The Pear Tree

Family Narratives of Greek Macedonian Migration to Australia

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 ABSTRACT

The pear tree referred to in the title of this thesis was planted in the soil of Ottoman Macedonia and bore fruit for over a century in the courtyard of my father's home in a small village in Florina. A bitterly contested region of the Balkans, Florina was incorporated into Greece in 1912 following the First Balkan War. Ongoing disruptions to place and identity in the region continued during the Second World War (1939-1945) and the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), both of which prompted large-scale migration from Greece to Australia and Canada during the 1950s to 1970s. Almost a quarter of a million Greeks arrived in Australia between 1947 and 1983, with 35 per cent of these migrants coming from the Macedonian region of Greece. Of these, an estimated 27,000 came from Florina (Danforth 2000:94; Gilchrist in Jupp 2001:392; Tamis 1994:xi).

This thesis examines how the families of migrants who left villages in Florina in the 1950s and 1960s remember, narrate and transmit intergenerational experiences of migration and how complex ideas of home and identity have been mediated and transitioned over three generations. Drawing on interviews conducted with my extended family, it examines whether Greek Macedonian regional identity has remained relevant to the second and third generations through the narration and transmission of family migration stories. By examining the production of stories during oral history interviews, and using the framework of family and region, my thesis asks three inter-related questions. How do Greek Macedonian migrant families view themselves culturally? What importance does the telling of the family narrative play in cultural transmission and identity formation? How do second and third generation migrant children view their cultural identity? I also contrast Australian experiences in the second generation with stories from a smaller sample of second-generation family members whose parents migrated to Toronto in Canada.

This investigation of family migration stories develops limited understandings of the Greek Macedonian migration experience in Australia and, in particular, intergenerational understandings of Greek Macedonian identity in the diaspora. Surveying sixty years of family settlement, the thesis highlights also the way in which families experience the impact of migration and pass on that understanding to future generations. It finds that, while it was important for first-generation participants to narrate their pre-migration story and experience,

these stories were only partially circulated within the family. It argues that, for many families, notions of an idealised Greek homeland have been disrupted by successive wars in the region. It further argues that, as a result, the third generation have constructed a sense of home and belonging focused on Australia, although many retain a desire to understand the migrant legacy and Greek Macedonian heritage.

Ultimately this thesis argues that the idea of family has replaced permanent links to the Greek homeland as the key signifier of identity in these communities because of the difficulties of association with a historically turbulent region, evolving from under the Ottoman Empire into the modern Greek nation. Thus, through the narration of family stories, this thesis traces the transition of Macedonian identity as it has emerged from empire to the nation-state, and subsequently how it has been re-negotiated from a geographically regional identity to a diasporic label of identity as a result of migration. More broadly, the study contributes to international scholarship on intergenerational memory and migration as it considers how collective family memory can shape transnational notions of belonging and how family migration stories of a contested home and identity can become limited in circulation across generations.

DECLARATION

i. the thesis comprised only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated,
ii. due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used,
iii. the thesis is no more than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

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In loving memory of Amalia, Anastasia, Fotini, Lazaros, Ivana, Olga, Pandos, Petros and those we have lost in Florina and Toronto

For Theodoros and Zoi

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Now, you'll find a splendid grove along the road—
poplars, sacred to Pallas—
a bubbling spring's inside and meadows run around it.
There lies my father's estate, his blossoming orchard too,
as far from town as a man's strong shout can carry.
Take a seat there

Here luxuriant trees are always in their prime
pomegranates and pears, and apples glowing red,
succulent figs and olives swelling sleek and dark.
And the yield of all these trees will never flag or die,
neither in winter nor in summer, a harvest all year round

Homer's Odyssey

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- INTRODUCTION -

THE PEAR TREE

As a second-generation migrant daughter who has grown up in Australia, when I imagine my parents' homeland of Greece, I see in my mind the pear tree planted by my great-grandfather in 1901 to honour the birth of my grandfather. My father would often tell me how he wanted to climb the tree as a young child to be the first to pick the ripe pears. He could still remember how sweet the pears would taste. In fact, my father told me many stories about his life in Greece and as a migrant in Australia. Many of these stories were about surviving the terrifying experiences of war. Yet it was the story about the pear tree that I connected with the most. It was compelling as a memory of my father who, in the midst of war and poverty, would find solace as a young child by eating pears. It was also a connection to my ancestral home and grandparents who I would never meet.

When the pear tree was planted, my father's small village was in Ottoman Macedonia when Florina was known by its Slavic name of *Lerin* and the village of Itea was known as *Vrbeni*. Florina was a particularly contested region of the Balkans and was incorporated into Greece in 1912 following the First Balkan War. After the Second Balkan War in 1913, the village would become part of the Macedonian region of Northern Greece, near the current borders of Albania to the west, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) to the north. Thus the pear tree has not only been witness to children who have been born and who have died, but also the end of the Ottoman Empire and the painful process of Greek nation building, successive wars including the Macedonian Struggles (1903-1908), the First and Second Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the First and Second World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), the bloody fighting of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and, ultimately, my father and many in his village and region leaving Greece in a mass exodus to seek a better life elsewhere. This was at a time when the developing economy of Australia needed to attract migrant labour through government assisted programs.

Through my father's storytelling, I too had my own 'memory' of the pear tree, even before I had seen it. The pear tree evoked for me a feeling of permanence and belonging to 'Greece' as my 'family home' – a place that had always existed and would always exist, although not a

place I yearned to visit. However, when I did eventually see the pear tree with my father and mother on my first visit to Greece in 2005 (and their first visit 'home' since 1960), my father and I both saw the same tree, but it had now changed for both of us, as had the village and the idea of home and identity. Standing under the pear tree I thought about how much life had become different within just one generation of my own family as my father showed me the patch of dirt where he had been born under the tree. I also questioned whether I felt more Australian than Greek; and, within that context, asked myself what being Greek Macedonian might mean. Thus the pear tree came to signify not one home but many ideas of home, real and imagined, and different notions of what it meant to be 'Greek' in the context of migration. The pear tree also came to stand as a potent symbol of family and how the idea and meaning of home and identity were interconnected but never static. Ultimately I came to understand that it was family that kept me connected to Greece rather than the soil in which the pear tree was planted.

When I returned to my father's house in 2014, it was empty and in disrepair although photos of my grandparents still hung on the wall. The pear tree had been cut down. It had continued to bear fruit until it began to die in 2012. As the cold winter of the bleak Greek economic recession had set in, the wood from the tree was burnt to warm the house for family who still lived in the village. On a visit to my cousin Yiouli in Athens, my father's story prompted Yiouli to tell me the story of how her grandfather (my only paternal uncle who had remained in Greece) would sit on a chair under the tree and pick pears for her using a metal cup tied to a stick and she too remembered how sweet the pears would taste. The pear tree can now only be a memory, but it is a memory being kept alive through the narration and transmission of family stories across generations. This thesis asks what it has meant and what it continues to mean to tell these stories in the context of migration.

* * *

It was the devastating impact of the Second World War (1939-1945) and the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) that prompted large-scale emigration from Greece from the 1950s to the 1970s. From 1947 until 1977, over 1.3 million people left Greece particularly from rural areas (Roudometof 2010:153). These migrants set out for regions and countries with well-developed secondary sectors or resource-rich economies, such as Western Europe (mainly West Germany), Brazil, Australia, Canada and the United States (Tastsoglou 2009:8). In Australia, what became a post-war immigration boom was initiated by the signing on 31 March 1947 of

the United Kingdom-Australia Free and Assisted Passage Agreement, with other agreements to follow (Yiannakis 2009:31). Between 1947 and 1983, almost a quarter of a million Greeks came to Australia as permanent and long-term arrivals (Gilchrist in Jupp 2001:392), with the largest group from the Macedonian region of Greece at 35 per cent or 75,000 people (Tamis 1994:xi). Of these, it has been estimated that 27,000 migrants came from Florina, and that 15,000 of these went to the city of Melbourne (Danforth 2000:94). Florina had been devastated by successive wars where the claim to soil was bitterly contested.

Within this context, my father's migration in 1960 was sponsored by his brother Pandos who had arrived earlier in Australia with his wife Olga and their two young children in 1954. Like my father, my mother left her village in Florina in 1960, intending to join her sister in Adelaide. Other members of my mother's extended family migrated to Canada, which experienced a similarly large influx of Greek migrants during the post-Second World War period when more than 100,000 Greek immigrants arrived from a variety of social backgrounds and geographic areas (Chimbos 1999:91; Kostov 2011:184). Although estimates vary considerably, by 1969 40,000 people or between 30 and 55 per cent of the Greek population in Toronto were Greek Macedonian migrants (Kostov 2011:184). Emigration from Northern Greece in other words was substantial: the economic, social and political consequences of war, particularly the Greek Civil War, were acutely felt in this region (Roudometof 2010:153).

This thesis is an oral history of the migration experience of extended families over three genealogical generations. Most of the families interviewed for this thesis migrated from villages in Florina in Northern Greece and arrived in Australia during the post-Second World War period. As explained below, a small group of interviewees migrated to Canada. The thesis documents stories held in common *across* all generations, as well as unique stories *within* each of the generations. Across all of these stories, the thesis is attentive to the formation of Greek Macedonian identity as a result of the circulation of migration stories within the family. The specific focus of migration stories of family settlement is centred on these two key diasporic locations of Greek Macedonians communities in Melbourne, Australia and Toronto, Canada. Whilst the Canadian cohort is a smaller sample of the second generation, it explores how experiences of migration to a different host country from the same troubled home region still shapes a greater sense of belonging through the family rather than the homeland.

Crucially, this thesis underlines the complexity of transmitting a collective story about place and identity when the meaning of 'Macedonia' and 'Macedonian' have been, and continue to

be, extensively debated. It is particularly concerned, therefore, with how notions of family, home and identity have been transmitted and circulated within the family when the place migrated from has a troubled history. As anthropologist Van Boeschoten (2000b:38) has noted, there is a 'double stigma' attached to the politics and ethnicity of identity in a place such as Florina following the Greek Civil War; and these tensions also created deep divisions within the Greek Macedonian community in Australia.

The region of Florina, as shown further below in Figure 1, is located on the borders of FYROM and Albania. Situated in the northern part of Greece in Macedonia, Florina refers to the main town as well as the broader Florina region of approximately 94 villages (Van Boeschoten 2000b:32). Florina experienced significant depopulation as much of Florina was devastated following war in the region, and with few employment opportunities available, migration from Florina to Australia and Canada was considered by many as inevitable in the 1950s and 1960s (Damousi 2015:5). Aside from my personal connection to the region, Florina presents the opportunity to examine in deeper context how war and migration has shaped the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in the diaspora. Florina was in the direct line of the initial German advance into Greece and later the epicentre of the Greek Civil War. At the heart of Balkan power struggles, Florina also provides an insightful case study into the implications of Greek nation-building in Macedonia across a diverse population, as well as the consequences for bilingual Greek and Macedonian speakers (who shared one common regional or ethnic identity) yet were often divided into two hostile groups (Danforth 2000:92).

Before the borders were defined in 1913, Florina was located in the central zone of Macedonia, an area where Greek national consciousness took much longer to develop and take roots (Karakasidou 2000:124-125). Issues of Greek Macedonian identity are complex and can never be assumed to imply either Greek or Macedonian national identity, as has often been the case for this community. Yet the construction of local and regional Macedonian identity for those who have migrated from Greece has tended to be overshadowed by the desire to understand it simply in these competing national terms. In this thesis, Greek Macedonian family narratives highlight instead the loss of family and heritage, rather than the homeland. This is contrast to Greek family narratives that tend to examine nostalgia and desire to return to the Greek homeland, and the transfer of these feelings to the second and even third generation (Christou 2011; Tsolidis 2011); and national Macedonian family narratives that highlight the traumatic loss of the homeland following the partition of Ottoman Macedonia in 1913 (Petroff 1995;

Petrovska 1995, 2015). An exploration of families into the third generation found the families featured in this thesis did not split into either Greek or Macedonian national camps that could divide individuals, families and the Greek Macedonian community – but instead co-existed and co-operated with family and village networks.

Fig.1: Florina region of Greece

Source: Map of Greece (2018)

The key contribution of such a study is to both extend and enrich our understanding of stories narrated by Greek Macedonian migrants at the granular level of family. Taking an ethno-regional approach, I consider how disruption to place and identity through war in the Macedonian region of Greece has led often to a very circumscribed circulation of migration stories within the family, and how subsequent generations have formed, as a result, a greater attachment to the idea of family and belonging to Australia rather than to the Greek homeland. Nevertheless, I note also that many in the second and third generation wish to understand the legacy of migration and their Greek Macedonian heritage. I consider how intergenerational

family memory shapes notions of belonging as well as how stories of place within the family can become limited in circulation.

Yet when I look at the broader history and historiography of Greek Australian migration (surveyed in more detail below), I do not see my family story, or those of other Greek Macedonian families, adequately represented. Thus while 'Greek Macedonians' warrant a distinct entry under 'Greeks' in *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (Jupp 2001), the entry highlights the difficulty associated with the term 'Greek Macedonian', caught as it is in the nexus between geography, history and identity. Moreover, it is not simply that Greek Macedonians do not sit easily within a history of Greek migration to Australia. Concomitantly, whilst the scholarship of post-war Greek migration to Australia and Canada has been immensely rich, it has tended to celebrate the successful (often economic) contribution made by migrants to the host country and the Greek cultural institutions that have been created. First and second-generation migrants are portrayed largely as successfully assimilated, with elements of Greek cultural identity maintained through continued transnational links to the Greek homeland. Emerging research emphasises the development of these second and third generation identities through visits 'home' to Greece, which have (re)created connections to the idea of 'homeland' through the transmission of family narratives. For example, Chryssanthopolou (2009a,b) examined how Greek Australians from Castellorizo reclaimed their homeland, Dawson (2008) has examined concepts of the homeland for Greek Cypriots in Melbourne, Giorgas (2008) has examined identity among second-generation Greek-Australians in terms of continued transnational links and community participation, and Tsolidis (2011) has examined memories of home of Canadian, American and Australian daughters of post-Second World War migrants.

But what of those whose sense of home and belonging is more complicated? What of those who did not emanate from regions solely or predominantly within the Greek nation, for whom the idea of a Greek 'home' remains a contested place? My research has considered the trauma and violence experienced as a result of war in Florina and how this may limit the transmission of family migration stories of 'home' and belonging. As Stuart Hall has noted, it is difficult to tell a story of connection to 'home' if one is not able to return it (nor, in this case, want to return), if it is perhaps a place that has been transformed out of all recognition (1993:362). Family stories that detail the intergenerational experiences of Greek family settlement in Australia have missed this dimension of Greek Macedonian experience.

Specifically, I have limited the scope of my research to two aspects of Greek Macedonian migration and settlement of the diaspora. Firstly, on examining migration literature, I found that very little had been written about the lived experiences of Greek Macedonian families. As such, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the intergenerational transmission of migrant stories and experiences, and hence of the intergenerational identity formation of Greek Macedonians in Australia. The traditional formation of the Greek family extends across generations and networks of kin, and it is well understood among scholars that these extended ties shaped early experiences of Greek migrants in a new country (Doumanis; Tamis; Yiannakis; Tsolidis; Chimbos). The Greek family has also been considered the most significant agent for the maintenance and transmission of Greek identity, followed by language (Gavaki 2003:7; Tsolidis 1995:143). But an understanding of collective family memory is missing from existing accounts of Greek Macedonian migration. To address this gap in our understanding of Greek Macedonian migrant families, I consider the stories narrated about the settlement of families from Florina by first to third generation migrants. This space of social networks and relations between people is crucial to the experience of migration, although often very little written trace is left for historians to examine (Thomson 1999:28). This thesis attempts to redress this by documenting family experience. It attempts to answer questions about the developing narration of identity among Greek Australian families from Florina together with a smaller sample of second-generation Greek Canadian family members from Florina.

Secondly, I am concerned with understanding the types of stories narrated during oral history interviews with participants and what these tell us about the transmission and circulation of migrant stories where place and identity has been disrupted. I have sought to understand how members of an extended family group negotiated their sense of identity and belonging at the granular level of family, motivated also by a desire to understand whether a family 'becomes Australian' over the course of three generations and sixty years after initial migration from Florina. Put simply, the answer has been 'yes, they do become Australian', but the process of identity formation has been far more complicated when considered from the perspective of an ethno-regional framework.

In this respect, I argue that the troubled history of Macedonia has led to greater complexity in relation to how regional identity has been negotiated in Australia. Thus the story does not begin when my parents stepped off the boat onto Australian soil, but rather in the historical period

when the Macedonian region emerged from the Ottoman Empire in the 1890s and the implications for the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in Florina following the partition of the region in 1913. Indeed, it has only been in 'living memory' that Greece's current borders were established in 1947 (Clogg 2008:6). I consider how these historic processes shape collective family memory about the homeland, but also how stories may become limited in the context of war and contested ideas of identity. While I cannot hope to do complete justice to this complex history, I do seek to form a broader understanding of the types of stories that have been narrated, and the circumstances that lead to their narration. Crucially, I do not seek to contest Macedonian identity *per se* – to set out who are/were or are/were not Macedonian (as noted in more detail below) – but rather aim to comprehend how a regional Greek Macedonian identity becomes possible in the context of migration, and how and why it remains relevant across generations.

As many scholars have noted (Brah 1996; Clifford 1997; Hall 1993; Herzfeld 1982; Safran 1991), an important mechanism in the creation and maintenance of separate identities has been the transmission through narrative accounts of a body of folklore, its traditions and myths. Further, collective narratives that gather together accounts of a group's origins, its qualities and characteristics, and its distinguishing features, as they are internally perceived, have been a central aspect of ethnic identity (Hirschon 1999) and an element present in the creation and maintenance of diasporic identity. Such collective narratives are a central focus of this research, which examines in particular constructions of 'home' and the impact on identity across migrant genealogical generations, including the erasure of Greek Macedonian identity. For migrants from Florina, collective narratives and thus a deeper connection 'home' were permanently disrupted as a result of the ongoing war and desire to homogenise national identity in the region that occurred prior to migration. Tamis (1994:354) has described Macedonia as the 'most blood-soaked region of Greece' and, in turn, I argue that disruption to place and identity has limited the ability to transmit generational stories within the family about place, and particularly about Greek Macedonia. Rather, a greater sense of home has been re-imagined through the durable nature of family as a transnational site of belonging.

