passive attributes (ancestry, place of birth). The discussion of cultural change and cultural continuity is contained in section 3 in this chapter. Finally, in section 4 in this chapter, the focus is upon the ethno-sanctioning mechanisms within the Macedonian ethnocultural field in Australia, their effectiveness and their role in preservation and continuity of the 'Macedonian way of life'.

### 1. Description of the surveyed population

This section of the thesis focuses on describing the surveyed ethno-Macedonian population (the population), that is, the surveyed sample, assessing the sample representativeness and discussion of some identified basic patterns. In the process, I will weight the effectiveness of the statistical generalisations.

As stated in chapter V, section 2.3., the total number ( $N$ ) of surveyed individuals was 817. Considering the official statistics, i.e., the 2006 Census Data, the sample size accounts for 0.97 % of the overall Macedonian population in Australia with reference to ancestry by country of birth of parents, and 1.2% of the overall Macedonian population by language spoken at home.<sup>1</sup> Considering the 2001 estimates provided by community leaders and supported by Peter Hill (2001), the sample size accounts for 0.54% of the overall population of Australians with Macedonian collective ethno-sentiments.<sup>2</sup> Out of the total number of respondents, 526 ( $N(nsw)=526$ ) permanently resided in New South Wales. These accounted for approximately 3% of the NSW population with Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents and 1.8% of the number of Macedonian speaking population in NSW as recorded by the 2006 Census of Population and Housing. In addition, 184 respondents ( $N(vic)=184$ ) permanently resided in Victoria. These accounted for 0.5% of the Victorian population with Macedonian ancestry by country by birth of parents and 0.6% of the number of Macedonian speaking population in Victoria. The NSW and Victorian respondents accounted for 90.2% of the valid percentage of the overall surveyed population. The remainder, that is, 9.8% of the valid percentage were distributed as follows: Western Australia (5.3%), Australian Capital Territory (3%), Queensland (0.9%), South Australia (0.4%) and Northern Territory (0.1%). In WA, the surveyed population accounted for 0.52% of the WA population with Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents and 0.74% out of the total number of Macedonian speaking population in Western Australia. In the ACT, the surveyed population accounted for 2.9% of the ACT population with

Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents and 4.5% of the total number of Macedonian speaking population in the ACT. In Queensland, the surveyed population accounted for 0.4% of the Queensland population with Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents, and 0.6% of the total number of Macedonian speaking population in the state. In South Australia, the surveyed population accounted for 0.2% of the SA population with Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents, and 0.43% of the total number of the Macedonian speaking population in the state. Finally, in the Northern Territory, the surveyed population accounted for 3.4% of the NT population with Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents, and 5.3% of the total number of the Macedonian speaking population in the territory. These data are provided in **Table VI.1**.

SAMPLE SIZE STATISTICS						
	<i>N</i>	Valid percentage	Population with Macedonian ancestry by country by birth of parents	Sample size percentage - Population with Macedonian ancestry by country by birth of parents	Macedonian speaking population	Sample size percentage - Macedonian speaking population.
Australia	<i>N=817</i>	N/A	83983	0.97	67833	1.2
Australia (Respondents indicating place of residence)	<i>N=787(Missing Values=30)</i>	100	83983	0.94	67833	1.16
NSW	<i>N(nsw)=526</i>	66.8	34316	3** <sup>i</sup>	28942	1.8**
Victoria	<i>N(vic)=184</i>	23.4	37434	0.5	30771	0.6
WA	<i>N(wa)=42</i>	5.3	8043	0.52	5668	0.74
ACT	<i>N(act)=24</i>	3	825	2.9**	561	4.5**
Queensland	<i>N(qld)=7</i>	0.9	1829	0.4** <sup>ii</sup>	1144	0.6
SA	<i>N(sa)=3</i>	0.4	1424	0.2*	704	0.43*
NT	<i>N(nt)=1</i>	0.1	29	3.4 <sup>iii</sup>	19	5.3 <sup>iv</sup>

**Table VI.1.** Sample Size Statistics

<sup>i</sup> \*\* stands for overrepresentation.

<sup>ii</sup> \* stands for underrepresentation.

<sup>iii</sup> Technically, this percentage indicates overrepresentation. Considering that there is only one respondent in question, no further in-text analysis will be conducted.

<sup>iv</sup> *ibid*.

The data indicate that the NSW and ACT surveyed populations are overrepresented in both categories: the Qld and SA surveyed populations are underrepresented in reference to the first

category, i.e., population with Macedonian ancestry by country of birth of parents, as is the SA surveyed population in respect to the second category, i.e., Macedonian speaking population.<sup>3</sup> The underrepresentation of the Qld and SA surveyed populations is not considered to be a shortcoming of this study as there was no a requirement for strata sampling. The three factors deemed important to the underrepresentation of ethno-Macedonians in Qld and SA are: lack of collaborating industry research partners, promotion of the research project from a remote post, e.g., Sydney, due to time and financial restrictions pertaining to the nature of this project, and high dependence on the enthusiasm or lack thereof of private individual community members. The overrepresentation of the NSW and ACT surveyed populations was somewhat expected due to the following five factors: (1) involvement of four non-government organisations as research collaborative partners based in NSW (one in Port Kembla, two in Sydney and one in Queanbeyan (see chapter V, section 2.1.); (2) regular visitation of the research sites; (3) the personal (physical) involvement of the chief investigator in campaigning and recruitment enabled by the comparative close proximity of the sites; (4) the easily identifiable ethno-Macedonian population clusters in the three aforementioned research locations; and, (5) NSW being the second largest ethno-Macedonian populated state in Australia second only to Victoria. Irrespective of said underrepresentation and overrepresentation, it may be deemed that there is a good sample spread overall. In providing a descriptive account of the sample, I will first look at the migrant generational status of the surveyed population, followed by age, gender, adherence to Macedonian ethnic customs and self-reported English fluency. In doing so, I will progressively discuss the representative quality of the sample size, and the validity of the statistical generalisations.

### ***1.1. Migrant Generational Status***

Against the history of Macedonian migration to Australia provided in chapter III, four measures for the *Migrant Generational Status (MGS)* variable were developed: first, second, third and fourth migrant generational status. In respect to this variable, the valid number of respondents was 761 -  $N(mgs)=761$  - which accounts for 93.1% of the total number  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 6.9%, i.e., 56 non-responses. Out of the valid number  $N(mgs)$ , 526 respondents (69.1%) reported first generation migrant status, 203 respondents (26.7%) reported second generation migrant status, 25 respondents (3.3%) reported third generation migrants status, and, 7 respondents (0.9%) reported fourth generation migrant status (see Table VI.2.). The valid percentage distribution reveals that 95.8% of the valid number of respondents were either first or second generation migrants. In respect to the duration of their residence in Australia, the vast majority ( $n=279$ ) of the first generation Macedonian migrants had resided in Australia for more than twenty years accounting for a valid 53.6%. The remainder of the valid percentage is distributed as follows: 25.9% ( $n=135$ ) had resided in Australia for a period of between ten and twenty years, approximately 12.5% ( $n=65$ ) for a period of between five to ten years, approximately 6% ( $n=31$ ) for a period of between one and five years, and approximately 2% ( $n=11$ ) for a duration of less than one year (see Table VI.3.). Although the question vis-a-vis duration of residence was not directed at subsequent 'migrant' generations, i.e., second, third and fourth as indicated in the survey questionnaire,<sup>4</sup> some respondents have answered it. For example, out of the 203 respondents with second migrant generational status, 98 answered this question. As 64

stated that they had resided in Australia for a period of more than twenty years, which in actual fact may mean the whole duration of their lives, I will not allocate significant weight to these data. However, the 23 indications of 10-20 years residence, the 9 indications of 5-10 years residence and the two indications of 1-5 years residence in Australia suggest consistency with the scenario that repatriation of Macedonian *pecalbari* has taken place and their children - as Australian citizens - are re-settling in Australia after having resided elsewhere. Against the background knowledge of the Macedonian migration history and Australia (see chapter III, sections 2 and 3) and the peak of the Macedonian migration during the 1950s and 1960s (Hill 2001), this kind of distribution is expected and can be deemed as highly representative of the overall ethno-Macedonian population in Australia.

SAMPLE SIZE STATISTICS: MIGRATION GENERATIONAL STATUS. $N(mgs)=761$ .					
Migrant Generational Status	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Total
Valid number of respondents ( $n$ ) <sup>i</sup>	526	203	25	7	761
Valid percentage of respondents	69.1	26.7	3.3	0.9	100

**Table VI.2.** Sample Size Statistics: Migration Generational Status  $N(mgs)=761$

<sup>i</sup>  $N(mgs)=761$ , accounts for 93.1% of the total number of survey respondents  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 6.9%, i.e., 56 non-responses.

SAMPLE SIZE STATISTICS: DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA.										
Migrant Generational Status	First Generation Migrants. $n=521$ <sup>i</sup>					Second Generation Migrants. $n=98$ <sup>ii</sup>				
Duration of residence (in years)	<1	1-5	5-10	10-20	>20	<1	1-5	5-10	10-20	>20
Valid number of respondents ( $n$ )	11	31	65	135	279	nil	2	9	23	64
Valid percentage of respondents	2	6	12.5	25.9	53.6	nil	2	9.2	23.5	65.3

**Table VI.3.** Duration of Residence in Australia

<sup>i</sup>  $n=521$ , accounts for 99.05% of the number of survey respondents, first generation migrants  $N(mgs1)=526$ . The missing percentage equals 0.95%, i.e., 5 non-responses.

<sup>ii</sup>  $n=103$ , accounts for 48.3% of the number of survey respondents, second generation migrants  $N(mgs)=203$ . The missing percentage equals 51.7%, i.e., 105 non-responses.

## 1.2. Age and Migrant Generational Status

The measures developed for the *Age (A)* variable correspond with distinct age decades: 30-39, 40-49, 50-59 and 60-69 apart from the first measure of 18-29<sup>5</sup> and the last two of 70-85 and 85 plus. The last two measures were developed in accordance with the relevant literature on ageing that assumes that later life is not a monolithic stage but is comprised of at least two sub-stages that distinguish between the 'the young-old' and the 'oldest old'.<sup>6</sup> As regards this variable, the valid number of respondents was 778, i.e.,  $N(a)=778$ , which accounts for 95.2% of the total number  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 4.8%, i.e., 39 non-responses. Out of the valid number  $N(a)$  of respondents, 10.5% belong to the 18-29 age bracket, 17.7% to the 30-39 age bracket, 19.7% to the 40-49 age bracket, 23.7% to the 50-59 age bracket, 16.2% to the 60-69 age bracket, 11.2% to the 70-85 age bracket, and 1% to the 85 plus age bracket. The valid percentage distribution reveals that the most prominent age bracket among respondents was 50-59 ( $n=184$ ). All of the age brackets (groups) were significantly

represented apart from the 85 plus age group ( $n=8$ ). Hence, it is arguable that almost all of the age profiles are significantly represented, adding to the quality of representativeness of the sample size (see Table VI.4.).

SAMPLE SIZE STATISTICS: AGE. $N(a)=778$ .								
Age brackets (groups)	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-85	85+	Total
Valid number of respondents ( $n$ ) <sup>i</sup>	82	138	153	184	126	87	8	778
Valid percentage of respondents	10.5	17.7	19.7	23.7	16.2	11.2	1	100

**Table VI.4.** Sample Size Statistics: Age.  $N(a)=778$

<sup>i</sup>  $N(a)=778$ , accounts for 95.2% of the total number of survey respondents  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 4.8%, i.e., 39 non-responses.

Against the background knowledge of the characteristics of the successive migration waves of Macedonians to Australia, I performed a bivariate correlative test of *MGS* and *A* variables, which enabled me to assess the external validity of the research conclusions. The Spearman's rho (two tailed) significance test conducted on 741 valid responses revealed a correlation of -0.445 between the variables. This means that the correlation between the two variables is a negative correlation of moderate or medium significance. The negative indicator indicates that the more advanced the migrant generational status, the lower the age bracket of the respondents. The absence of a strong or very strong correlation between the two variables allows for continuous migration of Macedonians to Australia, which supports the case presented in chapter III, section 3.

### 1.3. Gender

Out of the 766 ( $N(g)=766$ ) valid responses to the gender question (question 7 in the research questionnaire), 50.4% were male and 49.6% were female. Comparatively, in its *etic* strength, the 2006 Census data reveals gender distribution as follows: 50.1% male and 49.9% female in respect to the category of language spoken at home and 50.6pc males and 49.4pc females in respect to the category of ancestry by country of birth of parents. This gender distribution of the surveyed population is close to that of the 2006 Australian Census data. This also supports the case for a representative sample.

Several social patterns of the population in relation to gender will be presented in this section. A Pearson Chi-square (two-tailed) test was performed in order to identify relationships of statistical significance between gender and the following variables included in the general section of the survey questionnaire: period of residence, working experience, respecting and following of Macedonian customs, English language fluency and homeownership. The test revealed a significant relationship between gender and the first three variables (see Table VI.5.).

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha = .05$ . Gender								
	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Observed value	Upper critical value at $\alpha/2$	Comparative value	Lower critical value at $1-\alpha/2$	Comparative value	Relationship existence
Gender*Period of Residence	5	.004	17.273	12.833	>*	.831	>	Relationship
Gender*English Proficiency	2	.607	.999	7.378	<	.051	>	Nil
Gender*Working Experience	4	.003	16.311	11.143	>*	.484	>	Relationship
Gender*Homeownership	2	.950	.103	7.378	<	.051	>	Nil
Gender*Macedonian Customs	2	.978	.045	7.378	<	.051	<*	Relationship

**Table VI.5.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha = .05$ . Gender

A closer look at the test statistics, in particularly at the statistically significant relationship between gender and period of residence reveals that males are more likely to reside longer in Australia than females: they are likely to reside in Australia for more than 20 years. The gender distribution is almost identical for the 5-10 year period. For residence of less than 1 year, females are more likely to be overrepresented. As regards the statistically relevant relationship between gender and working experience, males (57.5%) are more likely to be employed in physical labouring jobs than females and less likely to be employed in general office work (42.4%). In the highly professional employment category, representing 19.6% of the total valid gender count, both genders were almost equally represented: 48.9% male and 51.15% female. Also, females, representing 13.4% of the total valid count in the gender category, 57.8% seemed more reluctant to disclose their main employment category. In regard to the statistical relationship of relevance between gender and Macedonian customs adherence, both genders appeared equally represented across the three levels of customs adherence: low, medium and high. The last represented a vast 79% within the total valid count in the gender category (see appendices VI.1, 2 and 3).

#### **1.4. Adherence to Macedonian ethnic customs**

With relevance to the Macedonian customs adherence patterns, question four of the survey questionnaire asked: 'To what degree is your life guided by Macedonian ethnic customs?'. In response, the respondents selected the corresponding percentage that most closely captured the authority of Macedonian ethno customs over their lives. Out of the valid number of responses,  $N(mca)=777$ , an overwhelmingly large percentage (78.8%) indicated high customs adherence, 17.1% indicated medium customs adherence, and 4.1% indicated low customs adherence. Out of the 612 high customs adherence responses, 40.2% indicated 100% customs adherence, 27.5% indicated 90% customs adherence, 20.1% indicated 80% adherence and 11.4% indicated 70% adherence (see table VI.6).

MACEDONIAN CUSTOMS ADHERENCE. $N(mca)=777$ .								
Level of custom adherence	Low adherence	Medium adherence	High Adherence $n=612$					
			Level of custom adherence	70%	80%	90%	100%	miscellaneous
Valid number of respondents ( $n$ ) <sup>i</sup>	32	133	Valid number of respondents	70	123	168	246	5
			Valid percentage of respondents	11.4	20.1	27.5	40.2	0.8
Valid percentage of respondents	4.1	17.1	78.8					

**Table VI.6.** Macedonian Customs Adherence

<sup>i</sup>  $N(mca) = 777$ , accounts for 95.1% of the total number of survey respondents  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 4.9%, i.e., 40 non-responses.

The statistical data analysis, the Pearson Chi-Square (two tailed) test revealed a relationship of statistical relevance between Macedonian customs adherence and migrant generational status (MGS), age, English proficiency and gender (see table VI.7). A propos of the first relationship, there was a tendency towards lower customs adherence; but, despite this tendency, customs adherence was high across the four migrant generational categories: 83.4% of first generation migrants, 70.7% of second generation migrants, 65.2% of third generation migrants, and 50% of fourth generation migrants. As regards the statistically relevant relationship between customs adherence and age, there was a visible tendency for an increase in customs adherence with increase of age. But, the overall adherence to Macedonian customs was high across all ages; the lowest being 70.8% for age bracket 30-39 and the highest being 89.7% for age bracket 70-85.

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . Macedonian Customs Adherence								
	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Observed value	Upper critical value at $\alpha/2$	Comparative value	Lower critical value at $1-\alpha/2$	Comparative value	Relationship existence
Macedonian Customs*Migrant-generational status	6	.000	30.715	14.449	>*	1.237	>	Relationship
Macedonian Customs*Period of Residence	10	.085	16.530	20.483	<	3.247	>	Nil
Macedonian Customs*Age Group	12	.024	23.425	23.337	>*	4.404	>	Relationship
Macedonian Customs*English Proficiency	4	.000	36.125	11.143	>*	.484	>	Relationship
Macedonian Customs*Gender	2	.978	.045	7.378	<	.051	<*	Relationship

**Table VI.7.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . Macedonian Customs Adherence



The data suggests a likely decrease in customs adherence concomitant with fluency in the English language: the 92.6% who self-assessed themselves as non-proficient English speakers reported high customs adherence as opposed to the 72.7% of the self-assessed proficient English speakers. But, despite this tendency, high customs adherence is likely to be the norm. Finally, the last relation of statistical relevance was between gender and customs adherence. Both genders seemed highly likely to adhere to Macedonian customs, almost identically, in fact in terms of percentage distribution: males 78.8% and females 79.3% (see appendices VI. 4, 5 and 6).

### **1.5. English Language Proficiency**

The last variable to be considered in this section is English language proficiency. This variable has already been discussed in respect to its statistically relevant relationship to Macedonian customs adherence. In addition, it is relevant to note that out of the 518 first generation ethno-Macedonians who responded to the survey, 198 (38.2%) saw themselves to be proficient English speakers. A further 267 respondents (51.5%) consider themselves as fluent English speakers, while 53 respondents (10.2%) were undecided in terms of their English language fluency.

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that the sample is representative of the overall ethno-Macedonian population in Australia. With regard to the statistical generalisation of the findings, I will suggest that, in the main, they will be valid as well.

\*\*\*\*\*

The data revealed several prominent social patterns among the surveyed population: men were more likely to reside longer in Australian than women; but, women were more likely to be overrepresented as more recent Australian residents. Men were more likely to be employed in physical labouring jobs, but less reluctant to declare their kinds of working experience than women. Professional work experience was equally present amongst genders. A relatively high percentage of first generation ethno-Macedonian migrants self-assessed themselves as not proficient in the English language.

Most prominent of all the social patterns was high customs adherence. This category was reported across migrant generational status, age, English proficiency and gender. As regards the discussion of the drift to particularity (Vincent 2002) presented in chapter I, section 2, this pattern can be seen either as an undesired development 'warranting only an inescapable 'grudging acceptance'' (ibid.: 4), or it can be seen as normatively desirable development warranting respect for the Macedonian communal based customs and values that are being iterated and reiterated through performance in accordance with them. Synchronous with the approach in this thesis, this development/pattern is seen as normatively desirable. This aspect will be revisited in section 2 in this chapter in which its relevance as an ethno-identity attribute is explored.

In chapter I, section 4, I suggested that the debate of validation of people as evident in the example of the Macedonian people lies – at least partly- in the difference between *emic* and *etic* knowledge constructs, in particular, in the suggestion that *etic* claims to knowledge are superior to *emic* counterclaims. A lot of the officially recorded data, as discussed in chapter I, section 5, are *etics*, that is, an end in themselves. One of the aims of this study is to 'penetrate, discover and elucidate *emic* systems' (Lett 2010: approx. screen 1), that is, to penetrate, discover and elucidate *emic* systems

which are meaningful to the Macedonian people, in particular, Macedonian ethno-collective in Australia. In the following section, I will discuss the various ethno-identity attributes in a bid to understand the *emics* of being an ethno-Macedonian, that is, what is meaningful to the ethno-Macedonians in Australia vis-a-vis their Macedonian-ness.

## 2. Feeling and Identifying as Macedonian in Australia

The centuries long diasporic existence of the Macedonian people, and the lack of corresponding governments' (see chapters I and III) acknowledgement of their existence synchronous to their own political and administrative imperatives, have resulted in the marked disassociation of official records of the ethno-Macedonian collective existence from Macedonian ethno-sentiments and practiced culture. This omission has left a great vacuum in the written history of the ethno-Macedonians. As discussed earlier, the debate surrounding *emic* vs. *etic* knowledge is of great relevance when considering the problematic nature of official data on ethno-Macedonians both in Australia and overseas. There is a vast corpus of literature discussing the measurability of ethnicity and associated problems. However, not satisfied with just adopting some of these 'solutions' for measuring ethnicity, I have moved towards exploring the relevance of those often and less often recognised attributes of ethno-collective identity.

### 2.1. Ethno-Identity Attributes

In this research, the question of 'What makes you feel and identify as Macedonian in Australia?'<sup>7</sup>, was twice explored: first, as a question for open discussion by the focus groups, and second, as a multiple choice question in the survey questionnaire.

The answers that this question attracted during the focus group sessions were later analysed and a list of ethno-identity attributes devised for the survey questionnaire. A Perth focus group participant stated:

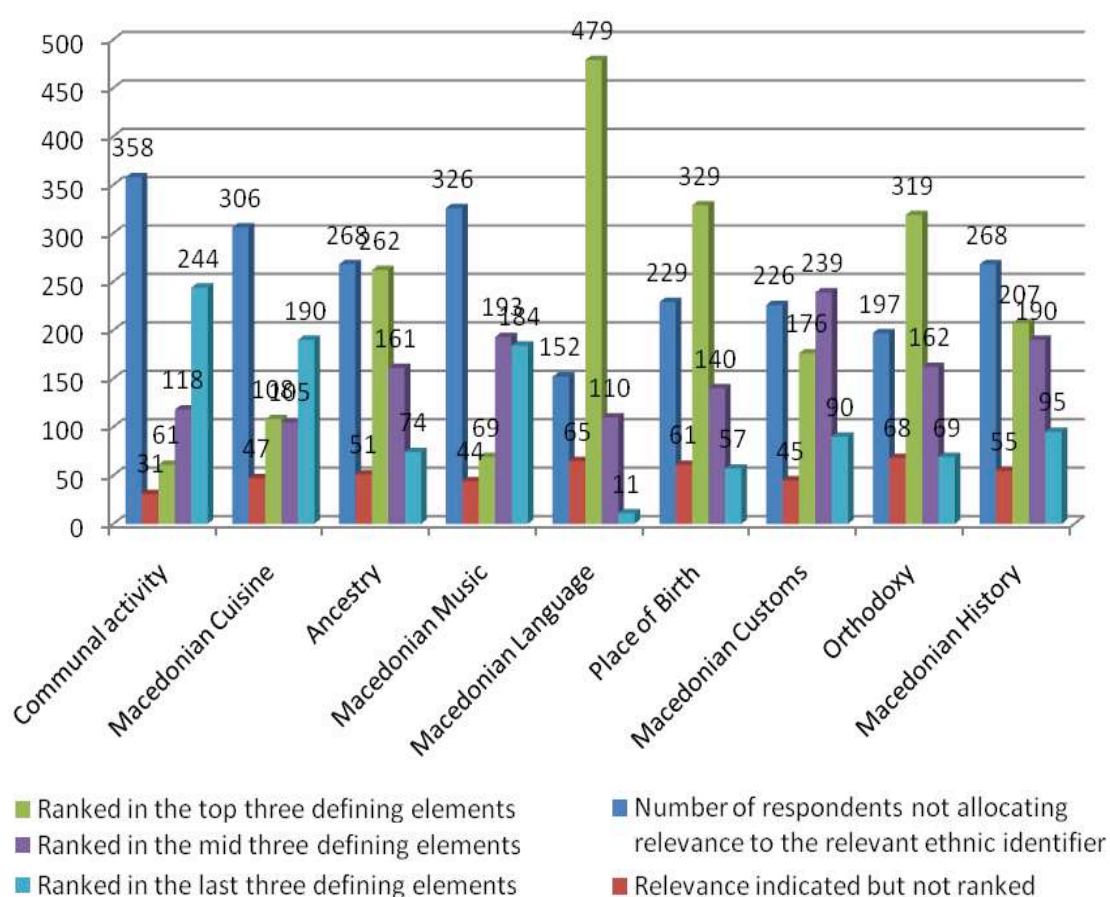
**Participant M1:** First of all ... many of us have come to Australia as migrants; we came here with a fully developed national identity. Of course some of us in more advanced years, at the age of 25 or 30; it's obvious that the feeling of being Macedonian cannot be cut off just like that immediately, just by entering the Australian territory. .... [T]hat feeling stays on. In my opinion, it is only normal that we would carry with us the mentality of lifestyles from Macedonia. Our way of expression [the language], our cultural element, our way of personal and communal socialising, the traditional values that come along with the Macedonian identity and all those things. ... [D]espite the fact that we live in Australia, a new environment, I still think that almost all of us still keep and carry on with our own traditions of eating, behaving...

In this statement alone, several ethno-identity attributes are identifiable: 'our way of expression', that is, the Macedonian language; 'the traditional values that come along with the Macedonian identity', enacted through respect and the following of Macedonian customs; 'personal and communal socialising' which are often enacted through communal activities; and, 'our own traditions of eating', that is, Macedonian cuisine. A Sydney focus group participant commented: 'The churches are of great importance for the Macedonians. It is within churches where our newborn children are being christened, it is where the old traditions are upheld'. This is a reference to the Macedonian Orthodox Churches. In this way, all nine ethno-identity attributes were developed and included in the survey questionnaire: communal activities, Macedonian cuisine, ancestry, Macedonian music, language,

place of birth, respect for and the following of the Macedonian customs, Macedonian Orthodoxy and Macedonian history.<sup>8</sup> Survey participants were asked to rank their answers and to choose as many answers as they felt necessary. In addition, several other markers were identified after analysing the survey result. In no particular order, these were: the Macedonian state, partner's descent, Macedonian athletes, Macedonian dignity, Macedonian humanitarianism, the family, the Macedonian name and the Macedonian bloodline. In addition, a few references were made to the Macedonian cultural way of life, to singing and dancing, i.e., *pesnata i oroto*, and to the good life. Others pointed to all of the ethno-attributes; 'all which is Macedonian'. Some respondents took the opportunity to explain their views more elaborately:

'The history and the love towards safeguarding it; the name; Macedonian language and tradition and our beautiful religion' (case 354)

'Without ancestry, without religion, without history there is no truth in being' (case 591)



**Table VI.8.** Ethno-identity Attributes

All ethno-identity attributes developed from the relevant literature and the focus groups data were categorised as either performance, passive or symbolic attributes. Synchronous with the practice theory of ethnicity (Bentley 1987) ethnic group formation and continuity have practice at their core. The everyday practices such as communal activity and engagement, cooking, enjoying music, conversations, traditional customary behaviours and church attendances, which are symbolically and affectively differentiated as Macedonian, are considered as performance ethno-identity attributes. Macedonian history has a symbolic value, and in light of Connors' (2004) argument, is a 'felt history', hence, acquires an affective value as well. The same may be extended to the Macedonia Orthodoxy as an ethno-identity attribute. When it comes to ancestry and place of birth, although symbolic value is attached to these attributes, they are, in the main, passive attributes symbolically differentiated vis-a-vis a single event - birth of an individual – that may or may not have relevance to the individual's socialisation and self-identification. Given their 'factual nature', the latter are over-used, and over-depended upon, as measure for ethnicity. In light of the data collected in this research, I will now discuss the genetic structuring of Macedonian-ness in Australia.

## ***2.2. Genetic structuring of Macedonian-ness***

In the main, ethno-identity attributes data indicate that (1) all attributes are reported to be relevant to their Macedonian identity by a qualified majority (+50%); and, (2) the most critical are the performance attributes. Bentley (1987: 36) alludes to the recognition of commonalities among a people by means of 'shared habitus and symbolic differentiations both cognitively and affectively generated'. The recognition of commonalities amongst Macedonians can also be explained by means of 'shared habitus' and cognitive and affective, symbolic differentiations.

It may be argued that the Macedonian ethno-collective's persistence, within overtly and/or symbolically violent environments, both past and present, is due mainly to practice. Macedonians engage in communal activities, practice Macedonian cuisine, enjoy Macedonian music, communicate in the Macedonian language, respect and follow the Macedonian customs, and practice Macedonian Orthodoxy. All of these are recognised, that is, they are cognitively differentiated as Macedonian practices. This is strongly supported by the research data presented below.

### ***2.2.1. Symbolically and affectively differentiated performance ethno-identity attributes***

#### ***2.2.1.1. Communal Activity***

Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, 459 respondents (56.2%) indicated that communal activity is a relevant ethno-identity attribute. The ranking of each ethno-identity attribute, showed how the level of relevance of communal activity varied amongst the respondents. In 31 cases, while this attribute was selected as important, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-identity by 13.2% of the valid number of responses, 25.8% ranked it in the middle three (4-6), and the majority (53.1%) ranked it in the last three (7-9) attributes relevant to their Macedonian identity. Only 19 respondents ranked this attribute first, that is, most important to their Macedonian identity. Communal activity was most frequently ranked the ninth ethno-identity attribute. While in the past, communal activity for an ethno-Macedonian in Australia was problematic by sheer

association of ethno-Macedonians to Communists, in more recent past, and in contemporary times, said communal activity is less problematic (see chapter III, section 4.2. regarding the re-naming of the Macedonian language to Macedonian (Slavonic)).

In Australia, 'it's very easy for every willing Macedonian to feel like a Macedonian'. One can participate in communal activities at many levels. A Sydney focus group participant stated:

**Participant M3:** ... The Macedonian community throughout Australia has organised schools; for NSW specifically there is the Macedonian School Council of NSW (Makedonski Prosvetno Ucilishen Odbor na Nov Juzen Vels) (...) There is a similar committee in existence in Melbourne as well. (...) This is a ... good thing for the younger generations of Macedonians so they can carry on with the Macedonian tradition, they can learn the Macedonian language. Also there are literary associations in existence such as: [Macedonian Literary Association of Australia] Grigor Prlichev, Braka Miladinovci in Melbourne, (...) Then we have the sporting associations, youth organisations, folklore dance groups and the church councils... All of those constitute a well established circle of the community and it's very easy for every willing Macedonian to feel like a Macedonian.

From the above, it may be concluded that the communal activity, as a Macedonian ethno-identity attribute, is considered important. But, considering that it was most frequently ranked the ninth ethno-identity attribute, it may be concluded that it is not a core ethno-identity attribute for the Macedonian-ness of the Macedonians in Australia.

#### **2.2.1.2. Macedonian Cuisine**

Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, 511 respondents (62.5%) considered the Macedonian cuisine a relevant ethno-identity attribute. In 47 cases, while this attribute was selected as important, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-identity by 21.8% of the valid number of responses, 32.3% ranked it in the middle three (4-6), and the majority (37.2%) ranked it in the last three (7-9) attributes of ethno-identity. Thirty-three respondents ranked this attribute as first, that is, of most importance when it came to their Macedonian identity. Macedonian cuisine was most frequently ranked as an eight defining element.

A particular cuisine is recognised by the ethno-Macedonians as a Macedonian cuisine. This is evident in the following:

**Participant F3:** ...there are Macedonian specific foods in existence. The Macedonian cuisine is different from all the other ones. It contains dishes that are specific to the Macedonians and they are not cooked by Australians, for example. That makes us feel as Macedonians ... the Macedonian restaurants where we can dine, for example. There are numerous Macedonian restaurants here that cook various Macedonian foods. We can also cook the foods at home, the Macedonian way.

A Port Kembla focus group participant commented:

**Participant PKF3:** You know we [the Macedonians] are used to the sound of a dipping spoon in a mandja dish. This is something that is traditional to the Macedonian cuisine and it stayed with us. It is the best thing for us.

It is evident from these statements that the aforementioned foods which are cognitively differentiated as 'Macedonian specific foods', have sentimental value: 'that makes us feel as Macedonians'. There is also evidence for the 'branding' and commercialisation of Macedonian foods: 'Macedonian restaurants where we can dine'.

The symbolic differentiation of a cuisine as Macedonian has its genesis in history, both collective and individual. In Bourdieu's terms, this differentiation is a result of 'the positions occupied [by ethno-Macedonians] in the economic and cultural hierarchies, economic trajectory, social trajectory and cultural trajectory' (Bourdieu 1984: 79). Against the socio-political and economic background provided in chapters I and III, Macedonian foods are '[home] cooked foods, cooked traditionally [in the diaspora] just the way it was cooked in our old country, in Macedonia'. In Australia, 'different nationalities have their [food] outlets. I still think that the Macedonians, I wouldn't say a great lot, but they do keep reasonably away from [fast] foods. I still think that they do most of the cooking at home'<sup>9</sup>, [e.g.] 'banana chillies, [and] Macedonian baked beans (*Makedonsko tavce-gravce*)'<sup>10</sup> Explain the sentimental value of the symbolic differentiation of foods as Macedonian, a Queanbeyan focus group participant stated:

**Participant F5:** I migrated to [Australia] when I was young. I had my children here ... now I have grandchildren. My sons-in-law are Australians. When they ask 'What's for dinner?' – I reply 'Mandja'. They know that that will involve a pot. In the pot, there can be a lot of things. And all of that is Mandja. The difference is that we don't use steamed vegetables, rather the vegetables are contained in our mandja. In the very beginning they might have not been as keen on eating stuffed capsicum, the stuffing... the stuffed cabbage leaf, but now they are a keen. ... I think the [Macedonian] cuisine is very important for us.

It may be concluded from the above that the Macedonian cuisine is another important ethno-identity attribute for Macedonians in Australia. In comparison to the communal activity as an ethno-identity attribute, Macedonian cuisine is considered more relevant to their Macedonian-ness. Ethno-cuisines, foods, as an embodied form of transnational identity, are 'one of the novel dimensions of work on embodied transnationalism' (Dunn 2010: 6). The findings in this research, regarding Macedonian cuisine as an ethno-identity attribute, contribute to the 'emergent research emphasis ... on the embodied practices around food' (ibid.) evident in the works of Caplan, (1997: 13) (ethnicity as an area of difference symbolised by foods), Thompson (2005), Longhurst et al. (2009), and Carruthers (2010).

### 2.2.1.3. *Macedonian Music*

This performance attribute is, according to 60.1% of the overall surveyed population, relevant to Macedonian ethnic identity. In 44 cases, this attribute was selected as important; but, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-identity by 14% of the valid number of responses. The majority 39.3% ranked it in the middle three (4-6), and 37.5% ranked it in the last three (7-9) attributes relevant to their Macedonian identity. Only 7 respondents ranked it first. Macedonian music was most frequently ranked as sixth ethno-identity attribute.

### 2.2.1.4. *Macedonian Language*

Macedonian language, as a performance attribute of ethnic identity, was most frequently ranked first, n=158, across all ethno-identity attributes. In its own right, it was most frequently ranked the second attribute. Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, the vast majority (81.4% representing 665 respondents) rated the *Macedonian language* a relevant identity attribute. In 65 cases, this attribute was selected as important; but, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-

identity by a majority of 72% of the valid number of responses, 16.5% ranked it in the middle three (4-6) attributes, and 1.7% ranked it in the last three (7-9) attributes relevant to their Macedonian identity.

The hardship associated with its performance, that is, ‘the many Macedonians who don’t have those opportunities in other countries’,<sup>11</sup> as discussed in chapters I and III, accentuated the affective symbolic value of the Macedonian language for ethno-Macedonians. A Perth focus group participant commented:

**Participant M5:** ... [I]t is not shameful to talk in the Macedonian [language]. For example, my children are born and schooled in Australia. Between themselves, they speak English, but when they address me they automatically start talking in Macedonian. That’s something that I find pride in, the fact that they’ll talk to me in Macedonian so I can talk back in Macedonian as well.