DEBATING PLACE AND IDENTITY: SOME KEY CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

As many scholars have noted, the meaning of the terms 'Macedonia' and 'Macedonian' have been sharply contested (Cowan 2000:xiii; Danforth 1995:4; Karakasidou 1997a:14; Livanios 2008a:3; Tamis 1994:x). The division of Macedonia after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) created

three major divisions or regions: the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), described as Vardar Macedonia; a portion of western Bulgaria, described as Pirin Macedonia; and the northern province of Greece, known as Aegean (Greek) Macedonia or 'Northern Greece' (Shea 1997:97). The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) with Skopje as its capital declared independence on 8 September 1991 under its constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia and is one of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia (Ben-Moshe et al 2016:55). This region is outlined in Figure 2.

Fig. 2: Map Outlining the Macedonia Naming Dispute

Source: Wikimedia Commons (2018)

The politics of naming this region are fraught and debate has continued over the course of writing this thesis. But it is important to underline that the intention of this research is to examine how identity and place have been disrupted through war, rather than to debate the politics of identity in the region. Nevertheless, the use of terminology is an issue I have had to grapple with throughout the writing of this thesis, as I discuss periods where changing boundaries, borders, empires and nation have denoted different geographic space, identity and language, and thus different meanings.

In reference to place, I use the terms 'Macedonia' and 'Greek Macedonia' to apply specifically to the territory within the geographic region of Macedonia that lies within the modern Greek nation. I also refer to Northern Greece and Florina as regions within Greece. Depending on the structure of government at the time, Florina has been described in the literature as a prefecture, district, municipality and region and it is both a specific town as well as a broader region. I use the terms 'Macedonians' and 'Greek Macedonians' to describe the people within the broader region of Florina within Greek Macedonia. I also refer to a diversity of identities within the Macedonian region such as Arvanites, Vlachs and Pontics who identified as Greek but spoke other dialects. In this respect, I am influenced by the work of anthropologists Danforth, Karakasidou, Manos and Van Boeschoten whose work interrogated the boundaries of modern nation building in the Balkans at the decline of the Ottoman Empire with a focus on Macedonia. Mainly concerned with the construction of national identity within a contested space, the work of these authors draws on individual life histories but does not provide a fuller account of family biography and how family stories may shape ideas of home in the diaspora. I build on studies by the scholars detailed above by situating my research within the collective of the family seeking to understand how intergenerational memory can shape notions of belonging in the diaspora, and highlighting the stories of migration that are important for the family to narrate.

Chapter Two of this thesis provides a fuller account of the often-contested circumstances in which notions of Greek Macedonian identity has been constructed, which in turn has also shaped the development of Greek Macedonian communities in the diaspora. For now, we might note the observation of Van Boeschoten who captured a sense of the identity politics in Florina when she wrote:

> A perceptive traveller heading north from Kozani to the border area of Florina will receive a number of signals indicating that he has crossed an invisible yet omnipresent boundary. Touring the villages, he may notice that apart from Greek, several other languages and dialects are used: Macedonian, Vlach, 'Arvanitika', the Pontic dialect and Rom. At village festivals in Slav-speaking villages, he may be surprised that none of the music is accompanied by song. At some weddings, he might perceive a muted tension or even open conflict between guests of different cultural backgrounds about the music performed by the orchestra. In some mixed villages, he might remark that the different ethnic groups live in separate neighbourhoods. After a more prolonged visit to the area, he would perceive this as a society highly stratified along ethnic lines. Local residents, all groups included, speak of a society divided into *ratses* [common descent]. Though the various ethnic groups live together, often even on friendly terms in spite of past conflicts, they perceive each other as 'different' (Van Boeschoten 2000b:28).

Where used in literature I have consulted, to be consistent I follow the use of terms such as ‘Slav’, ‘Slavic’ and ‘Slavo Macedonian’. These markers of identity emerged more prominently in the narratives of mainstream Greek historiography from the 1940s, mainly due to the regional events of war and the geopolitics of the establishment of the People’s (subsequently Socialist) Republic of Macedonia in in the 1940s under Marshal Tito (Tziampiris 2011:221). The term ‘Slavo-Macedonians’ has also been used in literature to describe Slavophones who opposed the Greek and Bulgarian national projects in the interwar period (Cowan 2000:xv). It has been argued that Macedonian ethnic identity was propagated in the 1920s and 1930s, and gained ground in Vardar (Yugoslav) Macedonia no earlier than the late 1940s (Kostov 2011:45, Tamis 1994:355). Thus Hellenization of the Macedonian region in the 1920s became a key concern of the Greek nation. In terms of describing language, I use the term ‘Macedonian’ but, again to maintain consistency with other literature, I also refer to the term ‘Slavic’, which came into use in the 1940s, and ‘Slavophone’ to describe bilingual Greek and Macedonian speakers (although see Hlavac 2016:72).

Of course, apart from the Greeks, other groups also claim the name Macedonian to describe their own history, culture and identity (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:417). In anthropological terms, the term Macedonian has three basic meanings according to the very useful outline provided by Danforth (1995). Firstly, Macedonian is used in a national sense to refer to people with a Macedonian national identity that is mutually exclusive from Greek and Bulgarian. Secondly, Macedonian is used in a regional sense to refer to people with a Greek national identity who come from Macedonia and who refer to themselves as Greek Macedonian. Finally, in Northern Greece, Macedonian is used in a more restricted ethnic sense to refer to the indigenous people of Macedonia who may speak Greek, Macedonian or both languages in contrast to other ethnic groups that live in the area (Danforth 1995:7). This group further define themselves as ‘locals’, and most ‘local Macedonians’ have developed a Greek national identity; some, however, have developed a Macedonian national identity (Danforth 1995:7). Thus, I use the terms to describe local *and* regional identity in the Greek Macedonian region. My research is limited to these two meanings of Macedonian and does not examine Macedonian national identity that is mutually exclusive from Greek identity.

A further reason I have used Macedonian as both a local and regional label for identity is to be consistent with how first-generation participants in my research noted their sense of place and belonging to the Macedonia that lies within the boundaries of the modern Greek nation. In

reference to the Republic of Macedonia, and in part to avoid confusion in meaning, I use the abbreviated provisional term FYROM in this thesis in place of the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia or simply Macedonia. FYROM is the name recognised by the United Nations since 7 April 1993 (Tziampiris 2011:215). There remains an unresolved dispute between Greece and the FYROM over the use of the name 'Republic of Macedonia' and the perceived cultivation of the 'Macedonian nation' by the FYROM (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018). In January 2018, renewed discussions took place with a United Nations mediator to resolve the issue that saw protests in February against the name deal in Greece, Canada and Australia. At the time of writing, an agreement on the name the 'Republic of North Macedonia' had been reached although it will need to clear a referendum in FYROM (planned for 30 November 2018) and both parliaments (ABC 2018). In terms of national identity, that is specifically in terms of the people who identify their national identity as Macedonians in the FYROM, I use the term 'modern Macedonians', but underline that my research does not extend to the examination of modern identity formation in the FYROM.

Finally, my intent has not been to challenge the inherent assumptions made by previous scholars about Macedonia and Macedonian identity but rather to examine these terms in the context of how family narratives have shaped a sense of national and collective identity. I examine how it has been possible for a Greek Macedonian family identity to evolve in the diaspora and whether and how this identity retains relevance across generations. In terms of the themes of identity and family, I do touch briefly on divergent but linked notions of regional Greek Macedonian identity, and the changing nature of the traditional Greek family in the diaspora and its role of cultural transmission. I examine and contextualise these conceptual themes more thoroughly in Chapters Two and Three respectively. Ultimately, this thesis is attentive to notions of home, identity and family and how they have changed in the diaspora, and how each has been shaped in the context of different generational stages of the migration experience for Greek Macedonian families.

Thus 'diaspora' is also a key theme in this research, and I want to discuss briefly its role in relation to the construction of migrant meanings of home. Scholarship on diaspora has led me to consider how the homeland for migrant families from Florina has been reimagined within the family itself due to its contested nature of place and identity. In his guiding work on diasporas in modern societies, Safran (1991) described the main features of a diaspora as involving: a history of dispersal; the retention of collective memory, vision or myth; the belief

that full acceptance by the host country is not possible; a regard for the ancestral homeland as the true or ideal home and place of eventual return; and a collective identity. While many scholars have traced the changing shape and nature of diasporic groups (e.g. Clifford 1997; Papastergiadis 1998; Fortier 2000; Ang 2001), Greek groups have often been seen as akin to one of the more 'traditional diasporas' (Brah 1996:179; Clogg 1999:1). Greek diasporic communities have emerged globally and have rarely severed imagined ties with a 'homeland' (Tastsoglou 2009:4). Yet I argue this is not the case for Greek Macedonian families in the diaspora. Characteristics that have been described as constant in the survival and maintenance of 'Greekness' in diaspora include: the maintenance of family in the form of a tightly-knit values-based structure; a sense of regionalism and village; and an understanding of belonging to a larger culture and nation (Vryonis 1993:15-16), with cultural practices in the diaspora often considered a manifestation of Greek life as an extension of Greece (Doumanis 1999:79). Yet, by virtue of Greece's vexed geopolitical position within the Balkans, the formation of Greek Macedonian diasporic identity requires closer examination, particularly in terms of what connections have remained to the Greek homeland for the second and third generations. Roudometof (2010:146) has highlighted the transformation of various Greek diasporic communities into transnational national communities based on Hellenism, but underlined that this was not a uniform or linear process, and that, for some, belonging remained incomplete, uneven and contested.

Tastsoglou (2009:4-5) outlines three frameworks that are useful in thinking about the nature of Greek diasporic communities. Firstly, based on Brah (1996), she notes the idea of diaspora as an analytical tool to refer to multi-axial locationality and a politics of location that is specific to a time and a place. Secondly through Soysal (2000), Tastsoglou refers to diasporas based on bi-directional economic, political and cultural transactions with a historic homeland. Thirdly, she underlines how we can explore a 'diaspora space' that refers to 'in-between' or hybridised spaces where translation and negotiation occur (Bhabha 1996; Rutherford 1990). The Greek community in Australia has been described as both transnational and diasporic in terms of its attachment to the history and traditions of the homeland, with the maintenance of strong transnational connections to Greece and to Greeks around the world (Giorgas 2008:59). Transnationalism refers to the multiple links between sending and host societies and has been a relatively recent perspective on migration processes (Giorgas 2008:53-55). An outcome of transnational practices has been the changing meanings of home and sense of belonging and identity, and this is often framed around the suggestion of a dual life and identity in multiple

transnational social spaces (Giorgas 2008:54). In this thesis, I concentrate on the idea of diaspora rather than transnationalism, as my focus is on how ties may become disrupted with a Greek homeland (rather than focusing on their continuation). I contend that it is through engagement with the family, rather than other links, that identification with Greek Macedonia is most likely to happen.

Moreover crucially, unlike the idea of nations and transnationalism, the idea of diaspora can incorporate a sense of displacement and absence. Huyssen (2003:149-150) differentiated between national memory and diaspora memory, arguing that diasporic memory has remained understudied. I contribute to this gap in knowledge through an examination of family memory in the diaspora and how migrant stories may shape notions of home and belonging. In this context, the concept of diaspora opposes the notion of belonging shaped by a unitary national memory, although Huyssen also underlines that 'it is precisely the national mechanism of the exclusion by a majority culture that [may] generate and strengthen…[a] diasporic counternationalism' (Huyssen 2003:150). Here we can draw some links to the application of diaspora to Greek Macedonians before and after the incorporation of the Macedonian region into Greece in 1913. In this regard, Liakos (2007:215) has described how 'imaginary regionalism has acquired the dimension of a diaspora', and notes how these 'crossing diasporas' have constructed an imaginary geographic and mental map as a consequence of the wars, turbulent history, and movement across borders in South East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Whilst a nation-state is a symbolic formation of the nation as an 'imagined community' with whose meanings we identify (Hall 1993:355), it emerges from a successful nationalist movement whose political boundaries and homogenous population are within a territorially bounded political unit (Danforth 1995:14). Yet to paraphrase Herzfeld, the goals of 'historical streamlining' by the nation-state cannot quite conceal the sense of contradiction that occurs in identity formation at the level of family and kinship (Herzfeld 1997:2-5). Further, in the shift from empire to nation-states in the Balkans, the interactions between bureaucracies and the ordinary people may reveal the problematic nature of nationhood (Dragostinova 2011:13).

What I want to bring to the forefront is the complex task that the family has faced in translating a coherent and collective narrative to describe regional Greek Macedonian identity in the diaspora given it is a contested and disrupted space. In fact, prefacing most academic discussion and historical accounts has been a definition of how the term 'Macedonia' has been used and

to whom the term ‘Macedonian’ may apply. Indeed, debate about Macedonia has puzzled foreign observers, particularly the question of how a population that lived over two thousand years ago could indeed possess a ‘national’ identity long before the concept of a ‘nation’ was established (Karakasidou 1997a:xi). Cowan has noted that the many meanings of the word ‘Macedonian’ vary for different people and in different contexts (Cowan 2000:xiii-xvi); Shea has presented the counter-charge that the modern Macedonians from the former Yugoslavia have a better claim to the name and history of Macedonia than the Greeks in general, even compared to the northern Greeks that formed the heartland of the great Macedonian empire (Shea 1997:3); and Danforth (1995:4-7) has also highlighted that the term ‘Macedonia’ may mean many different things to many different people.

Yet while anthropologists continue to document the tension in Florina (Manos 2010:112), crucially for this thesis, Hill (1989:1) has argued that while ‘some historians and sociologists deny the existence of a Macedonian nation, …it is in countries like Canada and Australia, where Macedonians enjoy relative freedom of organisation, that Macedonian unity and a sense of nationhood can be observed’. Moreover, in surveying such competing narratives about place, identity and geographic boundaries, oral history can play a key role. Shea has argued that it would be surprising if the majority of Greeks and modern Macedonians had any real knowledge of the historical matters that underlie the political claims shaped by media and government (Shea 1997:3). Here Shea has identified that, for the most part, only those who lived through significant events have reliable firsthand knowledge of what really happened and that has confined scholarship to recent history (Shea 1997:3).

It is precisely this area where the oral history method used in my research can make a significant contribution towards understanding processes of intergenerational formation of Greek Macedonian post-war identity among families in the diaspora. By examining nationality and migration among the Greeks of Bulgaria between 1900 and 1949, Dragostinova (2011:7) highlighted that while interest groups engage in the contentious meaning of official history, ordinary people initiate dialogues relevant to their own notions of belonging. In this context, individual stories become essential in counterbalancing the official accounts of national history. Dragostinova wrote:

> The intrinsic murkiness of national identifications in the post-Ottoman Balkans was characteristic of the transition from empire to nation-states and corresponded to similar manifestations of national ambiguity elsewhere in Eastern Europe. However, in the Balkan context, displacement complicated people’s collective belonging even further

> by vividly exposing the unstable relationship between nationality and territoriality (Dragostinova 2011:7).

As Florina was located in the central zone of Macedonia at the turn of the century, this was a highly problematic area where Greek national consciousness and hegemony took much longer to develop roots (Karakasidou 2000:124-125). Here in particular, therefore, one must be wary of the 'crude presumption' that any person belongs to one group and one group only' (Sen 2006:25). Danforth highlighted that scholarly work on ethnic nationalism 'has not paid sufficient attention to the construction of national identity as a short-term biographical process that takes place over the course of a lifetime of specific individuals' (Danforth 2000:85). Danforth argued that many factors influenced the process of identity formation for migrants from Florina to Australia, and that these included Balkan history, village politics, family situation and individual biography (Danforth 2000:12). Such understandings of the complexity of place have been central to this thesis: how these complex notions of regional identity have been constructed in the diaspora and transmitted within families. In the following section, I review the chronological trends in Greek Australian migration literature. I then provide a brief analysis of more complex understandings of Greek diasporic identity in other settings. I identify that Greek Macedonian families have not been adequately represented in the broader history of Greek migration.

FRAMING NARRATIVES OF GREEK MACEDONIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

My father Theodoros sailed from the Port of Piraeus and arrived at the Port of Melbourne on 9 March 1960 (National Archives of Australia). As a family story, his journey across the water was particularly poignant as he met my mother on their ship, the *Patris*. In terms of a historic moment, the migration of my parents occurred during the largest movement of people from Greece to Australia following the Second World War and the period of economic devastation in Greece that followed the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949. As noted, the largest regional group were Macedonians of Greek origin predominantly from Kozani, Kastoria and Florina who constituted the highest proportion of the Greek-Australian population (35 per cent), followed by Peloponnesians (30 per cent), islanders (15 per cent), emigrants from Central Greece (10 per cent) and other regions of Greece, with a further 10 per cent from countries other than Greece (Tamis 1994:xi). It is therefore somewhat surprising that existing literature does not explore the narratives of these Greek migrant families in any depth. In particular it fails to explore in a contemporary context how migrant families from Greek Macedonia have negotiated more complex intergenerational notions of home, identity and (dis)connection to

place. This section provides a brief review of literature that encompasses post-war migration to Australia. I then briefly examine emerging research on diasporic Greek identity in other settings, with a focus on Canada.

Greeks have arrived in Australia since the early nineteenth century, but it was the 1952 agreement between the Greek and Australian governments on assisted passage for Greek migrants through the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) that was the catalyst to open up significant migration from Greece to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s (Gilchrist 2001, Tsounis 1974:24, Michael and Gonis 2016:4-5). The development of a post-war immigration program meant that agreements were signed between Australia and several European countries to facilitate migration (Tamis 2005:47), and subsequently these migrant flows came to be the focus of a developing history of migration to Australia. Literature about the migration of Greeks to Australia only began to emerge in the 1970s and, broadly speaking, it is possible to identify a number of clear phases and genres within this work.

Early literature examining Greek migration was initially the focus of Australian government and community-based studies in the 1970s. Studies at the local, state and federal levels of government tended to focus on the demographics and effects of settlement and integration of Greek migrants (Price 1963, 1975; Tsounis 1974; Cox 1974). Themes such as the identification of problems regarding settlement and the educational needs of Greek children at school were a particular focus of this type of literature. Aspects of family and home life were mainly discussed by way of background to highlight the difficulties associated with bilingualism and to identity other educational issues (Clarke 1973; Isaacs 1976, 1981; Dymiotis 1983). The emphasis on education continued into the 1980s in the context of the policies and politics of multiculturalism as well as the consideration of the needs of ageing Greek migrants and the provision of appropriate services for the Greek Australian community (Young et al 1983; Brewer 1987; Smolicz 1983). Often highlighted were the conflicts between competing values, such as that between the collectivist nature of many Greek families in contrast to the more individualistic family patterns generally found among Anglo-Australians, resulting in the reconsideration of Greek cultural values as ‘a question of survival in multicultural Australia’ (Smolicz 1983).

These earlier studies were followed in the later 1980s and early 1990s by the emergence of more reflective academic literature that began to provide a social and historical account of aspects of Greek arrival and settlement in Australia (Bottomley 1979, 1992; Tsounis 1984,

1993). During this period there was continued interest in the educational experiences of Greek migrant children. In addition, oral history projects and social histories began to focus in particular on the experiences of women. Such works often focused on working life and what could by this time be identified as the 'Greek-Australian experience' (for example, Australian Greek Welfare Society (AGWS) 1996; Donkin 1983; Kunek 1988). Often local or community-based, these studies reflected the fact that many migrants had settled in the inner suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne. As many migrants were not literate in written English, the use of oral histories was crucial to capture the migrant experience. Stories narrated often reflected the benefits that migration offered despite difficulties, and were mainly based on an individual's account of the settlement process (for example, *For A Better Life We Came: Photographs and Memories of 16 Greek and Italian Migrants* 1985 commissioned by the Brunswick City Council Library).

Similar oral history projects continued in the 1990s and perhaps the most notable was the development of the Greek-Australian Oral History and Folklife Project collection in The National Library of Australia (1999). The Collection contained accounts of children's folklore and recordings of Greek music and a small collection of life history interviews with Greek Australians. With an ageing Greek born population in Australia, the efforts to document life stories have become more pressing. In 2016, the University of New South Wales (UNSW) and the State Library of New South Wales announced the creation of the 'Greek Australian Archive' that focuses specifically on Greeks in Sydney to cover the history of organisations, leaders, economic history and cultural attainments as well as the history of the 'average Greek' in New South Wales (UNSW 2016). In Melbourne, the 'Dardalis Archives of the Hellenic Diaspora' was established in 1997 to house a variety of material related to Greek Australians, but this archive was closed in 2008 with current assessment of the archives in progress (La Trobe University Library 2017).

Greek Australian literature emerged more prominently from 1970 when increasing numbers of migrants from the 1950s and 1960s were psychologically ready to write about their experiences of hardship, life away from home and dual existences (Castan 1988:96). Other writing began to explore the struggles of Greek Australians and whether they felt marginalised within a multicultural society and to explore more fully themes of loss of the homeland, particularly through the use of poetry (for example, Tsaloumas; Kalamaras; Kefala). Yet a fuller examination of what migration has meant in terms of the separation of traditional networks of

family and the loss of home as an outcome of war remains a gap in the literature about Greek Australians. Rather, literature tended to focus on the creation of an idealized Greek home in Australia with continued links to the homeland. Key literature in this genre was predominantly by those of Greek descent and often presented a homogenous Greek Australian community. For example, *The Greeks in Australia – A Home Away from Home* (Papageorgopoulos 1981) described how migrants both recreated their corner of Greece in Australia and maintained their connection with 'home' to nullify the geographic distance between Greek and Australia. Writing in this vein continued into the 1990s, with the addition of several larger historical surveys of the Greeks in Australia. Notable among these have been the three-volume collection *Australians and Greeks* (1995-2004) by former Australian Ambassador to Greece Hugh Gilchrist. Gilchrist provided an excellent analysis of historical relations between Greece and Australia, but the volumes stop short of considering the effects of post-war migration and the reconstitution of Greek family life in Australia. The third volume by Gilchrist ended with the establishment of Greece's permanent diplomatic mission in Australia in the 1950s.

More pertinent to understandings of Greek migrant community life has been the works of Tamis and Doumanis. Tamis (1990, 1994, 2015) has also been the key historian of the migration and the settlement of Greek Macedonians to Australia, and I discuss this further below. Tamis authored several volumes on broad aspects of Greek life and culture in Australia, such as *The History of Greeks in Australia* (1997), *The Greek Press in Australia* (2001) and *The Greeks in Australia* (2005). Focusing on broader social and community life and identifying the Greek pathway 'from migrant to citizens', several of these volumes are aimed at a wider non-academic audience and focus on the achievements and maintenance of identity of the first generation, rather than the developing sense of identity among later generations. Aiming to provide a broad picture, Tamis has mainly documented male stories rather than the patterns of Greek Australian family development and identification. In considering the position of Greeks in Australia within the diaspora, Doumanis (1999:76) highlighted how family and kin often represent the core of Greek Australian social life and remain at the cornerstone of migrant life, describing characteristics 'typical' (in the 1990s) of promoting social mobility through education. Doumanis argued that a conscious refusal to accept a 'diluted' Greek identity was crucial, and gave the example of the Macedonian conflict in the 1990s as mobilising unlikely alliances in the Greek community – although there were tensions in the Greek Macedonian community that first emerged in the 1950s (Doumanis 1999:80). Both Tamis and Doumanis

present a homogenous Greek Australian community rather than more complex and diverse notions of belonging.

A developing, and changing, sense of Greek Australian identity has been one focus of studies emerging since the 1990s, often in the investigation of aspects of cultural history, representation, language and literature. Some of these works began to emerge in the late 1980s through the exploration of prose, poetry and drama, and alongside interviews, an exploration of hyphenated and hybridized Greek identities began to complicate the picture of migration and sense of home and belonging in the Greek Australian context. Thus while much of the earlier Australian literature revealed a preoccupation with a rather narrowly conceived sense of 'Greekness' and home – largely within the context of understanding the development of a particular ethnic or national consciousness among migrants – works in the 1990s began to complicate the picture as subsequent generations began to question this narrow sense of home, identity and belonging. Alongside emerging fictional accounts, such as *Between Two Worlds* (Giles 1981) and *Loaded* (Tsiolkas 1995), the work of social and cultural anthropologists began to explore the rich resources of Greek artistic work and to produce more complex ethnographies of Greek migration (Bottomley 1992; Nickas 1992, 2006).

Another development in Australian migration studies in the 1990s moved to examine questions of second and third generation identity, including the yearning to return 'home' and also identification of hybridized and 'in-between' Australian identities (Baldassar 2001; Butcher and Thomas 2003, 2006). The specific focus on Greek Australian identities was rare and largely emerged through art or literary-related projects in this context, rather than historical or sociological literature. Alexakis and Janiszewski, for example, embarked on these themes in their project *In Their Own Image: Greek Australians* (1998) to examine identity and belonging. The project intended to supplement the notable absence of collected material on the Greek Australian experience, as evidenced within museums and archival collections around the country. Whilst the collection provided a diverse range of 'Greek-Australian' faces, the focus was on prominent people within academia, sport, agriculture, mining and other industries. In 2013, Alexakis and Janiszewski collaborated with the Hellenic Museum in Melbourne to produce *Antipodean Odyssey: Hellenic Settlement in Australia,* an audio-visual exhibition that detailed a timeline of Greek settlement in Australia from the early 1800s to the present. It outlined three broad waves of migration from Greece: the 'initial ripples' of 1810-1850; the

‘first wave’ of 1850-1880; the ‘tide rises’ of 1880-1950s; and ‘the flood’ of the 1950s to the present (Hellenic Museum 2017).

It was the debate about the dilution and disappearance of generational Greek migrant identity that often framed research in the 1990s. Studies began to focus on the erosion of traditional family ties and cultural values to highlight the tensions between the first and second generations, the loss of the Greek language and an erosion of Greek cultural institutions (Tsolidis; Doumanis; Gavaki; Chimbos). Research by Kallithea Bellou (1993:225-235) on identity and differences between first and second-generation Greeks in Australia suggested that the perception by the first generation was that Greekness was in danger of disappearing in the second generation. In terms of the second generation, Bellou (1993) found narratives were diverse in terms of identity, with multiple cultural reference points and acceptance of some traditions such as language, dancing, traditional weddings and name days and refusal of others (such as *proxeneio* or fixed marriages). The maintenance of close family ties, respect for parents and values were seen as important factors that distinguished Greek Australians from Anglo-Australians, but some also noted a move away from the collective nature of the traditional Greek family whereby both men and women placed an emphasis on greater individual freedom and individualism (Bellou 1993:234). Nevertheless many have continued to underline the fact that family ties have been considered important for the maintenance of Greek identity (Doumanis 1999:78, Gavaki 1999:7), and subsequent literature on second-generation Greek Australians has provided more complex understandings of identity that has been shaped through ongoing engagement with both family and the Greek homeland (Chryssanthopoulou 2009a, b; Dawson 2008; Giorgas 2008).

Alongside increased Greek migrant adaption to Australian life, literature has also moved from a focus on the initial outcomes of migration on the community to historicizing the picture of Greek migration. There has been a particular historical focus on the contribution that Greek migrants and their subsequent generations have made and continue to make to the community (for example, *Odysseus in the Golden West: Greek Migration, Settlement and Adaptation in Western Australia Since 1947*, Yiannakis 2009). Two areas identified as not receiving sufficient attention include the role of women within family settlement, and ongoing attachment to ethno-regionality. Yiannakis noted the important role of women in the settlement and adaption process, but also that it has ‘often been understated, yet it has been crucial to economic survival and cultural maintenance’ (Yiannakis 2009:383). Yiannakis (2009:245) also

identified that eradicating regional differences and loyalties has not been easy in the experience of Greek migrants, particularly the Castellorizian community in Western Australia, in contrast to the 'projected and packaged Greeks as a single, united national and cultural identity.' In the longitudinal study of Greece-born women in Australia between 1964-2007 titled *Black Night, White Day*, Greek women reflected on their reasons for leaving their families and their subsequent settlement in Australia, with findings highlighting their contribution to the 'formation of families, community and more broadly, to Australia' (Appleyard, Amera and Yiannakis 2015).

A growing area of literature has been the writing of memoirs by Greek Australians, particularly by the children of migrants (the second generation). Themes often reflect the difficulties of growing up 'in between' Greek and Australian culture, with only gradual acceptance of migrant roots in later years. Two contrasting memoirs from writers who migrated from Macedonia provide accounts of settlement in Australia, using family history to detail pre-migration stories. *Call Me Emilios* (Kyrou 2012) is a detailed account of the early childhood of Supreme Court of Victoria Justice Emilios Kyrou, his family life in Australia and his reconciliation with his previously rejected Greek cultural identity. The narrative reflects the traditional masculine Greek migrant story of hard work and success in order to attain a 'better life' (Warren in Kyrou 2012:iii). Yet there is emphasis on the strong bonds to family and village networks created in Australia, particularly the generational chain of parents, grandparents and developing ties to subsequent younger generations – a phenomenon that has tended to characterise Greek Macedonian settlement.

In contrast, the memoir by Rizidis (2012) *This is Our Promised Land* describes the cultural conflict, hardship and gendered expectations experienced from a woman's perspective in Greece and Australia. Rizidis shares her experience growing up in Florina where she was born in 1947 and the subsequent effect of migration when her family moved to Australia in 1954. Her family life was changed forever by the Greek and Turkish population exchanges in 1923 when the family was relocated to Florina where they experienced poverty with the loss of their fortune and an adaptation from more liberal values to the harsh nature of village life, defined roles and hierarchical family structure including power. Rizidis wrote from the perspective of being an outsider to Greek Macedonian concepts of both family and place in Florina in terms of her refugee status. The memoir depicts migrant life in Melbourne and, like Kyrou's account, places family at the core of the experience, particularly the hard work faced by all members of

the family in their striving for a better life. Contrastingly, Rizidis focuses on the separation of family members between Greece and Australia. The account provides a woman's perspective of the life of migrant families from Florina and of women's struggle to accommodate the traditional roles expected by the traditional Greek family in the context of an Australia setting.

Most recently, Damousi (2015:53) has considered the impact and memory of war on the adjustment of Australia's Greek migrants, illuminating how 'best forgotten' pre-migration war stories could reframe the Australian national narrative about Greek migration. Damousi addresses the transmission of stories to second-generation family members with a focus on war memories, and identifies this as a gap in the history of second-generation Australians (Damousi 2015:201). Damousi also highlights the gap in Greek migration literature in terms of how the impact and memory of war may affect adjustment in the host country (Damousi 2015:3). I build on this research to consider how traumatic pasts and the memories of war from the perspective of collective family memory may shape notions of belonging to the homeland, particularly into the third generation.

In summary, Greek Australian migration historiography has traditionally examined government immigration and settlement policy, workplace inequality and the politics of assimilation and identity (Damousi 2015:3). In this context, literature regarding Greek migration to Australia has measured the assimilation of the Greek family in Australia in terms of whether the children of migrants adopted an Australian identity and how they negotiated changing social values. Overall, the public narrative about post-war Greek migration to Australia has been characterised as a modest success story based on building capital and raising family (Doumanis 1999:70). Since the 1990s, however, the growing trend in migrant research has been to consider the role of life stories and memory in shaping migration experiences and notions of belonging. In this context, I argue that a fuller account of the transmission of family migration stories from a contested place is needed, noting particularly how these transmitted stories shape ethno-regional belonging and identification across generations.

Developing a more complex understanding of Greek Australian Regional identities

Given these developments, and the visibility in some quarters of Greek cultural life in Australia, it is perhaps surprising that a fuller understanding of the emphasis on regionality in the transmission of identity in Greek Australian families has not emerged. Nevertheless, some research in this area related to Greek Macedonians from Florina was provided as early as 1966.

The early study by Mapstone (1966) of migrants from Florina, who were orchardists in the rural area of Shepparton in Victoria, provided an account of assimilation to Australian culture through an analysis of family, identity and agricultural setting. Mapstone (1966) argues that although the settlers regarded themselves as Macedonians or Greek Macedonians, and were counted as Greeks in Australian migration statistics and censuses, the Greeks in Greece and elsewhere regarded them as distinct, although they were born in the Greek region of Macedonia. Mapstone describes how Price (1963:323) highlighted the attitude by southern and island Greeks in Australia and Toronto, Canada specifically denigrated even the most 'pro-Greek settlers' from Florina and Kastoria as 'unpleasant creatures...at best the descendants of those ancient Macedonians whom they had never really admitted to be true Hellenes'. Mapstone notes that the issue of identity split the community in Shepparton when a Macedonian national tune was played at a dance and from that time, the two factions held separate dances (Mapstone 1966:210). As noted by Price, family loyalties, regional differences in language, as well as district and regional customs played a decisive role in the way that family and village chains reacted to assimilation (Price 1963:323). In his account of *Greeks in Australia*, Price (1975:5) argued that time approximately 7,000 Slav-speaking Macedonians from northwestern Greece (including Florina and Kastoria) could 'safely be removed' from the ethnic Greek category, despite noting also that they could sometimes consider themselves to be Greek.

In 1978, further understanding of Greek families in Australia was provided by researcher Maria Hill (nee Costdopoulos) who examined three early generations of migrants from the Ionian island of Kythera, and the Dodecanese island of Castellorizo, in her Honours thesis 'Images of the Greek Family in Australia 1900s to 1970s'. Using oral history, Hill's study documented how early Kytherian and Castellorizian migrants came as 'young men to Australia to flee political persecution, starvation and to possibly find adventure'. The research found that all but the earliest arrivals encountered an organized Greek community, attained through the process of chain migration within families, with early settlers laying the foundation of 'Greekness' in the second generation. The third generation also retained some contact with Greek culture but the study concluded that changes between generations in regard to education, career, and morality were not due to a movement away from the core of Greek culture, but rather as a result of class changes in the third generation. This study was concerned centrally with how aspects of traditional Greek family life changed in relation to values that were reflected in Australia at

the time relating to urbanization and class, and also examined families in the context of pre-Second World War migration.

More influential in terms of the conceptual basis of work undertaken in my thesis has been the research produced by Chryssanthopoulou, which also explored these same Greek islander ethno-regional groups from the perspective of the Castellorizians of Perth and the Kytherians of Sydney. Chryssanthopoulou examined the importance of the concept of 'ethno-region' in Greek-Australian ethnicity, and in particular the role that gender played in structuring these two Greek-Australian ethno-regional communities. Chryssanthopoulou (2009a:202) defined ethno-regional identity for Greek-Australians as a level of ethnic identification below that of national identity where an individual and/or collective sense of identity and belonging derives from the region that they themselves or their families originate. Ethno-regional bonds were seen as crucial to the constitution of Greek ethnicity and often the transmission of ethnic identity takes place an exchange between mothers and children (Chryssanthopolou 2009a:213). Her research also found that contemporary diasporic phenomena, such as websites by the Kytherian community (for example, *Kythera-family.net* website: http://www.kythera-family.net/en) demonstrate that globalization has enhanced, rather than diminished, the persistence of ethno-regional communities and identities and the capacity to preserve heritage (Chryssanthopolou 2009a:199).