It is evident from the above comment that the participant talks in a defensive and an affectionate way about the Macedonian language: ‘it is not shameful to talk’ it, and when addressed in Macedonian by his children, the participant ‘[finds] pride in it’.

Languages are proven not immune to the socio-political developments concomitant to which they develop. As regards the Macedonian language, very little research is done to explore it in the aforementioned context. Some observations are made by Vaknin (1999) in his article *The Magla Vocables: Totalitarianism’s Effect on use of Language in Eastern Europe*. Using the Macedonian term ‘*Magla*’ (fog) – ‘[signifying the] twin arts of duplicity and ambiguity’, Vaknin (1999) describes the effects of totalitarian societies on language. He states: ‘[the language] is mutated into a weapon of self-defence, a verbal fortification’ (ibid.: screen 1). This ‘verbal fortification’ is genetically structured within the individual habitus, or the collective habitus, of the ethno-Macedonians throughout history. The critical service of the Macedonian language to the ‘never ending peacekeeping mission’ (ibid.: screen 2) driven by fear, is in itself a manifestation of a ‘collective amnesia’ (Rigby 2010: screen 1). The durable oppression - the structuring - has at least in part unconsciously generated defensiveness as a mode of survival entrenched in the language. To the trained eye, these durable dispositions can be depicted through the very usage of the language: ‘It is not shameful to talk in the Macedonian [language]’. The ‘healing’ of collective amnesia is inextricably related to the overcoming of fear. With the overcoming of fear comes collective remembering: with collective remembering comes their expression; language in turn becomes less ambiguous and defensive. Collective remembering is a matter of language as well. A survey respondent agreed: ‘The memories will fade in a foreign language’ (case 216).<sup>12</sup>

As evident from above, Macedonian language is considered as a core ethno-identity attribute among Macedonians in Australia. As such, the role that language plays in an ethno-cultural continuity of a people, in this case the Macedonian people, should be further explored in the context of the preliminary observations made by Vaknin (1999).

#### **2.2.1.5. Respecting and following Macedonian Customs**

Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, 551 respondents (67.4%) indicated that respecting and following Macedonian customs is a relevant identity attribute. As stated by a Sydney focus group participant, the tradition is ‘practically the way of how people behave’. In 45 cases, while it was

selected as important, it was not ranked. This attribute was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-identity by 32% of the valid number of responses. The majority (43.4%) ranked it in the middle three (4-6) attributes and 16.3% ranked it in the last three (7-9). Thirty one respondents ranked this factor first and the most important when it came to their Macedonian identity. Respecting and following Macedonian customs was most frequently ranked as third ethno-identity attribute. The degree to which the lives of ethno-Macedonians in Australia are guided by Macedonian ethnic customs is discussed in detail in section 1.4. of this chapter. It may be concluded that respecting and following Macedonian customs is a very important ethno-identity attribute for the Macedonians in Australia.

#### ***2.2.1.6. Macedonian Orthodoxy (performance and symbolic)***

This attribute, which can be considered a performance and symbolic attribute, corresponds with a practicing orthodoxy and a nominal orthodoxy: it was most frequently ranked as a first identity attribute in its own right by 114 respondents. Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, 620 respondents (75.9%) indicated that Macedonian Orthodoxy is a relevant ethno-identity attribute. In 66 cases, this attribute was selected as important; but, it was not ranked: it was ranked in the top three attributes of identity by a majority of 51.5% of the valid number of responses. Furthermore, 26.1% ranked it in the middle three (4-6), and 11.2% ranked it in the last three (7-9) attributes of their Macedonian identity. Considering the above, it may be concluded that Macedonian Orthodoxy is a core ethno-identity attribute.

### ***2.2.2. Symbolically and affectively differentiated symbolic ethno-identity attributes***

#### ***2.2.2.1. Macedonian History***

Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, 549 respondents (67.2%) considered Macedonian History a relevant identity factor. In 55 cases, this attribute was selected as important; but, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-identity by the majority (37.8%) of the valid number of responses: 34.7% ranked it in the middle three (4-6) attributes and 17.3% ranked it in the last three (7-9). Forty seven respondents ranked this factor the most important when it came to their Macedonian identity. Macedonian History was most frequently ranked as a third attribute. In chapter II, section 1.1.1.1, this attribute is explored in more detail vis-a-vis the sentimental value of the antiquity of a nation. It may be concluded that for a majority of ethno-Macedonians in Australia this ethno-identity attribute is the most important vis-a-vis their Macedonian-ness.

### ***2.2.3. ‘Factual’, passive ethno-identity attributes***

#### ***2.2.3.1. Ancestry***

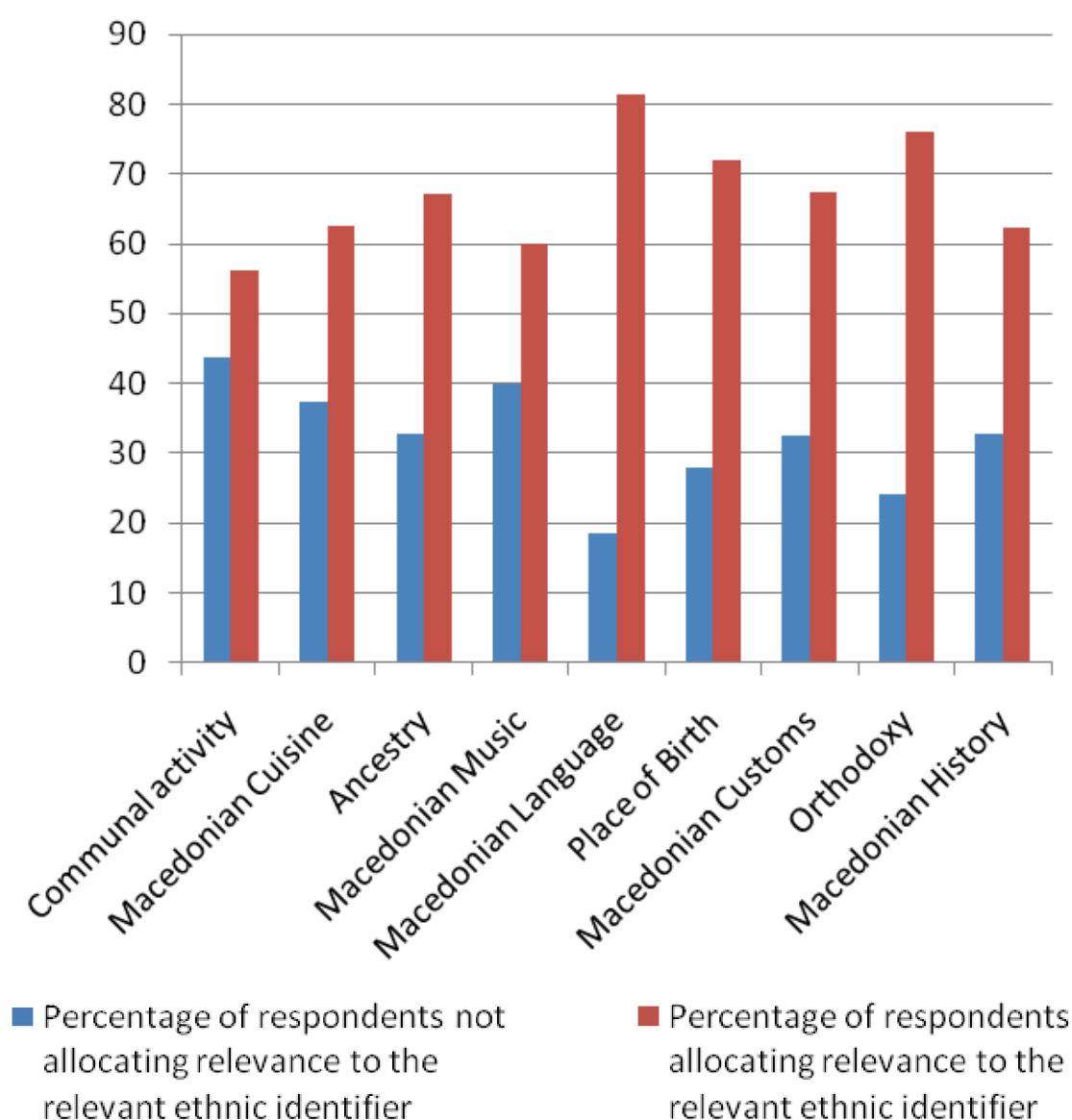
Out of the overall surveyed population N=817, 549 respondents (67.2%) indicated that Ancestry is a relevant ethno-identity attribute. In 51 cases, this attribute was selected as important; but, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three attributes of ethno-identity by a majority of 47.7% of the valid number of responses: 29.4% ranked it in the middle three (4-6) and 13.5% ranked it in the last three (7-9) defining attributes of their Macedonian identity. This attribute was ranked first by 144 respondents, making it the most frequently ranked first in its own right.



### 2.2.3.2. *Place of Birth*

The final ethno-identity attribute considered in this study is place of birth. Out of the overall surveyed population, 588 respondents (72%) indicated that Place of Birth is important in their perception of their Macedonian-ness. In 61 cases, while this attribute was selected as important, it was not ranked. It was ranked in the top three ethno-identity attributes by a majority of 55% of the valid number of responses: 23.9% ranked it in the middle three (4-6) and 9.8% ranked it in the last three (7-9). It was ranked first identity attribute by 146 respondents. In its own right, Place of Birth was most frequently ranked as a first defining element.

As discussed earlier, symbolic value is attached to these attributes, ancestry and place of birth. But, in the main, they are passive attributes, ‘social facts’, symbolically differentiated vis-a-vis a single event - birth of an individual – that may or may not have relevance to the individual’s socialisation and self-identification. Based on the findings in this study, these ethno-identity attributes, in their symbolic strength, are very important when it comes to the respondents’ Macedonian-ness.



**Table VI.9.** Ethno-identity Attributes. Relevance vis-a-vis non-relevance.

As stated at the beginning of this section, all of these attributes have been proven to be important to ethno-Macedonian identity. In addition, the percentage of respondents allocating relevance to the relevant ethno-identity attribute reveals that the following two performance attributes are the top two attributes of ethno-identity: Macedonian language and Macedonian orthodoxy (performance and symbolic). Following the passive attribute of place of birth, the fourth top attribute is also performance attribute of respecting and following Macedonian customs. It, in turn, is followed by the passive attribute ancestry, Macedonian cuisine (performance), Macedonian history (symbolic), Macedonian music (performance) and Macedonian communal activity (performance). Some respondents raised additional features they considered relevant to their Macedonian-ness, such as, Macedonian blood[ine] ( $n=1$ ) as a passive attribute,<sup>13</sup> and the symbolic attributes of Macedonian state ( $n=3$ ), Partner's descent ( $n=2$ ), being 'the oldest nation' ( $n=2$ ), Macedonian name ( $n=1$ ) and their very 'Macedonianness', and 'all which is Macedonian' ( $n=8$ ).

The data indicate that whereas performance attributes are critical to one's ethno- identity, passive attributes are second to performance attributes. And, although symbolic attributes are third to performance attributes, the data indicate that they are far from being irrelevant to one's ethno-collective identity.

### **2.3. *Sharing a habitus: Macedonian habitual settings in Australia***

So far, it is established that practice is at the core of the Macedonian-ness in Australia – it is an enacted Macedonian-ness. I will now explore the correlations between the above ethno-identity attributes, in a bid to identify the habitual settings of the ethno-Macedonians in Australia.

As will be observed later in this section, the correlations that are presented are mostly identifiable at the  $\alpha=.01$  level, and most of them are identified as weak correlations. Immediately, one might raise the questions: Why allocate significance? Why consider them at all? The concept that is dealt with is identity. My aim is to describe the closest possible variability of the sets of durable disposition in each respondent's *habitus*. While agents are structured within the *habitus*, their generative agency of meaning and structure is also performed within. If the correlations presented below indicate that a person is more likely to cumulatively consider performance attributes as his or her ethno-collective identity, then even in a very few cases, those attributes are durable dispositions in respect to the ethnic identity of said few cases. Bearing in mind that the cases involve humans, I am disinclined to deem the statistics negligible.

The performance attribute communal activity was found to be moderately correlated at  $\alpha=.01$  level with the Macedonian cuisine, Macedonian music and Macedonian customs attributes (Spearman Rho of +0.443, + 0.339 and +0.352 respectively) and weakly correlated with ancestry and the Macedonian language (Spearman Rho of +0.187 and +0.243). At  $\alpha=.05$  level,<sup>14</sup> this attribute was found to be weakly correlated with place of birth and Orthodoxy (Spearman Rho of +0.115 and + 0.121). In other words, respondents who identified community activity as relevant were more likely, in moderation, to identify place of birth, Orthodoxy, Macedonian cuisine, Macedonian music and Macedonian customs as relevant as well. These positive correlations are found mainly between

performance ethno-identity attributes. This is a set of durable dispositions in regard to ethno-collective identity that, at the relevant strengths of  $\alpha=.01$  and  $\alpha=.05$ , are shared between ethno-Macedonians.

Apart from a moderate correlation with community activity (as mentioned in the previous paragraph), the Macedonian cuisine attribute is strongly correlated with Macedonian music at the  $\alpha=.05$  level of significance (Spearman Rho of +0.563). In addition, a weak correlation at the same level of relevance is noted with the following identity attributes: Macedonian language, place of birth, Macedonian customs and Orthodoxy (Spearman Rho of +0.216, +0.194, +0.252 and +0.197 respectively). Again, a strong and moderate correlation is found between performance attributes.

The ancestry attribute is only weakly related to Macedonian customs at  $\alpha=.05$  level (Spearman Rho of +0.093); the identifiable correlations at  $\alpha=.01$  level are also weak: that is, Macedonian music (Spearman Rho of +0.168), place of birth (Spearman Rho of +0.187) and Macedonian history (Spearman Rho of +0.165). When it comes to the Macedonian music attribute, apart from the aforementioned moderate and strong correlation with communal activity and Macedonian cuisine, the rest of the identifiable correlations are weak and only relevant at  $\alpha=.01$  level. These include : Macedonian language (Spearman Rho of +0.162), place of birth (Spearman Rho of +0.226), Macedonian customs (Spearman Rho of +0.155), Orthodoxy (Spearman Rho of +0.163) and Macedonian history (Spearman Rho of +0.133). The Macedonian language attribute, in addition to the aforementioned correlations, is found to be weakly correlated at  $\alpha=.01$  level with place of birth, Macedonian customs, and Orthodoxy (Spearman Rho of +0.143, +0.246 and +0.179 respectively) and at  $\alpha=.05$  level with Macedonian history, i.e., Spearman Rho of +0.109. When it comes to the passive attribute of place of birth, in addition to the aforementioned correlations, this attribute is weakly correlated at  $\alpha=.01$  level with the Macedonian customs attribute and Macedonian history (Spearman Rho +0.161 and +0.130 respectively). The following additional weak correlations are identifiable at  $\alpha=.01$  level relevant to the Macedonian customs attribute: Orthodoxy (Spearman Rho of +0.228) and Macedonian History (Spearman Rho of +0.213). The ethno-collective identity attribute Orthodoxy is also moderately related to Macedonian history at the same level of significance (Spearman Rho of +0.493). Finally, the remainder of the identified correlations for the symbolic attribute Macedonian history are weak at both relevance levels. At  $\alpha=.05$  level, this attribute is weakly correlated with Macedonian language (Spearman Rho of +0.109) and at  $\alpha=.01$  level it is correlated with ancestry (+0.165), Macedonian music (+0.133), place of birth (+0.130) and Macedonian customs (+0.213) (see Table VI.10.).

Identified Correlations Among Ethno-identity Attributes.									
	CA	MC	MC1	A	POB	MH	MM	MO	ML
Communa l Activity (CA)	N/A	+0.443* i	+0.352*	+0.187*	+0.115* *ii	nil <sup>iii</sup>	+0.339*	+0.121* *	+0.243*
Macedoni an Cuisine (MC)	+0.443*	N/A	+0.252* *	nil	+0.194* *	nil	+0.563* *	+0.197* *	+0.216* *
Macedoni an Customs (MC1)	+0.352*	+0.252* *	N/A	+0.093* *	+0.187*	+0.213*	+0.155*	+0.228*	+0.246*
Ancestry (A)	+0.187*	nil	+0.093* *	N/A	+0.187*	+0.165*	+0.168*	nil	nil
Place of Birth (POB)	+0.115* *	+0.194* *	+0.161*	+0.187*	N/A	+0.130*	+0.226*	nil	+0.143*
Macedoni an History (MH)	nil	nil	+0.213*	+0.165*	+0.130*	N/A	+0.133*	+0.493*	+0.109* *
Macedoni an Music (MM)	+0.339*	+0.563* *	+0.155*	+0.168*	+0.226*	+0.133*	N/A	+0.163*	+0.162*
Macedoni an Orthodoxy (MO)	+0.121* *	+0.197* *	+0.228*	nil	nil	+0.493*	+0.163*	N/A	+0.179*
Macedoni an Language (ML)	+0.243*	+0.216* *	+0.246*	nil	+0.143*	+0.109* *	+0.162*	+0.179*	N/A

**Table VI. 10.** Identified Correlations among Ethno-identity Attributes.

<sup>i</sup> \* stands for  $\alpha=.01$ .

<sup>ii</sup> \*\* stands for  $\alpha=.05$ .

<sup>iii</sup> Nil stands for no significant correlation identified.

The above correlations, in their own strength, point to a shared set of dispositions among ethno-Macedonians through which they understand, interpret and act in the social world. The strongest positive correlation was identified between Macedonian cuisine and Macedonian music. This means that for the ethno-Macedonians in Australia, enjoying Macedonian food and Macedonian music is a shared practice. The data also indicate that performance ethno-attributes are more likely to be positively correlated overall. Hence, it may be concluded that shared habitus can explain the ethno-Macedonians' feeling and indentifying as Macedonians.

As practice appears to be of most relevance when it comes to feeling, and identifying as Macedonian in Australia, there needs to be an environment conducive to the enactment of Macedonian-ness. A Port Kembla focus group participant explained:

**Participant PK:** [Australia] has provided us with enough [means] so we can maintain our existence as Macedonians. We have our churches, we are organising our own dance parties, and nobody tries to ban our language. We can talk in our own language, Macedonian language. All of that makes this country even more beautiful to live in. And that's the reason that we feel even more Macedonian... I think... [Australia] does nothing to prevent you to use your own language, it doesn't ask of you to speak English only, that's not happening. That is very good, I think. The country itself provides us with an opportunity to feel Macedonian. ...

From that aspect, we really cannot complain about this country. We enjoy all kinds of opportunities. We can't even feel that we're in a different country. Sometimes, when I feel nostalgic - it doesn't seem the same, but there are enough things around to make you feel Macedonian.

At first glance, it appears obvious from the statement above that Australia provides an environment conducive to enacted Macedonian-ness: 'This country [is] ... beautiful to live in'. At this stage, one may argue that any criticism would neither make the social environment more conducive nor the country more beautiful to live in. However, an in-depth analysis of the statement against the historical-political background provided in chapters I and III reveals more: it reveals the comparative nature of the 'beauty' of Australia. It is a country where 'nobody tries to ban our language', nobody asks one 'to speak English only'. These are all memories and histories that have been 'inscribed in [the] biological individuals' (Wolfreys 2005: 5), in this case the ethno-Macedonians. They have found a place in their *habitus* which guides the ways in which they interpret the social world. Hence, given the comparative betterment of one's conditions, one should be grateful. To be asking anything further is to be 'an ungrateful migrant'. As discussed in chapter II, section 3.2., Hage (2002) argues that by the 'way things are' in Australia, that is, that the migrants are 'tolerated', the concept of migration became a guilt inducing concept. Avoiding becoming 'an ungrateful migrant', the participant acknowledges the comparative betterments in the living conditions in Australia as discussed earlier.

### **3. Ethno-collective identity at stake**

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the majority (78.8%) of the surveyed ethno-Macedonians reported high customs adherence: 551 respondents (67.4%) indicated that the respecting and following Macedonian customs is a relevant identity attribute. High customs adherence was reported across migrant generational status, age, English proficiency and gender, indicating that a '[particular]... way of how people behave' is cognisant as a Macedonian way.

It may be argued that the long-standing challenge of the distinctness of anything imagined as ethno-Macedonian, that is, the substance of enacted and imagined Macedonian-ness, when internalised poses a threat to their collective existence; hence, tacit and strategic 'defensive' mechanisms are developed and redeveloped. Under the conditions of long-standing challenge to their ethno-distinctness, questions of cultural adaptability, change, and integration of ethno-Macedonians in Australia arise. In order to answer these questions, I scheduled them for focus group discussion. The participants were asked: What do you think will happen if you decide not to behave in the 'Macedonian way'? Do you expect any repercussions from the wider Macedonian community if you change your ways? I will now discuss the tendencies depicted in the group sessions, which can be classed under several categories. But, before I proceed, it needs to be noted that the focus group participants, all of whom were first generation ethno-Macedonian migrants, migrated to Australia at least five years ago. All were between 50 years of age and age pension age, not older than 65 years of age.

#### **3.1. Exclusive Ethno-Belonging**

The first tendency vis-a-vis cultural adaptability and change deduced from the focus group discussions was the tendency towards exclusive ethno-belonging and low tolerance or intolerance for cultural change. This is evident from the response of a Port Kembla focus group participant, who, when asked

if there would to be any repercussions from the wider Macedonian community for ‘deviating’ from the ‘Macedonian way’ replied:

**Participant MPK:** Yes, there will be reaction [from the wider Macedonian community]. First comes first, I’ll talk about my position about my friend’s experience. I had a friend, she was Macedonian also. We used to be friends since childhood. We used to be friends. Now, she carries her ‘nose’ high, implying she is an Australian – [she] cannot be an Australian. [She] can make pretences, but she cannot be one. She lost all her friends. She is all by herself now. Nobody asks for her.

It may be deduced from the above statement that she ‘carries her ‘nose’ high’ implies ‘Australian-ness, that is, a change in manner, is something that has come at a cost of losing all of her friends. The same participant further stated:

**Participant MPK:** One day, she popped over at my doorstep and I asked her: ‘What are you doing here?’. She started crying. I told her, you should have cried before, now is too late. You’ve lost all your friends. (...) Why should I pretend to be an Australian? I am a born Macedonian. And for sure, I was born Macedonian and I’ll die Macedonian. I cannot give in.

This statement indicates that change of manner, equates to ‘giving in’, this implying that the participant is acknowledging the pressure and/or the incentive for an alternative, but maintains that ‘giving in’ is not to be countenance. One is born into Macedonian-ness: one needs to accept it and not pretend to ‘be an Australian’. Not accepting means irreversibly losing one’s friends and consequently losing one’s social support structure.

This tendency is also evident vis-a-vis religious conversion, which is perceived as ‘[pushing] out his/her own religion’. This was addressed in the Queanbeyan focus group discussion:

**Participant F5:** [T]he Macedonians do react to practices as such. Particularly if one ... would like to join another religion (...) We also know how to say that that person is no longer a Macedonian and he is not of value to the Macedonian community any more.

**Participant F6:** I would look down upon that person. If that person tries to change its religion.

**Participant F5:** You would look down upon it? In what way? My apologies... but I would like to know.

**Participant F6:** Yeah, if that person would say that he [she] is from [other] religion... means that he [she] has pushed out his/hers own religion. I would look down upon that person. I don’t want that. That is as far as I go. I cannot tell for somebody else. ...

**Participant F2:** That person should know himself that he would be ostracised from the Macedonian community.

It is evident from the above that religious conversion may result in the individual being ostracised by the Macedonian community. The final example I mention here is an excerpt from the Sydney focus group discussion:

**Participant M3:** A very painful aspect in respect to the estrangement (*odroduvanjeto*) is the occurrence of people changing their names and surnames. That’s a very bad thing. One of my close friends, to name him as such, fairly younger than me, has changed his name. Since his change of name and surname, it’s like he does not exist for me anymore.<sup>15</sup>

**Participant F1:** There are a fair bit of them doing that! ...

**Participant M3:** My reaction to that... For, I can walk pass by him and I would not even say my greetings. I wouldn’t even say “hello”, if I can avoid it, that is. (...)

This is a further example showing that deviation from ‘the Macedonian way’ can lead to ostracism from the fellow co-ethnics: it would be as though the person no longer exists, will no longer be greeted.

It may be argued that this kind of ethno-sanctioning is a ‘collective’s tyranny over the individual’ (Frick 2010: 10), that ethno-Macedonians’ judgement of their fellow co-ethnics leads to social exclusion – ‘the concrete form of hell and damnation’ (Bourdieu 1990: 196) (see chapter II, section 2.2.1).

**Participant F5:** The case with the Macedonians is that we judge people before we manage to learn the full set of information as to why and how [the thing has happened]. We react too fast. I think that is something that is related to the Macedonian background – reacting without the proper knowledge of circumstances.

This Queanbeyan focus group participant, not only confirmed that ethno-Macedonians can be judgemental, but also pointed out the possibility of this judgemental manner being related to the ‘Macedonian background’. Building on this, I will argue that collective and individual trajectories, that is, the collective and individual persecution for being Macedonian, has erected walls around the ethno-cultural field that are carefully and sometimes cruelly guarded by some ethno-Macedonians.

### **3.2. *Socialising is OK***

The second tendency evinced during the focus group discussions was the tendency to allow for socialising beyond Macedonian ethnocultural field because it cannot be avoided; but, one who socialises cannot be a cultural agent who questions or criticises the ‘Macedonian way of life’. If one does, one exposes oneself to sanction by the wider community. This was evident in the Port Kembla focus group discussion:

**Participant PK1:** We already said that socializing is ok, one cannot [avoid it]... some of us even have [non- Macedonian] in-laws (...) you can socialize with everyone. .... [W]e came in a country as such and we have to join the others, but you shouldn’t undermine your own nation. Don’t undermine the other ones as well. Everybody should live in their own way. ... If you say ‘I don’t want Macedonians; I don’t want to go to the [Macedonian] church’ ...the reaction [from the wider Macedonian] community will be there for sure. ... You don’t want to go to [Macedonian] dance parties - you live your life the Australian way.

It may be argued that this tendency to cultural adaptation, change and integration in the wider society, is less rigid in comparison to the previous one, discussed in section 3.1. of this chapter. It recognises the need for socialising beyond the Macedonian ethnocultural field, as well as it recognises that fact of intercultural marriages into which ethno-Macedonians enter. However, said socialising is unavoidable. Explicit statements such as ‘I don’t want Macedonians; I don’t want to go to the [Macedonian] churches’, will expose one to ethno-sanctioning.

### **3.3. *Ethno-belonging, communal activity and ‘exemption’***

The third tendency that emerged from the focus group discussions was a tendency to ‘exempt’ educated and career-oriented urban migrants from the expectations of communal engagement as a ‘Macedonian way of life’. This does not suggest that cruel ethno-sanctioning will result if withdrawal from communal engagements occurs: a peer pressure, although evident, may not be considered as detrimental. This was evident in a Perth focus group participant’s statement:

**Participant M1:** ... we do have members of the community that have migrated from urban places, urban environments, with high education. Those people, as we can notice ourselves, can rarely be noticed partaking in the communal life, in any of the social clubs or associations. (...) There will not be any consequences for them. They are just getting along with their careers. As for us, for us... even if we do want to change our ways at some instance, ... I don't think that anybody will... Ok, some might mention: "Why is it that you no longer attend at the club and as you used to? What seems to be the problem?" I think some will say it, but that's not something that a person should be worried about or consider that potentially detrimental.

What becomes evident from the above that the communal expectations, and subsequent communal sanctioning, vary for Macedonian rural migrants vis-a-vis Macedonian urban migrants. While for Macedonian migrants with urban and highly educational backgrounds, who migrated to Australia mainly as part of the fifth wave of migration (see chapter III, section 3.5.), there is no expectation for 'partaking in communal life', for Macedonian migrants with rural and lower educational backgrounds, said expectations are relevant, so are the relevant ethno-sanctioning mechanisms.

From the discussion thus far, it may be concluded that under conditions of continuing challenge to their ethno-collective distinctness, the cultural adaptability of ethno-Macedonians is affected, particularly that of migrants from lower educational and rural backgrounds. On the other end, some ethno-Macedonians focus on the value of the individual and not his/her collective belonging in building personal support networks. This indication of inclusiveness and openness among some ethno-Macedonians is discussed below.

### **3.4. *Inclusiveness and Openness***

Some ethno-Macedonians support openness and inclusiveness based on the individual's qualities irrespective of the individual's collective belonging. One survey participant explained: 'I personally don't have relatives [from other nations], but, according to my opinion, one needs to assess people according to their hearts and souls, not their religion and nation' (case 681). Another survey participant stated: 'People are all the same [irrespective of national belonging]; the more friends you have, the richer you are' (case 444).

As regards the quality of life vis-a-vis the collective belonging of one's friends, a survey participant responded as follows: 'According to my opinion, the descent/the nationality of the friend is not at all important, nor do they relate to the higher quality of life' (case 234). Further survey participants added: '[All] friends are equally important irrespective of who they are and where they come from' (case 619); the most important thing is to have someone close 'It's irrelevant what nationality they are, it is important to have someone close' (case 221). It may be concluded that for some Macedonians inclusiveness in and openness to the social world beyond the Macedonian ethnocultural field are ways of life. They are also regarded as ways of adding to the quality of life.

## **4. Ethno-sanctioning mechanisms**

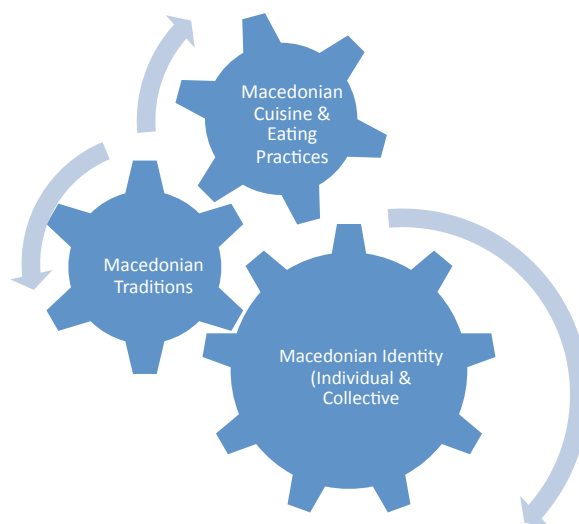
I have established thus far that there are four tendencies identifiable among Macedonians in Australia when it comes to questions of their cultural adaptability, change, and integration. They vary from exclusive ethno-belonging, 'admissibility' of socialising beyond the Macedonian ethnocultural field, 'exempted' sub-groups of ethno-Macedonians from the expectations of Macedonian-focused



communal engagement to the inclusiveness and openness of some Macedonians beyond the Macedonian ethnocultural field. The focus in this section is upon the ethno-specific sanctioning mechanisms that operate within the Macedonian ethnocultural field in Australia, in particular mechanisms that operate in the area of Macedonian eating practices as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness. Social relations of difference (gender, class, status and ethnicity) are also symbolised by foods and eating practices (Caplan 1997). In this thesis, focus is upon ethnocultural distinctness as an area of difference. More than a decade after Caplan (1997: 13) observed the axiomatic approach in the available literature on national, geographical, religious, and linguistic distinctions being complemented by culinary distinctiveness, it remains the case that little of the empirical evidence gathered in Australia<sup>16</sup> explores the issue of foods and eating practices as a defining element of ethnocultural distinctiveness. This paucity of literature extends to the relevance of ethnic belonging and food choices. Aiming to make contribution to the area, I explored the relevance of the foods and eating practices in defining Macedonian identity in Australia (see section 2.2.1.2. in this chapter). I then explored the degree to which eating practices are embedded in Macedonian customs. Finally, I explored the attitudes of Macedonians towards ethno-sanctioning mechanisms, their utilisation and effectiveness vis-a-vis Macedonian foods and eating practices. The two last mentioned are discussed below.

#### ***4.1. Foods and Sanctioning Mechanisms***

As an embodied form of Macedonian-ness, Macedonian-specific cuisine and eating practices embedded in tradition and habitual practices become individual and collective identity matters. The dynamic of this relationship can be best understood using the gear analogy that appears in (see Figure VI.1.) Each of the following, i.e., Macedonian cuisine, Macedonian tradition and Macedonian identity, is a driving force behind the rest. Changes in Macedonian cuisine may be perceived as challenges to the collective identity; in this case, challenges to Macedonian-ness. Informal ethno-sanctioning mechanisms are one way of dealing with said challenges. I will now discuss the degree to which eating practices are embedded in Macedonian customs.



**Figure VI.1.** Gear-like Relationship Between Macedonian Identity, Tradition and Cuisine

#### 4.1.1. *Embeddedness of eating practices in Macedonian Customs*

Question five of the survey questionnaire asks: ‘To what degree are your eating habits embedded in Macedonian ethnic customs?’. Out of the overall surveyed population  $N=817$ , 766 participants (93.8%) responded. Out of the valid number of responses, an overwhelmingly large number,  $n=617$  (80.5%), indicated a high degree of eating habits embeddedness in Macedonian customs, 114 (14.9%) indicated medium embeddedness, and 35 (4.6%) indicated a low degree of eating habits embeddedness in Macedonian customs. Out of the 617 high degree of eating habits embeddedness responses, 33.5% indicated 100% customs adherence, 31.1% indicated 90% customs adherence, 20.6% indicated 80% adherence and 14.3% indicated 70% adherence (see Table VI.11). Out of the total number of respondents ( $N=511$ ) allocating relevance to Macedonian cuisine as an ethno-identity attribute (survey question 1), 485 answered the aforementioned question (survey question 5). Out of the total number of responses ( $N=551$ ) allocating relevance to respecting and following Macedonian customs (survey question 1), 524 answered survey question 5. A Pearson's chi-square test revealed no significant statistical relationship between the ranking of the Macedonian cuisine and the respecting and following of Macedonian customs as ethno-identity attributes and the degree to which respondents' eating habits are embedded in Macedonian customs. This means that the ranking of ethno-identity attributes is not associated with the reported degree to which respondents' eating habits are embedded in the Macedonian customs.

EATING HABITS EMBEDDED IN MACEDONIAN CUSTOMS. $N(eh)=766$ .								
Degree to which eating habits are embedded in Macedonian ethnic customs	0-30%	40-60%	70-100% $n=617$					
			Degree to which eating habits are embedded in Macedonian ethnic customs	70%	80%	90%	100%	Miscellaneous
Valid number of respondents ( $n$ ) <sup>i</sup>	35	114	Valid number of respondents	88	127	192	207	3
			Valid percentage of respondents	14.3	20.6	31.1	33.5	0.5
Valid percentage of respondents	4.6	14.9	80.5					

**Table VI.11.** Eating Habits Embedded in Macedonian Customs.

<sup>i</sup>  $N(eh) = 766$ , accounts for 93.8% of the total number of survey respondents  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 6.2%, i.e., 51 non-responses.

#### 4.1.2. *Sanctioning of embodied Macedonian-ness*

The role of informal sanctioning mechanisms (such as gossip, ostracizing, loss of respect, not being welcomed by the family, and loss of support) as forms of social control was identified in the service of maintenance and continuity of Macedonian-ness, addressed in section 3.1. of this chapter. Invoking Bourdieu's reasoning, it may be argued that informal social control mechanisms operate within both

the individual and collective *habitus*es of ethno-Macedonians and the Macedonian ethno-collective. As regards their function of social control, informal sanctioning mechanisms, as tacit mechanisms, ‘structure’ Macedonian-ness. They operate at a level that is at least partly unconscious and take a particular form vis-à-vis the influences exerted by the individual trajectories of ethno-Macedonians and the collective cultural trajectories of the Macedonian ethno-collective. It may be argued that the durable contestation of the distinctness of the Macedonian ethno-collective functions as a determinant of the degree to which the above sanctioning mechanisms are used and effective. Bearing in mind that these mechanisms operate (at least partly) at the unconscious level, in this study I have inquired into the Macedonians’ conscious beliefs regarding their existence among the Macedonian ethno-collective in Australia. Question 17 of the survey questionnaire (see Appendix V.2.) asks: ‘Do you believe in the existence of informal Macedonian-specific sanctioning mechanisms that operate and can successfully affect behavioural [change]?’<sup>17</sup> Here, it is important to acknowledge that this is one of the questions (along with question 18) included in the survey questionnaire where the response rate may have been affected by (a) the complexity of the topic, and (b) the complexity of the language in which the question was couched (this is discussed in chapter V, section 2.3.). Out of the overall number surveyed  $N=817$ , 764 respondents (93.5%) responded to this question. Out of the valid number of responses, 235 (30.8%) stated that they do not believe in the existence of Macedonian-specific informal sanctioning mechanisms; 250 (32.7%) were undecided; and 276 (36.1%) believe in their existence. Three of the survey participants expressed the view that they believe in the existence of informal sanctioning mechanisms but emphasised that these cannot successfully affect their behavioural changes (see Table VI.12).