A further paper by Chryssanthopoulou (2009b) examined the degree of adaptation of the Castellorizians of Perth, Western Australia, and the ongoing engagement with the Greek homeland. The research was framed around the 'return' of the second and third generations to Castellorizo and how family transmitted Castellorizian heritage from one generation to another through the immersion in Greek community life in Perth including participation in the Orthodox Church, upholding Greek values and the transmission of the homeland from their parents and grandparents who held strong emotional bonds with place. There are parallels with my own research approach in terms of the focus on region and family, but Chryssanthopoulou's findings indicated that there has been increasing engagement with Castellorizo and the Greek homeland due to the strong financial and social bonds that existed on the island and in diaspora communities in Asia Minor before large scale migration took place to Australia. In addition, emotional bonds with the ancestral island cultural practices were maintained and circulated within the family. Although few close relatives remained on Castellorizo, the return to the

island by second and third generations has been characterised by claiming and restoring ancestral property, rather than a return to family.

This attention to regional identities has highlighted the importance of understanding the broader complexities of Greek family formation, especially in relation to Greek Macedonians. *The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia* (Tamis 1994) examined the trends of immigration and settlement of 'Macedonian Greeks' in Australia since the 1900s, but was limited in scope with reference to identity and is not directly concerned with the issue of nationalism or ethnicity in Australia. Although Tamis provided updated literature in *Macedonian Hellenes in Oceania* (2015) to include a brief account of migration following the Greek financial crisis of 2007, it presented the history of Greek Macedonians in Australia in terms of their contribution to Australian cultural life and the development of associations. The history detailed the exodus of Macedonians before and after its liberation, before focusing on the settlement of Greek Macedonians in the main states of Australia from 1829 until 2014. Notable persons who have contributed to Australian society and who have been patrons of Hellenism remain the focus, rather than an examination of the experience of family. Although conflicts of identity are discussed, these are clearly viewed from the Greek position to the extent that Tamis frames any distinction of Macedonian consciousness that is not linked to Hellenism as 'selective and discriminatory narratives' aimed at inspiring 'hatred and agitation' among the ethnic communities in Australia (Tamis 2015:533). Ultimately the history portrayed by Tamis continues to reinforce transnational links to the Greek homeland.

In terms of the emergence of the Greek Macedonians as a distinctive group, Danforth's anthropological study in the 1990s began to explore Macedonian identity and how it applied to the diaspora in Australia. Danforth identified the existence of a Greek-Macedonian as a sub-category of the Greek national identity, regarded as a 'regional' or 'ethnic' identity (Danforth 1995). His study in Melbourne in the 1990s posed the question: 'How can a woman give birth to one Greek and one Macedonian?' (Danforth 1995:222, 2000). This work explored conflicting claims to Macedonian identity in Australia and how these have related to the construction of national identity in Northern Greece. Danforth's research on the construction of identity from a regional perspective underlined the need to be attentive to the examination of identity within families from Florina. Yet his studies were concluded at the height of the Macedonian Conflict during the 1990s and were not considered from the wider perspective of the extended intergenerational family.

Whilst Tamis described the immigration and settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia with limited reference to identity, there have been separate studies on Macedonians in Australia by Hill (1989). Hill's study focused on Macedonians as a distinct group and he outlined settlement patterns, providing examples of individual and family experiences in the context of migration, as well social and cultural life at the height of the community leading to the end of the 1980s. Hill noted that the social and cultural life of the Macedonian community was 'characterised by extreme fragmentation', with the outcome that many organised their social life on the 'village as a unit recreated in Australia' due to chain migration and the grouping of certain villages in certain suburbs of Melbourne (Hill 1989:78). For example, villages from one area such as the 'United Villages Association' retained their organisational autonomy and formed co-operative regional groupings (Hill 1989:78). In contrast, Danforth examined the Macedonian community from a transnational perspective. However, Tamis characterised the community from a Greek regional perspective and wrote:

> The most important aspect of the Macedonian Greek settlement was that, although it retained its dynamic aspects in that the character of the settlement changed with the passage of time, its structure remained intact. The immigration patterns for the settlers from other regions of Greece remained dynamic, the districts of origin constantly changing…the intact nature of the settlement resulted in the transplantation of whole villages from the Kastoria and Florina regions to Australia and Canada (Tamis 1994:350).

More nuanced understandings of the experiences of families who came from the Macedonian region of Greece to Australia are limited and very few consider offer understandings of the migration experience in the words of the migrants themselves and how migration has been remembered through the family.

DIASPORIC GREEK IDENTITY IN OTHER SETTINGS

In concluding this literature review, I turn briefly to consider the construction of Greek identity in settings outside Australia with a focus on North America. In addition to Australia, the United States and Canada were the main destinations for Greek Macedonian workers and migrants in both an earlier migration wave between the 1880s and 1920s, and later in the 1960s (Radis 1989:83). In Chapter Two I examine the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in Canada more fully, and later in the thesis I consider second generation belonging through the idea of family in a comparative discussion of Australian and Canadian second-generation participants in my own research. A fuller account of family networks who settled in different global locations remains an area in need of further examination in Greek diasporic studies, but an Australian and Canadian comparison has been useful in this thesis.

Although it does not draw on transnational comparisons of Greek diasporic communities, one study that considered the global history of the Greek diaspora has been *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century* edited by Clogg (1999). At its core was the question of Greek identity as an issue facing all diasporas: 'how does one define a Greek, particularly a third-[generation] or even fourth-generation Greek of the diaspora?' (Clogg 1999:15). Within this collection of essays edited by Clogg (1999), Chimbos offered a historical and sociological perspective of the Greeks in Canada. The essay outlines an overall migration experience that is similar to Greek Australian migrants, with sponsorship of family members and growing discussion of what Greek identity has meant from one generation to the next (Chimbos 1999). Chimbos concluded that Greek identity and its meaning has been changing from one generation to another. Overall, the Greek Canadian community was portrayed as one that was upwardly mobile and had a made a notable socioeconomic contribution to the growth of Canada yet was still concerned with the struggle to maintain Greek cultural identity in Canada (Chimbos 1999:87). The intra-ethnic conflict and power struggle between various interest groups was noted, with a decrease in Greek ethnic identity and consciousness in the second generation (Chimbos 1999:94). In Canada, Chimbos underlined signifiers of Greek identity have tended to focus on retention of the Greek language and continuity of transnational links with the homeland.

The literature on Greek intergenerational identity in Australia is somewhat limited, but studies of second-generation Greek experience with a specific focus on return visits to Greece and the authenticity of Greek identity is perhaps more fully developed in North America. The experiences of Greeks in Canada and in the United States offer opportunities for contrast and comparison with Australian experiences of migration. The examination of Greek identity in the context of a transnational and globalised world, with increased travel and ease of communication as well as developing on-line and new media, offers new opportunities for the development and performance of Greek identity within transnational family contexts. Research by Panagakos (2004) has considered Greek-Canadian transnational families and how they have forged a 'recycled odyssey' that may create tensions for women in terms of ethnic and gender identification. Papayiannis (2011:81) has highlighted how second-generation Greek Canadian women reimagined and negotiated their identity through family stories as a way to connect to a Greek 'homeland'.

Research on generational Greek identity in the United States has been the focus of cultural geographers Christou and King (2008, 2010, 2014). The main focus of Christou's research (2006) has been on second-generation Americans who return 'home' to Greece through the examination of life story narratives. Christou and King (2010) further describe how the Greek-American experience of migration displayed a strong loyalty to their homeland and culture: 'for the first generations, preservation of the ethnic heritage remains undeniably linked to the spiritual well-being of the family.' Other research on subsequent generations has been considering how new globalised media forms are being embraced, with Panagakos (2003) arguing that these technologies are creating new diasporic identities and stronger links to the ethnic homeland. Yet there has been little focus on how links to the homeland have been disrupted, particularly in the context of conflict, war, contested identity and memories within the family. Rather, research has been narrowly concerned with the authenticity of living a Greek life in the diaspora and maintenance of Greek traditions. Thus my research can both draw from and add to this literature.

Given the gaps in the literature identified above, and the intention of this thesis to document how Greek Macedonian migrants and their descendants narrate and transmit stories about the experiences of migration, interviews with Greek Macedonian migrant families provide the key primary sources for this thesis. By examining the production of stories during oral history interviews, and using the framework of family and region, my thesis asks three inter-related questions. How do Greek Macedonian migrant families view themselves culturally? What importance does the telling of the family narrative play in cultural transmission and identity formation? How do second and third generation migrant children view their cultural identity? I also contrast Australian experiences in the second generation with stories from a smaller sample of second-generation family members whose parents migrated to Toronto in Canada. This research seeks to understand how migration stories shape notions of belonging when the family migrates from a contested place.

APPROACH, METHODS AND SOURCES

As outlined above, my collective family story was the catalyst to examine more closely gaps in the literature and particularly the changes in generational experiences among Greek Macedonian migrant families – an area insufficiently discussed, analysed or even narrated in existing studies. Review of the field of Greek migration to Australia has led me to the conclusion that, in the necessary and understandable rush and desire to explain migrant

adaptation and integration, important elements of the Greek Macedonian migration story have been missed, including more personal and intimate accounts of what it meant to uproot and transport a family and sense of home, as well as the longer term implications of migration in terms of the production and articulation of identity in the second and third generations. These elements of personal experience, memory and family narrative have been therefore crucial to this thesis. Greek family migration stories from the region of Florina have not been thoroughly explored in contemporary migrant literature and this thesis aims to address this silence in an Australian context: to consider how the stories that are remembered and experienced by subsequent generations narrate complex and contested concepts of home and identity. Further, while existing literature has highlighted the centrality of family to the transmission of Greek culture, values and traditions, few writings have explored the development of Greek Macedonian families in Australia from an intergenerational ethno-regional perspective or provided transnational family comparisons.

I commenced my research with the hope of documenting stories about the collective experience of family migration to a number of countries. In the post-Second World War period, members of my extended family migrated from villages in Florina in the Macedonian region of Greece to Australia, Canada, the United States and Germany. With an initial desire to include participants across all these countries, a variety of factors ultimately narrowed the scope. I was able to develop strong participation among extended family and friendship networks (considered to be kin) in Melbourne, Australia. I also developed ongoing relationships with family members in Canada over several visits to Toronto and this formed a smaller group of participants focused primarily on second-generation experiences (as family members in the third generation were predominantly children under the age of ten). I explored opportunities to conduct research in the United States, but the small family cohort there limited my research; and in Germany the additional barrier of language also limited opportunities.

In total, I interviewed 38 participants (I invited a further 6 people who either declined to participate, or were not able to participate in the interviews due to illness or other factors). I limited interviews with third-generation participants to those over 18 years of age, but in two cases undertook a shorter interview with the child's parent present. The interview format involved a semi-structured set of open-ended questions. I conducted interviews in English as I am not proficient in speaking Greek, although I have a good comprehension of the language when spoken to me. A family member fluent in Greek or Macedonian was present during

interviews to clarify the intent of any questions. Answers were verbally translated back in English to the participant and family member to confirm my comprehension. In terms of editing transcripts, I used the approach described in *Blended Voices: Crafting a Narrative from Oral History Interviews* (Jones 2004), which outlines key principles to use in editing oral history migrant stories.

Research participants in the first generation were asked to describe their experience migrating to Australia, what they remember of their homeland, what life was like as a new migrant, how they coped with life in Australia, the importance of family and identity and their idea of home. Second and third-generation participants were asked to describe what they remember about their family migration story, what life is like living between two cultures and how they perceive their cultural identity. For Canadian participants, I conducted interviews via Facebook Video Call or Skype. The set of interview questions for Australian participants was repeated for second-generation Canadian participants with some additional questions specific to Canada. I also had the opportunity to ask targeted questions to a first and third-generation Greek Canadian who were present during the interview with the second-generation family member. Whilst the majority of those invited to participate were very happy to contribute to this study, it was not possible or feasible to interview every member of our family due to its size, breakdown in some family connections, language barrier and illness. In some cases, a small number of invited family members declined to directly participate. For further details about individual participants, refer Appendix – 'About Participants'.

A further clarification of my use of the term family is necessary. In defining 'family', I refer to an extended family in the traditional Greek sense of its interconnected networks through blood, marriage, *koumbarri* (the religious sponsorship of a couple and their children by being the best man/maid of honour/godparents) and close friendships. The kinship terms used by participants to describe their grandparents include the Greek words *'yiayia'* (grandmother) and *'pappou'* (grandfather) and the Macedonian words *'baba'* (grandmother) and *'dede'* (grandfather). The choice in use of these terms was generally shaped by how the grandparent self-identified. It was difficult to obtain a wider pool of first-generation participants, particularly women, and when trying to identify people to recruit, the advice of relatives was often that women did not 'know anything', and as such that their viewpoints were of little value. This observation of oral history research and interviewing of Greek women has been highlighted by Dounis (1993:124) who wrote that 'the picture that emerges is not that Greek women haven't been active, but their

type of activity has never been seen as carrying the necessary significance to merit retelling'. In some cases, family members did not wish to take part in interviews as they were not ready to talk about their experiences, or did not believe they had enough of a story to tell or that they knew enough to speak with authority.

Thus my research documents the production of stories during interviews from people who are connected to each other through kinship, marriage and friendship. Following many other scholars, I believe this use of personal and family stories greatly enriches our understanding of migration (Hammerton and Thomson 2005:9). My approach has been to focus on the meanings developed by a group of families that provide significant narratives about the migration experience. I have been influenced by Thomson (1999:28) who outlined how personal testimony can reveal the complexity of factors, influences and negotiations that take place within families and networks that contribute to migration and shape the experience at every stage. Thomson (1999:28) described how 'transplanted' family histories can reveal more complex and culturally specific understandings of the motivations of migration and questions of identity, including subtleties in the texture of family life, connections, passage of time, the lives of ethnic women, and the forces of change.

My research has been informed, therefore, by questions about how family members narrate and transmit stories across generations. I also contextualised the stories narrated by the first, second and third generation within the role of kinship. In this respect, the nature of the genealogical role has been the most appropriate construct to explore perceptions, belonging and change in Greek Macedonian families. In his seminal essay on 'Generation as a Sociological Problem', Kertzer (1983:12) offered four categories to describe different concepts of generation that related to kinship, cohort, life stage and historical period with the ability to simultaneously use more than one category at a time. I do acknowledge that the concept of generations can be problematic (Foster 2013; Kertzer 1983; Mannheim 1970; Rumbaut 2004), but I determined that kinship situated within a historical context was the best method to frame the research. I analyse the production of stories through the genealogical roles of grandparents (first generation), children (second generation) and grandchildren (third generation) within family groups and their experience within generations as a 'socio-historical dynamic' (Foster 2013:200). The most conceptually clear of all generational formations was that of direct lineage where family 'genealogical generations' marks out levels of kinship (Kertzer 1983).

More broadly, I adopt oral history as a particularly useful technique in studying migration as it recognizes the complex inter-connections between migration and the formation and development of migrant communities and ethnic identities (Thomson 1999). It can also provide a valuable addition to the written or archival record; and with ageing family members, there was a pressing need to capture their migration stories. This need became more urgent as three of the first-generation members of my family (two aunts and an uncle in Australia) passed away in the first year of my research and I was unable to directly document their stories (although aspects of their migration experiences emerged in the stories of their children and grandchildren). It also proved difficult to obtain documentation about the first generation from the National Archives of Australia as many of the family's immigration and naturalisation records were not available to access. Further, the various spellings and misspellings of surnames meant that searching the National Archives was often difficult, with some specific records hard or impossible to locate.

Thus while there are limitations with the use of the oral history related to issues of memory loss, accuracy, objectivity and ethical responsibilities (Abrams 2014; Hamilton 1994), personal accounts remain a unique and often the only way to access migrant experiences (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004). Moreover, although each family story can be unique, universal themes and stories evolve: 'personal pasts link up' (Stewart 2008:273) and indeed a sense of historical continuity can be seen as a crucial factor in the establishment of personal identity, generated from a variety of factors such as memory, belief, imagination or narrative. Research in the field of memory studies broadly covers the dynamics of individual memory, social groups, national remembrance and transnational memory and recent research is now beginning to consider the place of family and family memories and how large-scale formations of memory can be re-focused through the lens of small-scale family memories (Erll 2011:303). I have been influenced by the work of Erll who argued that family intergenerational memory is constituted through ongoing social interaction and communication between children, parents and grandchildren and through recall of the family's past, usually via oral stories told, so those who did not experience past events can also share a 'living memory' (Erll 2011:306). Family memories can become distorted of course, but they can also condense images that sum up long processes (Halbwachs 1992). Family memories can also forge a link between individual memory and larger formations of collective memory (Erll 2011:308). More recently, the field of memory studies has moved towards comparative and transnational perspectives which also

has repercussions for the study of family memory and the interaction between local and global (Erll 2011:315).

In conclusion, oral history has been one of the recognized and growing research methods in family and community history (Finnegan 2006). Whilst oral histories can be used to explore migrant mentalities and their shifts over time, there have remained gaps in the shape, interactions and dynamics of transnational families and households (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004: 228). Most migration histories in Australia have previously focused on migration policies and attitudes to migration, documented from the 'outside' (Thomson 1999). Yet the opportunity to document the intergenerational migrant narrative from the 'inside' in this case, the Greek Macedonian family, has had comparatively little attention. I do refer to interviews in my research as 'participants'. This acknowledges both their position as people known to me through networks of kinship and as people who are participating in the oral history study. Their stories collectively form part of my own personal family story. As many of the research participants are my own family members, it is important to note the limitations of this research.