BELIEF IN EXISTENCE OF INFORMAL SANCTIONING MECHANISMS $N(ism)=764$				
Macedonians’ position	I do not believe in their existence	Undecided	I do believe in their existence	I do believe in their existence, but they cannot affect my behavioural change.
Valid number of respondents <sup>18</sup>	235	250	276	3
Valid percentage of respondents	30.8	32.7	36.1	.4

**Table VI.12.** Belief in Existence of Informal Sanctioning Mechanisms

When confronted with survey question 17 regarding ethno-specific informal sanctioning mechanisms, there was an almost even percentage distribution among the respondents not believing in, believing in, and being undecided about the existence of effective informal sanctioning mechanisms within the Macedonian ethnocultural field. It is worth noting that a significant percentage (32.7%) of the survey participants were undecided regarding these mechanisms. A possible explanation for the above percentage distribution may lie in the fact that the informal sanctioning mechanisms are in the main a tacit practice with its own practical logic that may be different from a mediated, conscious, individual or collective action. For some Macedonians, informal sanctioning is a mediated conscious action teleologically undertaken in the interest of preserving the distinctness of

Macedonian-ness from individuals' actions which '[take] for granted ... [Macedonian] people, the tradition, and ... nationality'. This is evident in the excerpt from the Qeuanbeyan focus group transcript focusing on the notion of religious conversion as discussed in section 3.1. in this chapter:

**Facilitator Q:** Do you think that the act of changing a religion might in fact enrich [Macedonian] culture or ... do you think it makes [Macedonian] culture poorer? (...)

**Participant F6:** I think it'll make it poorer.

**Participant F3:** It'll neither make it poorer nor richer. That's what the person wanted and that what the person did. You cannot stop anyone. That feels right for him, that's what he does...

**Participant F6:** You cannot stop him, but you will not feel good about what he has done.

**Participant F3:** He knows what he has done [he has converted to another religion] and that might be affecting him; but if asked, he still declares himself as Macedonian, despite ... changing the religion. (...)

**Facilitator Q:** So you don't think that there will be any cultural enrichment in doing so?

**Participant F5:** Nothing of the sort.

**Participant M1:** You can only worsen your life with it.

**Participant F5:** But if someone wants to do it, I would accept their decision. Because that's each person's choice. That's a personal choice.

**Participant F2:** If it doesn't suit us, for example in the family, it might suit him. ... (...)....

**Participant F6:** You cannot force anybody, but you cannot stop anybody as well. If he [the person] wants to go, you cannot stop it. You cannot stand in anybody's way.

**Participant M1:** It is the biggest shame brought on by people converting to [other religions]. Biggest shame.

**Participant F6:** The shame is on him.

**Participant M1:** It is not just his shame, rather it's the taking for granted of our people, the tradition and also nationality (...)

**Participant F2:** Therefore, that man cannot be accepted by the Macedonian community; he is not welcome.

From the above, it may be concluded that religious conversion as a 'deviation' from the symbolically differentiated Macedonian-ness, particularly Macedonian Orthodoxy as a 'norm' within the Macedonian ethnocultural field, is a matter that needs to be carefully examined in the context of individual rights, personal freedom of choice and collective cultural imposition. But, given that this is not the main focus of this thesis, I will narrow my focus as stated earlier. While some Macedonians believe that certain individual actions impoverish rather than enrich Macedonian culture, such actions are seen by others as having no significant effect at all: 'It'll neither make [Macedonian culture] poorer nor richer'. And although one 'cannot stop [these developments], ... [one] will not feel good about what ... has [been] done'. The person converting to another religion brings 'shame' on him/herself, takes for granted the Macedonian 'people, the tradition and ... nationality', and 'cannot not be accepted by the Macedonian community; he/[she] will not be welcome'. Given that the focus group participants were first generation Macedonian migrants aged 50 years and over, and majority migrated to Australia from the Macedonian villages, it is arguable that this scenario is informed and accentuated by the perpetual contestation of their Macedonian-ness: the more overt the enacted contestation and culturecidal practices (see chapter I and II), the more defensive of their own culture and the more intolerant to cultural change they become.

What characterised Macedonian villagers, constituting the majority of Macedonian migrants to Australia, is a long history of oppression (Goff 1921<sup>19</sup>, Vasiliadis 1989, Cosevski 1995) (see chapter I). Due to this experience, Macedonian villagers have developed mistrust towards authority beyond the village such as state authority (Vasiliadis 1989, Tkalcevic 1980). Goff (1921: xiv) observed that Macedonian villagers have developed ‘a veiled suspicion with which he regards strangers and intruders’. It may be argued that the ‘veiled suspicion’ was/is one of the determinants of the core cultural value and Macedonian communal, group membership. In his article ‘Macedonian values in multicultural Australia’, Cosevski (1995) suggested a ‘simple test’ to determine the core cultural Macedonian values in Australia relevant to Macedonians residing in Australia of predominantly village background:

A simple test to determine what constitutes such a core value is to ask oneself whether one would still be acceptable to the Macedonian community if had forsaken one’s family, lost or never acquired the ability to use the Macedonian language, or changed one’s religious affiliation to some other faith. It would seem that the loss of any of these values would to a greater or lesser extent undermine one’s continued membership of the Macedonian group in Australia. (...) [What matters is] the opinion of their fellow countrymen.... “But what will the people<sup>20</sup> say?” (Cosevski 1995: 13).

The above quote reiterates the earlier observation that ‘loss of any of these core values’, such as religious conversion, may undermine the one’s Macedonian communal membership. It is also evident that a lot of relevance is given to gossip: ‘what will people say’ making it a powerful informal sanctioning mechanism. Drawing from the data accumulated in this research, it may be argued that ‘gossip and exclusionary [practices] exist only amongst the Macedonians brought up in the old-fashioned way ... the younger [generations] are more contemporary’ (case 374), hence said practices will not be relevant to them. I will now discuss the effect of ethno-sanctioning mechanisms on Macedonian cuisine/foods as an embodied form of Macedonian -ness.

As stated earlier, in this thesis ethno-sanctioning of the symbolically and affectively differentiated Macedonian cuisine as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness is explored. Question 18 of the survey questionnaire, formulated as a scenario question, asked: ‘If you completely stop cooking or abandon the types of foods that you have customarily cooked and eaten as part of your Macedonian cuisine because your doctor has advised you to do so, do you think any of the following will happen: (1) gossip, (2) exclusion or banning by the community, (3) loss of Macedonian community’s respect, (4) you will no longer be welcomed by the extended family, and (5) loss of support of other Macedonians’. In addition, survey participants were invited to provide alternative answers (see Appendix V.2.). The scenario question was formulated to assume a ‘justified’ change of cooking and eating practices for health reasons - doctor’s advice - resulting in cooking and eating practices not consistent with customary practiced Macedonian cuisine.

As evident in the **Table VI.13.**, in the hypothetical scenario, gossip is the most widely anticipated informal sanctioning mechanism (36.2%), followed by loss of respect (17%), unwelcomeness (14.7%), loss of support (9.5%), and exclusion/ban (2.6%). The data reveal that the informal sanctioning mechanism exclusion/banning, the most rigid of all of the mechanisms, is the least likely to sanction Macedonian cuisine as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness. Again, it is worth noting that 115 respondents (16%) of the total number of respondents ( $N(sanc)=719$ ) who answered question

18 stated that as far as the hypothetical scenario is concerned, they anticipate no consequences. A further 50 respondents (7%) stated that none of the listed optional informal sanctioning mechanisms are expected. This indicates that a significant percentage of ethno-Macedonians held the belief that no informal sanctioning will occur, irrespective of the hypothetical scenario.

It is also evident from **Table VI.13.**, that this question has generated a considerable amount of qualitative data (analysed and categorised as presented in above table). While some Macedonians ( $n=25$ ) believe that informal sanctions may occur, they are convinced of their ineffectiveness: 'It is possible and I expect some of the aforementioned to happen, but it wouldn't concern me'. Others ( $n=12$ ) maintained that informal sanctions are of little relevance to Macedonian cuisine and eating practices: 'These [sanctions] have no role when it comes to Macedonian cuisine'. Six respondents were convinced that Macedonian cuisine and eating practices are not ethno-identity attributes, contrary to the conceptual understanding of Macedonian cuisine as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness employed in this section: 'This question is totally irrelevant. How I cook and prepare food does not distinguish who I am'. For others, the change suggested in the scenario question is not acceptable, even if it comes recommended in the form of a doctor's advice: 'I'll not accept the doctor's advice'; 'I cannot live without Macedonian foods'. Nine respondents emphasised that Macedonian foods are the healthiest. Hence, 'if [one] eats Macedonian [cuisine] foods, there will be no [need] for a doctor'. In cases where changes to eating practices are necessary, six respondents suggested that there are always alternative Macedonian foods that can be prepared and eaten: 'There is always other Macedonian food to cook', and, given that Macedonian cuisine is 'versatile and exquisite', one can continue to eat 'dishes that will be [suited]' to one's needs. Some respondents ( $n=11$ ) emphasised that the choice of foods is a personal matter. Others ( $n=10$ ) expressed the belief that the wider community will support any changes: 'I believe they will be [open-minded] and supportive'.

As suggested earlier in this thesis, the *habitus*, individual and collective may be considered a locus of interplay between identity and health. As regards Macedonian cuisine and eating practices, they can represent an embodied form of ethno-collective identity, i.e., Macedonian-ness and nutrition, health prevention and healing practices. Because a large number (80.5%) of ethno-Macedonians' eating habits are highly embedded in the Macedonian tradition, the interplay between identity and health within the Macedonians' *habitus*es is stark when it comes to Macedonian cuisine and eating practices. Drawing from the data generated by survey question 18, some Macedonians ( $n=9$ ), stated that they will follow the doctor's advice as this will ensure good health. In addition, nine respondents stated that their health is most important: 'My health is No. 1. I aspire to good health'. This aspiration to good health may drive the behavioural changes that some may have initially considered a challenge to the collective identity; but, in time, these changes may themselves become symbolically differentiated as Macedonian. This relationship can be best explained using the gear analogy (see Figure VI.2.). Macedonian traditions, Macedonian cuisine, and individual and collective health drive each other: they structure and are being structured, are influenced and exert influences, are determinants and are being determined. A more extensive discussion of the interplay between Macedonian traditions as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness and health is presented in chapter VII.



**Figure VI.2.** Gear-like Relationship Between Health, Macedonian traditions and Cuisine.

SANCTIONING OF EMBODIED MACEDONIAN-NESS: MACEDONIAN CUISINE <i>N(sanc)</i> =719					
Sanction	Gossip	Ostracizing (exclusion/ban)	Loss of respect	Unwelcomeness	Loss of support
Valid number of affirmative responses	260	19	122	106	68
Valid percentage of affirmative responses	36.2	2.6	17	14.7	9.5
Other <i>n</i> =365					
Category	Number of responses	Valid percentage	Selection of the qualitative answers provided by survey respondents		
No consequences	115	31.5	‘No consequences’ (case 26) ‘Nothing will hap[p]en’ (cases 78,156, 162, 164, 173, 188, 200, 205, 215, 217, 226, 286, 310, 345, 471, 644). ‘No one will obstruct me in anything’ (case 104). ‘All is going to be OK’ (cases 155, 185). ‘There will be no changes in my life’ (cases 159, 222,291). ‘I don’t think [that anything] will happen’ (cases 160, 749). ‘Nothing special, I haven’t had any comments’ (case 177). ‘I don’t expect any gossip from the community, it depends on me’ (case 178).		
None of the above	50	13.7	N/A		
The opinions of others are irrelevant	25	6.8	‘The opinions of others are not relevant’ (case 20). ‘I don’t expect anything to happen; even if it does, it is irrelevant to me’ (case 44). ‘I am not concerned how others will react’ (case 87). ‘Absolutely nothing can affect my eating [habits]’ (case 325). ‘It is possible and I expect some of the aforementioned to happen, but it wouldn’t concern me’ (case 385). ‘It is possible, but I wouldn’t be concerned’ (cases 393, 394,396, 398). I would not change the cuisine, and, if I do, nothing can influence me (case 413). ‘I don’t find it important if people say things’ (Case 542). ‘I don’t think that it’ll (gossip, loss of respect & support) affect me’ (case 585). ‘I am not interested in what Macedonians will say’ (case 587).		
Resistant to change and not accepting the doctor’s advice	20	5.5	‘Our generations would not live to see it, we have not changed’ (case 77). ‘I will not listen to the doctor’ (case 145). ‘I’ll carry on eating <i>grav</i> [baked beans] till the very end’ (case 213). ‘The cultural habits are not easy to be set aside’ (case 216). ‘There is no such force that can make me to give up my Macedonian cuisine’ (case 281). ‘I don’t believe I would stop’ (case 303). ‘I would never [disown] the Macedonians’ Nema nikogas da izgubam od Makedoncite’ (case 390). ‘I will continue eating foods from the Macedonian cuisine’ (case 417). ‘I would never discontinue[;] I’ll do what suits me’ (case 431). ‘I cannot live without Macedonian foods’ (case 443) ‘This cannot be the case with me’ (case 469). ‘Unfortunately, if one is used to that kind of foods, it’s very hard to get it out of routine’ (case 621). ‘I will not listen to the doctor’ (case 145). ‘I don’t believe I’ll discontinue [with the Macedonian cuisine] (case 298).		



			‘I will not stop’ (case 324). ‘I’ll not accept the doctor’s advice’ (case 574).
Not specified	13	3.6	N/A
I don’t know	12	3.3	N/A
Sanctions and Macedonian cuisine are not related	12	3.3	‘I don’t think they are related and I wouldn’t stop eating Macedonian food because of someone else’ (case 63). ‘It has nothing to do with the food’ (case 182). ‘I think none of [the above] is related’ (case 198). ‘I don’t think that will be the case (not related)’ case 254 ‘These [optional] answers have no role when it comes to Macedonian cuisine’ (case 429)
Choice of foods is a personal matter	11	3	‘None of the above. It is my business [a private matter] what I do at home (case 179). ‘I don’t expect any of it, this is an individual matter’ (case 190). ‘The [choice] of foods is my personal matter – independent of what the [community] will say’ (case 363) ‘The cooking and eating [practices] ( <i>gotvenjeto i jadenjeto</i> ) are a personal choice’ (case 477). ‘My nutrition is nobody’s business and there will not be consequences’ (case 486). ‘It is not relevant, this is a personal decision’ (case 569). ‘I think this is an individual thing’ (case 627). ‘That’s individual, one eats according to one needs, the [community] has nothing to do with that’ (case 681).
The community will support the change	10	2.7	‘I think they [the Macedonians] will support me’ (case 38). ‘They will support me’ (case 205). ‘If my health depends on it, I think not’ (case 268). ‘My family will support me if it’s for my benefit’ (case 285). ‘I believe they will be [open-minded] and supportive’ (case 734).
Macedonian food is the healthiest	9	2.5	‘I am not going to be as healthy’ (case 23). ‘I don’t think so. If I eat Macedonian [cuisine] foods, there will be no [need] for a doctor’ (case 49). ‘Macedonian food is pretty healthy and is one of the best cuisines in the world’ (case 167). ‘You’ll gain weight’ (cases 399, 404, 416). ‘What can be better than beans and chillies? The doctor would never [advise against] our foods. Our cuisine is a healthy one’ (case 660). ‘Get sick sooner’ (case 786).
Doctor’s advice will be followed	9	2.5	‘I’d follow the doctor’s advice’ (cases 106,166). ‘The doctor’s advice given based on medical research is the most important. It is important to be accepted and followed’ (case 234). ‘If [my] health is affected, [I will follow the doctor’s advice]’ (case 272). ‘I will accept the advice of my doctor’ (case 320). ‘I follow doctor’s advice for the benefit of my health’ (case 444). ‘If it affects my health and if the doctor advises me to do so’ (case 676).
Health is most important	9	2.5	‘My health is the most important’ (case 192). ‘I eat for good health’ (case 256). ‘My health is No.1. I aspire to good health’ (case 279). ‘If it concerns my health, the opinion of others is not relevant (case 386). ‘It it’s a matter of health, it must be changed’ (case 602). ‘I only eat good foods for good health’ (case 620). ‘As far as I go, my health is more important than any sort of gossip’ (case 675).

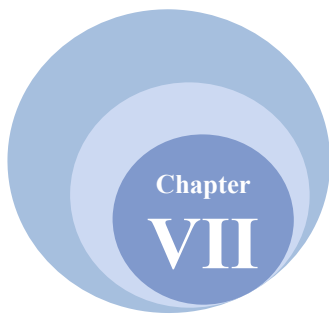
Alternative Macedonian foods	6	1.6	<p>‘There is always other Macedonian food to cook’ (case 71).</p> <p>‘And why would I stop cooking and eating consistent with the Macedonian way? Our cuisine is versatile and exquisite’ (case 203).</p> <p>‘The foods that I prepare are adjusted to this climate’ (case 221).</p> <p>‘I would continue eating Macedonian dishes that will suit me’ (case 591).</p> <p>‘Will eat it in a more moderate basis’ (case 735).</p>
Cuisine/eating practices are not ethnic identifiers	6	1.6	<p>The way of eating will not affect my feeling of being a Macedonian’ (case 300).</p> <p>‘This question is totally irrelevant. How I cook and prepare food does not distinguish who I am’ (case 322).</p> <p>‘One will not be a lesser Macedonian’ (case 530).</p> <p>‘Food is not a factor that determines if you are (or continue to be) a Macedonian’ (cases 662, 663).</p> <p>‘Not relevant. Food has nothing to do with being part of a community. Although, we do like the food’ (case 807).</p>
Various	58	15.9	<p>‘They will pressure you, ask you and convince you non-stop’ (case 52).</p> <p>‘They will judge you and they will try to convince you that the GP is wrong’ (case 189).</p> <p>‘I would expect pressure from my family – That is, all that is taken too far’ (case 276).</p> <p>‘Maybe they will gossip, maybe not’ (case 537).</p> <p>‘This doesn’t have to mean that the rest of the family should stop consuming Macedonian (cuisine) foods’ (case 51).</p> <p>‘Macedonian food is the tastiest’ (case 62).</p> <p>‘I’ll feel disappointed, because I really like Macedonian cuisine’ (case 402).</p> <p>‘Disappointment at not being able to have food and enjoy’ (case 761).</p> <p>‘I’ll be missing the Macedonian foods and pride’ (case 469).</p> <p>‘No one has experienced hardship because of a good advice’ (case 348).</p> <p>‘If the doctor has advised you so, I don’t think that any of these things would happen and it shouldn’t’ (case 565).</p> <p>‘I am mortified over the name, all foods to me are bitter’ (case 354).</p> <p>‘Gossip and exclusionary [practices] exist only amongst the [elderly] Macedonians brought up in the old-fashioned way – we, the younger [generations] are contemporary, I would not exclude anyone from my life due to health prevention practices’ (case 374).</p> <p>‘My kids would be happy’ (case 783).</p> <p>‘I’ll feel ashamed’ (case 487).</p> <p>‘I eat foods from [various] national [cuisines]’ (case 432).</p>

**Table VI.13.** Sanctioning of Embodied Macedonian-ness: Macedonian Cuisine  $N(sanc)=719$

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The description of the surveyed population, and the comparison of the research statistical data with the available data on ethno-Macedonians, together indicate that the survey sample size is highly representative of the ethno-Macedonian population in Australia. This means that the statistical generalisations can be deemed relevant for the target population beyond the sample size. A prominent social pattern identified amongst the ethno-Macedonians is overall high customs adherence. It is also indicated that Macedonian identity is an enacted identity; that is, an identity that is mostly recognised as such through practice. It may also be concluded that the commonalities that obtain among ethno-Macedonians are recognised as such through shared *habitus*, a shared set of durable dispositions. It may also be concluded that the constant threat to Macedonian ethno-collective distinctness has inscribed the individuals and has invoked a tacit and strategised defensiveness that is evident in the Macedonian language itself and in the somewhat rigid collective imposition over the individual. It also becomes clear that ‘rigidness’ of the collective imposition over the individual is not widely expected. Regarding the informal ethno-sanctioning mechanisms in the service of cultural continuity and maintenance, explored through Macedonian cuisine as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness, gossip was the most widely acknowledged mechanism, followed by loss of respect, unwelcomeness, loss of support, and, lastly, exclusion/banning by the wider community. Regarding Macedonians’ belief in the existence of informal sanctioning mechanisms and their effectiveness within the Macedonian ethnocultural field, there is almost equal distribution of responses indicating belief, non-belief and undecided.

Having explicated the knowledge of what makes one feel and identify as an ethno-Macedonian in Australia, the focus of the next chapter will be upon self reported health status, Macedonian-specific health capital accumulation practices and the ways in which ethno-Macedonians perceive and deal with competitive medicine versus alternative paradigms.



## Health and Health Capital accumulation practices among ethno-Macedonians in Australia

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Concluding remarks

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In his book titled *Counting, Health and Identity: A history of Aboriginal Health and demography in Western Australia and Queensland, 1900-1940*, Briscoe (2003: xxi), focusing on ‘disease, health and healing among indigenous people in Queensland and Western Australia’, states:

Disease cannot be divorced from history, either natural or social. The indigenous people can be seen as patients as well as colonised races. The system of Aboriginal administration, including government protectors, magistrates and police, along with doctors, hospital health workers, pastoralists and missionaries, was crucial in shaping both ... responses to disease and health.

This statement emphasises the importance of the socio-historical contextualisation of ‘responses to disease and health’. The relevance of the socio-historical contextualisation of healing practices has been hinted at on several occasions in this thesis: it is as relevant for ethno-Macedonians as it is for the first peoples of Australia and all other ethno-collectives in general. The Macedonian people can be seen as in need of health services as well as a contested ethno-collective. In this respect, various aspects of the Government administration of the Balkans and their repercussions for the ethno-Macedonians (as discussed in chapter I), including health services provision or the lack thereof, as well as various aspects of successive Australian governments have been ‘crucial in shaping’ ethno-Macedonian responses to their healing needs.

In this thesis, genetic structuralism is employed to analyse the relevance of the socio-historical context in the shaping of responses to the health of ethno-Macedonians in Australia; that is, their ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices. Synchronous with this approach, any analysis of the objective structures within the field of health vis-a-vis the Macedonian ethnocultural field is inseparable from an analysis of the genesis of the health-related mental structures of individual ethno-Macedonians, which are to some extent a product of the incorporation of said structures. In similar vein, any analysis of objective positions (such as those of the ‘holy woman’ or the ‘medicine woman’) within the field of health vis-a-vis the Macedonian ethnocultural field is inseparable from an analysis of the genesis of these objective positions in the particular fields themselves. Given that the social structure of certain historical and social topological coordinates is a product of history (Bourdieu 1990), the analysis in this chapter inevitably involves consideration of history.

Collective and individual histories are equally relevant: the history of Macedonian ethno-collective, the collective trajectory, the individual biographies of ethno-Macedonians, and individual trajectories are all of relevance to any analysis of health. Take for example the trajectories of the Macedonian collective and the Macedonians themselves, ‘understood as a series of positions successfully occupied by the same agent (or the same group) in space which itself is constantly evolving and subject to ongoing transformations’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 208). Irrespective of whether the space is economical, political, social or cultural, it informs the *milieux* within which the inscription is made in the biological individual; hence its mental structures are iterated into ‘durable dispositions’ that guide the individual at both the tacit and conscious levels.

Against this background, the focus of this chapter is upon questions I have posed earlier in this thesis pertinent to the relationship between identity and health and ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices amongst ethno-Macedonians in Australia. In a bid to answer these questions, I will focus on three forms of health capital: the *objectified state* (the objective state of well-being of the individual), the *embodied state* (‘the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body’

(Bourdieu 1986[1983]: 3)); and the equity state (the *equity* of an individual into the health related knowledge). But before this is done, it is imperative to have some understanding of developments in the Macedonian ethnomedical field, that is, the field of health relevant to the Macedonian ethnocultural field from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century up until today, a period that has been witness to ethno-Macedonian migration to Australia.

### ***1. Macedonian Folk Medicine: At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up until today***

The paucity of research and literature regarding the Macedonian folk (traditional) healing practices is, in the main, due to the political turbulences discussed in chapter I. Nevertheless, some anthropological research was undertaken in the period of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century including the anthropological research of English anthropologist and correspondent George Frederick Abbott and Polish anthropologist Jozef Obrebski.

#### ***1.1. The works of the English anthropologist George Frederick Abbott (1874-1947) and Macedonian folk medicine***

Abbott's research<sup>1</sup> was undertaken in 1900-1 in the wider territory of Macedonia (a territory of the Near East). But, as he claims, his 'real harvest' of data was achieved in the 'provincial towns of Serres and Melnik, the townships of Demir Hisar and Nigrita, and the villages adjacent thereto' (Abbott 1903: 1). If Abbott's *Macedonian Folklore* (1903), an academic work which appeared at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is approached with full awareness of a leading intellectual informing ideology/theory at the time – a linear progression of humanity from savage to civilisation and of political developments in the Balkans at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it could prove a relevant and informative resource. For this reason, I refer to Abbott's work in my thesis. Because it is impossible to include all of his observations in the thesis, I will selectively present some of his findings which I have assessed as relevant to my thesis.

Abbott (1903: 227) observed that apart from the official health interventions by 'the recognised ministers of the Crescent and the Cross', who were in the main unaffordable for the Macedonian peasantry, the last mentioned developed a range of health interventions (known as folk medicine) in their own right. In the section titled *Folk Medicine*, Abbott (1903: 227) states that the said health interventions were not just a few but involved 'a good many expedients', which indicated that the causes of the ailments were not understood only as physical but also as non-physical. He described several of those expedients, including swollen glands, fevers, sun-stroke, pimples and mad dog-bites (rabies).

In describing the treatment for mad dog-bites, Abbott (1903) stressed the relevance of the homeopathic doctrine (*similia similibus curantur*). The treatment recommended by a Macedonian folk-physician for mad dog bite was application of same dog's hair to the wound.

Sourcing from the *Useful Medical Treatise (MS)*, believed to be authored by the physician Constantine Rizioti, Abbott (1903), writes about the numerous ailments and misfortunes that assailed the Macedonians of the time. The treatments recommended in the *Useful Medical Treatise* are a

combination of ritualistic rites, and herbal and other types of potions. The following are some examples of the types of treatments.

Exclusively ritualistic treatment for toothache:

In the event of pain in the teeth make this sign, and plant the knife before the aching tooth, and say the 'Our Father', and the sufferer must say the 'Kyrie eleison.' And when the pain is gone, from the first tooth, let him put it in the second, likewise in the third, and, by the grace of God, he will be cured.

A combination ritualistic and potion treatment for the startled and fearful:

For a startled and frightened man: take 3 dried chestnuts and sow-thistle and 3 glasses of old wine, and let him drink thereof early and late; write also the 'In the beginning was the word' by the aid of Jesus, and let him carry it.

Abbott (1903: 236) noted that Small-Pox was conceived of as a 'supernatural female being'<sup>2</sup>, who was treated with 'fear-inspired respect' (ibid.: 237). Her stay in the village (household) was either made as comfortable as possible ('May she be sweet as honey'(ibid.)) so that the traces of her presence were neither morbid nor mortal and her departure facilitated in a most delicate and polite manner making sure she did not fall short of fear- inspired respect. Loss of speech and other sufferings were attributed to *Samovila* (nymphs) sightings.

Christianity made its impression on the Macedonian healing practices centuries before the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Abbott (1903), Macedonian healing practices were as much informed by Christian beliefs as they were by 'pagan' beliefs. In his section titled *Charms*, Abbott (1903) reflects on his rare opportunity of viewing a charm for protection against evil, drawn by a priest in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (document dated 1774). This charm, in Abbott's words, 'affords a good illustration of the compromise by which Christianity has adopted pagan beliefs too firmly-rooted to be swept away' (Abbott 1903: 240). Abbott (1903) also observed that a Neo-Platonic approach was also evident, especially in the phenomenological existence of Wood-Spirits and Water-Spirits amongst Macedonians at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Plato's conceptualisation of the four elements was appropriated by the Neo-Platonists in the realm of spirits: there was a spirit for animation of each element.

During this period, the delivery of a child was assisted by a midwife who was summoned in the utmost secrecy so that the evil-wishers would have no opportunity for evil-wishing. After the delivery, the role of the midwife did not cease: she made sure that the proceeding period was evil-eye safe; she 'proceed[ed] to hang a clove of garlic and a gold ring and or a gold coin on the mother's hair, ... in order to avert the evil eye' (Abbott 1903: 124). The midwife was also in attendance during the primary post-natal confinement of the mother.

The superstition of the evil eye 'in force and extent [was] second to none' in Macedonia (Abbott 1903: 140). It was not only humans who were susceptible to the casting of the evil eye, rather it was all creatures and 'inanimate objects' (ibid.: 140). The casting of the evil eye was believed to be done without malicious intent as much as it was done with malicious intent. An expression of admiration could invoke the casting of the evil eye; people would spit thrice at the object of admiration to counter any possible affects. If the casting of the evil eye resulted in symptoms, usually a *basnarica* (referred by Obrebski and others 1977 as medicine woman) - the white sorceress - would deal with it

accordingly. Male sorcerers were very rare; therefore, the conceptual usage of '*babi*', literally translatable as 'grandmothers', was extended to wise old women who had mastered the craft of '*baenje*' and enjoyed reputations as spiritual healers.

*Mienje skolki*, a rite described on page 153 of Abbot's Macedonian Folklore, is a rite that I personally experienced when I was a child. It is a test carried out to determine the cause of the person's ill health. In the case of a child's ill health, Abbott (1903) described the rite as follows:

When a child is taken suddenly ill, its indisposition is generally put down to the baneful influence of malignant eyes. If there is any doubt, it is either dispelled or confirmed by the following test. The rhinoceros' horn cross, or a sea shell, is dropped in to a bowl of water. If –as it usually happens – bubbles rise to the surface, that is taken as a certain proof that the child has been 'overlooked'.... In that case, it is either sprinkled with that water, or is made to drink of it, and the rest is thrown out of the house (Abbott 1903: 143).

Abbott also observed that as a precaution or preventive against the evil eye and witchery is to wear an undergarment inside out (ibid.: 144).

There is a paucity of work by Macedonian authors of the time that informs about the health situation and superstitions that were rife amongst the Macedonian peasantry. Atanas Mitrev (1884 – 1952) memoirs mostly reflect on the Macedonian National Movement at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But, the small section focusing on his reflections on the health situation of his birth village *Zavoj* and the existence of *babi* and their importance to the healing practices, has proved very informative for the purposes of this thesis.

In terms of alcoholism in the Macedonian village of *Zavoj* he states:

Alcoholism is almost not known in the village. Vine and grappa are consumed only during the festive season. There are practically no alcoholics in the village. Sobriety is a born quality amongst [villagers]. ... Overall, sobriety is a characteristic of the [village] population (Mitrev<sup>3</sup> 1974: 22) (Macedonian in original. Translated by thesis author).

As regards the overall health situation in the Macedonian village of *Zavoj*, Mitrev (1974: 22) notes:

Despite the unhygienic conditions in the houses, poor nutrition and the toilsome labour, the population enjoys good health. The elderly usually live till their 90s – and even 100s. ... Tuberculosis, malaria and venereal diseases are almost unknown in the village. ... Mortality, at the rate it appears, is a consequence of random ailments. ... This health situation is no doubt due to good climate, healthy water and overall to the way in which the village people live in a close to and inextricable manner from nature (Macedonian in original. Translated by thesis author).

Mitrev (1974) lists some of the superstitions observed by the *Zavojicani*, which include the *babi* – *basnarki*. He states: '*Babite* administer their craft and 'cure' all ailments using *baenje* (verbal exercise), with bones, under the eaves, under the trees, at the crossroads and so forth'. He also mentions the name of a renowned *baba* in his village - *baba Kata-Stojanovica Sutevska* (Mitrev 1974: 29).

As discussed in chapter III, Macedonians commenced their overseas *pechalba* during this period. It is arguable that their understandings of health in general were heavily informed by these understandings. Here, I will pose the question: How many of these beliefs have endured up to the present time, especially amongst Macedonians living outside of Macedonia? I will first follow up the development of these understandings in Macedonia; then, I will present the contemporary beliefs of Macedonians in Australia based on data gathered from the focus groups discussions and the survey.



## 1.2. *The works of the Polish anthropologist J'seph Obrebski (1905-1967) and Macedonian folk medicine*

In the posthumous publication of Obrebski's work under the title *Ritual and Social Structure in a Macedonian Village* (1977), edited by Barbara Kerewsky Halpren and Joel M. Halpren, Obrebski presents the findings of his fieldwork carried out between 1932 and 1933 in Porech in the then Yugoslavian Macedonia. I will mainly focus on his writings vis-a-vis the medicine woman and the holy woman.

Obrebski (1977: 1) refers to this area of Macedonia as a 'traditional peasant society', hence his interest in it. He observes that both existential and normative village values have their foundations in religion: good things in life are God's gift to humanity; the good are entirely dependent on God's benevolence. Social norms are also an intrinsic part of the divine. 'Erring humanity' will be sanctioned by 'deprivation of the existential values' (Obrebski 1977: 2). In other words, while the contravening of social norms might be tolerated by the community, it would be sanctioned by God in the forms of 'illness, death, drought, poor harvest, losses [of] stock, flood and fire'. Obrebski observes that although patrilineality is the organisational principle in Porech peasant society, women can assume an almost equal status – 'equalisation of the status of women' – by occupying positions dealing with important ritualistic roles, such as the role of medicine woman or of holy woman (ibid.: 2, 14).

### 1.2.1. *The Medicine Woman*

Abbott (1903) wrote about 'old wise women' – *babi* – and their ritualistic relevance to the realm of healing. Obrebski observes that the area of 'healing magic' was 'monopolised almost exclusively by women'. He identifies the objective position of *basnaritsa* as occupied by 'an older woman past child-bearing age', further noting that while all elderly women in the village had knowledge and practiced some healing, a '*prava basnaritsa*' – 'a true medicine-woman' – was one who was expert in healing, whose reputation has been built around the success of her healing. Obrebski lists the requirements that needed to be met before a woman could achieve a status as a medical woman (Obrebski 1977: 14, 15):

... A [*prava basnaritsa*], [a] true medicine-woman...has to have expert knowledge of a whole collection of rites and spells appropriate for various ailments, and she has to own [the] paraphernalia of her art, including a consecrated deer's horn, with which she exorcises all kinds of evil, and finally she has to establish [her] reputation as an effective healer.

In addition, a *prava basnaritsa* needs to be able to identify the source of the ailment; her art/craft is to look into the world of mystical, spiritual forces – irrespective of whether they be God, spirits or magic – and deliver the affected person to health.

Obrebski (1977) translates Macedonian *basnaritsa* as 'medical woman'. A *basnaritsa*'s key position in the field of healing is undeniable: her domain is spiritual healing; she is in the business of healing by balancing and counteracting (evil) spiritual and mystical forces. Thus, hereunder I will refer to Macedonian *basnaritsa* as a Macedonian spiritual healer.

The Macedonian spiritual healer (*basnaritsa*) has the objective position of an important public function – saving the people. For this reason, her status is elevated to the status of man in the public domain. Women who occupied these positions did not charge for their services. They accepted symbolic payments (Obrebski 1977).

### 1.2.2. *The Holy Woman*

Obrebski (1997) identifies another very important public function practiced by women, that of holy woman (*sveta zena*). The holy woman's position differed from the position of *basnaritsa*: the former position was occupied by women who were able to 'communicate with saints through hallucinations and visions' (Obrebski 1977: 16); it was a role closely related to religious life and to *–risjanska vera–* Orthodox Christianity. The holy woman depended entirely upon her visions, dreams and hallucinations when approached for help. She was usually able to help the person by telling what needed to be done, 'whether to go to church with prayers and offerings or to a medicine-woman for treatment (Obrebski 1977: 16). She was exalted to an even higher social status than the *basnaritsa*. And while her services were free of charge, generous amounts of money were gifted towards the building of a chapel (church) in her yard as a sort of refuge for her mediation.

Another difference between the *basnaritsa* and the holy woman lay in the type of values they were mostly concerned to preserve. While the *basnaritsa* was mainly concerned with the existential values of the villagers, the holy woman was mainly concerned with the 'fundamental normative values of the peasant society' (Obrebski 1977: 17). Obrebski (1977) also wrote about witchcraft, but I will not focus on this particular aspect in this thesis.

### 1.3. *Following Obrebski in the Field: 21<sup>st</sup> century Macedonian Spiritual Healing*

Ljupcho S. Risteski (2010) a researcher attached to the Centre of Ethnology, University of Cyril and Methody, revisited Porech during 1999-2001 and subsequently presented his findings in his article titled *Folk Healers in Poreche From the Time of Joseph Obrebski Until Today* (Original in Macedonian. Translated by thesis author). Considering the popularity of the *basnaritsa*, it was evident amongst the informants who participated in the 1999-2001 study that memories of the 'true medicine – women' remain very much alive amongst the residents of Poreche. The findings of Risteski's ethnological research are summarised below:

...[W]e had an opportunity to ascertain that this kind of cultural performance and expression is still very much alive and functional. Despite all the changes in the socio-cultural existence in the region, a great number of the women have learned the craft of *baenje* for 'domestic needs'. Women with public reputations for their spiritual healing abilities – *baenje-* are lesser and lesser, but there still are women as such (Risteski 2010: 2).

Risteski's findings provide a clear indication of the developments in the field of health in the Macedonian region of Porech. Once public servants with a distinct social status, *basnaritsa* are now being relegated to the private domain, while scientific medicine is enjoying a distinct status in the field of health.

A century after Abbott completed his fieldwork in Macedonia, Risteski was able to draw similar conclusions vis-a-vis the causes of illness and the healing strategies employed by the spiritual healers. Before I provide a comparison, I would like to focus on the categories of *baenje*, as categorised by Risteski (2010). Considering the methodology of the craft and the characteristics of the ritualistic act, Risteski (2010) differentiates between blowing, cutting, boiling water and extinguishing embers (*zarcinja*), treading, water overthrowing and (belly-button) kneading (pages 3 and 4). The spiritual healer threatens the 'illnesses' with ritualistic threat, aiming to chase them out of the affected person

and ultimately destroy the illness. The assumption is that the illness is a living creature that enters and resides in a person's body with the aim of killing it. Therefore, these creatures must be chased from the body by a spiritual healer using techniques such as cutting: the illness will be cut loose from the ill person (Ristevski 2010). Abbot also formed this assumption during his fieldwork a century ago. In addition, the spiritual healer will blow life into the ill person after the illness has been chased away. The analogy here is that just as God blew life into humans, the spiritual healer will blow life back into the affected person; hence the blowing technique. Entrapment of the illness sees the illness 'tied up'. Just as thread of wool is unusable when tied up and lumpy, in the same way illness will be ineffective when trapped inside a garment, tied up, and disposed of (Risteski 2010).

#### ***1.4. Doxic Experiences of Health and Modernisation***

As discussed in chapter II, section 2.2.5., doxa presents itself as the point of view of the dominant i.e., the dominators in a particular field which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view. As regards the Macedonian ethnomedical field, it may be argued that the evidence offered in the above discussion suggest an universalisation of the folk healers domination in the said field. Macedonians may experience *doxic* health experiences due to deeply embedded beliefs that inform/drive the dominated person in need of healing attention into seeking out and accepting the folk healers' recommendations. Their deeply embedded beliefs in the healing powers of the Macedonian folk healers have not been challenged for long.

Many authors (e.g., Abbott 1903, Obrebski 1977, Polenakovic 2007) commented upon the delayed processes of modernisation in the Macedonian region. I have also provided an argument for this delay in chapter I. The Macedonian region was under Ottoman rule for centuries: the Ottoman administration was not interested in investing in the development of its European territories. The weakening and the subsequent fall of the Ottoman Empire saw the Macedonian region and the ethno-Macedonians become targets for the imperialist appetites of the relatively newly emerged nation states of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece. All of these developments have affected the processes of modernisation, particularly amongst the peasantry; as well, they have rendered the services of a medical physician rather expensive, most of the time beyond the purchasing power of the average peasant. The impoverished peasant and the town's poor tend to be the most affected. Notwithstanding, some medical physicians (such as Kosta Marko Cepenkov) learned their trade with the aim of being of service to the poor.<sup>4</sup> During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, allopathic medicine, chemical drug therapy and surgery driven medicine (Diamond 2001), has gradually made its way into domination of the field of health. In the former Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the medical care system, which was exclusively founded on allopathic medical foundations, was freely accessed by all of the republic's citizens. Bearing in mind the developments in the Macedonian ethnomedical field in the Macedonian region, I will now focus my discussion on the developments in the Macedonian ethnomedical field in Australia.

## 2. Health Capital Volume of Ethno-Macedonians in Australia

### 2.1. Health capital: objectified state of health

According to the 2007-2008 Australian National Health Survey, ‘most Australians enjoy good health ... [that is] a large percentage of respondents reported that their health was good, very good or excellent’ (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2010: 33). In comparison, according to the 2007-2008 Ethno-Macedonians Health Survey conducted for the purposes of this study, the majority of ethno-Macedonians reported good or fair/poor health. While 56.1% of Australians reported excellent health, only 21.2% of ethno-Macedonians in Australia reported excellent health. Good health was reported by 29% of overall Australians while 40% was reported by ethno-Macedonians, which stands for overrepresentation in this category. Finally, while 14.9% of Australians reported fair/poor health, 38.8% of ethno-Macedonians in Australia reported fair/poor health (see **Table VII.1.**)

Trends in self-assessed objective state of health capital (per cent)		
Rating	2007-2008 National Health Survey	2007-2008 Ethno-Macedonians Health Survey (N=788)
Excellent	56.1	21.2*
Good	29	40**
Fair <sup>i</sup> / Poor <sup>ii</sup>	14.9	38.8**

**Table VII.1.** Trends in self-assessed objective state of health capital (per cent)

\*underrepresentation

\*\*overrepresentation

<sup>i</sup> Fair: Moderately good – experiencing some minor health problems.

<sup>ii</sup> Poor: experiencing some major health problems.

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2010: 270) report *Australia's Health 2010*, which was based on research findings, states: ‘Most migrants enjoy health that is as good as, if not better than, that of the Australian-born population’. This is known as ‘the healthy migrant effect’. However, based upon my research, ‘the healthy migrant effect’ does not apply to overseas born ethno-Macedonians in Australia. First generation ethno-Macedonian migrants are more likely to report poor and fair health. The more advanced the generational status, the more the likelihood of reporting good and excellent health increases. Further to this, it has been established that ‘the migrant health advantage diminishes with length of stay’ (Young 1992, cited in *Australian Institute of Health and Welfare* 2010: 270). Although there is no ‘health advantage’ for ethno-Macedonian migrants in Australia, there is a tendency that can be deemed synchronous with the aforementioned tendency; that is, the likelihood of reporting poor and fair health increases with the increase in duration of period spent in Australia. The likelihood for reporting good and excellent health decreases with the increase in the duration period of residence in Australia.

It becomes evident that for a comparatively high percentage (38.8%) of ethno-Macedonians, the objective state of health is reported as fair/poor. At this stage, it is imperative to know the respondents’ understanding of health, that is, what health is.

Question 13 in the survey questionnaire states: ‘Which of the following statements best describes your ideas about health?’. Respondents were given two optional answers: (1) ‘health is a mere absence of disease ‘not being sick’, and (2) ‘health is an individual’s total physical, mental and social wellbeing’. The first optional answer relates to the more narrow definition of health consistent with

the bio-medical model of health discussed earlier in this thesis: while the second optional answer relates to the broader, holistic model of health promoted by the World Health Organisation (WHO).

According to the data, 25.3% of the valid responses have an understanding of health synchronous with the narrower definition: 72.7% have an understanding synchronous with the broader definition of health; and 1.9%, indicated that both of the optional answers related to their ideas of health. The Pearson Chi square (two tailed) test on these variables revealed a statistically significant relationship between the two variables at  $\alpha=0.05$ . As evident from **Table VII.2.**, ethno-Macedonians, who have more broad ideas about health, are more likely to self-assess their health as good and excellent than those with a narrower understanding of health.

Crosstab. Definition of Health*Self-assessed objective state of health capital (per cent) <sup>i</sup>					
Definition	Self-assessed objective state of health capital				N (number of valid responses)
	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	
Narrower definition <sup>ii</sup>	6.8%	47.4%	34.2%	11.6%	<i>N=190 (25.3pc)</i>
Broader Definition <sup>iii</sup>	2.2%	29.1%	43.1%	25.2%	<i>N=547(72.7pc)</i>
Both	7.1%	64.3%	14.3%	14.3%	<i>N=14(1.9pc)</i>

**Table VII.2.** Crosstab. Definition of Health\*Self-assessed objective state of health capital

<sup>i</sup> Pearson Chi Square (two tailed) test revealed the statistical relationship between the variables at  $\alpha=0.05$ .

<sup>ii</sup> Health is a mere absence of disease not 'being sick'.

<sup>iii</sup> Health is an individual's total physical, mental and social wellbeing.

Thus far, it has been established that ethno-Macedonians self-assess their objective state of health significantly lower than the Australian average. It has also been established that ethno-Macedonians, who have a broader understanding of health, are more likely to self-assess their health as good and excellent.

Further analysis of the available data revealed statistically significant relationships between ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health, their experiences of migration to Australia, and their healthy lifestyle choices. I will now briefly explore the first two relationships.

As regards the relationship between ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health and their responses to the question: 'Has the process of migration affected your health?', the most prominent answer in both categories (narrow and broader understandings of health) was 'no significant changes to my health were noticeable'. But, there is a slight overrepresentation of ethno-Macedonians who have a broader understanding of health; that is, 66.3% compared to 60.8% of ethno-Macedonians with a narrower understanding of health. In addition, there was a variation across these categories in respect to ethno-Macedonians who reported that their health has been seriously affected by the process of migration: 9.6% of the population with a narrow understanding of health as opposed to 2.7% of the population with a broader understanding of health (see **Table VII.3.**).

Crosstab. Definition of Health* Health experiences of migration to Australia (per cent) <sup>i</sup>						
Definition	Degrees of influence: Process of migration & health					N (number of valid response)
	Health seriously affected	Health affected	Absence of noticeable changes	Health improved	Health greatly improved	
Narrower definition <sup>ii</sup>	9.6%	20.5%	60.8%	6%	1.8%	<i>N=166(27.9pc)</i>
Broader Definition <sup>iii</sup>	2.7%	22.2%	66.3%	5.8%	2.2%	<i>N=415(69.6pc)</i>
Both	14.3%	28.6%	28.6%	28.6%	0	<i>N=14(2.3pc)</i>

**Table VII.3.** Crosstab. Definition of Health\* Health experiences of migration to Australia

<sup>i</sup> Pearson Chi Square (two tailed) test revealed statistical relationship between the variables at  $\alpha=.05$ .

<sup>ii</sup> Health is a mere absence of disease not 'being sick'.

<sup>iii</sup> Health is an individual's total physical, mental and social wellbeing.

As propos of the relationship between ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health and their lifestyle choices, the evidence suggests that regardless of their understanding of health, the majority perceives a difference between a healthy lifestyle the 'Macedonian way' and the 'Australian mainstream way'. In addition, in reference to both categories, healthy lifestyles the 'Australian mainstream way' are not preferred. But this needs to be interpreted in line with the percentage of ethno-Macedonians who do not discern any difference between the two perceived different healthy lifestyles (see **Table VII.4**). The most prominent Figure in the Table was the 54.9% of ethno-Macedonians who have a broader understanding of health, see the difference between the two healthy lifestyles but choose health capital accumulation practices from both domains. Further evidence of this fact is that ethno-Macedonians endeavouring to maintain their overall wellbeing, be it physical, mental or social, resort to health capital accumulation practices within the Macedonian ethnocultural field and beyond it. This is also applicable for the 39.1% of ethno-Macedonians who have a narrower understanding of health.

Crosstab. Definition of Health*Health lifestyle choices (per cent) <sup>i</sup>					
Definition	Health lifestyle choices				N (number of valid response)
	Macedonian	Mainstream Australian	Both	No perceived difference between the two	
Narrower definition <sup>ii</sup>	17.8%	2.4%	39.1%	39.6%	<i>N=169(23.9pc)</i>
Broader Definition <sup>iii</sup>	13.1%	3.4%	54.9%	28.4%	<i>N=525(74.2)</i>
Both	23.1%	0	15.4%	53.8%	<i>N=13(1.8pc)</i>

**Table VII.4.** Crosstab. Definition of Health\*Health lifestyle choices

<sup>i</sup> Pearson Chi Square (two tailed) test revealed statistical relationship between the variables at  $\alpha=.05$ .

<sup>ii</sup> Health is a mere absence of disease not 'being sick'.

<sup>iii</sup> Health is an individual's total physical, mental and social wellbeing.

Given that the majority of the ethno-Macedonians perceives a difference between their ethno-specific healthy lifestyles and Australia mainstream lifestyles, I will now focus my discussion on what is symbolically differentiated to be known as 'Macedonian ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices'.

## 2.2. Health Capital: The embodied state

In this section focus will be upon embodied health capital among ethno-Macedonians and their ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices. As stated earlier, the term 'embodied health capital' refers to the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body that have an effect on the objective state of health. These long-lasting dispositions, which are part of the habitus of the ethno-Macedonians guiding the health related behaviour of the individual at both the tacit and conscious levels, are embodied or inscribed in the individual within the overtly or symbolically violent milieu discussed earlier in chapters I and III, in the Balkans and in Australia respectively. Macedonian cuisine, which is a performance ethno-identity attribute of importance to ethno-Macedonian identity in Australia, is also an important determinant in one's objective health. This is but one of the examples of interplay between identity and health. As suggested earlier in this thesis, the locus of interplay between identifying as belonging to the Macedonian ethno-collective and individual health capital accumulation practices is the habitus of the ethno-Macedonians.

In the interest of determining the embodied health capital among ethno-Macedonians in Australia, the focus group participants were asked the following question: 'Are there any specific Macedonian unrecorded/unwritten ways of treating particular illnesses, such as [venereal] diseases, mental illness, cold and flu, and obesity?'. The answers were: 'Yes, they exist', 'yes they do'.<sup>5</sup> A Sydney focus group participant explained: 'These are all part of the Macedonian tradition. It's an inheritance from the elderly; if we haven't heard these things from the older generations we wouldn't have known for our children'. Given that the Macedonian tradition is considered a performance ethno-identity attribute, this is yet another testimony in support of the interplay between identity and health related practices.

Across all five focus groups, this question generated a lot of discussion. The six main themes identified from the discussions were later included in the survey questionnaire in the form of concluding statements. Their significance was tested against the surveyed population, which, as discussed in chapter VI, is representative of the ethno-Macedonian population in Australia. All six themes are discussed in continuation of this section.

### **2.2.1. *Macedonian traditional medicine***

One of the themes identified from the focus group discussions was Macedonian traditional medicine. In the *WHO Traditional Medicine Strategy 2002-2005* (2002: 1), traditional medicine is defined as follows:

“Traditional medicine” is a comprehensive term [variously] used to refer to ... TM systems such as traditional Chinese medicine, Indian ayurveda and Arabic unani medicine, and to various forms of indigenous medicine. TM therapies include [1] medication therapies – if they involve use of herbal medicines, animal parts and/or minerals – and [2] non-medication therapies – if they are carried out primarily without the use of medication, as in the case of acupuncture, manual therapies and spiritual therapies.

The same document further stated:

In ... countries where the dominant health care system is based on allopathic medicine, or where TM has not been incorporated into the national health care system, TM is often termed “complementary”, “alternative” or “non-conventional” medicine (ibid.)

For the purposes of this thesis, Macedonian traditional medicine is understood synchronous with the World Health Organisation’s proposed definition. The spiritual healing component emerged strongly in the focus group discussions; hence, it will be allocated a specific section in this thesis.

In the *Macedonians in the Australian Society* (1980), Tkalcevic wrote:

‘[In their homeland,] with regard to health care standards –treatment of the sick [was] being entrusted to folkhealers. Until recent times there were few trained surgeons and nurses. Physicians were contacted only in more serious cases or in emergencies. (...)

[In Australia,] the status of folkhealers seems to be especially high among Macedonian women ... The reasons for this stem from the traditionally high esteem which herbalists and folkhealers have had in the eyes of Macedonians, and secondly, from the Macedonian immigrants’ lack of knowledge about community health resources and facilities (ibid.: 6, 7, 27).

What may be discerned from the above quote is the folkhealers’ relative domination of the field of health vis-a-vis the Macedonian ethnocultural field. It also suggests that in part, the ethno-Macedonians in Australia resort to folkhealing due to ‘lack of knowledge about community health resources and facilities’, implying that folkhealers are utilised due to community lack of knowledge of ‘better’ alternative: the allopathic medicine. The use of ‘folk’ and ‘folkhealers’ is positioned as in opposition to use of allopathic medicine, a perceived undesirable development or residual practice that disposes the legitimate monopoly of the allopathic professional; hence, ‘those in position of legitimate competence [within the field of health] are ready to mobilise against everything that might favour popular self-help’, i.e., ‘popular medicine’ or folkhealing (Bourdieu 1990: 151). Here, I need to clarify my own position regarding usage of traditional medicine. Consistent with the view presented in chapter I, section 2, I approach ethnomedicine as a normatively desirable development. Given that objective health is situated within a culture, health capital accumulation practices too are practiced



within a given culture; thus ‘healing occurs within a cultural system’ (Winkelman 2009:7). Ignorance of culture when discussing health will render the approach incomprehensive. Hence, the focus of this chapter may be understood as upon Macedonian ethnomedicine; that is, the Macedonian-specific field of health.

This thesis, *inter alia*, inquires into the use of Macedonian traditional medicine amongst ethno-Macedonians in Australia. Ethno-Macedonian survey participants were asked to what extent they agreed with the following statement: ‘Macedonian traditional medicine (knowledge and usage) improves my health and prolongs my life’. Their answers are presented in **Table VII.5**.

<b>Macedonian Traditional Medicine (Knowledge and Usage). N=789</b>				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree in moderation	Fully agree
Frequency	<i>n</i> =62	<i>n</i> =149	<i>n</i> =479	<i>n</i> =96
Valid Percentage	7.9	18.9	60.7	12.2

**Table VII.5.** Macedonian Traditional Medicine (Knowledge and Usage)

It is evident from the data presented in the above Table that 60.7% of ethno-Macedonians in Australia agree in moderation that knowledge and use of Macedonian traditional medicine will improve their health and prolong their lives. The further 12.2% fully agreed with this premise indicates that Macedonian traditional medicine is one of the community’s popular health capital accumulation practices. Further analysis of the accumulated data revealed a statistical relationship between the extent of agreement with the relevance of Macedonian traditional medicine to their health and their objective state of health, their understanding of health, and the extent of their adherence to ethno-Macedonian customs. These relationships are detailed in **Table VII.6**.

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . Macedonian Traditional Medicine (MTM)	
	Relationship existence
MTM*Objective state of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Ethno-Macedonians reporting fair and good health are most likely to agree in moderation or fully agree with the relevance of Macedonian traditional medicine to their health, followed by ethno-Macedonians reporting excellent health. Ethno-Macedonians reporting poor health are least likely to be in moderate or full agreement with the statement.
MTM*Definition of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Regardless of ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health, they are most likely to agree in moderation with the relevance of Macedonian traditional medicine to their health: narrower understanding of health 61.5% and broader understanding of health 61.9%. The likeliness of strong disagreement and disagreement increases with ethno-Macedonians who have a broader understanding of health.
MTM*Migration generational status	<i>Nil</i>
MTM* Macedonian customs adherence	<b>Relationship:</b> The likeliness of moderate and full agreement with the relevance of Macedonian traditional medicine to their health increases with the increase in Macedonian ethnic customs adherence.
MTM*Age	<i>Nil</i>
MTM*Gender	<i>Nil</i>
MTM* English proficiency	<i>Nil</i>

**Table VII.6.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . Macedonian Traditional Medicine (MTM)

Considering the presented data, it may be concluded that ethno-Macedonians health capital accumulation practices involve both knowledge and use of Macedonian traditional medicine. Given that 67.4% of Macedonians considered respecting and following Macedonian customs (and traditions, of which Macedonian traditional medicine is a part) a relevant ethno-identity attribute (see chapter VI, section 2.2.1.5.), it may be argued that Macedonian traditional medicine is a matter of identity as well. I will now proceed to exemplify what is considered part of Macedonian traditional medicine using examples provided by focus groups participants.

#### 2.2.1.1. Macedonian 'h' me-made' cures

In Halpern's *The Pecalba Tradition in Macedonia, A Case Study* (1975: 4), in part, focus is upon the ailments and healing of the ethno-Macedonian *pechalbari* in the villages below Mt. Jablanica, Macedonia. Halpern wrote:

Many [pechalbari] contracted tuberculosis and died young. The high mortality rate was due to the fact that there was no medicine for that disease. Some would try to cure them-selves according to prescriptions given by doctors. During the summer they would go up the mountains to the high pastures, where they lived on milk products. Because of the fresh clean air and good water and food they would heal them-selves and prolong their lives. There was a case of a tuberculosis victim from a nearby village who amazed everyone with his home-made cure. For one summer he lived up in the high pastures and completely cured himself.

This statement, which describes how conditions were at the time in Macedonia, builds a case towards effective self-reliance in healing among the ethno-Macedonian villagers in the above mentioned region. I will now proceed with examples of contemporary use of Macedonian traditional medicine among ethno-Macedonians in Australia. Numerous examples were shared during the focus group discussions; I will only include six in this thesis, starting from medication therapies and followed by non-medication therapies. The medication therapies included are as follows: caramelised

sugar and wine remedy, Elder flowers remedy, St John's Wort remedy, and vinegar as a remedy. The non-medication therapies included are chiropractice and cupping.

#### **2.2.1.1.1. 'H' me-made' remedy: caramelised sugar and red vine**

A Sydney focus group participant related his experience of the efficacy of a 'home-made' remedy for colds and flu; a remedy also recommended by a participant in the Perth focus group:

**Participant M2:** When someone is experiencing the first symptoms of cold, nose running and similar, if the cold is not remedied at the very beginning then it will develop. I have tried on myself what I am about to tell... I was told that if I experience problems like that then I should ... heat some red wine, but I should do it over some caramelised sugar (*pregoren seker*). So, you first start with sugar and then you add the wine and have the sugar dissolved into it. Consume that, and [the symptoms] are going to stop almost immediately. There is not going to be any coughing, no nose running... I have tried this on myself and it does work.

#### **2.2.1.1.2. 'H' me-made' remedy: Elder fl`wers**

Another Sydney focus group participant expounded upon the healing properties of Elder flowers:

**Participant F4:** Dried elder (*bozel*) flowers can be used for tea. The tea has healing properties for bronchitis and bronchopneumonia. I have also tried that myself. I haven't experienced bronchopneumonia, but I have suffered severe bronchitis. I have had a temperature for a prolonged period, and I have already tried that cure... In prevention of these [ailments], cordial can be made from the flowers and people can drink it as a refreshment drink.

#### **2.2.1.1.3. 'H' me-made' remedy: St. J`hn's W`rt**

The healing properties of the herb St. John Wort are also used in Macedonian traditional medicine.

The following is an example of one of the healing powers of the herb:

**Participant F4:** In regard to mouth ulcers. ... Several times a day, wash your mouth with St. John's Wort tea. It needs to be made like this: one litre of water, around a hundred grams of St. John's Wort herb – boiled until it gets down to half a litre. And with that solution, [one] needs to do mouthwashes several times a day, after every meal. [A friend of mine] was suffering from mouth ulcers severely. He wasn't able to even put food into his mouth. No doctor could help him and he got cured with this. There was nothing that he hasn't tried. And after treating himself with this, he was in disbelief himself. ... If cooked, St. John's Wort can be used only for washes: if in oil, it can only be applied on open wounds as it has healing properties. It cannot be consumed as a drink prepared as such. St. John's Wort tea can only be prepared for consumption if you dip it in water and immediately take the herb out.

#### **2.2.1.1.4. 'H' me-made' remedy: Vinegar**

The usage of vinegar to treat elevated bodily temperature was advocated by a member of the Queanbeyan focus group discussion:

**Participant F1:** We use vinegar to treat high bodily temperature in little children. We still use lard.

**Participant M1:** And it's quite effective - the vinegar! I have used that on many occasions. Vinegar, schnapps and a little bit of water, all mixed... I would put a little bit of both of those things, and it is effective in reducing bodily temperature. And its effectiveness, it's quite quick; in a short while [the person] will experience betterment. You need to apply that to the whole body and the temperature will subside. It really does help.

#### **2.2.1.1.5. N`n-medicati`n therapies: Chir`practice**

A participant in the Queanbeyan focus group discussion told of her experience with chiropractice – something she learned from her mother:

**Participant F6:** My mother used to practice... People would come from the neighbouring villages seeking out my [mother's] chiropractic skills. I got to understand [what she was doing]. I now practice it on my family only. If someone would seek out help, I would help. Or a friend, for example, if she says I am in pain, lower back pain, I would help. Few little cracks by pulling the skin and centring it, and she will be refreshed in no time.

#### 2.2.1.1.6. *N`n-medicati`n therapies: Cupping*

In addition to chiropractice, cupping is also practiced 'if someone suffers a cold or chest pain':

**Participant PK:** If someone suffered a cold or chest pain, they were treated with glasses. They would put the glasses on top [of the chest], they would light small bread pieces and they would place them under the glasses. The glasses would fill and the next morning would be like he wasn't sick at all.

It is evident from the above quotes that traditional medicine (medical and non-medical remedies) is believed to be effective; hence, it is still practiced as a popular health capital accumulation strategy among Macedonians in Australia. This is also an indication that Macedonians are 'knowledgeable agents' in some aspects of health. They are positioned in opposition to the established healthcare practices, that is, as a popular source of knowledge *viv-a-vis* monopolised knowledge of the health care professionals.

#### 2.2.2. *Maced`nian Spiritual Healing*

Another theme identified during the focus group discussions is Macedonian spiritual healing. Ethno-Macedonian survey participants were asked to what extent they agreed with the following statement: 'Macedonian spiritual healing practices –*baenje* (knowledge and usage) - improves my health and prolongs my life'. Their answers are presented in **Table VII.7**.

<b>Macedonian Spiritual Healing (Knowledge and Usage). N=786</b>				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree in moderation	Fully agree
Frequency	<i>n</i> =223	<i>n</i> =255	<i>n</i> =266	<i>n</i> =38
Valid Percentage	28.4	32.4	33.8	4.8

**Table VII.7.** Macedonian Spiritual Healing (Knowledge and Usage)

It is evident from the data presented in the above Table that while the most prominent percentage in a single category was allocated to 'agree in moderation', the majority of ethno-Macedonians in Australia either strongly disagrees or disagrees that Macedonian spiritual healing (knowledge and usage) improves their health and prolongs their lives. For less than 40% of ethno-Macedonians in Australia, Macedonian spiritual healing is a health capital accumulation practice. Further analysis of

the accumulated data revealed a statistical relationship between the extent of agreement with the relevance of Macedonian spiritual healing to their health and their objective state of health, their understanding of health, and their English language proficiency. These relationships are detailed in *Table VII.8*.

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . Macedonian Spiritual Healing (MSH)	
	Relationship existence
MSH*Objective state of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Ethno-Macedonians reporting fair and good health are more likely to agree in moderation or fully agree with the relevance of Macedonian spiritual healing practices to their health. Ethno-Macedonians reporting poor and excellent health are more likely to strongly disagree and disagree with the possible relevance of Macedonian spiritual healing practices to their health. The most prominent strong disagreement is visible for the ethno-Macedonians reporting poor health: 44.8 per cent.
MSH *Definition of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Regardless of ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health, they are more likely to report strong disagreement and disagreement when assessing the relevance of Macedonian spiritual healing practices to their health. Ethno-Macedonians with a narrower understanding of health are more likely to moderately agree and fully agree with the premise of relevance of Macedonian spiritual healing practices to their health
MSH *Migration generational status	<i>Nil</i>
MSH * Macedonian customs adherence	<i>Nil</i>
MSH *Age	<i>Nil</i>
MSH *Gender	<i>Nil</i>
MSH * English proficiency	<b>Relationship:</b> English fluent ethno-Macedonians are more likely to strongly disagree with the premise of relevance of Macedonian spiritual healing practices to their health in comparison to the non-fluent English speakers. But, there is no big percentage difference between the categories.

*Table VII. 8.* Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . Macedonian Spiritual Healing (MSH)

#### 2.2.2.1. Macedonian spiritual healing: *Basnaricite* in Australia

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the role of *basnaricite*; that is, the spiritual healers. The data suggest that their presence, although limited, is still evident and their services are still sought. The following excerpt from the Queanbeyan focus group discussion supports this:

**Facilitat`r:** When I was in Port Kembla, it was mentioned to me that there is a woman [*basnarica*] in Wollongong...

**Participant F6:** Yes, but she has died now. ...

**Participant F6:** She died. Yes. She was my aunty.

**Facilitat`r:** Yes, she died quite recently.

**Participant F6:** Well, it has been a year. (...)

**Participant F6:** She was helping all. She never put a price on her healing. People would come to her; she had like a special office in her house. People would come to her home.

**Participant F2:** Did she have approval from the government?

**Participant F6:** It doesn't need to be approved by the government. It was approved by the Macedonians. They would all go to her. She would heal babies, or someone who was mute or... Someone had some problems or... On occasions a man and wife would have some problems and they would go to her. She would perform the healing and they would overcome their problems.

They would say that. People believed that and they would seek her out. She never price tagged her healing. Whatever [money] they could afford to leave... I would leave that much, if my situation changes I can top it up. That wasn't the reason...

This excerpt from the focus group discussion confirms that Macedonian spiritual healing is still relevant and practiced in Australia. It further indicates that the spiritual healer's authority comes from her ability to heal, that is, from her reputation as a healer. In that respect her practice is validated, 'approved' by the people. It further indicates that in line with the '*prava basnaritsa*', 'true medicine woman', as described by Obrebski (1977), the *basnaritsa* from Wollongong did not put a price on her healing services. The participants in the Sydney focus group discussion also confirmed their knowledge and use of Macedonian spiritual healing practices as evident in the following:

**Participant F5:** Many times ... if I feel like I have a headache, someone has seen me with 'evil eyes', gave me the *uroci* ... My mother would do some spiritual healing (*ke ni zabae*) using water, spoons and salt. ...

**Facilitat`r:** How many of you have experienced spiritual healing one way or the other?

**Participant F2:** In all honesty, I have taken my grandchildren to [*basnaritsi*]. I have taken my grandchildren to spiritual healers when they were a bit younger, several years back. ... [I observed] that [the child] is nervous, cries all the time: it cannot be content with anything, loses its appetite, there is something wrong with it. We would have taken it for spiritual healing and instantaneously it would have been better. It would have been refreshed, it would sleep better, the appetite will normalise. It helps; I have felt it throughout my life - that those Macedonian practices really help.

It is evident in the above quote that the 'superstition of the evil eye' discussed earlier is still believed by some ethno-Macedonians. Macedonian spiritual healing as a health capital accumulation practice is not as favoured as the Macedonian traditional medicine discussed in the previous section. I will now proceed to discuss the ethno-demographic makeup of the social networks of the ethno-Macedonians and its relevance to their quality of life in later life.

### **2.2.3. Ethn`-Maced`nian netw`rk and quality `f life**

I will commence this section with an explanatory note as to why ethno-Macedonian network is being discussed in this thesis as an embodied health capital component. When networks and Bourdieu are mentioned in contextual proximity, almost tacitly, said networks are associated with social capital. This is fully justifiable given the definition of social capital provided by Bourdieu (1986: 9): 'Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition -... to membership in a group'. The ethno-Macedonian network is being discussed as an embodied health capital component due [1] to its potential for generating the actual and potential resources for maximisation of one's objective health, and [2] to the embodied state of the durability of the network.

Ethno-Macedonian survey participants were asked to what extent they agreed with the following statement: 'Having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life in one's old age'. Their answers are presented in the **Table VII.9**.

<b>Ethno-Macedonian Network. N=758</b>				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree in moderation	Fully agree
Frequency	<i>n</i> =48	<i>n</i> =106	<i>n</i> =406	<i>n</i> =198
Valid Percentage	6.3	14	53.6	26.1

**Table VII.9.** Ethno-Macedonian Network

It is evident that for the majority of ethno-Macedonians, having a predominantly ethno-Macedonian network is seen as adding to/improving their quality of life in later life. Hence, it may be argued that maintaining and building those networks is in fact a health capital accumulation practice. Further analysis of the available data reveals a statistically relevant relationship between the extent of agreement with the premise 'having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life in one's old age', the objective state of health, and the level of Macedonian customs adherence. These relationships are presented in **Table VII.10**

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . Ethno-Macedonian Network (EMN)	
	Relationship existence
EMN*Objective state of health	<b>Relationship:</b> The likelihood to moderately and fully agree with the premise 'having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life in one's old age' increases for ethno-Macedonians reporting fair and good health.
EMN *Definition of health	<i>Nil</i>
EMN *Migration generational status	<i>Nil</i>
EMN * Macedonian custom adherence	<b>Relationship:</b> Ethno-Macedonians reporting low customs adherence are more likely to strongly disagree and disagree with the premise 'having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life in one's old age'.
EMN *Age	<i>Nil</i>
EMN *Gender	<i>Nil</i>
EMN * English proficiency	<i>Nil</i>

**Table VII.10.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . Ethno-Macedonian Network (EMN)

As the majority of ethno-Macedonians moderately or fully agreed with the above premise, it seems in order to explore the potential of a predominantly ethno-Macedonian support network generating actual and potential resources for the maximisation of one's objective health. The survey questionnaire further invited the surveyed ethno-Macedonians to provide the reasons for their

agreement. Many of those surveyed provided their reasons for agreeing. During the process of data analysis, all of their comments were categorised into 24 broader sets of reasons, the most prominent sets being: [1] Ontological security; [2] socialising; [3] completeness; [4] constructing a Macedonian language mileux; [5] home-building; [6] trust and support; [7] constructing a Macedonian cultural mileux; and [8] remedy for nostalgia. Some examples are included in *Table VII.11*.

<i>Reasons for agreeing that having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/ improves the quality of later life (participants' responses)</i>	
Ontological security	<i>Case 12:</i> One feels more psychologically secure amongst family and friends abroad. <i>Case 311:</i> Because you feel ontologically secure. <i>Case 380:</i> I feel free and in the mood when I am with our people. <i>Case 471:</i> The more socially surrounded with [Macedonians], the more secure one feels.
Socialising	<i>Case 74:</i> We have a Macedonian Church and a Macedonian hall where we socialise. <i>Case 189:</i> Wider circle of Macedonian friends enriches the social life in older age. <i>Case 346:</i> Macedonians will [allow] information exchange and it makes your life happier.
Completeness	<i>Case 26:</i> One is not complete without family and friends.
Constructing a Macedonian language mileux	<i>Case 72:</i> The language and the way of life. <i>Case 216:</i> The memories in a foreign language will vanish. <i>Case 219 &amp; 277:</i> Because of the communication in mother's tongue.
Home-building	<i>Case 58:</i> I feel like home away from my birth place. <i>Case 631:</i> I feel like I am in Macedonia. <i>Case 805:</i> It allows you to feel a sense of belonging...
Trust and support	<i>Case 182:</i> Discussions about mutual problems. <i>Case 373:</i> They will help me in some critical moments. <i>Case 380:</i> We have our ways of helping each other; we can easily do that.
Constructing a Macedonian cultural mileux	<i>Case 213:</i> We'll carry on [the Macedonian way] <i>Case 375:</i> The Macedonian tradition is mutual help and mutual visitations. <i>Case 746:</i> Cultural Customs – reminding each other, staying in touch.
Remedy for the nostalgia.	<i>Case 564:</i> The nostalgia for the place of birth can be remedied with the friends and reminiscence conversations with Macedonians about the past.