Using my own family history as a starting point for the study necessarily limits the scope, including how individuals represent their memories (in terms of what is included, what is emphasized and what is excluded; see also Burrell 2006:16; Kikumura 1998:140). As an insider I bring my own biases and initial understandings to the research but I countered this by developing an interview style where stories had the space to be organically narrated, from an open-ended set of questions. I also had the responsibility to represent the responses from participants to authentically reflect their own stories. Yet being an insider in the family also meant that I was trusted to discuss the complexity of Greek Macedonian identity. Whilst the pros and cons of the insider/outsider dynamic have been extensively debated in oral history methodology, there are questions of whether an outsider can fully capture the meaning of village and regional histories (Wieder 2004:25). Thus, I came to understand that a nuanced, thorough and robust use of oral history would help in the analysis of how these stories were narrated and how the placement of stories within their historical context gave the stories greater meaning. In this regard, the work of oral historian Portelli has been influential. Indeed, it was the way in which participants narrated their stories and what they chose to narrate that gave great depth to the meaning of family, home and identity in the context of Greek Macedonian migration.

Emerging powerfully from stories of hardship was a related theme of the enduring power of family. This figured particularly strongly in second generation narratives that anchored on the importance of the family itself, rather than the yearning for place. Not surprisingly, the metaphors of trees, roots and soil have often been used in literature to describe the migrant's journey of leaving one place for another, and I was struck by the number of times that memories of trees and gardens of grandparents were recalled in the narratives of my participants. Cohen (2008:xiv) has noted that migration scholars have increasingly used gardening terms such as 'uprooting', 'transplanting', 'scattering' and 'hybridity' to describe the discourse of diaspora. I extend upon this idea as I argue ultimately that the idea of family has replaced the idea of soil, or the Greek homeland, for families from Florina due to the historically contested nature of the region that limited transmission of an attachment to place. Rather, through the stories narrated, the family came to represent the place where individuals put down roots. Thus the traumatic memory of the homeland has been replaced by the memory of family.

Turning to the title of this thesis, throughout this research I asked other members of my family whether they had heard about the pear tree, thus probing other stories about ideas of family, home and identity. In the process, I have come to understand that the narration of the meaning of the pear tree – and other key signifiers of identity – can change in the telling and the reception of these stories across generations. In this respect, I have been influenced by the work of Ang and her experience of living 'in-between' the East and the West, and her call to consider the search for home as an ongoing process that can be a contested project with uncertain outcomes (Ang 2001). Ang has described the process of forming diasporic communities as akin to an organic 'living tree':

> A living tree grows and changes over time; it constantly develops new branches and stems that shoot outward, in different directions, from the solid core of the tree trunk, which in turn feeds itself on an invisible but life-sustaining set of roots. Without roots, there would be no life, no new leaves. The metaphor of the living tree dramatically imparts the ultimate existential dependence of the periphery on the centre, the diaspora on the homeland. Furthermore, what this metaphor emphasizes is continuity over discontinuity: in the end, it all flows back to the roots (Ang 2001:44).

Thus in the context of Greek Macedonian migration, the homeland has been replaced by the idea of family linked by multiple global locations. And what has clearly become important, as Portelli has suggested, is not just the memory and the tale but also the remembering and the telling (Portelli 2003:14).

The pear tree became an apt metaphor to organise material within my thesis – from seeds, soil and roots, to the family branches of the family tree bearing fruit. At one level this thesis is about change within family trees and what happens to the family when members become separated through the event of migration. At another level, the planting of the pear tree also provided a historical marker to examine the processes of identity construction across space and time. Based on oral stories, the planting of the pear tree at the decline of the Ottoman Empire, provides one starting point for understanding the historical construction of identity, as well as symbolically marking the commencement of the 'last exodus' of mass migration from Greece that commenced from the 1890s in three waves. Indeed, my own great-grandfather left soon after he planted the pear tree in 1901 for America, returning home to Florina after twenty years. A complex tale of distinct modes of identification emerges, but they exist as linked narratives. Finally, the use of trees as a metaphor in migration narratives also offers the opportunity to consider wider themes of change in the context of the diaspora - the 'scattered seeds' of Greek Macedonian migrant families and the construction of identity in new settings. The word 'diaspora' is a Greek term '*διασπορά'* used literally to describe 'a scattering of seeds' and used in migration terms to describe the movement or migration of a group of people who share a national or ethnic identity away from an established or ancestral homeland (Tastsoglou 2009; Brah 1996). This thesis extends an organic metaphor to outline the growth and development of Greek Macedonian identity construction in the diaspora.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

In Chapter One, 'The Seeds – A Greek Macedonian Diaspora', I outline the historical factors that prompted mass migration from Greece. I begin with a brief overview of the three broad waves of mass migration from Greece that commenced from the end of the Ottoman rule in the 1890s and then focus on the third massive migratory wave to Australia and Canada that followed the period of economic devastation and political turbulence after the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). I specifically focus on the post-war migration and settlement of Greek Macedonian migrants from Florina to Melbourne and Toronto. The chapter sets the historical context for later chapters that examine the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in more depth and the stories narrated by first-generation participants and the circulation of stories to subsequent generations.

In Chapter Two, 'The Soil – The Construction of Greek Macedonian Identity in Florina', I provide an in-depth historical account of the construction of identity in Greek Macedonia, and

in particular the disruption to place and identity in Florina. I concentrate on how the Greek Macedonian region was reshaped as it emerged from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek nation and through to the period of the mass exodus of migrants from the region following the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). I discuss the implications of the national awakening of the Balkan states and the subsequent effect on people who defined themselves in terms of religion, rather than nation and thus how family remained a durable signifier of identity. I examine how the disruption of place and identity through successive and traumatic wars in Florina in the twentieth century has led to the breaking of deeper bonds and connections with the homeland that often lie at the heart of the idealised migrant experience, and led also to only partial circulation of family stories of homeland. I conclude with commentary on post-war identity in Florina.

In Chapter Three, 'The Roots – The Role of Oikeogenéia in the Narration of Migration Stories', I examine the impact of migration on the Greek traditional family and how the nature and structure of family has been changed in the context of diaspora. I outline the role of storytelling in migrant families before moving to the outcomes of the research. Here I discuss the universal narratives that emerged and were circulated across the three genealogical generations, particularly that of hardship. Stories about hardship that emerged were framed around three types of story – the hardship of war, the hardships faced by women and the hardship of being in between cultures. Yet stories also emerged about the idea of family rooted through the narration of stories about the trees and gardens of grandparents as memories of the Greek homeland.

Chapter Four, 'The Trees – Leaving and Finding Home: Stories from the First Generation', explores the narratives of first-generation migrants. Four main themes narrated by first-generation participants represented the experiences of migration. Firstly, I examine stories about war and the subsequent loss of home through the disruption of place and identity. Secondly, stories described the strength of community and the importance of family and work in the early days of settlement. Thirdly, stories were narrated around work in Australia. Finally, stories reflected dual identities with an attachment to region, but notably perhaps Greece did not figure in these narratives as a place of return. Further, first-generation participants highlighted that it was stories about the impact of war that they wanted to pass down the generations, yet these stories were only partially circulated within the family. They also placed an emphasis on the effect of poverty, underlining how this often necessitated migration.

In Chapter Five, 'The Branches – Growing Up Greek: Stories from the Second Generation', I examine the stories narrated by the children of migrants, the second generation in Melbourne and Toronto. Specifically, three broad themes framed how second-generation participants narrated the experience of 'growing up' in the country of their parent's permanent settlement. Firstly, participants tended to narrate stories about 'growing up Greek' within the host culture. Secondly, stories narrated about visits to Greece by the second generation were framed in terms of the sense of a greater belonging to family in contrast to the homeland. Thirdly, stories were narrated about how the participants negotiated complex identities and connections to their regional Greek Macedonian roots. Finally, the second generation also articulated a strong attachment to family even though they also acknowledged an overall lessening of Greek cultural practices within their own households.

In Chapter Six, 'The Fruit – Greek Macedonian Legacies: Stories from the Third Generation', I examine the stories narrated by the third generation to reflect on the legacy of migration. Broadly, these stories fall into three main categories. Firstly, stories reflected the varied role that Greek migrant grandparents have played in the lives of the third (grandchild) generation, enabling observations about the transmission of family migration stories between generations. Secondly, I explore stories narrated by the third generation about how they view their cultural identity. Thirdly, I look at stories centred on the theme I have described as 'It's All Greek Macedonian to Me', which explores connections as well as disconnections between participants and their sense of their family's migrant heritage.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, 'The Orchards From Scattered Seeds', I reflect on the key findings of my research and underline my argument that the idea of family has replaced permanent links to a homeland as the key signifier of identity among participants in my study. In surveying over sixty years of family settlement, these stories contribute to broader understandings about the experiences of post-war Greek migrants from the region of Macedonia and what it has meant for this group to uproot from one place and permanently settle in another. These family narratives reveal stories that deal with war, trauma, hardship, separation of family and loss. In this respect, these narratives balance more celebratory narratives of post-war Greek Macedonian migration to Australia, but also provide the basis for new forms of identification and belonging that meet the needs of 'scattered seeds'.

- CHAPTER ONE -

THE SEEDS – A GREEK MACEDONIAN DIASPORA

> We were living in poverty. There was unemployment and starvation. The war continued – the German war and the Civil War. I was five years old and I remember everything. We were scared every day how to survive. Australia opened up the door for us and we were very happy. We never said we would go back. Never. Australia is a lucky country and we were lucky to come here (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

In the post-war era, the opening of Australia's door to facilitate migration from Europe led to almost 250,000 arrivals from Greece between 1947 and 1983 (Kringas in Jupp 2001:392). In the statement above, Theodoros speaks of the hope that migration to the 'lucky country' offered in 1960 after the fear and poverty he remembered in Florina, a place he 'never' wanted to return to as a home (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina). In this chapter, I outline the factors that prompted mass emigration from Greece and the formation of Greek Macedonian communities in Melbourne and Toronto. I begin with a brief overview of the three broad waves of mass migration from Greece that commenced from the end of the Ottoman rule in the 1890s. I then move to focus on post-war Greek Macedonian migration to Australia, with further discussion of migration to Canada. I note the patterns in the formation of Greek Macedonian communities in Melbourne and Toronto, the settlement locations of families who participated in this research, and where stories are considered in detail in later chapters. Read in conjunction with later discussion of the development of Greek Macedonian identity in Florina provided in Chapter Two, this chapter and the next, provide the historical context for understanding the narratives produced by first-generation participants in my study. It underlines that the key factors that influenced mass emigration in the post-war period were political instability, war and economic disruption. As noted by many scholars, Northern Greece experienced the greatest emigration of the post Second World War period due to such upheavals, with the Greek Civil War playing a particularly key role in family and individual decisions to migrate (Roudometof 2010:153).

OVERVIEW: THE SCATTERING OF GREEK SEEDS

Many scholars have noted that the Greeks can be considered a people of the diaspora, with more than 40 per cent of Greeks residing at any given time outside the nation's borders (Clogg 1999, Doumanis 1999; Tamis 2005:2; Roudometof 2010:155). With successive and long periods of foreign domination, patterns of Greek migration developed and culminated in large-scale outward migration after the Second World War. Accordingly, the condition described in

Greek as '*xeniteia*', or sojourning in foreign parts, on either a permanent or temporary basis, has been central to the historical experience of the Greeks in modern times (Clogg 2008:5). As a consequence, the relationship of Greek communities overseas with the homeland has been of critical importance (Clogg 1999; Doumanis 2010; Tamis 2005; Tastsoglou 2009). Indeed, the early movement of Greek people can be traced from classical antiquity when trading and colonizing activities spread Greek culture, language and religion around the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas through to the modern era (Tamis 2005:3).

The Greek Revolt of 1821-1825 was the first step towards independence from the Ottoman Empire (1453-1821AD), with an exclusive sovereign identity of the Greek people first achieved through the establishment of a modern Greek state in 1830 (Doumanis 2010:170-175; Tamis 2005:1). The period after the Greek War of Independence (1821-1833) until the 1890s gave rise to migratory patterns, traditional centres of Greek commercial activity and mercantile centres in the Ottoman Empire (Clogg 1999:12). In the final years of the Ottoman Empire, the 'last exodus' that commenced from the 1890s resulted in the mass migration of Greeks to almost 150 countries and the outward flow of people continued until democracy was restored in 1974 following the military junta from 1967 (Tamis 2005:2). The dispersion of the Greeks was caused by political factors as well as poor economic opportunities, which included the unhealthy state of the Greek economy, the decline in the drachma, severe unemployment and crop failures (Tamis 2005:17). The outflow was initially from the islands, and later Epirus and Macedonia (Tamis 2005:17).

In brief, Macedonia remained in the Ottoman Empire until 1913. Yet extremely poor conditions prompted the migration of almost the entire adult male population of some regions of Macedonia from as early as the 1500s in search of work (Tamis 2015:19). It was during the seventeenth and eighteenth century that migration from Macedonia became rampant due to political and economic instability caused by restricted cultivatable land, natural disasters, famine, the absence of large urban centres and the indifference of the central government (Tamis 2015:19). Factors that also contributed to outward migration included military conscription in the face of mounting national and international tensions through successive wars (Tamis 2005:17). Ongoing patterns of migration from the region occurred internally between villages and regions in Greece, across Europe and large-scale movements to the United States, Canada, and Australia.

The three broad waves of Greek migration in the twentieth century followed very different routes (Tastsoglou 2009:8). In the 1890s, many Greeks migrated to the United States in waves that would last until the beginning of the First World War (Tastsoglou 2009:8). Thus one strand of modern diasporic Greek identity has been formed through this migration. These early migrants to the United States were primarily young males rather than family units (Kourvetaris 1997:100). Although there were a substantial number of mixed marriages between Greek men and non-Greek born women, there remained an emphasis on children retaining the Greek Orthodox faith and Greek traditions (Kourvetaris 1997:100). By 1910, the beginnings of the Greek American middle class were apparent, whilst those who did not prosper sometimes returned home (Moskos 1999:105). With the introduction of a migrant quota system in the 1920s and 1930s, migration to the United States virtually came to an end (Tastsoglou 2009:8). In turn, a smaller second wave of migration commenced to South America, Africa and Australia once migration to the United States became restricted (Tastsoglou 2009:8). In Australia, this raised some public alarm: this was the era of 'White Australia', and from 1925 the Australian government limited the intake of Greeks to 100 per month until 1929 (Gilchrist in Jupp 2001:391). In the pre-Second World War period in Australia, approximately half of Greek settlers to Melbourne came from the islands of Ithaca, Samos, Lesbos and from the region of Greek Macedonia (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:399). The sponsorship of family members through 'chain migration' was largely responsible for the rise in the Greek migrant population to Australia from 1912 until 1947 (Tamis 2005:47).

A third massive migratory wave followed the end of the Second World War and the Greek Civil War due to political turbulence and economic instability (Tastsoglou 2009:8). The Greek Civil War cut deeply and dramatically changed the country. As the international situation had changed with the split between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the communist cause in Greece was lost in the face of British and American naval domination of the Mediterranean (Clogg 2008:141). The Greek Civil War was Europe's bloodiest conflict between 1945 and the breakup of Yugoslavia and became a turning point in the Cold War (Mazower 2000:1-24). Instead of being able to repair the nation following its occupation, the meagre resources of the Greek state were diverted to contain 'the enemy within' and saw the division of the population into communists and anti-communists (Clogg 2008:142-143). As a consequence, those in Greece who were associated with the Communist Left were often perceived as second-class citizens and their political affiliation became a primary identity that could determine access to employment opportunities and permit applications to operate businesses and as such, many

were compelled to find employment overseas (Doumanis 2010:206). The political instability that followed the Greek Civil War culminated in a seven-year military dictatorship that ended in 1974 (Tastsoglou 2009:8).

In Australia, it was the development of an extensive post-war immigration program to attract migrant workers that prompted mass migration from Greece (Kringas in Jupp 2001:392). Australia's population in 1945 was approximately seven million people and policy makers understood it could not support economic expansion, or maintain defensive capacity, without an influx of population (De Lazzari and Mascitelli 2016:191). As a result, the Australian Government planned to absorb 70,000 migrants per year from 1945 to increase population by one per cent per annum (De Lazzari and Mascitelli 2016:192). Whilst there were discussions about the suitability of Greeks as citizens in the Australian Parliament in light of the White Australia policy, the development of a post-war immigration program meant that agreements were signed between Australia and several European countries including Greece to facilitate migration (Tamis 2005:39-41). Assisted passage offered for Greek migrants meant that part of the cost of a passage to Australia and basic accommodation would be provided by the Australian government, with selection of immigrants based on agreed criteria between the governments, and work for up to two years in employment as directed by the Australian authorities (Gilchrist 2004:299).

By the mid-1980s, Melbourne had emerged as one of the principal centres of Greek population in the world, with a Greek community of over 200,000 people (Clogg 2008:4). By the late 1990s, the Greek community was the second biggest non-English speaking immigrant group in Australia (Doumanis 1999:58). Ultimately, it could be said that the legacy of the 'last exodus' from Greece was the formation of Greek diaspora communities across the world that have continued to reinforce and reform Greek culture and identity. Estimates of the Greek diaspora vary widely between three to seven million people globally, with Australia, Canada and the US accounting for roughly half of these diaspora communities (Roudometof 2010:155, Tastsoglou 2009:8).

OVERVIEW OF POST-WAR GREEK MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

As noted above, Greek migration to Australia did not begin in the post-war period. Small numbers arrived in the nineteenth century, first as convicts and later to seek gold and to work on the waterfront and farms (Gilchrist in Jupp 2001:389, Tamis 2005:31-32). By the late

nineteenth century there were 800 Greeks in Australia, and many had become small business owners or employees within these businesses (Gilchrist in Jupp 2001:390). Although Greek migrants began to arrive in Australia in greater numbers in the first decades of the twentieth century, there was no substantial increase in numbers until the inter-war period (Gilchrist in Jupp 2001:391). A key concern of this earlier period of Greek migration was the building of social and cultural institutions to aid the establishment of a Greek community. In Melbourne, a focal point of cultural community life for Greeks was the church and the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria (GOCMV) was founded in 1897, followed by the first Greek Orthodox Church in Melbourne established in 1901 (Tamis 2005:67-68). The first Greek language newspaper, *Australis*, was issued in 1913, and notably 110 Greek newspapers have been published in Australia since then (Tamis 2005:156, Toli 2011). The year 1962 saw the publication of the first Macedonian Hellenic newspaper, the *Macedonian Herald* as well as the *Florina*. The latter only appeared for two editions before ceasing publication in 1963, when the mainly pro-Macedonian executive committee in the *Florina* association challenged its Grecophone nature and pro-Greek stand (Tamis 1994:200). As community groups, churches, welfare agencies, newspapers and schools gradually developed, the population of Melbourne constituted one of the largest Greek settlements in the world outside of Greece (Kringas in Jupp 2001:392).