*Table VII.11.* Reasons for agreeing that having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/ improves the quality of later life (participants' responses)

#### **2.2.4. *Bey`nd the Ethn`-Maced`nian netw`rk and quality `f life***

Ethno-Macedonian survey participants were asked to what degree they agreed with the following statement: 'having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality in one's old age'. Their answers appear in *Table VII.12*.

<b>Beyond the Ethno-Macedonian Network. N=774</b>				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree in moderation	Fully agree
Frequency	n=35	n=102	n=436	n=201
Valid Percentage	4.5	13.2	56.3	26

*Table VII.12.* Beyond Ethno-Macedonian Network



The data indicates that for the majority of ethno-Macedonians, having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality of later life. Hence, as with the maintaining and building of predominantly ethno-Macedonian networks, it may be argued that maintaining and building said networks is in fact a health capital accumulation practice. Further analysis of the available data reveals a statistically relevant relationship between the extent of agreement with the premise ‘having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality in one’s old age’ and the level of Macedonian customs adherence. This relationship appears in *table VII.13*.

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . Beyond the Ethno-Macedonian Network (BEMN)	
	Relationship existence
BEMN*Objective state of health	<i>Nil</i>
BEMN *Definition of health	<i>Nil</i>
BEMN *Migration generational status	<i>Nil</i>
BEMN * Macedonian custom adherence	<b>Relationship:</b> Overall, ethno-Macedonians reporting all levels of Macedonian custom adherence are likely to report agreement with the premise ‘having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality of later life’. There is also a noticeable trend of ethno-Macedonians reporting low custom adherence to be report full agreement with the premise. Strong disagreement is likely to slightly rise with higher custom adherence.
BEMN *Age	<i>Nil</i>
BEMN *Gender	<i>Nil</i>
BEMN * English proficiency	<i>Nil</i>

**Table VII.13.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . Beyond the Ethno-Macedonian Network (BEMN)

At first glance, the majority agreement with building and maintaining predominantly ethno-Macedonian network, and building and maintaining a relationship that goes beyond the Macedonian community, might seem incompatible. However, my exploration of the reasons why these networks are built and maintained sheds some light on the seemingly incompatible results.

The survey questionnaire also invited the surveyed ethno-Macedonians to provide the reasons for their agreement with the above premise; again, many took the opportunity to respond. During the process of data analysis, all of the provided comments were categorised into 28 broader sets of reasons. The most prominent sets included the following: [1] access to services; [2] learning from others; [3] creates cultural awareness; [4] way of life; [5] improves psychological wellbeing; and [6] the importance of the individual qualities. Some examples are included in *Table VII.14*.

<b>Reasons for agreeing that having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality of later life (participants' responses)</b>	
Access to services	<i>Case 706:</i> Better integration in Australian society improves relationships and access to services. <i>Case 709:</i> See practice outside Macedonian community that sometimes doesn't know all features of services.
Learning from others	<i>Case 116:</i> Perfecting English language proficiency. <i>Case 276:</i> [Communication] with other nationalities enables learning of new things in life. <i>Case 292:</i> Exchanging other's points of view, culture, and cuisine. <i>Case 322:</i> Sometimes that can broaden your horizon. <i>Case 400:</i> You'll learn other things from other nations. <i>Case 408:</i> There need to be different people and nationalities for different opinions and ideas.
Creates cultural awareness	<i>Case 12:</i> Socialising with members of other nations creates an opportunity to learn about new cultures and expands one's knowledge. <i>Case 16:</i> We learn about other ways of living and socialising. <i>Case 219:</i> I'll accumulate knowledge of different people and cultures.
The way of life	<i>Case 72:</i> The way of life. <i>Case 323:</i> Different approaches to individual[s].
Improves psychological wellbeing	<i>Case 148:</i> Socialising with people from different nationalities will improve the psychological wellbeing, of course if it's a genuine one.
Importance of the individual's qualities	<i>Case 60:</i> There is no difference if the person is human. <i>Case 221:</i> It's irrelevant what nationality they are: it is important to have someone close. <i>Case 234:</i> According to my opinion, the descent/ nationality of the friend is not at all important, nor does it relate to a higher quality of life.

**Table VII.14.** Reasons for agreeing that having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality of later life (participants' responses)

### 2.2.5. Family and health capital

Health capital vis-a-vis family, identified as 'the fifth dimension of family wealth' (Pullen and Wehner 2007: 52) is also a focus of this study. The focus group discussions identified 'good family relations, particularly good relations with [one's] children' as a health capital accumulation practice embedded in the Macedonian customs. Ethno-Macedonian survey participants were asked to comment on the following statement: 'A substantial portion in investing in my health and good quality ageing is investing in good family relations, particularly, good relations with my children'. Their answers are presented in **Table VII.15**.

<b>Family as Health Capital. N=791</b>				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree in moderation	Fully agree
Frequency	n=35	n=49	n=185	n=519
Valid Percentage	4.4	6.2	23.4	65.6

**Table VII.15.** Family as Health Capital

The data indicates that for the overwhelming majority of ethno-Macedonians, a substantial portion of their investment in health and good quality ageing is investing in good family relations, particularly good relations with their children. Further analysis of the available data reveals a statistically relevant relationship between the extent of agreement with the above premise and the objective state of health, the ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health, migration generational status, Macedonian customs adherence, and the ages of the respondents. These relationships are presented in the Table below.

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . Family and Health Capital (FHC)	
	Relationship existence
FHC*Objective state of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Ethno-Macedonians reporting poor health are more likely to strongly disagree with the premise: 'A big portion in investing in my health and good quality ageing is investing in good family relations, particularly good relations with my children'. Reports of fair health are most prominently associated with full agreement of the premise: 73.1%.
FHC*Definition of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Ethno-Macedonians with a narrower understanding of health are more likely to be in strong disagreement with the above premise and less likely to be in full agreement with it. Ethno-Macedonians with a broader understanding of health follow the opposite trend.
FHC*Migration generational status	<b>Relationship:</b> First generation ethno-Macedonians in Australia are more likely to report full agreement with the premise.
FHC* Macedonian customs adherence	<b>Relationship:</b> The majority of ethno-Macedonians, regardless of level of customs adherence, report moderate or full agreement with the premise. The likeliness to report strong disagreement and disagreement rises slightly with the rise in customs adherence levels.
FHC*Age	<b>Relationship:</b> The likeliness to be in moderate or full agreement with the premise increases with advanced age.
FHC*Gender	<i>Nil</i>
FHC* English proficiency	<i>Nil</i>

**Table VII.16.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . Family and Health Capital (FHC)

It became evident in the responses that building and maintaining good relations with family members improves one's health and adds greatly to the quality of later life. The ways in which accumulated health capital, i.e., investing in good family relations improves one life are depicted in the following excerpt from the Port Kembla focus group:

**Participant M1:** My [elderly] mother ... feels differently when she is with us. If I take her to a nursing home... within a short time she would be gone. ... She would be shocked!

**Participant F1 & F2:** That's exactly it!

**Participant M1:** I feed her ... I give her some, and she says: That's enough. Clean this away now. I've eaten enough. I then say: Well, how much you really had? You need to eat some more. C'mon, have a bit more. And she would have some more. ... Plus, she's got her children, grandchildren around her... She watches them and her heart is full of them. Yes, even her great – grandchildren.

The above is an example of how good family relations can lead to good quality of later life. Given that familial collectivity is identified as one of the foremost cultural traits of Macedonian culture in Australia (Cosevki 1995, Najdovski 1997), it may be argued that this particular health accumulation practice is inextricably linked to the Macedonian cultural trajectory, i.e., Macedonian cultural identity.

### 2.2.6. Belief in God's Foreknowledge

The focus group discussions identified belief in God's foreknowledge as another health capital accumulation practice embedded in Macedonian customs. Ethno-Macedonian survey participants were asked to comment on the following statement: 'I will not modify my behaviour significantly to prevent sickness, as ultimately my health is in God's hands'. The survey participants' answers are presented in the Table below:

Belief in God's Foreknowledge. N=763				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree in moderation	Fully agree
Frequency	n=97	n=162	n=263	n=241
Valid Percentage	12.7	21.2	34.5	31.6

**Table VII.17.** Belief in God's Foreknowledge

Further analysis of the available data reveals a statistically relevant relationship between the extent of agreement with the above premise and the ethno-Macedonians' understanding of health and their customs adherence. It becomes evident from the relationship presented in **Table VII.18.**, that Macedonians who have narrower understanding of health - as not 'being sick' - are more likely to hold a strong belief in the ultimate power of God vis-a-vis their health. Also, it may be argued that this belief is embedded in Macedonian customs. Macedonians who observe high customs adherence are more likely to hold this belief.

Pearson Chi-Square at $\alpha=.05$ . God's Foreknowledge (GF)	
	Relationship existence
GF*Objective state of health	<i>Nil</i>
GF*Definition of health	<b>Relationship:</b> Ethno-Macedonians, irrespective of their understanding of health (narrower or broader) are most likely to agree in moderation with the premise 'I will not modify my behaviour significantly to prevent sickness, as ultimately my health is in God's hands'. The likelihood for full agreement increases with the narrower understanding of health, as opposed to the broader understanding of health, regarding which, the likelihood of full agreement increases.
GF*Migration generational status	<i>Nil</i>
GF* Macedonian custom adherence	<b>Relationship:</b> The likelihood of agreement with the premise 'I will not modify my behaviour significantly to prevent sickness, as ultimately my health is in God's hands' increases with the increase to customs adherence.
GF* Age	<i>Nil</i>
GF* Gender	<i>Nil</i>
GF* English proficiency	<i>Nil</i>

**Table VII.18.** Pearson Chi-Square at  $\alpha=.05$ . God's Foreknowledge (GF)

It may be concluded from the above discussion that the overall self-assessed objective state of health of ethno-Macedonians in Australia is lower than the self-assessed Australian average health. The Majority of ethno-Macedonians see a difference between the ‘Macedonian way’ and the ‘Australian mainstream way’ of health capital accumulation and healing practices. The symbolic differentiation of some practices as Macedonian specific health accumulation and healing practices is closely related to the notion of the symbolic differentiation of Macedonian-ness. Given that Macedonian-ness is a contested symbolic differentiation, the Macedonian ethno-collective, as discussed in chapter VI, often retreats to defensive stances which in turn affect their openness to cultural change. This way, the symbolically differentiated Macedonian ethnomedicine is produced and reproduced as a matter of identity. And, with the contestation of the ethno-Macedonian identity, all of the practices differentiated as Macedonian ethnomedical practices are neither acknowledged nor dismissed as ‘folklore features’. Traditional Macedonian medicine is ‘categorised’ as ethically short of the branded and absorbed traditional medical systems such as Chinese traditional medicine. I will now briefly focus on non-integrative allopathic medical doctors and un-branded ethnomedicine, in the case of this thesis, Macedonian ethno medicine.

### ***3. Non-integrative doctors and un-branded traditional medicine***

So far, I have established that some doctors generally, and in Australia specifically, are adopting an integrative medical approach (see chapter IV); but, at the same time, they are embracing the ‘recognised’ alternative treatments, i.e., the ‘absorbed’ treatments into the mainstream health systems. I asked my focus groups informants the following question:

If the doctor prescribes radically different treatment for your illness, would you be willing to completely disregard the ‘Macedonian peoples’ cure? What would you do in such cases?

The focus groups have proven an extremely fruitful source of information on this topic. Macedonian folk medicine or ethnomedicine has not been branded (like Chinese traditional medicine). Some of the more widely known practices, apart from chiropractic and cupping, cannot be recognised by Macedonian ethnomedicine. They continue to endure non-recognition, even by the majority of the Western trained Macedonian medical practitioners practicing in Australia. So, when a medical doctor prescribes a ‘radically’ different treatment for a Macedonian patient, what will be the patient’s response vis-a-vis the knowledge and practice of Macedonian ethnomedicine? The following section details answers given by Port Kembla focus group informants:

**Participant PK1:** I would not give up on the folk cures. Because it cannot do any harm. First of all, it’s not toxic in any way, it’s completely natural. That’s why I might tell my doctor that I would not practice it. But I would certainly keep on practicing it. If I also have to take the medicine [prescribed by the doctors], I’ll take them as well. We cannot go on without the medicine – that’s correct! Times have changed and now we live in the time when we all have to be medicated. In addition, something natural [alternative healing practices], you would hear something from one person and then something different from another... You should try a bit of everything! You have to consent to what the doctor is recommending as well. If it helps you of course. If you self-treat yourself with a folk remedy, and it’s not helping you have to go to the doctors. And I would tell him that I do not practice any of the folk remedies. But the doctors would never allow you to treat yourself with homemade remedies/cures.

**Participant PK2:** They would not approve of the spiritual healers as well.

**Participant PK1:** No, they wouldn't! They claim that's nothing! That's why you don't have to tell your doctor that you would keep on doing it [use other people's cures].

In addition to the evidence surrounding the use of traditional Macedonian medicine, the following can be deducted from the above focus group transcript excerpt: Macedonians believe in natural and non-toxic ethno-Macedonian homemade remedies: contemporary times are experienced as times of the dominance and authority of the scientific medical doctors (SMDs). The use of both types of remedies is conditional upon their efficacy; Macedonians have an unmitigated perception of SMD's Complementary and Alternative Medicines (CAM) intolerable disposition. I will now briefly discuss these deducted themes.

### **3.1. *The Natural and N`n-t`xic Maced`nian ethn`-remedies***

Among the dominant features of Macedonian folk (traditional) medicine are its naturalness and non-toxicity. Many authors (for example Mitrev 1974) from various fields, when addressing longevity in Macedonia and particularly in Macedonian villages, give credit to the land's healthy water and the 'natural' way of living. Here I invoke the earlier presented argument in this thesis: the argument for anthropic contextualisation of health and healing. The naturalness and non-toxicity of the traditional remedies run a low risk of iatrogenic diseases. Also, the traditional remedies are obtained with either low or no cost at all. The low iatrogenic risk and the non-commercialisation of the traditional medical remedies is a small scale example of 'care' for the humanity as a collective project.

### **3.2. *Macedonian Traditional Medicine vis-à-vis Scientific Medicine***

As discussed above, the rise of scientific medicine to the objective position of dominator in the field of health has relegated traditional Macedonian healing practices to the private domain. The permanent temporality of the social status of the Macedonian nation amongst its fellow nations, the bullying official politics of the Republic of Macedonia's neighboring countries of Greece and Bulgaria, and the overshadowing prejudice against Macedonians as 'residual primitives' in the Balkans has left the Macedonians with a gnawing urge to 'justify' their existence, to 'prove' that they are not 'falling behind'. Macedonia is as modern as any other: thus, it almost automatically states its modern tendencies and all that are representative of it. This is discussed in chapter IV wherein I discuss the *doxic* experience of health.

### **3.3. *N`n-discriminative, efficacy based use `f remedies /medicines***

As discussed earlier in thesis, some Macedonians experience their health as *doxic* experience. In this section the focus is upon Macedonians that approach their health in a 'protscientific' way: that is they seek out the best available health accumulation practice, irrespective of whether it involves allopathic medicine or alternatives. This is evident in their efficacy approach towards healing remedies. When it comes to questions of efficacy, Macedonians test the efficacy of both traditional and scientific medicine. 'If you self-treat yourself with a folk remedy, and it's not helping, you have to go to the doctors'. A Sydney focus group participant explained as follows:

**Participant M2:** For example, I would consult both, the first and the second one. I would ofcourse listen to [the doctor's] opinion, but would also seek a second opinion as well. I would also seek an alternative solution, because it is my health at stake. My life is at stake. And I don't see why I have to be ashamed of it or afraid of it if I go and seek what can be named as a 'second' opinion from a person that deals with [spiritual healing]. If the first thing is not helpful, I would seek out alternatives, - it is my life at stake. And I would not save any means to find a cure and be saved from an ailment. I personally would consult with people that are knowledgeable in the area of peoples' medicine. Through the course of our previous discussion, many questions were answered and many examples were given, I also contributed towards it. I have already mentioned the cure for a cold.

Some Macedonians, as evident in the above quote, are challenging the authoritative positions of both the folk and the medical healers/professionals. This way they engage in critical thinking vis-à-vis their health which may result as a solvent of the medical and/or folk healers *doxic* views of health. Nevertheless, they perceive MDs as non receptive of their protscientific endeavors regarding their health. In the following section, I will briefly detail the views of Macedonian health 'protscientists' when challenged with a non-integrative medical practice.

### **3.4. Indulging the SMD: 'I would tell him that I do not practice any ethnomedicine'**

The overall perception of the participants in the research is that scientific doctors in general do not support traditional home remedies and spiritual healing practices. In fact, it would appear that they intensely oppose it. But, this opposition does not warrant the abandonment of the Macedonians' traditional home remedies and spiritual healing. I directly raised this matter during the Sydney and Port Kembla focus group sessions:

**Facilitator:** In direct answer to what I have asked, you are not ready to fully abandon Macedonian peoples' medicine even if advised by the doctor?

**Sydney Group answer:** Nobody would.

In addition, the following is the answer I received during the Port Kembla focus group session:

**Facilitator:** Does this mean that you would keep on practicing the Macedonian people's cures despite your doctor's disapproval?

**Participant PK:** Yes, it does! If I feel better while doing it, I would most certainly continue doing it.

The usage of traditional remedies is confined to the private domain; and, as far as spiritual healing is concerned, it tends to go 'underground'. Macedonians are very well aware of the arrangement arrived at between medicasters and traditional healers which favours the medical doctor. So, how do Macedonians respond to this form of arrangement? They indulge the medical doctor by not disclosing their use of folk remedies and spiritual healing. This is evident in the following:

**Facilitator:** Would you tell this to your doctor, that you are also treating yourself with traditional medicine?

**Participant F1:** You wouldn't want to tell him. Otherwise he would say, why are you coming to me if you are going there as well? How is it possible to tell him?

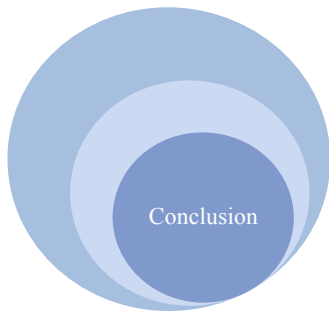
**Participant F5:** Yes, that's an opinion of many doctors because they are not accepting although they know of it.

\*\*\*\*\*

From the above discussion, it is evident that Macedonians are in need for further increase in their health capital to reach the Australian average. Regarding their embodied health capital - health capital accumulation practices - it became evident that while some Macedonians exclusively seek out scientific medical attention, a significant number use other health capital accumulation practices to attend to their health. These practices are established to be based in Macedonian customs and tradition. These include Macedonian traditional medicine, Macedonian specific spiritual healing (*baenje*), 'investment' in good family relations, building social networks, the Macedonian ethno-cultural field, both bound and beyond, and belief in God (God's foreknowledge).

Protoscientific approach is also evident among the Macedonians vis-a-vis their health. Thus, it may be argued that their 'residual primitiveness' is in fact their 'weapon' for medical authority challenge.





## Conclusion

The claim which guides the argument of this thesis is that the socio-political and health circumstances of the Macedonians in Australia cannot be elucidated without first considering the pervasive influence of Macedonian collective identity (or Macedonian-ness) on this particular ethno-distinct community. The history of the Macedonian people has witnessed continuous contestation of the ethno-collective distinctness that has influenced the formation of their cultural practices within which their health practices are embedded. The complexity of the determinants of their health practices is evident in this thesis. Exploration of ethnocultural distinctness in a form of ethnicity, as '[a] means of gaining insight into [the] difficulties ...[surrounding the] health care of migrants and ethno-distinct communities' (Meershoek and Krumeich 2009: 192) is argued to be at best problematic.

For this reason, Meershoek and Krumeich (2009: 193) opted to use a 'dynamic conceptualisation of ethnicity' to account for the 'potential differences between migrant and Dutch clients in Dutch illness certifying practices'. Their focus was upon ethnic identity construction via health related practices, in their case illness certifying practices. For the same reason, this thesis recognises the need for reconceptualisation of ethnicity: it suggests the reconceptualisation of ethnicity into an ethnocultural field, which accounts for the various dynamics within - and the dynamic nature of - the field itself. Focus is also upon the Macedonian collective identity as the collective identity of a people, irrespective of whether it is conceptualised as an ethnic or national identity. The interplay of Macedonian collective identity construction and the Macedonian people's ethno-specific health capital accumulation practices – considered vital to the thesis argument – has been explored and analysed: the inclusion of individual and collective histories has been considered critical. By employing this approach, not only are the differences in health and favoured healing practices vis-a-vis distinct ethno-collectives accounted for, but, the generation and structuring of those differences are also accounted for.

For example, Woodland et al. (2009) found that Macedonians afflicted with mental illness experience stigma and discrimination from their community: they particularly noted the differences in communal attitudes towards persons with mental illness; but, there was no discussion of how these attitudes, these durable dispositions among the Macedonian ethno-collective, were generated and structured throughout history. Ignorance of the latter underpins the risk of further stigmatisation of the mentally ill in the community. Here, the recommendation of Ford and Harawa (2010) is crucial; when planning research using 'ethnicity concepts' it is imperative to first consider 'potential problems stemming from the research, [e.g., the stigmatisation of certain elements of the communities]'. As a means of overcoming the problem of possible stigmatisation, the study has sought to determine how

these differences came about. I will now summarise the thesis argument, draw conclusions, and offer recommendations.

Adopting a critical approach to the established discourse in the field of health, in particular healthy-unhealthy and health and sickness binaries, this thesis argues for an alternative approach to health utilising the concept of health capital. As argued in chapter 4, the individual's state of being should be understood vis-a-vis this concept; that is, its cumulative health capital, cumulative of objective and embodied and equity health capital. In this way, a person's state of health can be assessed on a continuum depending upon the health capital volume of a person at a particular point in a particular time. It can be relatively less or more, have a tendency to increase or decrease, and can reach absolute nullity; i.e., death. I have employed this novel approach to address the health of Macedonians in Australia.

Their self reporting of their objectified health capital presented in chapter VII indicated a need for further increase in their health capital to reach the Australian average. As regards their embodied health capital - health capital accumulation practices - it became evident that while some Macedonians exclusively seek out scientific medical attention, a significant number seek out alternative treatment as well. Forms of alternative treatment include Macedonian traditional medicine, Macedonian specific spiritual healing (*baenje*), 'investment' in good family relations, building social networks, the Macedonian ethno-cultural field, both bound and beyond, and belief in God (God's foreknowledge). All of these are found to have a foundation in the practiced culture and tradition that throughout history has symbolically and/or affectively differentiated these people as Macedonian.

It became evident during the course of the research that the health experiences of many Macedonians are *doxic* experiences of health, irrespective of whether the *doxic* viewpoint is scientific medicine or folk medicine (see chapters IV, section 3. and VII, section 1.4.). There is also evidence of protscientific movement among the Macedonians, evident in their efficacy-based approach to remedies offered by both the medical practitioner and alternative healers. Thus, it may be argued that what is considered by established science proponents as 'primitive' and 'backward' behaviour in the form of seeking treatment from 'unprofessional healers or quacks', is tantamount to authority challenge: challenging the domination of the 'scientific medicine' within the field of health. Critical thinking sees it as a means of '[solving] doxa' (Wacquant 2004).

The current health situation of the ethno-Macedonians and their health capital accumulation practices is not fixed; rather, it is subject to constant change. Invoking Bourdieu's reasoning – genetic structuralism – this condition is only tentative. The presence of the above practices is synchronous with the 'subjective operative schemas' of Macedonians as social agents which, by means of practice, objectify certain objective positions within the field of health (e.g., the position of Macedonian spiritual healers), forming a tentative representation of objective structure that in turn structures the subjective operative schemas vis-a-vis said field. The permanency of structuration and genesis eventuates at a habitus level.

As a durable set of dispositions that guide individual understanding, interpretation and action in the social world, habitus is not solely the locus of interplay between structure and practice: it is also at play between identity and health practices. Health-related knowledge is always constructed through

habitus, not passively recorded. This knowledge is constructed based upon one's identity, upon a deeply embedded sense of 'being' in the social world. It is this sense of 'being' that disposes Macedonians towards the aforementioned attitudes and ways of behaving regarding their health, which are subject to the influences exerted by their cultural trajectories. The relationship between identity, health and health capital accumulation practices among Macedonians in Australia, described using gear analogy (see chapter VI, sections 4.1. and 4.1.2.), is exemplified in this thesis in the cases of Macedonian cuisine and Macedonian (healing) traditions as embodied forms of Macedonian-ness. The evidence presented in chapter 6 indicates that for some Macedonians, health behavioural changes may become a matter of identity. As evident in the findings presented in chapter 6, practice is at the core of Macedonian-ness in Australia; in other words, enacted Macedonian-ness. This is evident in the ethno-identity attributes identified by the Macedonian participants in the five focus groups. Performance ethno-identity attributes were most commonly emphasised as relevant to the Macedonian collective identity. The constant threat to Macedonian ethno-collective distinctness – a vital aspect of their collective cultural trajectory - has inscribed the individuals, invoking a tacit and strategised defensiveness that is evident not only in the Macedonian language itself but in limited cases in the somewhat rigid collective imposition over the individual and in the developed ethno-sanctioning mechanisms that operate and can successfully effect cultural change. Regarding the informal ethno-sanctioning mechanisms in the service of cultural continuity and maintenance, explored through Macedonian cuisine as an embodied form of Macedonian-ness, gossip was the most widely acknowledged mechanism followed by loss of respect, unwelcomeness, loss of support, and, lastly, exclusion/banning by the wider community. Regarding Macedonians' belief in the existence of informal sanctioning mechanisms and their effectiveness within the Macedonian ethnocultural field, there is almost equal distribution of responses indicating belief, non-belief and undecided.

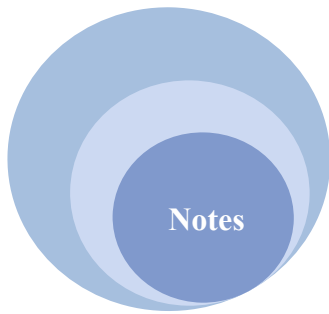
This thesis argues that without an analysis of the historical and socio-economic context of relevance, the health of Macedonians in Australia cannot be fully understood. This analysis is theoretically presented as an analysis of the Macedonian ethnocultural field, the field of health and the overlapping social space; in general, the Macedonian ethno-medical field. The Macedonian ethnocultural field is discussed in chapter III. The findings presented in this chapter indicate that the social environment in Australia vis-a-vis the domiciled ethno-Macedonians is symbolically violent; hence, it cannot be deemed conducive to the good health of the people of this migrant community. Health campaigns cannot be effective without a 'healthy' environment given that the relationship between knowledge and practice is problematic, and that knowledge does not necessarily mean immediate or long-term change of practice by the 'knowledgeable'. Extending the argument, chapter 4 informs of the power struggles within the field of health and discusses the effect of commercialisation on - and knowledge monopoly of - the field. The person seeking treatment - the commercial aspect of the healer – is deemed a consumer of the 'commodity of good health' (Grossman 1972b). The commodification of health affects the health equity of a people, by extension the health equity of Macedonians in Australia.

As regards the knowledge monopoly vested in the hands of establishment, science-trained medical professionals, exclusion tends to be exercised against 'alternative healing practitioners'. However, I

## Conclusion

stress that this is not the case with all alternative healing systems. Some (e.g., Chinese traditional herbal medicine, homeopathy) are recognised and absorbed within the mainstream health system albeit within the bounds of a relational alternative status. Unrecognised traditional healing systems, that is, ‘unbranded’ traditional medicine including Macedonian traditional medicine, suffer the stigmatisation of being publically considered ‘primitive’ and ‘backward’; hence, they lack the endorsement of the medical doctors (not even in a relational manner) as evident in the testimonies of the focus group participants (see chapter VII, section 3). For these reasons, this thesis argues for non-commercialisation of the field of health and against a universal, one-tiered, public medical system. With this in mind, the thesis calls for an anthropic contextualisation of healing practices (see chapter IV, section 2.2.) at the core of which lies a just social environment, non-commercialisation of the field of health, and civility. Synchronous with the above argument, I will make several recommendations regarding policy, research, and discourse change within the field of health. The first policy recommendation refers to facilitation of a just social environment conducive to health. A propos of the ethno-Macedonians in Australia, this would require the revoking of the in-effect dissociative policies (discussed in chapter III, section 4.2.), by act of which the symbolically violent character of the social environment in Australia will be amended. A second policy recommendation refers to medical professionals’ disposition towards traditional, branded and unbranded healing systems. There should be policy based requirement for an integrative medical approach; that is, respect for CAMs by scientifically trained doctors. This will ensure that the person in need of medical attention can be forthcoming about his/her use of alternative modes of healing without fearing ridicule by the established system’s MDs. Instead of feeling a need to indulge the medical doctor with non-disclosure of CAM treatments, an omission which may potentially have detrimental effects if a person takes contra-indicating medication, the person seeking medical attention will feel understood - not vilified or patronised. To this end, discourse change in the field of health is mooted. Based on the proposed re-conceptualisation of health as cumulative volume of health capital (objectified, embodied and equity), the use of non-binary language is recommended in the case of health capital volume. It may be argued that binary health rhetoric can be discriminative and stigmatising, for while it holds methodological value, the stigmatisation of ‘disablement’ in general and particular illnesses in particular can potentially skew the disposal of such rhetoric in favour of health capital rhetoric. This thesis has explored Macedonians in Australia in the context of identity, health and health capital. The study revealed a people with a long history of statelessness and oppression. Over the last fifty years, the violence inflicted was not experienced as overt; rather, it has been covert, that is, in the form of symbolic violence or non-recognition of the Macedonian people’s collective identity. It is recommended that the findings of this study be used for comparative studies in the same context as that of other peoples with long histories of statelessness and oppression; for example, the Kurds, Assyrians, Palestinians, Jewish and Romani people.

Theoretically, my study offers a significant development of Bourdieu’s theory in the field of health, while contributing towards a genetic structuring approach of *a* people.



## Chapter 1 Notes

<sup>1</sup> The 'fairly recent' referent refers to the period of the last three to four decades (Vincent 2002).

<sup>2</sup> The universalism in this line of argument refers to the universality of human rights. Individuals are therefore of fundamental importance (Vincent 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Steve Fuller's *The New Sociological Imagination* (2006) drew my attention to this line of argument.

<sup>4</sup> The sprawl of events following Thatcher's assertion of the 'non-existent' society has been referred to by Steve Fuller (2006: 11) as 'the mysterious disappearance of society [in title]'.

<sup>5</sup> Bioliberalism is a term coined by Steve Fuller (2006: 12) and refers to 'a politically devolved eugenics policy that encourages the casualisation of the human condition [i.e.] the tendency to make it easier for humans to come in and out of existence, especially in terms that do not presume the human condition to be an unmitigated good'.

<sup>6</sup> Harking back to the days when multiculturalism was proclaimed in Australia under the Whitlam Government, it meant 'life chances multiculturalism' (Hage 2003: 59). The latter can be understood by making a difference between multiculturalism as a social policy and multiculturalism as a cultural policy. In Bullivant's terms (cited in Hage 2003: 59), it is the difference between 'life chances and lifestyle multiculturalism'. The Americanisation of the term 'multiculturalism' leans towards lifestyle multiculturalism, and, as such, it is implemented by all conservative governments throughout the Western World – starting from the Fraser government (1975 -1983) in Australia. In Australia, multiculturalism was perceived as a prescriptive as well as a descriptive concept. As a descriptive concept, multiculturalism was in no way government choice (consistent with the Realist world-view) – it was merely a description of the product of the post 1960s mass migration policies – a society with more than a hundred different minorities. As a prescriptive concept, multiculturalism resembled the set of policies adopted by the government to manage the cultural diversity in the Australian society. Furthermore, a difference is made by multiculturalism as a mode of governing ethnic cultures as opposed to multiculturalism as a national identity. As a mode of governing ethnic cultures, multiculturalism is "a marginal reality" in a predominantly Anglo – Celtic society (Hage 2003: 59). As a national identity, multiculturalism is displacing Anglo- Celtic culture to become an identity of the Australian nation. It can also be differentiated between multiculturalism as welfare and multiculturalism as socio – economic policy. As welfare, multiculturalism was mainly concerned with facilitating access to the state by providing interpreters. As socio-economic policy, multiculturalism was assuming the welfare state as a tool for overcoming the structural inequalities based around ethnic belonging (Hage 2003: 59).

<sup>7</sup> The pages are provided tentatively. The publishing of the e-book *Perception, Meaning and Identity* (2010), at the time of completion of this work, is in pre-press stage. The pages refer to the count of pages in the book chapter in its own right.

<sup>8</sup> The realist and normativist stances coincide with what Schneider (1968, 1969 and 1984, cited in Danforth 2009) explains as group identity – unity by blood and unity by law. The natural component – blood- as an objective aspect of one's identity - does not allow for alteration of it. On the other end, proscribed component – 'code of conduct' is something that is changeable Schneider (1968, 1969 and 1984, cited in Danforth 2009: 16).

<sup>9</sup> Such as the establishment of the aboriginal courts i.e. 'culturally appropriate dispute resolution systems that are inclusive, respectful, and designed by Aboriginal peoples' (Whonnock 2008: 1), for example 'Canada's first Aboriginal Court, the Tsuu T'ina First Nation Court' (Dale 2004: screen 1) and the aboriginal courts in Australia such as: Yandeyarra Circle Sentencing Court, Wiluna Aboriginal Court in Western Australia, The Nunga Court in South Australia and Darwin Community Court in the Australian Northern Territory (The Law Reform Commission of Western Australia 2006).

<sup>10</sup> This move is usefully and briefly addressed by Frick (2010: 3) in her article *The Cultural Defence versus the Defence of Human Rights* in *Perception, Meaning and Identity*, in I. Veljanova (ed.) InterdisciplinaryNet.com, Oxford, UK, as follows: 'according to advocates for permission of cultural defence, the authority of the legal system as such should not be affected by parallel jurisdictions and different cultural backgrounds should be taken into account. In Europe cultural defences are increasingly raised by immigrants and people with migrant

backgrounds in criminal procedures dealing with so called honour killings and have found prominent advocates such as the former vice-president of the German Federal Court of Justice. In the United States, cultural defences are regularly accepted by courts. Cases involving cultural justifications range from homicide, refusal of medical treatment, use of drugs, treatment of animals, child marriage cases to prohibition against autopsies’.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Imperialism refers to the extension of control of authority by one state over one or more foreign territories, either through direct conquest, or by more indirect means, such as economic and cultural influences (Hawkins 2006: 42)

<sup>12</sup> Colonisation refers to ‘incorporation of the conquered territory into the territory of the conqueror’ (Hawkins 2006: 42).

<sup>13</sup> Stefov claims that the ‘Eastern Question’ of the 1800s has become a ‘Macedonian Question’ in the 1900s (2008: 156).

<sup>14</sup> In his book *Sanstefanskata Fikcija i Posebnosta na Makedonija* (1978), Risto Poplazarov writes that financing its warfare rendered the Ottoman Empire financially unsustainable; hence, British and French foreign capital became a fundamental financial stronghold from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

<sup>15</sup> A brief and valuable account of the effects of the San Stefano Treaty is delivered by Borish Vishinski in his article *The Ghosts of San Stefano* published in *Macedonian Review* (1978) Vol. VIII (1): 5-9.

<sup>16</sup> N.P. Ignatiev was appointed by the Russian administration to lead the peace negotiations with the Ottoman Empire. He is also considered a drafts person of the San Stefano Treaty 1878 (Poplazarov 1978: 25).