Stories narrated by first-generation participants in this thesis highlight the importance of family and village networks as being crucial to successful settlement. Although post-war Greek migrants were drawn from a wide geographic area, most were from small villages and towns with similar socio-economic backgrounds and few had tertiary education. Whilst there were some families, most arrivals were men. In the immediate post-war years, the intake of migrants into Australia had very little focus on promoting family life, but instead aimed to increase the pool of workers and consumers (Hartley 1995:11). Single women began to arrive in the late 1950s and early 1960s after government policy changed to redress the gender imbalance and to encourage the formation of family households. This occurred through nominations, family reunion schemes and immigration programs such as the establishment in 1956 of an 'unaccompanied' female worker program (Mistilis in Jupp 2001:396, Palaktsoglou 2013:436, Tsolidis 1995:131). Consequently by 1972, the number of Greek female migrants was smaller by only approximately 7,000 women in comparison to Greek male migrants in Australia (Palaktsoglou 2013:439).

For first-generation participants who already had networks in Australia, the journey was often seen as an opportunity to re-establish the extended family. In the post-war period, many migrants made the journey from Greece during the 1950s and 1960s on dedicated ships such as the *Australis*, *Ellinis* and *Patris,* although some travelled by plane, particularly with air travel becoming more prevalent by the 1970s. The Greek owned passenger ship *Kyrenia* began regular passages to Australia in 1949 that lasted until 1956, although numbers did not become substantial until the early 1950s (Gilchrist 2004:314-315). It was during the 1960s that migration from Greece to Australia expanded rapidly. Greek migrants began to arrive on the *Patris* (meaning 'homeland' in Greek) as the ship was used exclusively for the Piraeus to Australia service (Limnios-Sekeris 2015:102). With 91 voyages overall to Australia between 1959 and 1975, the *Patris* became 'synonymous' with Greek migration, travelling regularly to Australia with over 1,000 passengers on board (Yiannakis 2009:43). Passenger numbers began to decline from 1974 as migration from Greece slowed, and as faster transport options became available through large aircraft (Gilchrist 2004:315).

Work was seen as crucial to economic independence and the establishment of independent family households. Stories narrated by first-generation participants reflect the ease of finding work, in particular through support provided through village networks from Florina. In the early 1950s, there were an estimated 200 jobs available in Australia for every applicant (Kringas in Jupp 2001:392). Most found work in factories or farms, as over 75 per cent of Greek migrants who arrived between 1947 and 1971 were unskilled labour (Kringas in Jupp 2001:392). Government regulations and control of post-war immigration to strategically target the occupational and employment patterns of migrants largely explained why many Greek post-war migrants went to Melbourne and worked in factory employment. Greek migrants became one of the most highly urbanised groups in Australia with the highest level of residential segregation in Australian cities compared to other groups (Kringas in Jupp 2001:392). Consequently, Victoria's post-war Greek population has largely remained concentrated in the metropolitan area of Melbourne (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:401). During the 1970s, the Greek population was mainly concentrated in inner-city Melbourne neighbourhoods such as Northcote, South Melbourne and Richmond (Danforth 2000:91). By the late 1980s, many Greeks had moved to middle-distance and outer metropolitan suburbs such as Preston, Thomastown and Lalor in Melbourne as families began to grow (Danforth 2000:91). Whilst general employment continued to centre on low-skilled jobs in manufacturing and retail trades for first-generation migrants, many second-generation migrants subsequently experienced a

significant degree of upward social mobility (Danforth 2000:91). Overall, the Greek-born population has continued to be concentrated predominantly in Victoria (50 per cent) and New South Wales (31 per cent) (Australian Government – Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2014).

PROFILE OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIA

By 2018, the number of Greek migrants in Australia – the 'first generation' – has rapidly declined due to an ageing community and decreased numbers of permanent migrants from Greece. At the 2016 Australian Census, there was an increase of those who identified with Greek ancestry at 421,000 people but a decline to 1.8% of the total Australian population with 93,740 born in Greece (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2016). The Greek language was recorded as the sixth most spoken language after English with 237,000 speakers and this reflects a decrease from 252,000 speakers in 2011 (ABS 2011, 2016). Despite lower numbers of Greek speakers, the Greek-Australian community has the highest proportion of those who speak their parents' language in comparison with Australian children of other non-English speaking communities. Reflecting its larger post-war Greek-born population, Victoria has the greatest number of Greek-speakers in Australia at 110,707 people followed by New South Wales with 81,863 people (ABS 2016). Nearly half (49%) of the Australian-born Greek speaking population were aged 40 years or over (ABS 2016).

Whether Macedonians from Greece identify as Macedonians or Greeks in official Australian statistics has been a contentious area. Estimates prepared for the Australian Bicentenary in 1988 (Jupp 1988:124) recorded 75,000 people of Macedonian ethnic origin in Australia of which 46,000 people were thought to have come from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 28,000 from Greece and 1,000 from Bulgaria (Danforth 2000:91). However, estimation could only be made on the basis of region of birth as there was no Macedonian citizenship prior to 1991 (Hill 1989:121). In addition, Macedonians historically have had a low rate of literacy and were often distrustful of disclosing information (Hill 1989:121). The 2016 Australian Census recorded 98,441 people of Macedonian ancestry in Australia, although the numbers of those born in Greece who recorded Macedonian ancestry were less than 3,000 people (ABS 2011, 2016). In this regard, it should be noted that some Macedonian groups believe that due to past family experiences in Greece, individuals and their descendants from Northern Greece may fear recording their ancestry as Macedonian (United Macedonian Diaspora 2012). Yet this position fails to consider another explanation: that Macedonians from

Northern Greece may have developed a Greek national identity alongside an ethno-regional Macedonian identity and hence subsequent generations may reflect Greek ancestry –or indeed simply self-identify as Australian. In terms of language, almost 60 per cent of Greek Macedonian migrants in Australia knew 'the northern idioms of Greece' (Tamis 1994:343). As the official Greek position does not recognise the Macedonian language (Shea 1997:192), the term *idiom* is used rather than language to refer to the language spoken by Macedonians in Northern Greece (Hlavac 2016:73). In a study on the Macedonian speech community in Australia, it has been observed that many Greek Macedonians retain Macedonian as a 'private language', used with the same generation or older generation speakers, but adopt a largely Hellenic persona and may shift to Greek as the home language used with children (Hlavac 2016:131).

Although outside the scope of this research, it is worth noting that a smaller wave of migration from Greece to Australia commenced following the economic difficulties experienced by Greeks as a result of the global financial crisis of 2007. This economic and fiscal crisis felt in Greece from 2008 is arguably the worst experienced since the Greek Civil War (Clogg 2013:254). An estimated 49,500 Greeks migrated to Australia during 2010 to 2016, the third most popular destination after Germany and the United Kingdom (New Diaspora 2018). Currently, of the total Greece-born people in Australia, 1.9 per cent arrived between 2001 and 2011, compared to 93.1 per cent of Greece-born people in Australia that arrived prior to 2001 (Australian Government – Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2014). In 2016, there were 9,400 short-term arrivals from Greece, an increase of 23.9 per cent on the previous year (Australian Government – Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2017).

One of the more positive aspects of migration in the current era has been the development of communication technology and social media that have enabled Greeks to more easily share experiences of living outside the homeland and connect with family. For example, Greeks living abroad have been able to participate and document experiences on a digital storytelling platform through the New Diaspora project to collect the stories of Greeks who have left their homeland yet continue to link themselves transnationally and globally (New Diaspora 2018). In addition, a plethora of Facebook groups has further facilitated forums to share stories, ask questions about heritage and culture, as well as document migration experiences. For example, Facebook groups in Australia and overseas include pages such as 'Early Greek Australians', 'Greek Australians', 'Greek Canadians', 'Greeks in Melbourne', 'Greek Mums and Bubs

Melbourne', 'Hellenic Genealogy Geek', and 'I Speak Greeklish'. I note some of these trends in connection to second and third generation in chapters below, but now turn to examine more closely the development of Greek Macedonians communities in Australia.

GREEK MACEDONIANS IN AUSTRALIA – ROUTES FROM FLORINA TO MELBOURNE

The greatest influence on mass emigration from Ottoman Macedonia was the continuous conflict that occurred in the region from the 1890s onwards. The effects of war on place and identity during the decline of the Ottoman Empire are discussed further in Chapter Two, but constant warfare forced many to migrate to the United States as well as to Canada, predominantly to the urban centres of Toronto and Richmond in search of more prosperous conditions. The first migrants to settle in America between 1895 and 1901 were from Florina and by the end of 1906, Macedonians began to settle in the hinterland of Western Australia and Victoria in Australia (Tamis 1994:9). This mass exodus from the region resulted in an Ottoman ban on emigration in 1909 for all men under the age of 30; but immigration agencies and travelling organisations were able to retain high migrant numbers to the United States whilst claiming exorbitant commissions (Tamis 1994:10). Many tradesmen and masons settled in major American centres while unskilled labourers became shop assistants, factory workers and coal miners. Most returned home to Macedonia from America, often after amassing small fortunes but when the doors to America began to close to immigration in 1923, those who could not re-enter America instead turned to Australia (Tamis 1994:11).

Migration from Macedonia to Australia was triggered by the consequences of the Greek disaster in Asia Minor in 1923 (discussed further in Chapter Two), the unstable political tensions within the region, as well as the 1924 and 1925 quota restrictions in the United States (Tamis 1990:335). The commercialisation of Australian settlement was monopolised by a travel agent from Florina called Rumbabas, with Greek Macedonians arriving in greater numbers in Western Australia after 1925 (Tamis 1994:19, 215). As many settlers were reluctant to bring their families due to lack of employment security, pre-war migration was male dominated with about 30 men to each woman in the mid-1920s. Working conditions were also often harsh, and exploitation did not create the conditions for sponsorship of the whole family (Tamis 1990:339). An exception to this rule by the end of the 1920s were the northern Greek gardeners and farmers in Western Australia who began to sponsor families as they needed hands for labour. Thus new occupational patterns emerged mainly due to the arrival of Greek

Macedonians who worked as market gardeners, farmhands or timber-cutters (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:417).

Although the vast majority of Macedonian migrants came to Australia with the primary intention of finding secure employment for themselves and their family, a smaller proportion left Greece because they could not tolerate personal hardships and socio-political deprivation (Tamis 1994:173). The first migrants from Florina reached Melbourne via Western Australia in 1928-1929 in an effort to avoid the financial crisis of the Great Depression (1929-1939). The first concentrated settlement in Melbourne was in the inner-city suburb of Carlton and it was common for 15 people to share the expenses of a small house in Bouverie and Cardigan Streets in that suburb (Tamis 1990:335). Greek Macedonian migrants also settled in other inner-city areas such as Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, Clifton Hill and Northcote (Tamis 1994:116). These locations were also narrated as the initial settlement destinations for first-generation participants in this research.

Overall, the nature of post-war Greek Macedonian migration to Australia was similar to that from other regions of Greece as it was facilitated mainly through village and district chains. By 1940 there was 670 Macedonians in Australia from Florina and most intended to stay for a few years and then return home (Hill 1989:14). Yet first-generation participants in this research indicated that the extensive destruction to Florina after the Greek Civil War meant that the homeland was no longer seen as a viable place of return. The largest intake of Greek Macedonians between 1955 and 1959 originated from the districts of Kozani, Kastoria and Florina (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:417-418). Generally, the group formation of Greek Macedonians varied according to the destination of the pioneer settler who started the migration journey. After the first migrants arrived, sponsorship of brothers, uncles and friends followed and later wives, fiancées, children and finally grandparents were reunited.

It was this general pattern of family chain migration through assisted passage of family members, as well as unassisted admission, that substantially increased numbers from Greece (Pennay 2011:1). Many settled into small towns or in particular suburbs of capital cities in Australia and as a result, many villages had greater numbers in Australia than in Florina (Hill 1989:41; Tamis 1994:350). The post-war period also saw occupational patterns change with the arrival of family groups, which led to male migrants seeking more stable employment. In addition, family life created opportunities for social functions and events that included baptisms and weddings as well as the opportunity to renew kinship ties (Tamis 1994:114). The rate of

exogamous marriage remained low and marriage by Greek migrants with non-Greeks was kept below 10 per cent until the mid-1970s (Tamis 1994:115). In the 1940s and 1950s, it was often inconceivable that a young female Greek Macedonian would marry outside the Greek community (Tamis 1994:115).

In the pre and inter-war years, there was little room for intra-community political conflict; Greek Macedonians had to cope with their arrival and settlement in a context where Anglo-Australian prejudice was not uncommon (Tamis 1990:345). Nevertheless, language became an early marker of conflict regarding identity. Although the vast majority of Greek Macedonian immigrants to Australia spoke Greek, a significant number spoke the local Macedonian dialect described as *po nashi* or were bilingual (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:417). Migrants from Florina were mainly bilingual or 'Slavophones' (Macedonian speakers), whilst those from Kozani were from a purely 'Grecophone' (Greek speaking) part of Macedonia. Initially this was not a problem, but in 1935 Florinian members of the first Macedonian social club were instructed to use only Greek during their gatherings (Tamis 1990:337). Established in 1932 in Melbourne, the Greek Macedonian Brotherhood of Alexander the Great included members from Florina, Kastoria and Kozani (Tamis 1990:336). Members from Kozani insisted that Greek identity was inseparable from the Greek language and this conflict would later lead to those from Florina leaving the brotherhood in 1955 and forming their own brotherhood, Vorios Ellas meaning 'Northern Greece' (Tamis 1990:337). Many Slavophone speakers were met with prejudice and were segregated by certain members of the broader Greek community (Tamis 1990:336-337). Tamis wrote of the conflict that:

> Ignorance of the history of the region on their part led many to believe that Slavophones were not partly Greeks, but Bulgarians or Bulgarophiles. In vain the latter were trying to convince their island and Macedonian Grecophone compatriots that neither the term *Makedonas* (Macedonian), nor the Slavic idiom which they possessed, should be taken to imply a Bulgarian identity. Nevertheless, the linguistic conflict was an important issue until recently (Tamis 1990:337).

The late 1950s and 1960s also saw the majority of migrants from the (then) Socialist Republic of Macedonia arrive in Australia, particularly after the disastrous earthquake in the capital Skopje in 1963 (Ben-Moshe et al 2016:55). Although numbers waned in the 1970s, migration resumed in the 1990s following the break-up of Yugoslavia (Ben-Moshe et al 2016:55).

Consequently, participation and belonging were not always clear cut for the Greek Macedonian community in terms of the contested nature of Macedonian identity and the tensions following the Greek Civil War. Many immigrants were confronted with the issue of a problematic

Macedonian identity for the first time in Australia, which often included conflict between the peak association bodies and other sections of the Greek community (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:418). Often, two separate associations were created – one Greek and one Macedonian – from the one village in Florina (Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies (AIMS) 2013:8). The increased number of migrants from the Macedonian region of Greece also gave rise to what has been estimated as between 60-80 Greek Macedonian organizations established in Australia since the 1960s (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:418; Tamis 1994:131). Tensions in the Greek Macedonian community emerged within these associations, usually around the issue of identity and particularly the use of language. In some associations, members from Florina in Melbourne were told to only use Greek and English during social gatherings, rather than Macedonian (Tamis 1994:134). In 1974, the United Villages Association (of Florina) was formed to break away from tensions within the Greek Macedonian community that placed associations within mutually exclusive national ideologies (Tamis 1994:147). This was in an effort for villages in Florina to focus on their shared culture rather than to take sides with either the Macedonian or Greek cause (Tamis 1994:147). The use of language remained an issue in Australia until the 1980s and created deep schisms even within families, and an ongoing attitude of suspicion between southern and northern Greeks in Australia (Tamis 1994:134). With the adaptation of Greeks into Australian culture, the need to participate in formal associations became less pressing with memberships declining (Yiannakis 2009:245).

Yet tensions between communities again flared dramatically in 1991 during the Macedonian Conflict when the FYROM declared its independence. After the diplomatic recognition of the FYROM by the Australian government in February 1994, the Greek community organised massive counter-demonstrations. As a concession to Greek sensitivities, the Keating Federal Government introduced the official designation 'Slav Macedonians', although this inflamed opinion among Macedonians who objected to having their name changed (Hill in Jupp 2001:578). A spate of violent attacks on Macedonian and Greek institutes occurred, including an arson attack on the Macedonian Orthodox Church of St Nicholas in Preston on 20 February 1994 (Hill in Jupp 2001:578). In 1997, the Australian government confirmed the decision it would not allow the FYROM to establish an embassy in Australia until it adopted a name that was suitable to Greece (Hill in Jupp 2001:578). Still, the issue of a Greek Macedonian identity in Australia remains contested, as noted by articles in Australian Greek newspaper *Neos Kosmos* (see, for example, a range of articles published online in February and March 2018 at the *Neos Kosmos* website: https://neoskosmos.com/). After Greece and FYROM signalled

discussions in January 2018 to finally resolve the name issue arising from 1991, worldwide Greek commentary mobilised on social media to oppose (mainly) any name that includes the term 'Macedonia', with sizable protests by Greek and Macedonian communities held in Melbourne during February and March 2018.