<sup>17</sup> The competitive claims for the collective affiliation of the Macedonian collective found their place in the nationalistic discursive literature in the respective countries. For example, Slijepcevic Djoko, in his book *The Macedonian Question[:] The Struggle for Southern Serbia* informs of the Serbian bid to annex Macedonia and the absorption of ethno-Macedonians.

<sup>18</sup> *Peace Treaty Between Roumania, Greece, Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria*, Pollitecon Publications, March 2010, viewed 13 March 2010, [http://www.pollitecon.com/html/treaties/Treaty\\_Of\\_Bucharest\\_1913.html](http://www.pollitecon.com/html/treaties/Treaty_Of_Bucharest_1913.html).

<sup>19</sup> When it comes to figures as indicators for any political developments in the Balkans during this period, I am reluctant to accept any claims put forward by any of the stakeholders: newly emerged nation-states in the Balkans in the period leading up to the Second Balkan War. For this reason, I have decided to use the source included in this thesis.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Roumania’ refers to modern Romania; the former is the original citation from the document The Treaty of Bucharest 1913.

<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that the anthropologist Anastasia Karakasidou ‘has been the target of death threats both in Greece and the United States’ (Danforth 1995: xv) for researching on the Macedonian conflict. Her experience is also noted in Brown, K. 2003, *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, Oxford.

<sup>22</sup> Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, *Denying Ethnic Identity: The Macedonians of Greece*, Human Right Watch, New York, Washington, Los Angeles, London, viewed on 12 February 2010, [http://www.pollitecon.com/html/books/Denying\\_Ethnic\\_Identity\\_-\\_The\\_Macedonians\\_of\\_Greece.pdf](http://www.pollitecon.com/html/books/Denying_Ethnic_Identity_-_The_Macedonians_of_Greece.pdf), pp 5-6.

<sup>23</sup> In the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Macedonian national liberation movement aligned itself with the ‘progressive movement of the working class’, i.e., the communist driven socialist movement(s) (Hristov 1971: 71).

<sup>24</sup> Valuable source about the violent ‘nation building’ strategies of the Greek administration between 1945 and 1947, see section *Obid za Fizicka Likvidacija (An Attempt for Physical Extinction)* in *Makedonskoto Nacionalno Malcinstvo vo Bugarija, Grcija i Albanija (Macedonian National Minority in Bulgaria, Greece and Albania)* by Toshko Popovski (1981) pages 195-199.

<sup>25</sup> This is starkly evident in the work of E. Kofos, *The Macedonian Question: The Politics of Mutation*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1986, pp. 3-5. His work is quoted by the partisans of the Greek imperialist nationalism.

<sup>26</sup> This is emphasised in the work of Y. Christidis, *Bulgarian Foreign Policy and FYROM*, 1989-2006, Macedonian Heritage, March 2010, viewed on 15 May 2001, <http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/Contributions/Christidis-Bulgarian%20Foreign%20Policy%20and%20FYROM.pdf>, p 10.

<sup>27</sup> As reported in Underdown (1994: 6).

<sup>28</sup> The concept of artificiality derivative by the processes of “mutation” of the Macedonian ethnicity is conceptualised by Kofos Evangelos 1987 who is also Greek.

<sup>29</sup> As stated, ‘UMO Ilinden – PIRIN is a political party founded on 28 February 1998 and based in south-west Bulgaria (in an area known as the Pirin region or the geographic region of Pirin Macedonia). It was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court on 29 February 2000 and as a result dissolved’ (Case of the United Macedonian Organisation Ilinden-Pirin and Others v. Bulgaria 2006: approx. screen 3).

<sup>30</sup> It is clear that at the core of the distinction is the nature of the claimed knowledge and not the manner by which the knowledge is obtained (Lett 2010).

<sup>31</sup> Kenneth L Pike in an interview with K.J. Franklin, 1996, *K. L. Pike on Etic vs. Emic: Review and Interview* [online], last viewed on June 10, 2010 at <http://www.sil.org/klp/karlintv.htm#Interview>.

<sup>32</sup> My discussion of 'hard data' is not related in any way to the classification of *emics* and *etics* as 'soft facts' versus 'hard facts' as classified by Nattinger (1978). Headland (1990), in *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (edited by Thomas N. Headland, Kenneth L. Pike, and Marvin Harris) states that this is one of the many inadequate ways of defining *emics* versus *etics*. 'Hard facts' (for example statistical data) can be as much as *etic* as *emic* constructs.

<sup>33</sup> One of the measures of ethnic origins developed by Charles A. Price is the *ethnic strength* measure. Emphasising the 'intermixture', Price (1999) argues that the concept of 'ethnic strength' can be much more useful in accounting for the multi-ethnic makeup of the Australian population. The concept of ethnic strength does not refer to the number of separate individuals of an existing ethnic group; but, rather to the strength 'of any particular ethnicity in the total population' (Price 1999: 12). For example, 1999 'Macedonian' ethnic strength total equals 98,000. The latter does not imply that there were 98,000 ethnic Macedonians as separate individuals in Australia. What the figure implies is that out of all reported instances of Macedonian ancestry (first, second, third for example), the presence of the Macedonian-ness (the ethnic strength) in Australia totals 98,000 persons or 0.52 per cent of the total Australian population (Price 1999). In comparison to the measure of total descent, the ethnic strength measure implies that ethnicity is an abstract quality that is not inextricably related to the existence of an ancestry or ethnic group

<sup>34</sup> The ancestry question was also included in the 2006 census, but at the time when Khoo's analysis was conducted, relevant 2006 data were not available (Khoo 2006).

## Chapter 2 Notes

<sup>1</sup> I find that Anderson's methodology is somewhat flawed in respect to nation states that have emerged with concurrent official administrative vernaculars such as Switzerland and Belgium. I acknowledge Alejandro Carson Servantes as a scholar who draws my attention to this argument.

<sup>2</sup> Given that the establishment of administrative vernaculars 'pre -dated both the print and religious upheavals of the sixteen century' Anderson (2001: 48) says that they need to be perceived as independent factors towards the erosion of the sacred imagined communities.

<sup>3</sup> VMRO-DPMNE is an abbreviation for Vnatesno Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija – Demokratska Partija za Makedonsko Nacionalno Edinstvo. Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'doctrine' is used in the document, thus this term will be used hereafter in the thesis, referring to the political ideology of the VMRO-DPMNE.

<sup>5</sup> The distinction of civic versus ethno nation[isms] is discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> This section is translated from Macedonian to English language by the author of this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> It is of importance to note that Nikola Grujevski, the Premier of the current government of the Republic of Macedonia and leader of VMRO-DPMNE, in an interview with Sigurjon Einarson in *A Name is a Name* (2009) stated explicitly that the official government position does recognise that Macedonians (civic and ethnic) are not exclusive in their claims to ancient culture and recognises that others have valid claims as well. However, the Greek officials are exclusive in their claims.

<sup>8</sup> See attachment 1.

<sup>9</sup> This period coincides with the birth of the Argead Macedonian Royal dynasty (Stefov 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Danforth (2009) uses the term 'biologized' to refer to the primordality of attachments.

<sup>11</sup> Ranked either as moderate or low relevance or not relevant. See chapter VI for a more detailed account.

<sup>12</sup> I use the term 'Macedonians' to refer to Macedonian ethno-nationals. When I use 'civic-Macedonians', I refer to citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, who can be Albanians, Serbs and Romani people, for example.

<sup>13</sup> In 2001, Bulgaria was accepted into the Schengen territory. In January 2007, Bulgaria became a full member of the European Union.

<sup>14</sup> This is plural of *nash* (another variation is *nashio*. This is a widely used nickname for fellow Macedonians, usually used to depict men rather than women). When Macedonians use the term '*nash*', they refer to a person who is 'one of us'. When they use the term *nashi*, they refer to a group of people as 'ours'.

<sup>15</sup> In this particular case, the term 'diasporic' is used to refer to communities formed by people outside their homeland of Macedonia.

<sup>16</sup> According to Bald and Couton (2009: 651-652), interculturalism differs from multiculturalism as a national policy in a way that multiculturalism requires few 'fewer *official* socio-cultural requisites'.

<sup>17</sup> The difficulty with communitarianism is that it doesn't offer a clear definition of what community is, neither sociologically nor psychologically (Vincent 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Both of these individuals arrived in Australia pre WWII. Helen arrived in Australia with her family as a nine year old child in 1937 and Kris arrived in 1938 (Trajcevski a & b 2008).

<sup>19</sup> The answer to the question "Native of - Greece. Nationality Macedonian (Commonwealth of Australia, application for admission of relatives or friends to Australia 1927) National Archive Australia.

<sup>20</sup> A plural form of Mariovec. Australian to Australians is what Mariovec to Mariovcite is.

<sup>21</sup> Butler, J. 1990, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, London

<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu's social theory has not escaped critical intellectual responses from other intellectuals in the field. Jeffrey Alexander (1995 cited in Smith 2004), criticises Bourdieu as 'determinist and materialist', as unable to conceptualise autonomous action. Alexander (1995) also refers to him as 'reductionalist', one who fails to understand the requirement of a multidimensional social theory and "how individual action and its social environments can be interrelated without reduction" (Alexander 1995: 193, Smith 2004: 106). In Alexander's (1995) view, Bourdieu's theory of practice is in fact Neo-Marxist theory. Similarly, Lau (2004) argues that Bourdieu's work remains objectivistic, paired with a 'charge of determinism – reductionism' (Lau 2004: 369). Sewell (1992) argues that Bourdieu's concept of habitus, retains an 'agent –proof' quality and does not overcome the duality of structure for which it was primarily conceptualised (Sewell 1992: 15). In saying this, Sewell (1992) joins Alexander and Lau's criticism which argues that Bourdieu's theory evinces a 'combined determinism that makes significant social transformations seem impossible' (Sewell 1992: 15). Other authors (Calhoun 1993, Jenkins 1982 cited in Lau 2004) who have produced critical accounts on Bourdieu's social theory, more or less follow the same path of criticism of Bourdieu's work as 'failed synthesis' of the duality of structure (Alexander 1995: 128, Lau 2004; Calhoun 1993).



<sup>23</sup> In addition to this the following is important for conceptualising capital: (1) there are different kinds of goods and resources that people can pursue and accumulate; (2) goods and resources are inextricably social; and, (3) the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of capital are both aims of the social struggle (Calhoun et al. 2002; Bourdieu 1988).

<sup>24</sup> As stated in Bourdieu (1986[1983]: 3), cultural capital can exist in the forms of embodied capital, objectified and institutionalised capital.

<sup>25</sup> Note that these concepts are selected with accordance to their relevance to this thesis. They do not even remotely exhaust the theoretical contributions of Pierre Bourdieu.

<sup>26</sup> More currently Anastasia N. Panagakos in her *Downloading New Identities: Ethnicity, Technology and the Media in the Global Greek Village* (2003), uses habitus to account for Greek ethnic identity.

<sup>27</sup> I deem this impossible; hence, a similar habitus will be the operative assumption.

<sup>28</sup> Health can be defined as “a stock of human capital that can be utili[s]ed both in earning wages and in producing household commodities” (Grossman 1972 cited in Wilson 2001: 4).

## Chapter 3 Notes

<sup>1</sup> The findings of the document analysis are presented this early in the thesis, preceding the chapter on methodology - chapter V - in order to present the argument in this thesis systematically, and consistent with the Bourdieu's method when using theory of fields in research: historical context vis-a-vis Macedonian ethnocultural field and historical context vis-a-vis field of health (chapter IV).

<sup>2</sup> These figures are presented as of June 18, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> In the UWS library catalogue, the exact year of publication of this publication is not stated: (199-). I have traced an internet source that states that this publication is published before 1995. I decided to deem year 1995 as the year of publication.

<sup>4</sup> This will not be discussed further at this stage. The Greek nationalistic discourse is presented and discussed in chapter I.

<sup>5</sup> This does not mean that there is a huge volume of literature about Macedonians; rather it refers to the increase in the volume of literature. Also, the proliferation of electronic material and the world wide access to it, also offers information at an increasing rate. Nevertheless, there still is the problem with the quality of the sources.

<sup>6</sup> *Pechalbari/te* are people who have undertaken *pechalbarstvo*.

<sup>7</sup> Pavlovski (1971) uses the terms *pechalbari* and *pechalbarstvo* loosely (evident on page 22). His usage of the concepts equate to the concept of economic migrant. While this might be a broad interpretation of the term, it should not result in an assumption that *pechalbarstvo* means just that. In conclusion, I do not support this broad usage of the term.

<sup>8</sup> Some literature argues the purely economic character of push factors for migration (see Tkalecivic 1980). But, this is mostly due to the limited sources available to writers at the time; therefore, the historical accounts may not be accurate. Tkalecivic (1980: vii) states 'This paper is not meant to be a history of Macedonians in Australia'.

<sup>9</sup> These processes were very slowly announced in the Macedonian region due to the persisting Ottoman Rule in that region.

<sup>10</sup> Village –town migration was seen by the *pechalbari* as migration to a foreign land. The perceived foreignness of the Balkan towns was due to the cultural differences that these towns evinced. They were '[cities] of foreigners –of Greeks, Turks, Jews, Albanians, [Romani people] – not of the Macedonian majority' (Halpern 1975 as cited in Vasiliadis 1989, p 142).

<sup>11</sup> This is not to assume that Greek communities were dominant in the urban settings of the time. This notion is explained usefully by Nick Anastasovski in his *The Contest for Macedonian Identity 1870-1912* (2008): '[i]n central Macedonia and generally throughout the rural regions Greeks were almost non-existent. There is a widespread misconception that they inhabited urban centres en masse and engaged in business and trade. However, the ambiguous nature of terms of identification gave the Greeks a presence where there was none [...] The term Greek was applied to urban dwellers liberally, and could be applied to any 'better off' or educated Christian' (Anastasovski 2008: 100-101).

<sup>12</sup> The periods of *pechalba* varied from a few months to a few decades, but 'there was always a return' (Vasiliadis 1989: 144).

<sup>13</sup> Joel M. Halpern's paper 'The Pec[h]alba Tradition in Macedonia, A Case Study' (1975: 4) informs that '[i]n the old days [*pechalbari*] would work 18 hours a day, under difficult conditions'. Overall, this paper is a very informative anthropological account of *pechalba* practice amongst the Macedonians of Macedonia.

<sup>14</sup> Herman (1978, cited in Vasiliadis 1989, p 142) suggests that the term *pechalbarstvo* has its etymological foundations in the Slavic word *pechal* which translates as grief or sorrow in Russian.

<sup>15</sup> This is explained by Vasiliadis (1989:150-152).

<sup>16</sup> Trpovski (2004: 12) states that among the first *pechalbari* to set off to the USA in 1898 were trees cutters from Lerinsko working in Roumania. Once unemployed, they went to America to find employment. By their invitation, many villagers from Lerinsko, Bufsko, Kosturko and Prespansko migrated to America in 1900. *Pechalbari* from the Ohrid and Prilep regions went to America in 1905 and 1906 respectively.

<sup>17</sup> This will in turn manifest as a push factor for permanent migration.

<sup>18</sup> The patriarchal structure that facilitated the departure of the young Macedonian man as a *pechalbar*, i.e., the fulfilment of his 'bread winning' role, was in practice challenged by the empowerment of the Macedonian woman in her role of 'devoted mother, [...] the guardian of the nation's moral values [and] ... [repository] of treasured customs' (Nurigiani 1967: 60) in absence of her husband or sons during the periods of *pechalba*.

<sup>19</sup> For a rather romanticised account of the Macedonian woman see Giorgio Nurigiani (1967) *Macedonia Yesterday and Today* pp. 57-61. Critical reading of the text can render it a relevant source on the Macedonian woman.

<sup>20</sup> This will in turn manifest as a pull factor for permanent migration.

<sup>21</sup> This is discussed in chapter I.

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that the Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty report *Welfare of Migrants* (1975: 66) states that Macedonian migrants started arriving in Australia 1946. This may not be supportable. It supports my claim that some literature on Macedonians in Australia (and Macedonians in general) seems under-informed.

<sup>23</sup> This report claims that evidence suggests that movement from Yugoslavia (from 1918 on) did not have chain migration as a general migration trend. The evidence supports chain migration as a developed pattern amongst Macedonians only.

<sup>24</sup> Non-acknowledgement of the refugee status of the Macedonian refugee arrivals meant that their need for special support was borne by the Macedonian collective. Till this day, they are not acknowledged as refugees; the Australian Government insists that the matter of refugee status should be taken up with the Government of Greece.

<sup>25</sup> To quote Radin (1995: 116) – ‘almost exclusively’.

<sup>26</sup> This is not to say that these categories of migrants have exclusively migrated to Australia. They can be found around the globe.

<sup>27</sup> For a useful account of the experiences of the Republic of Macedonia citizenry and ethno-Macedonians in particular, see *The Violent Aftermath of the Kosovo Conflict. Diary of an Uncivil War* (2002) by Scott Taylor.

<sup>28</sup> This is a community source, but, as the author of this thesis, I strongly support this view and am therefore including this piece of information in my thesis. I find this to be in need of research attention.

<sup>29</sup> Discussion of whether there is or isn’t a Macedonian ethnocultural field is not the focus of this thesis. Consistent with the *emic* ascription, the existence of the Macedonian ethnocultural field is an initial operative assumption.

<sup>30</sup> Australian National Archive, Item No. A6122/172 [electronic barcode 273826]; Australian National Archive, Item No.A6122/173 [electronic barcode 12247427]; Australian National Archive, Item No.A6122/1460 [electronic barcode 1118499] and Australian National Archive, Item No.A6122/1461 [electronic barcode 1118485] respectively.

<sup>31</sup> As regards to the explicit references to the Macedonians in this documents does not mean that the official position of the Australian government was recognition of distinct Macedonian people in national sense. This is later discussed in section 4.1.2. of this chapter.

<sup>32</sup> Reports of ‘handing over children to the Communists’ were *etic* constructs in their own right with no effort to get at least close to *emic* constructs based on the peoples’ experiences of seeking refuge.

<sup>33</sup> Risto Altin is known in the Macedonian community under this name. The name Chris Altis appears in the ASIO documents referred to in this thesis.

<sup>34</sup> The relevance of Christian Orthodoxy as collective identity attribute is discussed in chapter VI.

<sup>35</sup> Risto Altin was also reported to be ‘an active partner with [Tirpkov] in his activities against the establishment of the Sunday school’ (Australian National Archive Item No. A6122/173: 23).

<sup>36</sup> The Australian Government held a belief that the distressed people are being provided for by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (Australian National Archive A6122/172).

<sup>37</sup> The full quote is as follows: ‘It must not be overlooked that after the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), in which Macedoslavs participated on the side of the communist-led partisans, approximately 40.000 fled, after their defeat, originally to Albania and latter to other Eastern European countries, including the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, before 20,000 of them settled in Canada, the U.S. and Australia’ (Tamis 1994: 267).

<sup>38</sup> This is briefly mentioned in the beginning of chapter I.

<sup>39</sup> This section due to be published as a chapter in an edited book at the time of thesis submission: Veljanova, I 2010, ‘In-effect Dissociative Policies in Australia: Macedonian Ethnicity and Empty Shelled Slav-Macedonian Ethnicity’ in I Veljanova (ed.), *Perception, Meaning and Identity*, InterdisciplinaryNet.com, Oxford, UK.

## Chapter 4 Notes

<sup>1</sup> As regards the etymology of health, Dolfman (1973, cited in Awofeso 2010: screen 1), states that the word 'health' derives from an old English word 'hoelth', which meant 'a state of being sound, and was generally used to infer a soundness of the body'.

<sup>2</sup> The overall capital accumulated by social agents.

<sup>3</sup> I am in full agreement with Ebrahimnejad (2009: xiii) when he states in the Preface of the book *The Development of Modern Medicine in the Non-Western Countries: Historical Perspectives*: 'Western-non-western ... classification, inherited from the colonial period and often loaded with political connotations, ... gained momentum due to the expansion of the medical market in which 'alternative' remedies ... are considered as alternative to bio-medicine'. Hence, the usage of Western medicine and respective derivatives is not to be interpreted as superior to other models.

<sup>4</sup> This is not to say that physical causes went unrecognised (Russell and Schofield 1992 [1986], Buckman and Sabbagh 1993).

<sup>5</sup> While the literature predominantly leans towards Hippocrates' contribution to medicine as groundbreaking in the dawn of the medicine in classic antiquity, it is nowadays known that the Hippocratic legacy stems from the work of many, or as Gordon (1993: 7) himself says: 'a committee'.

<sup>6</sup> There are no conclusive findings in respect to which part of the Hippocratic Corpus contains Hippocrates' own words.

<sup>7</sup> The Hippocratic theory stemming from *The Corpus* can neither be referred to as materialistic nor dualistic. The mind does not appear as a separate material entity independent of the physicality of the individual, thus it cannot be deemed as materialistic or dualistic (Van Der Eijk 2005).

<sup>8</sup> This contributor to *The Corpus* had a 'profound' philosophical interest in medicine (Van Der Eijk, Date 2005).

<sup>9</sup> The greening of medicine refers to the processes of placing the consumer movement second to environmental concerns within medicine. It shifts the focus towards self-care and increased interest in alternative medicine (Pietroni 1990)

<sup>10</sup> The idea may not have originated with Descartes. Plato and Augustinus seem to have already entertained the idea (Ten Have 1987).

<sup>11</sup> The rationality here pertains to the use of argument, not naturalness (French 2003)

<sup>12</sup> Foucault is considered as a 20<sup>th</sup> century icon of the karmic world-view (this world-view is discussed later in the chapter) (Fuller 2006: 141).

<sup>13</sup> Original emphasis.

<sup>14</sup> This title is borrowed from Rath, M. 2003, *Why Animals Don't Get Heart Attacks... But People Do!*, MR Publishing, Fremont, CA, USA.

<sup>15</sup> This is a subject of debate. But, according to Dr Rath's Health Foundation Africa (SANCO 2007), a large scale example of clinical iatrogenesis is the widespread usage of the ARV drugs in (South) Africa. The perceived [and promoted] notion that the AIDS crisis is 'driven by the lack of ARV drugs' is, in fact, 'the consequence of pharmaceutical [imperialism] strategically promoting these toxic drugs' (ibid.: 36).

<sup>16</sup> One of the great promises of medicine is killing pain. If pain can be 'killed' then what is really promoted is an extremely low threshold of pain, almost non-existent and the undermining of the cultural responses to pain and suffering (Illich 1975).

<sup>17</sup> While this is not the full story of Dr. Olivieri's battle with Apotex INC., it is clear that mischievous use of economical power brought the medical remedy on to the European market in 1999.

<sup>18</sup> Meningitis was the one of the epidemic diseases during the period. Cholera and Measles were also sweeping the Kano population in epidemic proportions in 1996 (*Dying for Drugs* 2003)

<sup>19</sup> *Dying for Drugs*, 2003, documentary film, produced by True Vision, UK. The documentary was produced by Brian Woods (True Vision Production) and researcher by Deborah Shipley.

<sup>20</sup> Approximately 200 children were subjected to the clinical trial of Trovan. Citing a 'lengthy Nigerian Government report' compiled by 'a panel of Nigerian medical experts', Stephens (2006: approx screen 1) writes that the experiment was 'an illegal trial of an unregistered drug' and a violation of the relevant international laws.

<sup>21</sup> Rational in respect to reason.

<sup>22</sup> A useful source evidencing the complementarity of their positions is video material *Richard Dawkins Interviews with Peter Singer*, 2010, video recording, Atheist Movies, last visited 22 June 2010, available at <http://atheistmovies.blogspot.com/2010/05/richard-dawkins-interviews-with-peter.html>.

## Chapter 5 Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Emic/etic* constructs are discussed in more detail in chapter I. section 4.

<sup>2</sup> 'People are contracted into the projects of researchers to take part in their inquiry or experiments' (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995:1669).

<sup>3</sup> 'Researches and local people work together as colleagues with different skills to offer, in a process of mutual learning where local people have a control over the process' (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995:1669).

<sup>4</sup> My capacity as a researcher was emphasised, due to the fact that I visited some of these communal facilities in a private capacity as well.

<sup>5</sup> Please note that the project initial working title was *Ageing in multicultural Australia ... The case of Macedonian Migrants in Australia*. After the confirmation of my candidature in October 2006, the working title was changed to *Ethnicity, ageing and health capital: The case of Macedonians in Australia*. The final title of the thesis is: *Identity, health and health capital: The case of Macedonians in Australia*.

<sup>6</sup> A fifth question is also included in the focus groups schedule: 'According to the Macedonian ethnic standards, how many life-phases does a person go through from birth till death (please tell the age spans as well)? What are the ethnic- specific life expectations for each of those life-phases? In your opinion, are those expectations different than the mainstream Australian expectations?'. With the shift of research focus of this thesis, the data generated with discussion of this question are not included in this thesis; they are used in alternative research papers, such as the one in note 7.

<sup>7</sup> As stated earlier in this chapter, these months were not exclusively allocated for document analysis; rather, the document analysis was conducted concomitantly with the focus groups and the survey.

<sup>8</sup> Veljanova, I. Sterjovska, D. and Bozinovska, D. 2010, Ageing Related Policies and the Concept of Moral Entity: Ageing Macedonians in Australia, presented at the *Australian Association of Gerontology (NSW) Rural Conference*, Ballina, 15-16 April 2010. The paper was a collaborative paper involving the researcher, MCWA and MAWA.

<sup>9</sup> Autobiographical reflection embodies a short narrative of the researcher life leading up to the very research that he or she is undertaking (Maton 2003).

<sup>10</sup> This is 'synonymous with thinking critically about one's research practices' as well as displaying 'acute self-awareness' (Maton 2003: 54).

<sup>11</sup> Hermeneutic narcissistic reflexivity results in the shrinking of knowledge claims to 'ever-decreasing circles' and authors telling about their stories above anybody else's story or experiences (Maton 2000 cited in Maton 2003: 55).

<sup>12</sup> A reflexive researcher, in the case of authorship denial, overly relies on the voices given to the observed or studied (Maton 2003).

<sup>13</sup> NAATI Id. 37957

## Chapter 6 Notes

<sup>1</sup> According to the 2006 Australian Census, there are 83, 983 Macedonians in reference to ancestry by country of birth of parents and 67, 833 Macedonians by language spoken at home. As discussed in chapter I, section 5.2.2., the Australian Census data are used in this thesis in *etic* sense.

<sup>2</sup> As of 2001 community leaders' estimates and the estimates of academics including Peter Hill (2001) & Radin (1995) stand at 150,000. Avoiding further estimates, I have indicated the percentage against the estimates given by the community leaders and the relevant academics.

<sup>3</sup> If the state or territory specific sample size is percentage-wise more than double the overall sample size percentage-wise this is considered a case of overrepresentation. If the state or territory specific sample size is percentage-wise less than half of the overall sample size percentage-wise, this is considered a case of underrepresentation.

<sup>4</sup> See question four in the survey questionnaire.

<sup>5</sup> This measure aimed to include all young adults, given the consensus that 18 years of age is considered a benchmark for adulthood.

<sup>6</sup> The literature indicates that the 'old' life-stage is not a monolithic life-stage, but rather, a life-stage that recognises at least two sub-stages. Andrews, Clark and Davis (2006), when presenting their evidence from their longitudinal study of successful ageing amongst the very old, the 85 + age group was considered to be the 'oldest old' or the very old. Kendig and McCallum (1986, cited in Bevan and Jeeawody 1998:119) differentiate between 'the old-old' aged 75+ and 'the young-old' aged between 65 and 74. Although there is a consensus in the literature regarding the non-monolithic nature of old age, there is no shared understanding as to what are the corresponding age brackets for each of the sub-stages.

<sup>7</sup> In the survey questionnaire, this question was formulated as follows 'What defines your ethnicity as Macedonian?'.

<sup>8</sup> These are developed in conjunction with the relevant literature, the qualitative data collected during the qualitative stage of the research, and the reference group of November 2007.

<sup>9</sup> Perth focus group participant

<sup>10</sup> Port Kembla focus group participant

<sup>11</sup> Perth focus group participant

<sup>12</sup> This argument of 'collective amnesia' and 'collective memories' is not presented here as similar to that of Renan, E. 1939 [1882], *What is a Nation?*.

<sup>13</sup> The blood[line] also has a symbolic value. However, for the purposes of this study, it is assessed as 'passive'. If one is a biological descendant of X and Y, the genetic material is there; hence, the assumed passiveness of the attribute. This can be aligned with ancestry.

<sup>14</sup>  $\alpha=.05$  means that 'the test result would only occur 5% of the time or less by chance' (Hills 2010: 35).

<sup>15</sup> This practice of name changing is discussed by the focus group participants in the Australian context vis-a-vis name changing from Orthodox Macedonian to mainstream Australian.

<sup>16</sup> Almost none in Britain and some in USA (Caplan 1997: 13)

<sup>17</sup> Survey participants were reminded that this question should be answered 'in reference to the Macedonian ethnic community in Australia'. Also, they were reminded that the concept of 'behavioural change' is used broadly, inclusive of various forms of behavioural change, such as 'health behavioural change'.

<sup>18</sup>  $N(ism) = 764$ , accounts for 93.5% of the total number of survey respondents  $N=817$ . The missing percentage equals 6.5%, i.e., 53 non-responses.

<sup>19</sup> What is remarkable about this author is that by Macedonians he refers to the inhabitants on the territory of Macedonia (Goff 1921: 6). Nevertheless, his exploration of the peasant life on the territory of Macedonia can be also useful is used in combination to other relevant literature.

<sup>20</sup> People= Macedonian community.

## Chapter 7 Notes

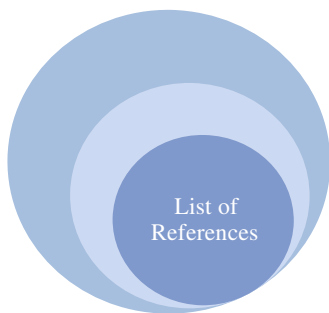
<sup>1</sup> The national-stateless existence of the ethno-Macedonians under Ottoman rule, the disinterestedness of the Ottoman administration in development of their colonised territory in the Balkans and the imperialist appetites of the newly emerged national states of Greece and Bulgaria placed ethno-Macedonians in a very difficult position culturally, socially, economically and politically. Their statelessness rendered them, the territories settled by them, target of the expansionist desires of the newly emerged nation-states. The difficulty that I am presented with in my research is the sorting out of the cultural confusion informed by the writings and research of some anthropologists, i.e., folklorists such as Abbott (1903) and his work *Macedonian Folklore*. Greek cultural expansionism into the Macedonian speaking territories of Macedonia, has been notable in establishment of Greek funded and administered schools and print products in their attempt to naturalise the Macedonians and incorporate –colonise– their territory into Greek national territory. Abbott (1903), who researched and wrote a folklorist account of the Macedonians (in the main the ethno-Macedonians, from the geographical references in his book and references to Bulgarian speaking people and the names of the townships and villages/areas) in a time when statehood validated the existence of an ethno-nation and print matter validated the administrative vernacular; hence, the reference to ‘Greek-speaking parts of Macedonia’ (Abbott 1903: ix). Abbott (1903) states that the material compiled in his book derives from ‘oral tradition’ but in some cases it has ‘been supplemented with local publications’. Undeniably, these ‘local publications’ would have been in the Greek administrative vernacular. I have spent considerable time evaluating this source and I am now convinced of the relevance and usability of the Abbott’s work.

<sup>2</sup> Abbott (1903) refers to Slavs and Modern Greeks as both sharing the idea of the she-small –pox. He also makes reference to Servians and Bulgarians. All of these referents correspond to the political developments in the Balkans (as mentioned in the text) whereby the existence of a people was verified by the existence of a political entity, i.e., empire, nation-state. Macedonians as a people fell short in this respect at the relevant time.

<sup>3</sup> Atanas Mitrev’s *Memoari, Ogled i Statii* was compiled and published after his death (1974) under the editorship of Dr Manol Pandevski.

<sup>4</sup> Polenakovic (2007), in his article *Kosta Marko Cepenkov – ‘Healer of the Poor’, ‘Poor man’s Doctor from Prilep’*, writes about Kosta Marko Cepenkov’s healing practices amongst the Macedonian poor during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This article exposes a series of difficulties which the people of Macedonia had to confront on a daily basis, one of which was illiteracy. Kosta Cepenkov was born in the territory of Macedonia when it was part of the Ottoman Empire. As with many of his co-ethnics, Kosta had on many occasions embarked upon *pechalba*, but, upon return, his savings didn’t last long. By sheer luck, Kosta met a ‘medicaster’ – a medical physician - from the village of Lazaropole (near Galichnik) and after a four year apprenticeship under the mastery of the medicaster Hadji Stojan, he learned the trade (Polenkovik 2007). The *Medical Treatises* (Abbott 1903), the medical books, and notes were written in one of the administrative vernaculars of the occupying forces in Macedonia. For Kosta, this meant that as an illiterate fellow who spoke several languages, he duly learned to write and read these languages.

<sup>5</sup> Sydney focus group participants.