GREEK MIGRATION TO CANADA – ROUTES FROM FLORINA TO TORONTO

Finally, it is worth noting the history pertinent to journeys made from Florina to Canada and particularly Toronto – the other locale for interviews conducted as part of this thesis. In the hope of a better future, Greeks (including Greek Macedonians) also emigrated to Canada in search of 'a successful life' (Gavaki 2003:11), and external and internal conflicts over identity also marked the formation of a Greek Macedonian community in Toronto. A period of growth and development resulted in a considerable increase in the migration of Greeks to Canada during 1900-1945 (Chimbos 1999:88). Migration was encouraged by Canadian government policy that intended to import cheap labour for economic development mainly concentrated in the freight and transportation industry (Chimbos 1999:88). The situation in Greece was one of growing poverty, oppressive taxation, repeated crop failure and political persecution (Chimbos 1999:88).

As previously noted, Canada experienced a large influx of Greek migrants during the post-Second World War period when more than 100,000 Greek migrants arrived from a variety of social backgrounds and geographic areas between 1945 and 1971 (Chimbos 1999:91). The emergence of less restrictive immigration policies, driven (much like Australia) by the need to populate and develop the nation and to deliver cheap labour, were key contributing factors in this growth of Greek migration (Chimbos 1999:91). Largely unskilled, Greek migrants worked in factories, as restaurant employees, cleaners and janitors, and under special immigration regulations 10,500 young Greek women also migrated to Canada to work as domestic servants in the homes of wealthy Canadians (Chimbos 1999:91). These women were able to obtain landed immigrant status and sponsor the migration of other family members as well as improve their own economic and social status (Chimbos 1999:91). In many cases, these women revisited Greece to marry a man from their home village or town and return to Canada to raise a family (Chimbos 1999:91).

After the 1950s, Greek networks of family and friends that had developed in Canada contributed to extensive chain migration with an estimated 80 per cent of the post-war Greek

migrant population sponsored or nominated by relatives of villages already settled in Canada (Chimbos 1999:91). As Canada had become increasingly open to migration from Greece by the 1960s, numbers increased by 84 per cent compared to the previous decade (Chimbos 1999:92). By the 1970s, Greeks who migrated to Canada were more educated, skilled and literate than their predecessors due to the introduction of the 1967 Canadian Immigration Act, which used a point system to be more selective of prospective migrants (Gavaki 1991:84 as cited by Tastsoglou 2009:11). A net loss in the Greek population in Canada was experienced in the 1980s and 1990s as many returned home to retire in Greece, or through younger Greek Canadians working in Greece and the European Union (Kostov 2011:179, Tastsoglou 2009:11). During the 1990s, over 200,000 Canadians claimed Greek heritage from a population of 31 million, but the assimilation of the second and third generation became a key concern for many first-generation members of the Greek community as they saw a younger generation begin to prefer English as their primary language (Panagakos 2005:820).

Toronto has been considered home to one of the largest and oldest Macedonian settlements outside the Balkans (Petroff 1995:175). The beginnings of a Macedonian community in Canada occurred much earlier than Australia. The majority of Macedonians migrated to Toronto arrived after the failed 1903 Illinden Uprising, which sought to liberate the region of Macedonia from under the 'Ottoman yoke', although the revolt was crushed by the Ottoman Turks (Lange-Akhund 1998:25; Livanios 2008:18-19). In the late nineteenth century, migration to Canada from Kastoria and Florina became the key strategy to bring cash into home villages and thus create new households (Petroff 1995:5). Of note, is that these migrants arrived prior to Florina being incorporated into the Greek nation. Initially migrants who arrived from Ottoman Macedonia considered themselves 'sojourners' during the period from 1903 to 1912, with the migrant mindset soon changing to 'settlers' following the partition of Macedonia after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 (Petroff 1995:xv). This event 'shattered dreams of return' for Macedonian migrants (Petroff 1995:xv). It has been argued that these migrants identified themselves as fiercely Macedonian and the creation of a single Macedonian parish contributed to their sense of ethnic nationalism in Canada, with an ambition 'to see their homeland become more than a dream or geographic expression' (Petroff 1995:10-11). The growth of the Macedonian community in Toronto corresponded to the growth of industry and availability of cheap accommodation and also led to an accelerated use of village and family migration chains (Petroff 1995:15). The desire to maintain a sense of community saw encouragement for marriage to occur with fellow Macedonians, thus also preserving culture (Petroff 1995:86).

In essence, the formation of regional and ethnic identity among Macedonian migrants to Canada – including migrants from Northern Greece – largely followed political developments in the Balkans (Kostov 2011:275). The identity of Macedonians from the region of Florina was arguably as 'first and foremost village people', as their local identity had not yet been displaced by a 'new, larger national identity' at the commencement of mass migration to Canada (Petroff 1995:3). In this respect, Petroff distinguished between an 'Old World' national identity of Macedonian created in the village that followed the partition of Macedonia, and the 'New World' ethnicity of Greek Macedonian identity subsequently constructed in Toronto (Petroff 1995:174). This arguably led to the disruption of ethnic continuity in families from the Macedonian villages of Northern Greece (Petroff 1995:174). One of the main concerns highlighted by Petroff, in terms of changing definitions of Macedonian identity, is that understanding how the Macedonian Canadian diaspora has been shaped may become inaccessible to future scholars due to acculturation as well as the changes to identity in subsequent generations for those from the same villages of origin (Petroff 1995:175). In the interviews I have conducted, participation in the Greek community was more clear-cut for families from Florina who migrated in the post-war period in the context of 'New World' Greek Macedonian identity.

In contrast, Kostov has argued that as a result of the complex historical and political development of Macedonia, immigrants who came to Toronto developed three distinct ethnic identities of Bulgarian, Macedonian and Greek, and at least three different meanings of the terms 'Macedonia' and 'Macedonian' to reflect regional Macedono-Bulgarian and Greek Macedonian identities; and from the late 1960s, an ethnic Macedonian identity (Kostov 2011:4, 275). In essence, Kostov disputes the existence of an earlier Macedonian identity in Canada by arguing that a distinct Macedonian ethnic community appeared in Toronto no earlier than the 1960s (Kostov 2011:194). What seems clear is that between 1940 and 1996, Macedonian identities included regional Macedonian identities but this period also saw the genesis of a new ethnic Macedonian identity that gained momentum in the 1960s when the first mass influx of Macedonian migrants came from Yugoslavia (Kostov 2011:157). The disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s also led to a new wave of migrants to Canada who declared that their ethnicity was Macedonian (Kostov 2011:190).

Like Australia, this period led to internal conflicts within and between Greek, Bulgarian and Macedonian communities in Toronto in terms of identity, politics (communists versus anti-communists) and the issue of the independence of the Macedonian nation (Kostov 2011:158). Despite these conflicts, the Bulgarian and Greek communities in Toronto have maintained good relations, with both denying the existence of an ethnic Macedonian identity in the past and also the present (Kostov 2011:159).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the historical factors that prompted mass migration from Greece and considered also some of the settlement factors in Australia and Canada. The stages and trends identified help provide context for the family stories that appear below in this thesis; they are the broad framework within which family narratives play out. The chapter has provided a brief overview of the three broad waves that commenced as Ottoman rule began to decline in the 1890s. In the collapsing years of the Ottoman Empire, the 'last exodus' resulted in the mass migration of Greeks to almost 150 countries, and the outward flow of people continued until the restoration of democracy to Greece in 1974. Factors that contributed to large-scale movement of people included political instability, poor economic opportunities, severe unemployment, crop failures and finally the devastation experienced after the Second World War and the Greek Civil War. Migration from the Macedonian region grew rapidly due to successive wars in the Balkan region included inter-village, inter-regional and inter-European migration, as well large-scale international movements to the United States, Canada and Australia. Migrants from the Macedonian region arrived in Australia from 1925 (following quota restrictions in the United States) and in Canada from 1903 (following the Illinden Uprising), thus forming the basis for early communities in the diaspora. Following war, political turbulence and economic instability Melbourne and Toronto experienced a large influx of Greek migrants, with the greatest proportion from the Macedonian region of Greece.

In both Australia and Canada, migration policies were oriented to meeting an increased demand for cheap labour, as well as a desire by compatriots to rescue relatives from Europe. Strong family bonds in the social environment of the Greek village were often replicated in Australia and Canada through chain migration of networks of relatives and friends (Chimbos 1999; Cox 1974; Riak 2007). As will become apparent in later chapters, it was the support available through a strong network of connected families that was often crucial to healthy adjustment in a new country (Georgas 2006:78). Also discussed in more detail in these chapters is the fact

that recognition of Greek ethnic diversity in Australia and Canada was mediated from the 1970s within the context of multiculturalism, where minority identity was encouraged through government policy (Chimbos 1999:97, Doumanis 1999:75).

Nevertheless, tensions within the Greek community and geopolitics in the Balkans would become problematic for the Greek Macedonian diasporic community in terms of identity and language. Issues of language use and loyalty to Greece were an issue in Australia and Canada up until at least the 1980s and created deep schisms within families, and an attitude of suspicion between southern and northern Greeks migrants (Tamis 1994:134; Kostov 2011:221). The situation improved in the 1990s, which unified the Greek community in the face of the perceived threat to Greek identity raised by the independent FYROM (Doumanis 1999:81). Yet while the development of Greek Macedonian communities in the diaspora can be judged as largely successful in terms of settlement, assimilation and integration – with family networks often integral to this success – a problematic aspect faced by migrant families was the politics of identity that disrupted the cohesiveness of the community. This had implications for how families negotiated intergenerational identity and legacy, particularly the ability to transmit a collective narrative of place within families. In Chapter Two, I examine the historical context of constructing Greek Macedonian identity in Florina with a focus on the disruption to place and identity as a result of war in the region.

- CHAPTER TWO -

THE SOIL – THE CONSTRUCTION OF GREEK MACEDONIAN IDENTITY IN FLORINA

> We are Greek. We come from Greece. The place was called Macedonia but it is Greek. In old times, many people came from another place but not now. I don't know the story. They say Greek Macedonia now because there was too much trouble (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

INTRODUCTION

In its simplest terms, the Macedonian Question concerns competing claims to the soil of Macedonia and it continues to be debated (Roudometof 2002:3; Shea 1997:2). The Macedonian Question arose from the decline of the Ottoman Empire in terms of questions of the territory constituted by Macedonia, the state(s) to which it belongs, and the nationality of the peoples of the region (Perry 1988:2). In the statement above, however, first-generation participant Zoi alludes to a far longer history of 'troubles' associated with defining Macedonia in light of historical contestations of place and identity. As previously noted, Florina was part of Macedonia under the Ottoman Empire prior to its incorporation into the Greek state in 1912. Following the Second Balkan War in 1913, and with the creation of defined geographic borders, Macedonia was partitioned into the three nation states of Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia with a small area given to Albania. As a result, the diversity of peoples within this region were transformed into citizens of separate nation-states. In the process, it has been argued, local culture was transformed, destroyed and reproduced in the new form of national identity and national culture with regional variation (Karakasidou 1993:1-6). Consequently, a Greek Macedonian identity was formed at the regional level within a short space of time after 1912 (Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997:1).

Yet in Florina, the Greek government in 1913 was confronted by social conditions and networks that were vastly different from other parts of the country, particularly as the extended family was the often the principle unit of identity (Karakasidou 1997b:92). While attention has been paid to the development of national identity in the Balkan nations as they gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, limited scholarly attention has been given to individual or family narratives of identity construction (Roudometof 2002; Shea 1997; Kostov 2011 cf Danforth 1995; Karakasidou 1997a, b; Vereni

2000). I argue these early notions of collective belonging constructed through the family, with localised attachment to place, contributed to the durability and continuity of family as a key signifier of identity following emigration. While this early history of the Greek Macedonian region is not prominent in the narration of family stories in the second and third generation, it remains important for the first generation who recognise the diverse range of identities within the emerging Greek nation.

In this chapter, therefore, I highlight two key aspects of inquiry that provides insight into the historic factors that shaped construction of Greek Macedonian identity in Florina. Firstly, I provide an overview of the history and diversity of identity that existed within the Macedonian region of Greece as a basis for exploring the complexity of regional identity within the diaspora. Here I underline the multifaceted and often troubled histories of the region that mitigated against the construction of a deeply-rooted Greek national identity within families who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s. I examine tensions in the emerging Balkan nation-states that meant that the complex process of mediating individual, family, religious, regional and national identity occurred within the convoluted dissolution of empire. Secondly, I discuss the idea of the potential disruption to the notion of an idealised homeland for Greek Macedonian migrants as a result of repeated warfare, instability, cultural assimilation and questioning of minority identity in the region that culminated in the Greek Civil War. Arguably, this disruption limited the transmission of stories about place and homeland between migrant generations in the diaspora and fostered a greater sense of belonging to the place of settlement with ties to the homeland reframed through the family. I conclude the chapter by providing an analysis of the construction of post-war identity in Florina where the development of a regional Greek Macedonian identity has remained strong, but is shaped by a complex historical past.

RESHAPING THE GREEK MACEDONIAN REGION FROM EMPIRE TO NATION – THE DISRUPTION OF PLACE AND IDENTITY

At the height of its power, as indicated in Figure 3, ancient Macedonia stretched from the Balkans to the subcontinent, with various parts under the dominion of a succession of imperial state systems (Karakasidou 1997a:14). Roman rule in the 140s BC was followed by the Byzantine Empire from 395 AD (Karakasidou 1997a:14). The majority of ancient people were farmers and attached greater importance to family, clan and their town, rather than to their ethnic identity (Mellor 2008:79). Key trade routes developed throughout Macedonia due to its extensive river valleys and plains that were agriculturally productive (Perry 1988:9).

Accordingly, the flow of goods and people passed through overland trade routes that linked the empires and economies of Europe and Asia. The key road in the region that linked the East and the West was the Via Egnatia built by the Romans during the second century BC. The road passed through Florina and it fostered the economic development of the regions through to the Byzantine age (Akamati-Lilibaki and Akamatis 2006:52). Many of the major trade routes met at the port of Salonika (Thessaloniki) to provide commerce to the north-eastern Mediterranean, southern Balkans and Macedonia (Karakasidou 1997a:1). As such, the strategic position of the Macedonian region offered economic potential through its fertile plains and significant military value through its extensive Aegean coastline and harbour at Thessaloniki (Perry 1988:12). The end of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire was marked by the final fall of Constantinople in 1453 after a lengthy siege where many inhabitants of the city were enslaved or put to death (Clogg 2008:7; Doumanis 2010:150).

Fig.3: Greece and the Balkans 200 BC
Source: TimeMaps (2018)

In terms of its people, there has been general consensus amongst scholars that ancient Macedonians were not linked to modern Macedonians in the FYROM in terms of history, ethnic, linguistic or cultural continuity (Shea 1997; Kostov 2011:45). In brief, while ancient Macedonia was certainly an integral part of the ancient Hellenic world (Kostov 2011:45), both (modern) Macedonia and Greece have changed dramatically in ethnic mix over the past two

thousand years and neither shows any close match to the ethnic nature of the area at the time of Alexander the Great (Shea 1997:13). At the very least, it has been thought that Slavic speakers lived in the territory that has been called Macedonia for around fifteen hundred years (Shea 1997:9). Significant ethnological changes began to take place in the late fourteenth century in the area that is now the Macedonian region of Greece when Ottoman Turks settled in fertile regions as the uprooting of Christian populations took place throughout the Balkan Peninsula (Vacalopoulos 1973:103). As the population of the mountainous areas in Macedonia increased during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they could not support more than a small number of farming and herding families (Vacalopoulos 1973:108). By the end of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had reached an advanced state of decay from which it was never to recover, and the economic chaos and almost constant warfare added momentum to its demise during the nineteenth century (Perry 1988:3). As it began to collapse in the late nineteenth century, Macedonia was divided into three administrative districts or *vilayets* (large provinces) – Solonica (now Thessaloniki), Monastir (Bitola, which included Florina), and Kossovo (Kosovo) with three million people of extremely varied backgrounds (Lange-Akhund 1998:13). In this manner, the Ottomans sought to avoid the use of the term 'Macedonia' (Perry 1988:13). Successive waves of migrants who settled in Greek Macedonia as a result of wars or through peaceful penetration also meant that by the nineteenth century, the region had a population that was mixed in terms of religion, language and culture (Koliopoulos 1999:11).

Collective Hellenic identities were crucially shaped between the beginning of the Ottoman domination of Greek lands in 1453; and the conclusion of the Second Balkan War and the division of Macedonia in 1913 (Livanios 2008b:34). From the very beginning of the Ottoman Empire, the diverse populations were frequently on the move. There was a tendency for continuous and largescale migration to other lands in the Ottoman Empire and this included Constantinople and other foreign countries where there were superior social and economic conditions (Vacalopoulos 1973:108). With the establishment of numerous Greek commercial communities in the southern part of the Balkans, as well as inside and outside the Ottoman Empire, Greek was known as the language of commerce and non-Greek Orthodox merchants usually became Hellenised (Vermeulen 1984:230; Vacalopoulos 1973:9). In effect, the Ottoman Balkans had been a highly multicultural area characterised by fluid social and economic exchange between people; it was only with the emergence of nation-states that this relative ease of movement across boundaries would tighten or close (Karakasidou 1997a:21).

The complex process of mediating individual, family, regional and national identity occurred within the context of the change from the multicultural nature of the empire into the emerging homogenous Greek nation-state. Ottoman Macedonia had a mixed population where different ethnic groups and religions coexisted but at times clashed (Perry 1988:17). As ethnicity was a foreign concept to the Ottomans, there was initially no differentiation by language or race amongst the different ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire (Kostov 2011:53). Rather, religion was the most important factor for the Ottoman Turks when they classified their subject population (Kostov 2011:54). Thus under Ottoman rule, the diverse inhabitants of the area that was to be termed Northern Greece were organised into communities, known as *millets* (literally 'nations'), based on religion, rather than language or ethnicity (Clogg 2008:8, Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:35, Vermeulen 1984). As such, the idea behind Ottoman unity was to envisage a dual loyalty of faith to the state and to the religious communities of the *millet* (Vezenkov 2013:257). Consequently, the sense of a common 'homeland' remained elusive for most peasants until at least the early twentieth century (Biondich 2011:44). At this point, Orthodox Macedonians had local rather than nationalist identities (Hall 2011:72).