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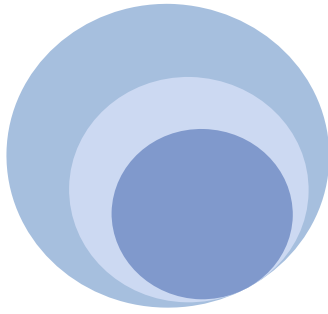


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## **Appendix List**

***Appendix I.1. (Table I. 2.)*** List of Macedonian name changes of people and places: Greece 1920s.

***Appendix I.2. (Table I.3.)*** Last family meetings of refugee Macedonians from Greece.

***Appendix I.3. (Table I.4.)*** Unsuccessful efforts for gaining entry visas of Macedonians of Greece.

***Appendix VI.1.*** Probability Chart. Gender\*Duration of Residence in Australia

***Appendix VI.2.*** Probability Chart. Gender\*Work Experience

***Appendix VI.3.*** Probability Chart. Macedonian Custom Adherence\*Gender

***Appendix VI.4.*** Probability Chart. Macedonian Custom Adherence\*MGS

***Appendix VI.5.*** Probability Chart. Macedonian Custom Adherence\*Age

***Appendix VI.6.*** Probability Chart. Macedonian Custom Adherence\*EP

***Appendix V.1.*** Focus Groups Information Booklet

***Appendix V.1.1.*** A letter to focus group moderators

***Appendix V.1.2.*** Excerpt of the research protocol

***Appendix V.1.3.*** Focus group facilitator appointment letter

***Appendix V.1.4.*** Ethics Approval Letter

***Appendix V.2.*** Survey Questionnaire

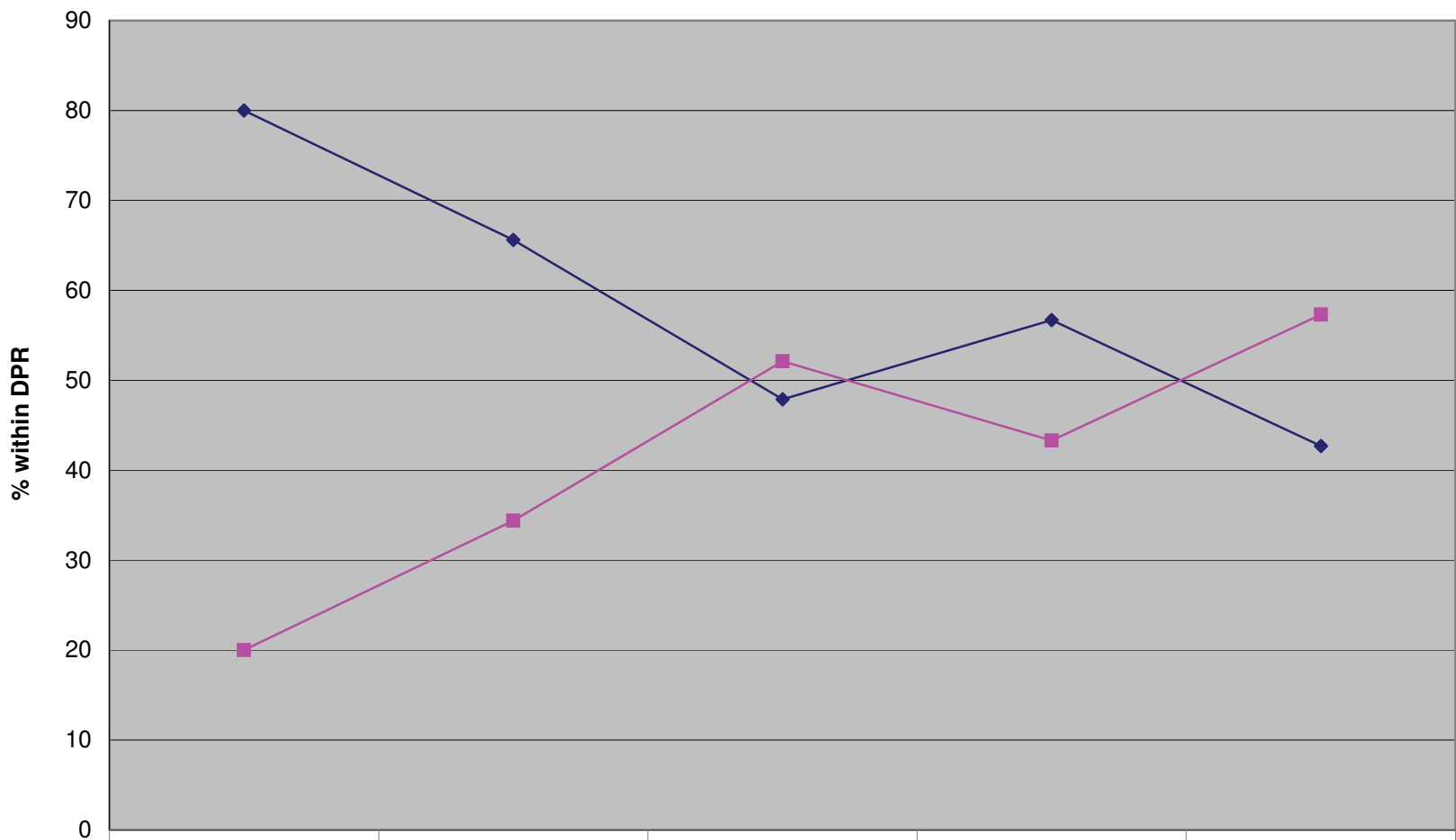
***Appendix V.3.*** Invitation to participate in a reference group

***Appendix I.1. (Table I. 2.)*** List of Macedonian name changes of people and places: Greece 1920s.

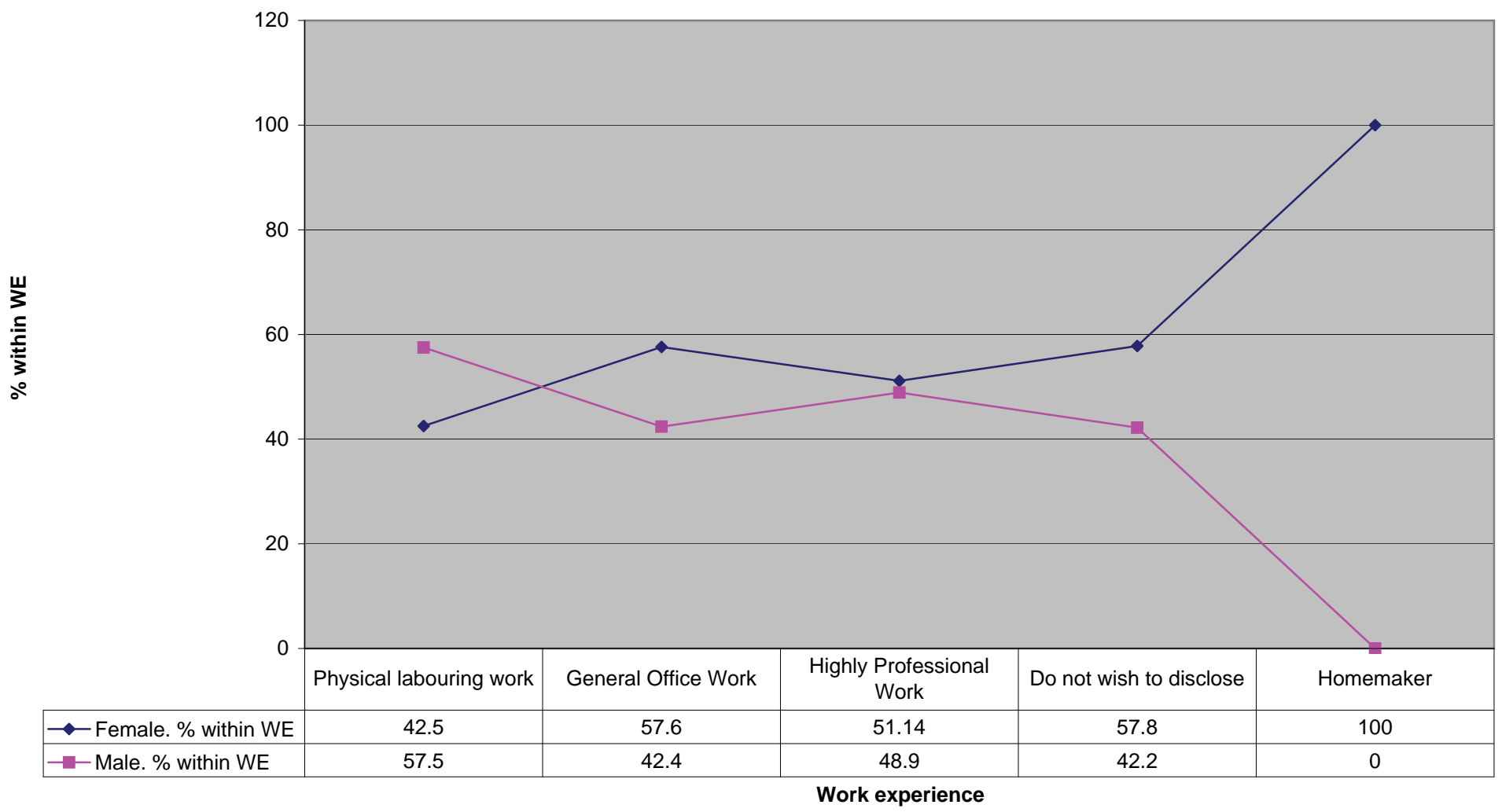
*Appendix I.2. (Table I.3.)* Last family meetings of refugee Macedonians from Greece.

*Appendix I.3. (Table I.4.)* Unsuccessful efforts for gaining entry visas of Macedonians of Greece.

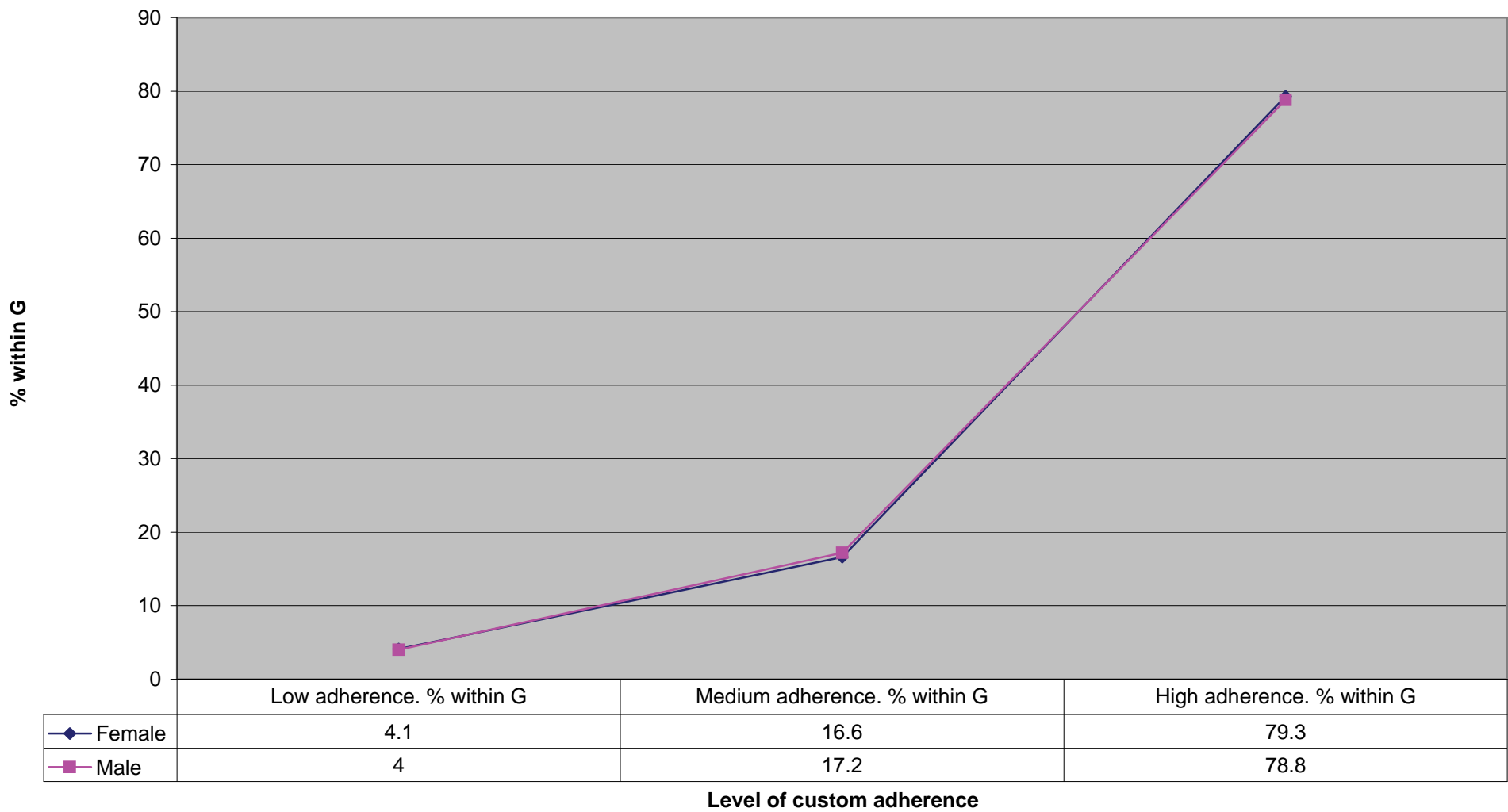


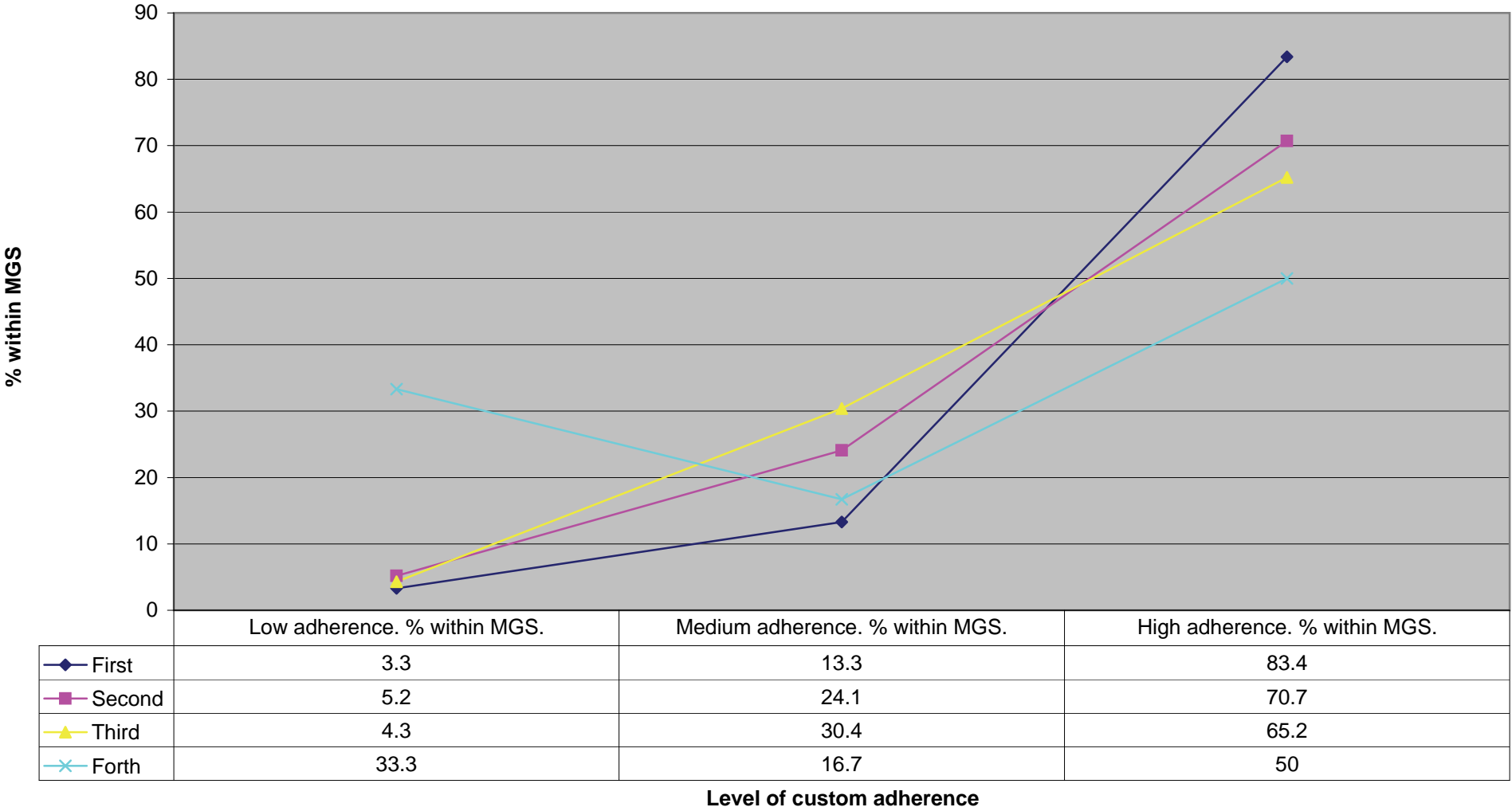


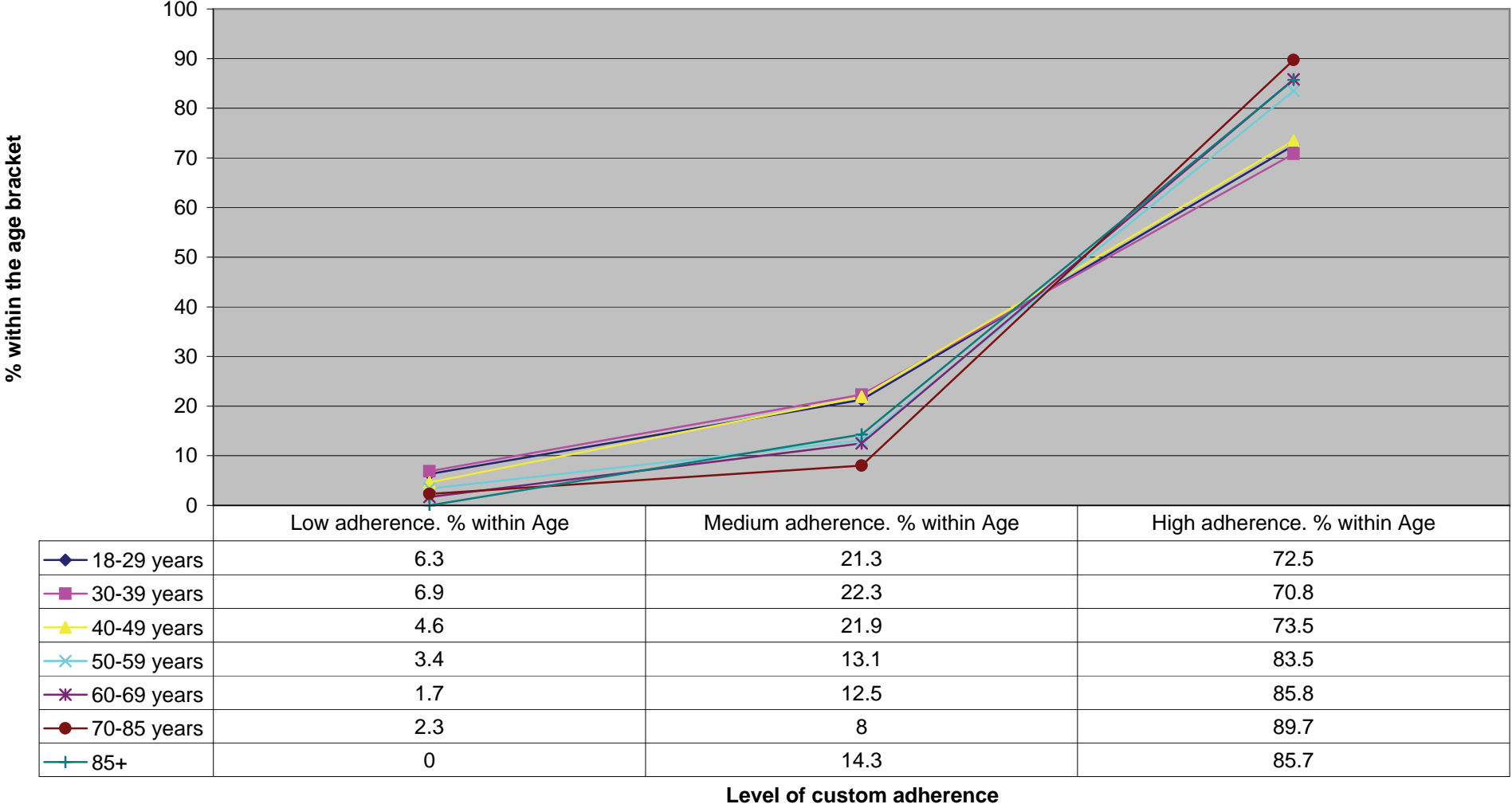
◆ Female. % within PR	80	65.6	47.9	56.7	42.7
■ Male. % within PR	20	34.4	52.1	43.3	57.3

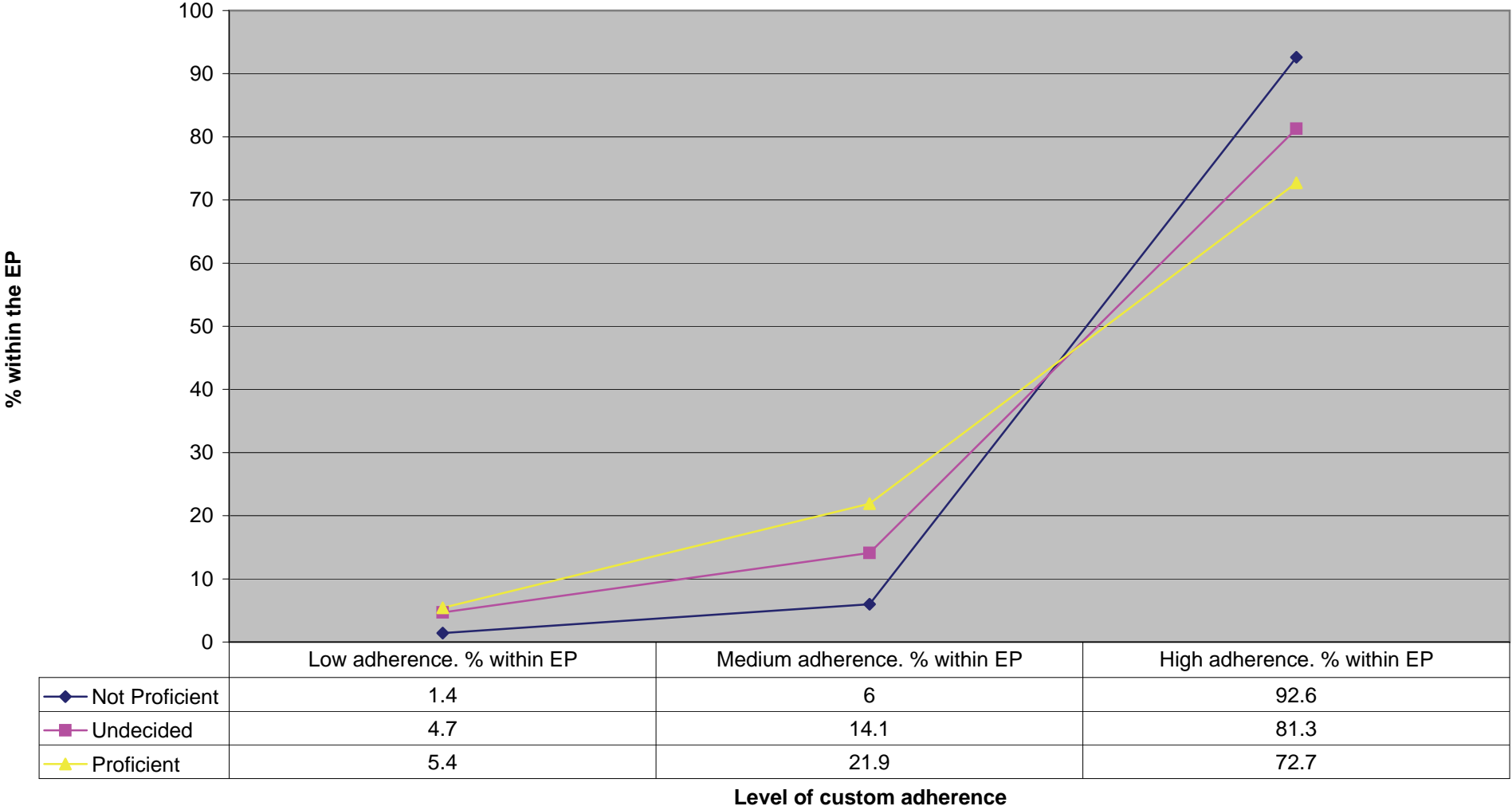


Appendix VI.2. Probability Chart. Gender\*Work Experience









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Колеџ за Уметност (Хуманистика)

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## Information Booklet Информативна Брошурка

**Research Topic:**  
**Истражувачка Тема:**

**Ageing in Multicultural Australia: The Effects of Migration on Public Health. The Case of Macedonian Migrants in Australia**

**Старење во Мултикултурна Австралија: Влијанието на Миграцијата врз Состојбата на Јавното Здравје. Примерот на Македонските Мигранти во Австралија.**

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- *Assoc. Prof. Michael Bounds, School of Social Sciences UWS; and*
- *Lecturer Jane Durie, School of Social Sciences UWS.*

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[iki75@optusnet.com.au](mailto:iki75@optusnet.com.au); ,  
[i.veljanova@uws.edu.au](mailto:i.veljanova@uws.edu.au)*

*Истражувачки панел за супервизија:*

- *Главен Супервизор: Виш Предавач  
Др. Мари Хокинс, Школа за  
Општествени Науки, УЗС;*
- *Вонреден Професор Мајкл Баундс,  
Школа за Општествени Науки, УЗС; и*
- *Предавач Џејн Дјури, Школа за  
Општествени Науки, УЗС.*

# Invitation to Participate

## Information sheet for location (this example is for Sydney)

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Mrs. Irena Veljanova and as a doctoral candidate at the School of Social Sciences UWS, I am conducting research in the field of Sociology of Migration Health. **I would like to invite you to participate in this project and to consent to partake in a group interview (focus group).**

To be eligible to participate in this project you will have to be a member of the Macedonian ethnic community; that is a first generation migrant (who migrated to Australia at least five years ago with the intention to settle); and, be 50 years and older, but, not above the age pension age.

The group interviews will last approximately 60 – 90 minutes and will take a discussion like form. The group interview questions are listed on page 4 of this booklet. The Sydney focus group will be conducted at the Macedonian Australian Welfare Association of Sydney INC. (552 Princes Hwy, Rockdale 2216, NSW, Tel: +61 2 9597 5455).

Light snacks and refreshments will be provided for participants in the group interviews. The group interviews will be audio taped.

Your participation in this project is purely voluntary and consensual. You reserve the right to withdraw at any time regardless of the progression status of the group interview. In the case of distress or discomfort caused by this project, please feel free to advise the researcher and to withdraw from the interview at any time. If you feel it necessary, please contact Rockdale Community Health Centre (tel: 9597 2644) and ask for additional assistance.

This research is designed to conform with the privacy guidelines: your privacy as a participant in this project will be respected. It will be guaranteed by your anonymity: there will be no risk of identification.

Should you need further information, do not hesitate to contact me, Irena Veljanova on tel:0402102777, or by e-mail: i.veljanova@uws.edu.au. Thank you for your time!

**NOTE:** This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval Number is ..... If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.



# Покана за Учество

## Информативен леток за Сиднеј

Почитуван/а господине/госпоѓо/госпоѓице,

Моето име е Г-ѓа Ирена Вељанова и како докторски кандидат при Школата за Општествени Науки, Универзитет на Западен Сиднеј, спроведувам истражување во научното поле на Социологијата – Здравствените Импликации на Миграцијата. Во врска со овој конкретен проект, мојот интерес е свртен кон проучување на промените во здравственото однесување на мигрантите; етничките обичаи; и целокупниот ефект на промените во здравственото однесување кај мигрантите врз јавното здравство во доселеничката земја. Истражувањето ќе се фокусира на македонските мигранти во Австралија. Затоа би сакала да ве поканам да учествувате во овој проект со тоа што ќе се согласите да бидете интервјуирани преку групно интервју (фокус група).

Учесници во овој проект треба да бидат членови на македонската етничка заедница, кои се прва генерација мигранти (мигрирани во Австралија пред повеќе од пет години со доселеничка намера), И имаат 50, или повеќе години, но не повеќе од годините кога можат да добијат старосна пензија.

Се очекува групните интервјуа да траат од 60 –90 минути и ќе бидат спроведени во облик на дискусија. Прашањата што ќе бидат поставени се излистани на страна 4 од оваа брошурка. Во Сиднеј, групното интервју ќе се одржи во канцелариите или конференциските простории / просторите на интервју резервирани за Македонско – Австралиското Добротворно Друштво за Сиднеј ИНК. (552 Princes Hwy, Rockdale 2216, NSW, Tel: +61 2 9597 5455).

Мала закуска и пијалоци ќе бидат обезбедени за сите учесници во групното интервју. Групното интервју ќе биде снимано на аудио лента.

Вашето учество во овој проект е доброволно И со целосна согласност од ваша страна. Вие го задржувате правото да се повлечете независно од прогресивниот статус на интервјуто. Во случај на доживеан стрес или некомоција предизвикана од овој проект, ве молам кажете слободно на истражувачот за вашите чувства И повлечете се од интервјуто во било кое време. Ако сметате дека е неопходно, тогаш контактирајте го Rockdale Community Health Centre – Комунален Здравствен Центар во Рокдаел на телефон: 9597 2644 за понатамошна помош или советување.

Ова истражување е дизајнирано во согласност со правилата за приватност, и вашата приватност како учесник во овој проект ќе биде длабоко ценета. Приватноста на учесниците ќе биде загарантирана со нивната анонимност и неможност за идентификација.

**Забелешка:** Горенаведеното истражување е одобрено од Комитетот за Хумана Истражувачка Етика при Универзитетот на Западен Сиднеј. Број на дозвола: \_\_\_\_\_. Ако имате некои забелешки или поплаки од етичка природа во врска со ова истражување ве моламе контактирајте го Етичкиот Комитет преку службениците за истражувачка етика на телефон: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884. Сите покренати прашања ќе бидат доверливо третирали И проследени целосно, а вие ќе бидете информирани за резултатот.

# **Group Interview Schedule**

## **Програма за Групно Интервју**

- 1. What makes you feel and identify as Macedonian in Australia (e.g., Macedonian cuisine)?**
  - Што те прави да се чувствуваш и идентификуваш како Македонец во Австралија (на пример, Македонската кујна)?
- 2. What do you think will happen if you decide not to behave in the ‘Macedonian way’? Do you expect any repercussions from the wider Macedonian community if you change your ways?**
  - Што мислиш дека ќе се случи ако одлучиш да не се однесуваш на македонски начин? Дали очекуваш некакви последици од пошироката Македонска заедница ако го промениш начинот на однесување?
- 3. Are there any specific Macedonian unrecorded/unwritten ways of treating particular illnesses, such as venereal diseases, mental illness, cold and flu, and obesity?**
  - Дали постојат специфично македонски ненапишани правила за лечење на некои болести, како на пример: болести на половите органи, ментални болести, настинка и грип, дебелина?
- 4. If the doctor prescribes radically different treatment for your illness, would you be willing to completely disregard the ‘Macedonian peoples’ cure? What would you do in such cases?**
  - Ако докторот ти препорача сосема различен третман за твојата болест, дали си спремен/а комплетно да го отфрлиш “македонскиот народен лек” за таа болест? Што мислиш ќе направиш во тој случај?
- 5. According to Macedonian ethnic standards, how many life-phases does a person go through from birth to death (please tell the age spans as well)? What are the ethnic-specific life expectations for each of these life-phases? In your opinion, are these expectations any different from the mainstream Australian expectations?**
  - Според македонските етнички стандарди, низ колку животни фази поминува човекот од неговото раѓање до неговата смрт (ве молам кажете ни ги и годините за секоја од тие животни фази)? Кои се очекувањата на Македонците за секоја од тие животни фази? Според твоето мислење, дали тие очекувања се различни од очекувањата на Австралците?

## School of Social Sciences

### College of Arts

Research conducted by Mrs. Irena Veljanova,  
Doctoral candidate  
Human Welfare Studies and Services  
School of Social Sciences  
University of Western Sydney

Contact details:  
Mob: 0402 102 777  
E-mail: [iki75@optusnet.com.au](mailto:iki75@optusnet.com.au),  
[i.veljanova@uws.edu.au](mailto:i.veljanova@uws.edu.au)

Research supervisory panel:

- Principal Supervisor: Senior Lecturer Dr. Mary Hawkins, School of Social Sciences UWS;
- Assoc. Prof. Michael Bounds, School of Social Sciences UWS; and
- Lecturer Jane Durie, School of Social Sciences UWS.

## Ageing in Multicultural Australia: The Effects of Migration on Public Health. The Case of Macedonian Migrants in Australia

### Consent form

I \_\_\_\_\_ (full name of the participant) have read and understand the information contained in the information sheet provided to me by the researcher. I understand my role as participant in this research project and am aware of my rights as a human participant as explained in the information sheet. Any questions regarding my participation in this project that I originally had, exceeding the information given in the information sheet, have been answered to my satisfaction.

I am aware that my participation in this project is voluntary and I reserve the right to withdraw at any time.

Having declared the above, I consent to participate in this project.

Participant's Name (block letters)

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Name

Mrs. Irena Veljanova

Researcher's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Assistant Researcher's Name

\_\_\_\_\_

Assistant Researcher's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**NOTE:** This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval Number is ..... If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel.: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

## Школа за Општествени Науки

Донесува знаење во вашиот живот

Истражувањето го спроведува  
Г-ѓа Ирена Вељанова  
Докторски кандидат  
Човекови Добротворни Студии и Служби  
Школа за Општествени Науки  
Универзитет на Западен Сиднеј

Контакт детали:  
Мобилен телефон - 0402 102 777  
Електронска адреса - [iki75@optusnet.com.au](mailto:iki75@optusnet.com.au); ,  
[i.veljanova@uws.edu.au](mailto:i.veljanova@uws.edu.au)

## Колеџ за Уметност (Хуманистика)

Истражувачки панел за супервизија:

- Главен Супервизор: Виш Предавач Др. Мари Хокинс, Школа за Општествени Науки, УЗС;
- Вонреден Професор Мајкл Баундс, Школа за Општествени Науки, УЗС; и
- Предавач Џејн Дјури, Школа за Општествени Науки, УЗС.

**Старење во Мултикултурна Австралија: Влијанието на Миграцијата врз Состојбата на Јавното Здравје. Примерот на Македонските Мигранти во Австралија.**

# Формулар за согласност

Јас \_\_\_\_\_ (име на учесникот) ги прочитав и ги разбрав информациите содржани во информативниот леток што ми го врачи истражувачот. Ја разбираам улогата на учесник во овој проект и свесен/а сум за моите права како хуман учесник во истражување врз основа на објаснувањето содржано во информативниот леток. Сите дополнителни прашања кои што ги имав во врска со моето учество во овој проект, несодржани во информативниот леток, ми беа задоволително објаснети од страна на истражувачот.

Затоа сум свесен во целост дека моето учество во овој проект е доброволно и дека јас го задржувам правото на повлекување во секоја инстанца.

Декларирајќи го горенаведеното, се сложувам да учествувам во овој проект.

Името на учесникот (Читок ракопис)

\_\_\_\_\_

Потпис на учесникот

Датум: \_\_\_\_\_

Името на истражувачот  
Г-ѓа Ирена Вељанова

Потпис на истражувачот

Датум: \_\_\_\_\_

Името на помошник-истражувачот

\_\_\_\_\_

Потпис на помошник-истражувачот

Датум: \_\_\_\_\_

**Забелешка:** Горенаведеното истражување е одобрено од Комитетот за Хумана Истражувачка Етика при Универзитетот на Западен Сиднеј. Број на дозвола: \_\_\_\_\_. Ако имате некои забелешки или поплаки од етичка природа во врска со ова истражување ве моламе контактирајте го Етичкиот Комитет преку службениците за истражувачка етика на телефон: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884. Сите покренати прашања ќе бидат доверливо третираны И проследени целосно, а вие ќе бидете информирани за резултатот.

**Notes:**  
**Забелешки:**



*Mr. XXXXXXXXX*





## Research Protocol (excerpt)

**Topic: “Ageing in Multicultural Australia: The Effects of Migration on Public Health. The Case of Macedonian Migrants in Australia.”**

UWS Human Research Ethics Committee  
approval number: HREC 06/068

### Research Design

*The main source of information for the proposed study will be group interviews – focus groups. As the study will target its participants amongst the Macedonian ethnic group across Australia, six focus groups will be conducted with the same agenda in Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Canberra, Port Kembla, and Sydney. Perth focus group will be conducted on the premises of \*\*\*\*\*; Adelaide focus group will be conducted on the premises of Macedonian Community of Adelaide and South Australia (148 Crittenden rd, Findon 5023, South Australia, Tel: +61 8 8347 1401); Melbourne focus group will be conducted on the premises of Macedonian Community Welfare Association (45 Main (West) Rd, St Albans 3021, Victoria, Tel: +61 3 9367 6044); Queanbeyan/ Canberra focus group will be conducted on the premises of \*\*\*\*\*; Port Kembla focus group will be conducted on the premises of Macedonian Welfare Association INC. (Cnr. Allan St. & Wentworth Lane, Port Kembla 2505, NSW, Tel: +61 2 4275 2266); and, Sydney focus group will be conducted on the premises of Macedonian Australian Welfare Association of Sydney INC. (552 Princes Hwy, Rockdale 2216, NSW, Tel: +61 2 9597 5455). The character of ‘pilot study’ renders the knowledge generated through conducting focus groups as foundation knowledge for designing a questionnaires for the full-scale study to follow. The knowledge generated through the focus groups will also overcome the problem of cultural disappropriation of the questionnaires based on it. Most of the focus groups will be facilitated by the chief investigator except when, due to funding/financial restrictions, the first hand focus group facilitation will not be possible. In those situations, focus groups will be facilitated by selected bilingual individuals with high Macedonian community standing, on behalf of the chief investigator and in accordance with the research protocol. To insure compliance with the research protocol, a copy of the research protocol will be sent to all facilitators (moderators) no latter than a fortnight before the scheduled date for the focus group in question. The role of the facilitator will be limited to participants’ recruitment,*

**Note:** These documents contain the working title of the doctoral research project.

collection of informed consent, setting up the venue, and the actual focus group facilitation. No further responsibilities and powers will be allocated to the facilitator. Facilitators will be overseen by the chief investigator regularly through the course of fulfilling their roles. The facilitators' involvement will be voluntary, with small (one up) 'honorary bonuses' of 80 AUD. To help towards any personal expenses facilitators might incur through the course of their involvement of the study, minor petrol and phone allowances will also be paid. At this stage, I can anticipate a need for facilitators for the focus groups run in Adelaide, Perth and Melbourne. The Research Ethics Committee will be dutifully advised of the names of the facilitators once they become available. The appointment of voluntary facilitators can be identified as a possible limitation (making first hand observations, notes) of the project. However, their limited role and the regular overseeing by the chief investigator will downsize the project limitation to minimum.

### Human Participant Description

Participants will be selected using purposive sampling. The profile of the prospective participants will include members of the Macedonian ethnic community across Australia, which are first generation migrants (migrated in Australia at least five years ago with intention to settle) and are approaching their **age pension** age. As the **age pension** age in Australia varies depending on the year of birth (due to the non-retroactive nature of the relevant social security legislation), for the purposes of this research, the age of 65 will be deemed to be the **age pension** age (the age proscribed by the latest relevant social security legislation). Furthermore, for the purposes of this research, individuals aged 50 and over will be deemed to be 'individuals approaching their **age pension** age'. The justification of the later is founded in the social security legislation, proscribing individuals aged 50 and over as 'mature aged individuals' and acknowledging the target age group as a group in need of intensified personal assistance.

For the reason that the participants are sampled from the Macedonian ethnic group, the possibility of the existence of this group as a distinct collective must be acknowledged. Therefore, the chief investigator has already made several addresses to leading organisations in the community seeking their embracement and cooperation. The embracement for the project has already been received from Macedonian Community Welfare Association in Melbourne; representative of the Macedonian Orthodox "St Nikola" Church in Perth; Macedonian Welfare Association INC. of Port Kembla, as well as, Macedonian Australian Welfare Association of Sydney INC. Representatives of the aforementioned organisations have expressed their willingness to cooperate with the chief investigator and provide culture relevant advice for the duration of the project. Furthermore, to assure cultural appropriateness, a wider list of Macedonian relevant community organisations will be informed of the existence of the project by mailing them formal information letter \*\*\*\*\*. This way, the chief investigator will raise a public awareness of the existence of the project, as well as, an opportunity for voicing possible ethical issues by individuals or organisations. Furthermore, participants' welfare will be secured by comprehensive informing prior the decision making for consensual participation in the project. The participants will reserve their rights to withdraw at any instance regardless of the progression status of the interview. If a participant does not feel comfortable sharing information in reference to a particular question

during the interview, he/she may freely express his/hers feeling and retain information. The data collected through the interviews will be stored in such a fashion that identification of the participants is not possible beyond the researcher's and the research supervisors' milieus. Consent forms will be stored separately from the actual generated data (at UWS premises) and can only be matched by coding system accessible only to the researcher and the researcher's supervisor.

The fact that the chief investigator is of Macedonian origin, makes the issue of researcher's cultural awareness fully addressed. In addition, as already stated, this project will be run as a pilot study, and itself will deliver culture sensitive knowledge about Macedonians in Australia.

Any disagreements between the researcher and the Macedonian ethnic community in regards to the proposed research will be negotiated by the chief investigator to the level of mutual satisfaction.

## **Sample Size**

The sample for this project is sized on 6-10 people per focus group. Across Australia the number of participants will range between 36 and 60, recruited in six different locations (see section 7). The sample size is determined in relation to the methodological standards for homogeneous sampling for focus groups in social research (McNamara, 2006: [www.managementhelp.org/evaluatn/focusgrp.htm](http://www.managementhelp.org/evaluatn/focusgrp.htm); Barnett, 2006: [www-tcall.tamu.edu/orp/orp1.htm](http://www-tcall.tamu.edu/orp/orp1.htm)). As a qualitative research method, focus groups can generate a great deal of information during a session; therefore, my preference of membership for this pilot project will lean towards the minimum membership requirement.

## **Exclusion Criteria**

As stated above (section 7.1), the profile for the perspective participants includes the following:

- Being a member of the Macedonian ethnic community;
- Being a first generation migrant (migrated in Australia at least five years ago with intention to settle); and
- Being 50 years and older, but not above the **age pension** age.

All other individuals that do not fit the profile cannot participate in the research. Individuals fitting the profile will not be further discriminated (eg: gender, literacy levels). However, the findings of this research (and the full-scale study to follow) will produce beneficial knowledge beyond the profiled group.

## **Recruitment methods to access human participants and their involvement**

- (a) How will the participants be recruited?

*The recruitment process involves seeking approval from the leading characters of the Macedonian ethnic community in order to use the organisations' premises (such as: the church, the clubs etc) for participants recruitment. The approval will be sought by formal informational letter mailed to the officials of the Macedonian ethnic community. Furthermore, the actual recruitment will involve handing out information kits containing the information sheet (flyer), consent form and the focus group agenda to the visitors of the aforementioned communal facilities, inviting them to become participants in the proposed study. The flyers will contain outline of the project, character requirements, the role of the participants, stipulations of privacy, confidentiality, consensual and voluntary matters, as well as, information on the researcher and contact details. Considering the nature of the project, the information kit will be hand out in both Macedonian and English version.*

*The snowballing effect is an always welcomed outcome of the public campaign.*

- (b) Will participants receive any financial or other benefits as a result of participation?

No

If yes, provide details regarding the amount/benefit and the justification for the remuneration.

- (c) If this research is targeting a particular ethnic of community group has this been done in consultation with a representative of this group

Yes

### **The Method of Data Collection**

*The main source of information for the proposed study will be group interviews – focus groups. Each one of the six proposed focus groups (please refer to section 7) will be run in duration of 1h to 1.5h. The main researcher will develop five to six open-ended questions that will be posed to the focus group members. The question slip will be attached to the agenda and will deliver the questions in both languages: Macedonian and English. This will overcome the possible problem of English illiteracy. Subsequently, each session will be conducted in English or Macedonian language depending on the group's preference.*

*All documents contained in the information kit will be bilingual. The necessary translations will be done by Irena C Veljanova (the chief investigator in this project), NAATI (National Accreditation Authority of Translators and Interpreters) accredited professional interpreter (Level 3) - NAATI ID 37957.*

*Upon recruitment, the participants will be informed of the scheduled focus group date/s. To ensure participants attendance and give them a chance to withdraw from participation, two days before the session they will be called and reminded of the session/s' date/time and their rights as participants of the study.*

*The sessions will be played out in a casual manner to ensure participants' comfort and active contribution. The chairs will be configured in a way that all members can see each other. Each member will be provided with a name tag. Refreshments will also be provided. However, some ground rules will be*

necessarily established –keep focus; maintain momentum & provide closure on each of the questions (McNamara, 2006:

[www.managementhelp.org/evaluatn/focusgrp.htm](http://www.managementhelp.org/evaluatn/focusgrp.htm)).

Before the session commencement, the moderator (facilitator) will collect the signed consent forms. The moderator will also explain the possible note-taking and the audio recording.

All sessions will be audio recorded. Audio recording is preferred over the video recording as the less intrusive way of recording data.

## **The Method of Data Analysis**

*Data will be analysed in two stages: pre-analysis and main data analysis.*

*Pre-analysis will be conducted by the moderator during the session/s in form of note-taking. Note-taking can aid the interpretation of data by noting the nonverbal behaviours of the participants.*

*Main data analysis will commence immediately after the dismissal of the focus group/s to avoid forgetting important details. This will entail writing up a **Cessation report** in which the moderator will incorporate the themes from his notes and will identify any of the salient themes that have started to emerge from the session. Transcriptions of the audio recorded data will commence shortly after. The transcripts from the sessions run in Macedonian will be translated in English by the chief investigator.*

*The data collected through this project will be qualitatively analysed using the QSR Nvivo computer software.*

## **Consent Process**

*As aforementioned, the participation in this project is voluntary and consensual. The recruitment process itself gives the onus of approaching upon the perspective participants, as the information kit will be distributed at large amongst the members of the Macedonian ethnic community across Australia. Extensive information will be provided (information kits) to the potential participants sufficing the ethical requirement of well informed participation. There is no assumed power relation between the researcher and the participants, although the issue of an authoritative power may rise.*

*By assuring the participants that they reserve the right of withdrawal at all times & that there are no penalties imposed if they decide to act upon their right of withdrawal, any possible power relation on researcher's part is annulated.*

.....The End.....



Locked Bag 1797  
Penrith South DC NSW 1797 Australia



Date: July 3, 2006

Mr. XXXXXXXXX

**Subject:** Appointment of Focus Group Facilitator

Dear Mr. XXXXXXXXX

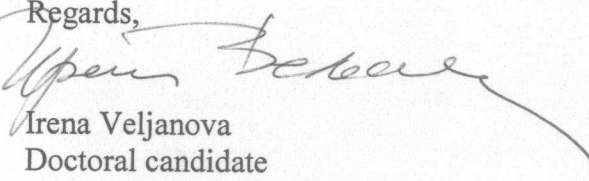
I am happy to inform you of your appointment as a Focus Group Facilitator for Perth WA, for the following research project:

*"Ageing in Multicultural Australia: The Effects of Migration on Public Health. The Case of Macedonian Migrants in Australia."*

As a focus group facilitator you will be acting on behalf of the chief investigator Mrs. Irena Veljanova, Doctoral Candidate at the University of Western Sydney NSW, for the duration of the research project (if not otherwise advised by the chief investigator).

I wish you all the best in your research efforts!

Regards,

  
Irena Veljanova  
Doctoral candidate  
Human Welfare Studies and Services  
School of Social Sciences  
University of Western Sydney, Bankstown campus  
Locked Bag 1797 Penrith South DC NSW 1797 Australia  
Mob: 0402 102 777  
E-mail: [iki75@optusnet.com.au](mailto:iki75@optusnet.com.au),  
[i.veljanova@uws.edu.au](mailto:i.veljanova@uws.edu.au)

NOTE: This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval Number is HREC 06/068. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Locked Bag 1797  
Penrith South DC NSW 1797 Australia

5 June 2006



Irena Veljanova  
26/209 Auburn Road  
Yagoona NSW 2199

Dear Irena

**HREC 06/068 The effects of Migration of Public Health: Ageing  
Macedonians in Australia**

The Committee has agreed to fully endorse the above mentioned research project.

You are advised that the Committee should be notified of any further change/s to the research methodology should there be any in the future. You will be required to provide a report on the ethical aspects of your project at the completion of this project. The form is located on the Research Services Ethics Web Page.

The Protocol Number HREC 06/068 should be quoted in all future correspondence about this project. Your approval will expire 30 June 2007. Please contact the Human Ethics Officer, Kay Buckley on tel: 02 47 360 883 if you require any further information.

The Committee wishes you well with your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Louise O'Brien".

**Associate Professor Louise O'Brien**  
Acting Chairperson & Deputy Chairperson  
UWS Human Research Ethics Committee  
Cc Dr Mary Hawkins

## **Ethnicity, Ageing and Health Capital: The Case of the Australian Macedonian Community**

### **Етничка Припадност, Стареење и Здравје (здравствено богатство): Примерот на Австралиско Македонската Заедница**

Dear participant,

It would be most appreciated if you would take the time to complete the questionnaire below. The purpose of this survey is to closely examine the relationship between Macedonian ethnic customs, successful ageing amongst Australian Macedonians and individuals' health behaviour. This survey is being conducted as part of a Doctoral research project being undertaken through the School of Social Sciences, University of Western Sydney, in the study field of Sociology of Migration and Health. The success of this research depends upon your willingness to participate. Your participation will be fully anonymous; there is no need to disclose your name. **YOUR OPINION IS VERY IMPORTANT!** If you need any further information, do not hesitate to contact me (Mrs. Irena C. Veljanova) on my mobile 0402 102 777 or via e-mail: i.veljanova@uws.edu.au. Thank you!

Драг учеснику,

Ќе биде многу ценето ако одвоите малку време и го пополните анкетниот прашалникот даден подолу. Целта на ова анкета е близок преглед на врската помеѓу македонските обичаи, успешното стареење на Македонците во Австралија и поединечниот однос кон сопственото здравје. Оваа анкета се спроведува како дел од докторското истражување (научен труд) при Школата за Општествени Науки на Универзитетот на Западен Сиднеј во сферата на Социологија на Миграција и Здравје. Успешноста на овој научен труд зависи од вашето расположение за учество. Вашето учество е анонимно во целост, затоа воопшто нема потреба да го споменете вашето име и презиме. **ВАШЕТО МИСЛЕЊЕ Е МНОГУ ВАЖНО!** Ако ви требаат дополнителни информации, слободно јавете се кај г-ѓа Ирена Ч. Вељанова на мобилен 0402 102 777 или пишете и на следнава електронска адреса: i.veljanova@uws.edu.au. Благодарам!



### Sample Questions [Пример за како треба да одговорите на прашањата]

Choose as many answers as you feel appropriate. Please rank your answers by placing numbers in the squares starting from 1 (most important) to 2, 3, 4 and so on, as less and less important (please see the sample question given above).

Одбележи ги твоите одговори ставајќи бројче во квадратчињата. Бројчињата го покажуваат редоследот на важност на одговорите. Број 1 значи најважно, број 2, 3, 4 и така натаму, помалку и помалку важно.

Which of the following attributes are most important in life?

Кои од следниве нешта се најважни во животот?

2 ☐ Health [здравје]      ☐ Wealth [богатство]

1 ☐ Family [фамилија]      3 ☐ Happiness [среќа]

Please indicate the appropriate answer by placing a “x” in one of the squares (please see the sample question provided above).

Те молам стави крвче пред точниот одговор.

What is your name?

Како се викаш?

☐ Irena Veljanova      ☒ Irena C. Veljanova

☐ Irena Colakova      ☐ Klara C. Veljanova

### General [Општи прашања]

Choose as many answers as you feel appropriate. Please rank your answers by placing numbers in the squares starting from 1 (most important) to 2, 3, 4 and so on, as less and less important (please see the sample question given above).

Одбележи ги твоите одговори ставајќи бројче во квадратчињата. Бројчињата го покажуваат редоследот на важност на одговорите. Број 1 значи најважно, број 2, 3, 4 и така натаму, помалку и помалку важно (те молам погледни го примерот даден погоре).

Question 1.

***What defines your ethnicity as Macedonian?***

***Што те прави да се чувствуваш Македонец/ка?***

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Communal activities [Активностите во заедницата]   | <input type="checkbox"/> Language [Јазикот]                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Macedonian cuisine [Македонската кујна и храна]  | <input type="checkbox"/> Place of birth [Родното место]            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ancestry [Предците]  | <input type="checkbox"/> Orthodoxy [Македонската Православна вера] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Respecting and following Macedonian customs<br>[Почитувањето и следењето на македонските обичаи] |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Macedonian music [Македонска музика]   |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Macedonian history [Македонската историја]   |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)<br>Или нешто друго (кажи ни што) _____                                    |  |

Please indicate the appropriate answer by placing a “x” in one of the squares (please see the sample question given above).

Те молам стави крвче пред точниот одговор (те молам погледни го примерот даден погоре).

Question 2.

***What is your migration-generational status?***

***Кој од твоето семејство за прв пат се пресели во Австралија?***

- ☐ I’ve migrated in Australia [Јас се прелив во Австралија]  
☐ My parents migrated to Australia [Родителите ми се преселија во Австралија]  
☐ My grandparents migrated to Australia [Дедо и баба се преселија во Австралија]  
☐ My grand-grandparents migrated to Australia [Прадедо и прабаба се преселија во Австралија]

Please answer this question only if you answered the above question as “I migrated to Australia”.

Те молам одговори го ова прашање само ако одговорот на претходното прашање ти беше “Јас се преселив во Австралија”.

Question 3.

***How long have you resided in Australia?***

***Колку долго живееш во Австралија?***

- ☐ less than 1 year [Помалку од 1 година] ☐ 1-5 years [1-5 години]  
☐ 5-10 years [5-10 години] ☐ 10-20 years [10-20 години]  
☐ more than 20 years [Повеќе од 20 години]

<p>Question 4. To what degree is your life guided by Macedonian ethnic customs? <input type="checkbox"/> 0% <input type="checkbox"/> 10% <input type="checkbox"/> 20% <input type="checkbox"/> 30% <input type="checkbox"/> 40% <input type="checkbox"/> 50% <input type="checkbox"/> 60% <input type="checkbox"/> 70% <input type="checkbox"/> 80% <input type="checkbox"/> 90% <input type="checkbox"/> 100%</p> <p>Колку ги следиш македонските обичаи? %= Проценти или посто.</p>			
<p>Question 5. To what degree are your eating habits embedded in Macedonian ethnic customs? <input type="checkbox"/> 0% <input type="checkbox"/> 10% <input type="checkbox"/> 20% <input type="checkbox"/> 30% <input type="checkbox"/> 40% <input type="checkbox"/> 50% <input type="checkbox"/> 60% <input type="checkbox"/> 70% <input type="checkbox"/> 80% <input type="checkbox"/> 90% <input type="checkbox"/> 100%</p> <p>Во која мера се храниш на Македонски начин? %= Проценти или посто.</p>			
<p>Question 6.</p> <p>To which age group do you belong?</p> <p>Во која старосна група припаѓаш?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 18-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 60-69 <input type="checkbox"/> 70-85 <input type="checkbox"/> 85+</p>	<p>Question 7.</p> <p>Gender:</p> <p>Кој пол си?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> F [женски]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> M [машки]</p>	<p>Question 8.</p> <p>Do you consider yourself to be a fluent English speaker?</p> <p>Дали добро го зборуваш англискиот јазик?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes [Да] <input type="checkbox"/> No [Не]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I don't know [Не знам]</p>	<p>Question 9.</p> <p>In which Australian state do you reside?</p> <p>Во која австралиска држава живееш?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> NSW <input type="checkbox"/> VIC <input type="checkbox"/> QLD</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> NT <input type="checkbox"/> WA <input type="checkbox"/> SA</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tasmania</p>
<p>Question 10.</p> <p>Are you a homeowner? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes [Да] <input type="checkbox"/> No [Не] <input type="checkbox"/> Do not wish to disclose [Не би сакал/а да кажам]</p>			

Дали поседуваш свој дом?	
Question 11. What does your working experience include? Што вклучува твоето работно искуство?	<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly physical laboring jobs [Претежно физичка работа] <input type="checkbox"/> Mostly general office jobs [Претежно генерална канцелариска работа] <input type="checkbox"/> Mostly highly professional jobs [Претежно високо професионална работа] <input type="checkbox"/> Do not wish to disclose [Не би сакал/а да кажам]
<b>Health [Здравје]</b>	
Question 12. Which of the following best describes your overall health condition? Како ќе ја опишеш својата здравствена состојба? <input type="checkbox"/> Poor [Лоша] <input type="checkbox"/> Experiencing some minor problems but overall –good [Добра со мали проблеми] <input type="checkbox"/> Good [Добра] <input type="checkbox"/> Excellent [Одлична-многу добра]	Question 13. Which of the following statements best describes your ideas about health? Која од следниве изјави според тебе значи здравје? <input type="checkbox"/> Health is a mere absence of disease – ‘not being sick’. [Здравје значи да не бидеш болен.] <input type="checkbox"/> Health is an individual’s total physical, mental and social wellbeing. [Здравје значи целосна психичка, физичка и општествена благосостојба.]

<p>Question 16.</p> <p>Is your family doctor (general practitioner) of Macedonian ethnicity?</p> <p>Дали твојот семеен лекар е Македонец?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes [Да]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No [Не]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No, but he/ she is able to carry out a conversation in the Macedonian language.</p> <p>Не, ама може да зборува македонски јазик.</p>	<p>Question 14.</p> <p>Please answer this question only if you answered question 3 as “I migrated to Australia”.</p> <p>Те молам одговори го ова прашање само ако одговорот на третото прашање ти беше “Јас се преселив во Австралија”.</p> <p>Has the process of migration affected your health?</p> <p>Дали преселбата (миграцијата) ти влијаеше на здравјето?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It has seriously affected my health [Сериозно ми го влоши здравјето].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It has affected my health [Ми го влоши здравјето. ]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No significant changes to my health have been noticeable [Не почувствував никакви промени на здравјето].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It has improved my health [Ми го подобри здравјето].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> It has greatly improved my health [Многу ми го подобри здравјето].</p>
<p>Question 15.</p> <p>Do you agree with the following? [Дали се согласуваш со следново]:</p> <p>“Residing in Australia has improved my health prospects and prolonged my life.”</p> <p>“Живењето во Австралија ми овозможува подобро здравје и подолг живот.”</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> I agree [Се согласувам] <input type="checkbox"/> I disagree [Не се согласувам]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Undecided [Не знам]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I don't believe that there is a relation between the place of residence and an individual's health prospects/ length of life [Не милам дека доброто здравје и долгиот живот зависат од местото на живеење ].</p>

Ethnic Sanctioning Mechanisms [Етнички неформални санкции]	
<p>Question 17.</p> <p>Please answer this question in reference to the Macedonian ethnic community in Australia.</p> <p>Ова прашање се однесува на случувањата во македонската заедница во Австралија.</p> <p>Do you believe in the existence of informal Macedonian-specific sanctioning mechanisms that operate and can successfully affect behavioural change, including health-behavioural change?</p> <p>Дали веруваш дека постојат македонско специфични ограничувања и пречки (неформални санкции) кои ја ограничуваат измената на вашето однесување, на пример би ја ограничиле измената на вашиот однос кон здравјето?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I believe in their existence [Верувам дека постојат].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I don't believe in their existence [Не верувам дека постојат].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Undecided [Не сум сигурен/а].</p>	<p>Question 18.</p> <p>In answering this question, you can choose as many answers as you feel appropriate. Можеш да одговориш со повеќе од еден одговор на ова прашање.</p> <p>If you completely stop cooking or abandon the types of foods that you have customarily cooked and eaten as part of your Macedonian cuisine because your doctor has advised you to do so, do you think any of the following will happen: Ако целосно престанеш да готвиш и јадеш македонска храна зашто лекарот така те советува, дали очекуваш да се случи некоја од следниве работи:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Gossip [Ќе почнат да те оговараат];</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Loss of respect from the Macedonian community [Ќе изгубиш почит од страна на Македонците];</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Loss of support from other Macedonians [Ќе престанат да те поддржуваат Македонците];</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Exclusion or banning by the Macedonian community [Ќе те исклучат од заедницата];</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> You will not be welcomed by the extended family [Нема да бидеш добродојден во фамилијата];</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) Или нешто друго (кажи што) _____</p> <p>_____</p>

<b>Accumulation of Health Capital (Health Capitalisation Practices)</b> <b>Начини на Акумулација на Здравствено Богатство</b>	
<p>Question 19.</p> <p>Do you have private medical insurance?</p> <p>Дали имаш приватно здравствено осигурување?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes [Да]      <input type="checkbox"/> No [Не]</p>	<p>Question 20.</p> <p>Which one of the following statements best describes your behaviour:</p> <p>Која од следниве изјави најдобро го опишува твоето однесување:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I lead a healthy life as consistent with the Macedonian understanding of it [Водам здрав живот според македонското верување].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I lead a healthy life as consistent with the mainstream society's understanding of it [Водам здрав живот според австралиското верување].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I lead a healthy life incorporating elements from both, Macedonian-ethnic and mainstream society's understanding of it [Живеам на здрав начин следејќи нешто од македонското нешто од австралиското верување].</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I don't think there is any difference between what is considered a healthy lifestyle by members of the Australian Macedonian community and the Australian mainstream society [Не мислам дека има разлика меѓу македонскиот и австралискиот начин на здраво живеење ].</p>
<p>Question 21.</p> <p>To what extent do you agree with the following statements:</p>	



Во која мера се согласуваш со следниве изјави:

➔ **Macedonian traditional medicine (knowledge and usage) improves my health and prolongs my life** [Знаењето и користењето на македонската народна медицина (народните лекови) ми го подобрува здравјето и ми го продолжува животот].

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Agree in moderation

☐ Fully agree

Јако не се сложувам

Не се сложувам

Се сложувам до некаде

Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

➔ **Macedonian spiritual healing practices –BAENJE (knowledge and usage) - improves my health and prolongs my life** [Знаењето и користењето на бајачи и гледачи (НАДРИЛЕКАРИ) ми го подобрува здравјето и ми го продолжува животот].

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Agree in moderation

☐ Fully agree

Јако не се сложувам

Не се сложувам

Се сложувам до некаде

Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

➔ **Having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life in one's old age** [Имање на широк круг на Македонци пријатели и роднини ми/ќе ми го зголеми квалитетот на живот на постари години].

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Agree in moderation

☐ Fully agree

Јако не се сложувам

Не се сложувам

Се сложувам до некаде

Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

Optional: If you agree with this statement, can you briefly state the reasons for your agreement?

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

➔ **Having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality of life in one's old age** [Имање на широк круг на Македонци, но исто така пријатели и роднини од други нации ми/ќе ми го зголеми квалитетот на

**живот на постари години].**

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Agree in moderation

☐ Fully agree

Јако не се сложувам

Не се сложувам

Се сложувам до некаде

Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

Optional: If you agree with this statement, can you briefly state the reasons for your agreement?

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

➔ **A substantial portion of investing in my health and good quality ageing is in fact investing in good family relations, particularly good relations with my children [За да си осигурам здрав живот и добро стареење, во голема мера се трудам да ги одржам добрите односи со фамилијата, особено со моите деца (ако имате деца)].**

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Agree in moderation

☐ Fully agree

Јако не се сложувам

Не се сложувам

Се сложувам до некаде

Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

➔ **I will make all the necessary behavioural changes, even if they are not consistent with my Macedonian identity, to ensure 'good health' and 'good quality ageing' [Ако треба ќе го променам моето однесување и ќе ги отфрлам македонските обичаи за да си го зачувам доброто здравје и да си обезбедам длабока и квалитетна старост].**

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Agree in moderation

☐ Fully agree

Јако не се сложувам

Не се сложувам

Се сложувам до некаде

Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

➔ **I will not modify my behaviour significantly to prevent sickness, as ultimately my health is in God's hands [Нема потреба многу]**

<p>да го менувам моето однесување за да бидам здрав/а зашто моето здравје е во Господови раце].</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree      <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree      <input type="checkbox"/> Agree in moderation      <input type="checkbox"/> Fully agree              Јако не се сложувам      Не се сложувам      Се сложувам до некаде      Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам         </p>	
<p><b>Ageing and 'Old Age' [Старење и стара доба]</b></p>	
<p>Question 22.</p> <p>According to Macedonian ethnic standards, what age is considered to be 'old age'?</p> <p>Според македонското верување, кое годиште се смета за стара доба?</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> 45 years and over [Над 45 години].  <input type="checkbox"/> 50 years and over [Над 50 години].  <input type="checkbox"/> 55 years and over [Над 55 години].  <input type="checkbox"/> 60 years and over [Над 60 години].  <input type="checkbox"/> 65 years and over [Над 65 години].  <input type="checkbox"/> 70 years and over [Над 70 години].  <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) [Друго годиште (те молам кажи ни кое)]  <hr/> </p>	<p>Question 23.</p> <p>As a Macedonian individual living in Australia, you will experience maturity and aging in this country. In your opinion, is the way of growing mature and successfully age as a Macedonian in Australia any different to growing mature and successfully age as an Australian in Australia?</p> <p>Како Македонец/ка кој/а живее во Австралија, очекуваш да созрееш и остариш во Австралија. Според твоето мислење, дали созревањето и успешното стареење за Македонец е различно од Австралец кои живеат во Австралија?</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes [Да]      <input type="checkbox"/> No [Не]      <input type="checkbox"/> I am not sure [Не сум сигурен/а].         </p>
	<p>Question 24.</p> <p>To what extent do you agree with the following statements:</p> <p>Во која мера се согласуваш со следниве изјави:</p> <p>➔ <b>'Old age' is a life-stage of reflection upon your lifetime achievements, that sees you composing yourself in a dignified manner [Староста е доба на животот кога се радуваш за животните постигнувања и се гордееш со постигнатото].</b></p>

	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree Јако не се сложувам	<input type="checkbox"/> Disagree Не се сложувам	<input type="checkbox"/> Agree in moderation Се сложувам до некаде	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully agree Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам
	<p>→ 'Old age' is a life-stage of reflection upon your lifetime losses and underachievements, that sees you overshadowing feelings of guilt and acknowledgement of being a burden [Староста е доба на животот кога жалиш за работите што не си ги постигнал во животот; се чувствуваш виновен и мислиш дека си им товар на другите].</p>			
	<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree Јако не се сложувам	<input type="checkbox"/> Disagree Не се сложувам	<input type="checkbox"/> Agree in moderation Се сложувам до некаде	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully agree Комплетно (целосно) се сложувам

Question 25.

Choose as many answers as you feel appropriate. Please rank your answers by placing numbers in the squares starting from 1 (most important) to 2, 3, 4 and so on, as less and less important (please see the sample question given above).

Одбележи ги твоите одговори ставајќи бројче во квадратчињата. Бројчињата го покажуваат редоследот на важност на одговорите. Број 1 значи најважно, број 2, 3, 4 и така натаму, помалку и помалку важно (те молам погледни го примерот даден погоре).

Which of the following attributes do you associate with successful ageing?

Кое од следниве нешта за тебе е поврзано со успешно стареење?

<input type="checkbox"/> Living independently [Да живеам независно]; <input type="checkbox"/> Living with your family on whom you depend [Да живеам со семејството од кое ќе зависам во голема мера]; <input type="checkbox"/> Being out of the workforce [Да не работам]; <input type="checkbox"/> Being part of the workforce [Да работам]; <input type="checkbox"/> Having active days and embrace challenge [Да имам активни денови и да правам нови нешта]; <input type="checkbox"/> Having limited activity and routine lifestyle [Мала активност и воглавно секојдневни работи]; <input type="checkbox"/> Prioritise children's and grandchildren's needs and embrace supportive roles [Среќен/а сум да бидам во улога на поткрепа. Ги ставам децата и внуците на прво место]; <input type="checkbox"/> Prioritise your social needs and prefer active roles [Ги ставам моите потреби за дружење на прво место и сум доста активен/а]; <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)[Нешто друго (те молам кажи ни)]_____
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Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire! Your effort is greatly respected! Please tear this page of the newspaper and send the completed questionnaire to the address provided below no later than December 31, 2007. No postal stamp needed!

Благодарам што одвоивте време да го пополните анкетниот прашалник! Вашиот влог е навистина почитуван. Ве молам скинете ја ова страница од весникот и испратете го пополнетиот анкетен прашалник на адресата дадена подолу не покасно од 31ви Декември, 2007. Не треба да ставате поштенска марка!

ADDRESS: Doctoral candidate **Irena C. Veljanova**

Ethnicity, Ageing and Health Capital: The case of Australian Macedonian Community

School of Social Sciences, Bankstown Campus  
Locked Bag 1797  
Penrith South DC 1797  
NSW Australia

**NOTE:** This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval Number is HREC 06/68. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel.: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Забелешка: Горенаведеното истражување е одобрено од Комитетот за Хумана Истражувачка Етика при Универзитетот на Западен Сиднеј. Број на дозвола: HREC 06/068. Ако имате некои забелешки или поплаки од етичка природа во врска со ова истражување ве моламе контактирајте го Етичкиот Комитет преку службениците за истражувачка етика на телефон: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884. Сите покренати прашања ќе бидат доверливо третирани и проследени целосно, а вие ќе бидете информирани за резултатот.



# Invitation to Participate

Dear Sir/Madame,

My name is Mrs. Irena Veljanova and as a doctoral candidate at the School of Social Sciences UWS, I am conducting a research in the field of Sociology of Migration Health with particular emphasis on migration, health and ageing. **Therefore, I would like to invite you to partake in this project by participating in a focus group.**

The aim of conducting this focus group is to (first) consult with members of the Australian Macedonian community and representatives of relevant community service providers on the issue of cultural appropriateness of the drafted (and translated) survey questionnaire; and (second) to undertake proofreading activities in respect to the Macedonian translation of the survey questionnaire. The focus group session will be in expected duration of 60 – 90 minutes and will take a discussion like form. The focus group will eventuate on the following date:

***November 14, 2007 (Wednesday) at 10am.***

***Venue: UWS Bankstown Campus***

***Room: BA-23.40 Conf. 01.***

***Contact person: Mrs Irena C. Veljanova.***

***Mob: 0402 102 777. E-mail:***

***[i.veljanova@uws.edu.au](mailto:i.veljanova@uws.edu.au)***

Light snacks and refreshments will be provided for the participants of this focus group. Also, your attendance and contribution will be acknowledged and awarded by AUD60.

If you need further information, do not hesitate to contact me on the contact details given in this invitation letter. Thank you for your time!

Kind regards,

Irena Veljanova  
Doctoral Candidate  
Human Welfare Studies and Services  
School of Social Sciences  
University of Western Sydney, Bankstown campus  
Locked Bag 1797 Penrith South DC NSW 1797 Australia  
Mob: 0402 102 777  
E-mail: [i.veljanova@uws.edu.au](mailto:i.veljanova@uws.edu.au)

**NOTE:** This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval Number is HREC 06/68. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel.: 02 4736 0883 or 4736 0884). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.



☑️ Јазикот  
☑️ Родното место  
☑️ Почитувањето и следењето на македонските обичаи  
BIBLIKA  
ZEMJA. ALEKSANDAR  
MAKEDONSKA  
MAKEDONSKATA ИСТОРИЈА

Советувал, дали очекуваш да се случи некоја од следниве работи:

☐ Ќе престанат да те поддржуваат Македонците.  
☐ Или нешто друго (кажи што) ХРАНАТА НЕ ЌЕ УСЛОВ  
ДА БУДЕМ МАКЕДОНЕЦ

☐ Undecided  
☐ Loss of contact from other Macedonians.  
☐ Other (please specify) DO NOT COOK  
MACEDONIAN FOOD. BUT

Те молам одговори го ова прашање само ако одговорот на претходното прашање ти беше "Јас се преселив во Австралија" 9-MAY-  
1963-TO ENTER AUSTRALIA-FREEMANTLE  
6. Во која старосна група припаѓаш? ☐ 18-29 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60-69 ☑️ 70-85 ☐ 85+  
7. Кој пол си? ☐ женски ☑️ машки  
8. Дали доб  
☑️ Повеќе од

АКО МИ СМЕТА  
ДОКТОРОТ КАЖЕ

☑️ Having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life at older age.  
☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree  
Optional: If you agree with this statement, can you briefly state the reasons for your agreement?  
Reasons: it allows you to feel a sense of belonging  
☑️ Having a wider support network that goes beyond the Macedonian community adds to/improves the quality of life at older age.  
☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree  
Optional: If you agree with this statement, can you briefly state the reasons for your agreement?  
Reasons: to

What defines your ethnicity as Macedonian?  
5 ☐ Communal activities 2 ☐ Language  
4 ☐ Macedonian cuisine 1 ☐ Place of birth  
3 ☐ Ancestry ☐ Respect for Macedonian culture  
☐ Macedonian music  
☐ Other (please specify)

→ Having a support network of predominantly Macedonian co-ethnics adds to/improves the quality of life at older age.  
☑️ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Agree in moderation  
Optional: If you agree with this statement, can you briefly state the reasons for your agreement?  
Reasons: to relate to maced

Советувал, дали очекуваш да се случи некоја од следниве работи:

☐ Ќе престанат да те поддржуваат Македонците.  
☐ Или нешто друго (кажи што) АКО МИ СМЕТА  
МЕНЕ. АКО ДОКТОРОТ КАЖЕ

Што те прави да се чувствуваш Македонец/ка?  
☑️ Активностите во заедницата  
☑️ Македонската кујна и храна  
☑️ Предците  
☑️ Македонска музика  
Или нешто друго (кажи ни што) ПОТЕКАЛОТО НА СЕМУГАТ  
☑️ Јазикот  
☑️ Родното место  
☑️ Почитувањето и следењето на македонските обичаи  
☑️ Македонската историја  
☑️ Македонската историја

☐ Other (please specify)  
☐ Macedonian music  
☐ Macedonian cuisine  
☐ Macedonian language  
☐ Place of birth  
☐ Language  
☐ Respect for Macedonian culture  
☐ Other (please specify)

8. In answering this question, you can choose as many as you like. If you completely stop cooking or abandon the tradition, do you think any of the following will happen?  
☑️ Gossip.  
☐ Exclusion or ban from the Macedonian community.  
☑️ Loss of identity  
☑️ You will be less happy