From the 1760s until 1870, nearly all Balkan Christians were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch in Constantinople, regardless of their native language or ethnic background (Perry 1988:14). The Orthodox millet was called the *millet-i-rum* (Roman nation) or 'Greek' millet and it embraced all the Orthodox Christians of the Empire whether they were Bulgarian, Romanian, Serb, Vlach, Albanian or Arab (Clogg 2008:8). All were classified by the Ottoman authorities as 'Greeks' since the Ottomans divided their subjects according to confession (Perry 1988:14). It was also the Greek language that was used for church services, although not exclusively (Livanios 2008a:5). However, the population in Northern Greece was more diverse than that of the heartland of Greece (Doumanis 2010:157). The heterogeneous population of Macedonia included a number of different ethnic and religious groups: Muslims including Turks, Albanians and Pomaks, as well as Greeks, Slavs including Bulgarians and Serbians, Jews, Vlachs, and Roma Gypsies (Lange-Akhund 1998:13; Kostov 2011:56). By the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottomans had recognised no less than twelve *millets* (Livanios 2008a:5). Greek was spoken mostly in the south and the west of the region, as well as parts of Florina and Kastoria (Koliopoulos 1999:xxiii, 11). In the north, there were predominantly Slav speaking Christians. Many settlements were linked together through the exchange of goods, services and betrothals, and the boundaries of the central

Macedonian countryside were defined in terms of natural geography and human agency such as markets, trade routes and administrative divisions (Karakasidou 1997a:220).

As the region was mainly agricultural, more than eighty per cent of the population in Ottoman Macedonia was made up of peasants (Perry 1988:17). Instead of notions of national belonging, the identity of the Slav-speaking peasantry was determined by local, regional, socioeconomic and religious factors, as well as whether they were members of a particular extended family (Perry 1988:21). Thus a peasant firstly considered themselves a member of a family, a village community and perhaps a small, culturally distinguishable regional unit (Vermeulen 1984:231). Then, secondly, they expressed a political-religious affiliation through their unity as part of the Christian community in the *millet-i-rum*, and there was acceptance of the culturally political and dominant position of the Greeks and the Hellenising influence of Greek culture (Vermeulen 1984:231).

A critical step towards the formation of collective Greek identity was the national awakening of the Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian and Serbian national states in the 1800s, each with the desire to claim parts of Macedonia (Perry 1988:1). The Greeks were the first subject peoples to sever the ties with the Ottoman Empire – modern Greece was formalised in three treaties between 1829-1832 when Britain, France and Russia carved out the boundaries of Greece. Within its borders were the Peloponnese, southern Roumeli (central Greece), and a handful of islands close to the mainland (Doumanis 2010:170-175; Gerolymatos 2002:183). Yet the question of the kingdom's borders was also subject to extensive deliberation, with the undefined territories of Epirus and Macedonia remaining central to the concept of a single greater Greek nation (Doumanis 2010:176). Livanios 2008b:259). In effect, the modern Greek state did not emerge as the result of an organic process facilitated by domestic support from the European powers, but rather as a state created by Britain, France and Russia to address their respective geopolitical concerns (Gerolymatos 2002:183). In 1832, less than a third of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire was within its borders and this was to create ongoing tensions (Clogg 2008:46). Within the newly formed Greek state the definition of who was considered 'Greek' was still a matter of intense debate (Livanios 2008b:238). In the latter phases of the Ottoman Empire, labels such as 'Greeks', 'Bulgarians' and 'Arabs' meant very little but would later form the basis of national identities (Doumanis 2010:157).

Whilst Greek ethnicity was often understood through faith, language and culture (Doumanis 2010:159), language as a marker of national identity could not be used as a determinant of identity in the north (Koliopoulos 1999:17). As peasants spoke a variety of other languages, regional and ethnic differences were effectively marginalised in the discourse of Greek identity (Forbes 2014:84). Rather, the 'sentiments' or 'consciousness' of the people was adopted as a less 'fallible' determinant of national identity in place of language (Koliopoulos 1999:17). What counted in determining the identity of Macedonia's inhabitants, therefore, was not based on language but rather Greek 'sentiments' and attachment to Greek national traditions and faith (Koliopoulos 1999:17). In effect, this could arguably be seen as a crucial development in Ottoman Macedonia towards the construction of Greek national consciousness that rendered the construction of identity at the local or regional level highly problematic.

As national ideologies began to develop, crucial agents in the nation-building process included the church, the military, the educational system, and the civil service (Vermeulen 1984, Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:35). The unity of the Orthodox community began to break down when the national Church of Greece (Greek Patriarchate) was founded in 1833, with the first deliberate step towards national separatism through the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 by the Ottoman rulers (Baldwin-Edwards et al 2015:6, Karakasidou 2002: 123-124). As a result, a bitter rivalry developed in the closing decades of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century between the Greek Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Exarchate, both seeking the religious adherence of the Christian population (Anastasovski 2008:33). This was to have a great impact on Balkan Christians as it was the church that played an enormous role in their lives, and in particular, was the chief community for the Slavic-speaking peasants for whom religious ceremonies and holidays were woven into the 'fabric of everyday life' (Perry 1988:14). As a result, Christians could no longer consider themselves as just members of the Orthodox Church but gradually came to define themselves as Serbs, Bulgarians or Greeks (Vermeulen 1984; Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:35).

In Macedonia, the Slav-speakers who made up approximately half of the population, were claimed by all of the three principle contenders for the entire area as Serbs, Bulgarians or Greeks (Livanios 2008a:5). In order to boost their numbers, Greek nationalists claimed not only the patriarchists but also all other inhabitants of Macedonia although some did not speak Greek or self-identity as Greek (Kostov 2011:63). Bulgaria began to claim the Slav-speaking Christians of Macedonia and Thrace, and many Slavic speaking districts voted to join the new

Bulgarian Exarchate as the patriarchist clergy had come to regard their Slavic-speaking parishioners as inferior and often did not minister to their needs (Perry 1998:15). One aspect that is important to note is that the population itself had no voice in being asked their own identity, but rather it was the perception of others that came to the conclusion that there was no national consciousness or national awakening in Macedonia (Perry 1988:21). I discuss more closely the effect of violence on Macedonian identity further in the chapter. However, it was not usual that a person was said to belong to a 'Macedonian' nationality (Perry 1988:20). Rather the term 'Macedonian' was occasionally used to identify the inhabitants of the Macedonian provinces, regardless of their ethnic background (Perry 1988:20).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the competing struggle between Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia to claim the Macedonians on ethnic grounds sought to purposely confuse the affiliation of churches with ethno-linguistic belonging (Rossos 2008:73). All three had recognised 'national' Orthodox churches and hence *millets* in the Ottoman state and could operate freely in Ottoman Macedonia to establish parishes and schools (Rossos 2008:73). In contrast, the Macedonians did not and could not set up their own church and consequently, could not organise and legally conduct any religious and educational activities under their national name (Rossos 2008:73). In terms of competing national interests, Slav-speakers who populated the fringe areas of Macedonia along the border with Serbia sometimes claimed to be Serbians, while those who lived along the Bulgarian border tended to identify as Bulgarians, and some inhabiting the Greek frontier considered themselves Greek as a religious affiliation rather than as an ethnic identity (Perry 1988:19).

Factors that became increasingly important in the construction of collective categories of identity began to centre on whether a family or village was affiliated with the Greek Patriarchate or the Bulgarian Exarchate, and whether the population were Greek-speakers or Slavic-speakers (Danforth 1995:60). In the case of Slavic-speaking Patriarchists who were claimed by both sides in terms of language by the Bulgarians, and religious affiliation by the Greeks, this issue of national identity became deeply complicated (Danforth 1995:60). Ultimately, there were to be serious implications for the Slav-speaking peasantry. For Balkan nationalists, 'the apple of discord' was first the Orthodox Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Ottoman Macedonia, and second the bilingual speakers (Roudometof 2001:143). The main issue at stake in Ottoman Macedonia was the perceived conflicted loyalty and national orientation of the Slav-speaking populations (Livanios 2008a:7). Many Macedonian Slavic-

speakers remained deeply immersed in the pre-modern religious identity of the Orthodox *millet* and had available to them education that was mostly in Greek (Livanios 2008:9). Crucially, they literally were not able to understand the word ‘nation’ in the way their national leaders understood the term (Livanios 2008a:9).

On the whole, the efforts to build a clear-cut national consciousness within the Slav-speaking population in Ottoman Macedonia proved to be a difficult task as their loyalties remained attached mostly to their land, family, religious affiliation and to some extent their language (Livanios 2008a:13). This was in contrast to the Bulgarians who articulated national identity through language, and to the Greeks who mainly focused on religion (Livanios 2008a:14). Thus the task of defining the nation was far more complex in Macedonia where ‘national consciousness had to be constructed – and often to be imposed – by others than the people concerned’ (Livanios 2008a:14). Yet the more pressing issue faced by the peasants was to not be ‘under the Turk’ and most Slavs did not choose to call themselves ‘Bulgarians’ but rather ‘Greek’ or ‘Christian’ (Livanios 2008a:14 -15). Rather than an ethnic term, the use of the word ‘Bulgarian’ at that times was used in a social context as a mainly derogative term to denote the hard-working peasant as well as the poor and the illiterate, irrespective of the language spoken (Livanios 2008a:10).

For the diverse and multilingual communities in Ottoman Macedonia, the ties to a shared religious community were no longer the main signifier of collective identity in the context of the emerging Greek nation. Yet the idea of ‘nation’ was not yet understood for the vast majority of its inhabitants. Rather, membership of an extended family and village determined identity and belonging, and these extended networks of kin would continue to remain integral for Greek Macedonian families in the diaspora. The question of the national loyalty of Slav-speaking Christians, where language use often became linked to identity, would also carry through to the diaspora for post-war migrants. This contested nature of ethno-regional identity meant that the idea of a Greek homeland was mediated within a hostile environment (as discussed below) for Greek Macedonians. In turn, this limited the ability for families to circulate collective narratives of place and identity that may have fostered a stronger connection to the homeland, as has been the case for other Greek diasporic regional communities.

THE EFFECT OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE ON IDENTITY

The Balkans experienced some of its worst political violence at a time when the peasantry still lacked a strong national consciousness (Biondich 2011:43; Dragostinova 2011:23). In 1878, Bulgaria controlled Macedonia briefly before returning Ottoman rule in the same year, and until 1923, Macedonia became the focal point of Balkan rivalries between Greece and Bulgaria due to its strategic importance that included the main communication route access to the sea, fertile plains and substantial tax revenues (Biondich 2011:65). Here I want to discuss the significance of the 'violence of identity' that emerged from these conflicts, and its impact on identification in the context of contesting nationalisms. Sen (2006:173-178) argues that the 'violence of identity' results where humans are not understood as persons with diverse identities, but rather seen as members of one particular social group or community (Sen 2006:173-178). As the Macedonian revolutionary struggle from 1893 to 1903 sought to free the region from Ottoman control, violent conflicts with a religious or national character multiplied and this further increased the interference of the Great Powers into Balkan Affairs (Lange-Akhund 1998:25; Perry 1988:xii). In Macedonia, there was a climate of permanent tension, with instability, turbulence, and violence paving the way for partition of the region in the face of patriotic desires to preserve territorial integrity (Rosso 2008:117). Figure 4 shows when regions were ceded to Greece between 1832-1947.

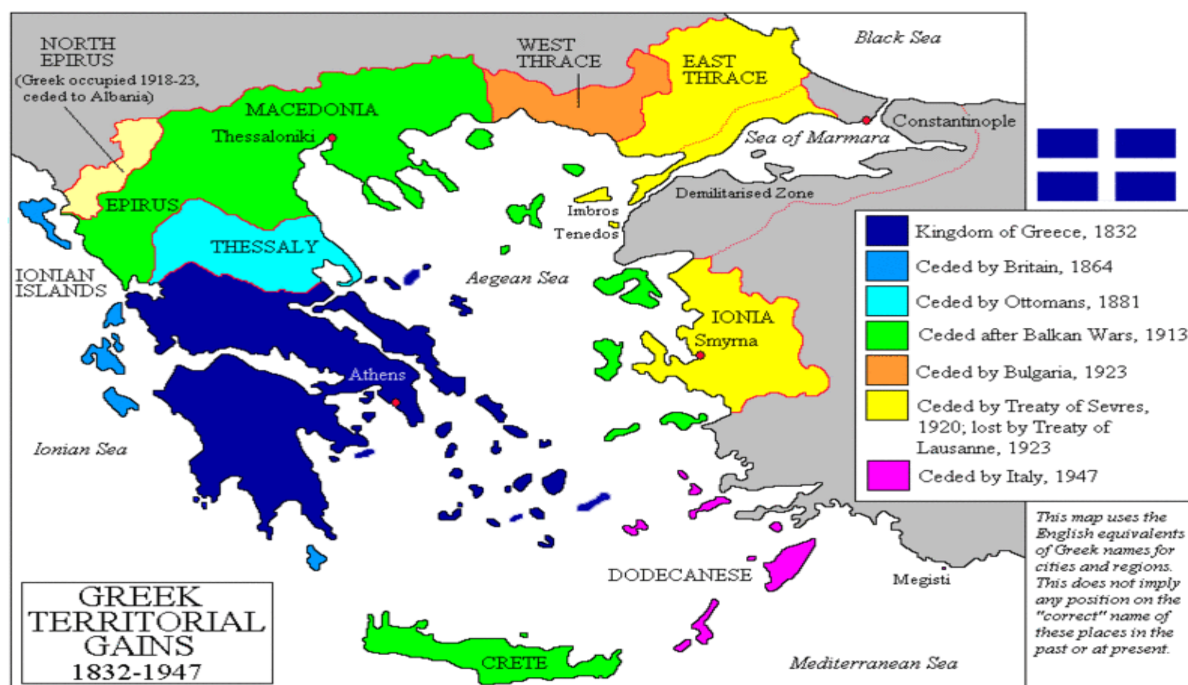

Fig. 4: Greek Territorial Gains 1832-1947

Source: The Yale Globalist (2015)

In the earlier years from 1870, people who lived in Skopje, Monastir (which included Florina), Shtip, Ohrid, Eastern Rumelia and Thrace were not in the spiritual jurisdiction of the newly established Bulgarian Exarchate. As these areas were not specifically defined in the Ottoman Sultan's decree to establish the Bulgarian Exarchate, as previously noted, villages remained under control of the Greek Patriarch but could willingly vote to join the Exarchate (Perry 1988:15). Consequently, Bulgarian guerrilla bands, some of them local and connected with the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (MRO), began to terrorise the peasants in order to send petitions to the Ottomans for permission to join the Bulgarian Exarchate if two-thirds of the population of a village approved it (Livanios 2008a:11). In theory, each band was to keep to its own district and to collect money and win support through good behaviour, but in practice the use of force and violence became more common as villagers were forced to declare themselves as Exarchist (Dakin 1993, 1966:55). As noted, Slav peasants were forced to declare themselves 'Greeks' or 'Bulgarians' in order to break the community previously fostered by religion, yet the Macedonian peasantry refused to identify with either of the 'national' causes and continued to declare themselves as Christians as few understood the connection to nation (Livanios 2008b:265).

Most Macedonian villages during 1870-1908 were mixed in terms of having both an Exarchist and a Patriarchist faction, and in most cases both factions spoke Bulgarian dialects (Livanios 2008a:11). During this period, the shifting national allegiances were often shaped by violence and this 'merciless terror' became a decisive factor in the alleged national preferences of the peasants providing the Exarchate with a commanding stronghold in many Macedonian areas (Livanios 2008a:11). Ultimately, it was felt that very few Slavic speakers dared to remain Greek (Livanios 2008a:11). The remainder of the population was mainly passive and/or indifferent to these factions, with the main concern of peasants being to safeguard life and modest property against hostility by keeping the 'game of terror' out of their villages (Livanios 2008a:12).

In a complex and dangerous environment, villages often shifted allegiances between Greece and Bulgaria overnight, and accommodated both Exarchist and Patriarchist bands to prevent reprisals (Livanios 2008a:12). Therefore, it was not unusual for members of the same family to belong to different 'nationalities' and for whole villages to change from 'Greek' to 'Bulgarian', or vice versa, depending on which side offered free education, or who held the balance of power between opposing nationalist bands in the region (Vermeulen 1984:240). In

many cases loyalty was extracted through fear, with declarations to the Greek and Bulgarian cause signed by hundreds of peasants (Koliopoulos 1999:22). More reliable measures of peasant sympathies were often indicated by sending children to a particular school or a particular church in the face of strong oppositional pressure, such quiet defiance signalling loyalty to a cause (Koliopoulos 1999:22). The greatest success of Greek schooling was in the south of Macedonia around Florina and Edessa as well as the southern Macedonian regions such as Kastoria, Thessaloniki and Serres (Perry 1988:16-27). However, schools reflected national agendas and were often the training grounds for revolutionary bands and activities (Perry 1988:29).

A critical point in the development of Greek Macedonian identity occurred when Florina was incorporated into Greece in 1912 and intensified when the Macedonian region was partitioned in 1913 between Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. In the area of Macedonia that was incorporated into Greece, not all Slav Macedonian Christians identified with the Greek national cause, and those who identified with the Bulgarian party were unhappy that their villages were now on the wrong side of the border in Greece (Koliopoulos 1999:23). For the vast majority of Christian peasants who were not able to define themselves into communities defined by criteria other than religion, they merely wanted to be left in peace and interfered with as little as possible (Koliopoulos 1999:23). Yet the physical division of Macedonia did not resolve conflicts in the region. On the contrary, it intensified instability. Although the physical barriers, water-passages and mountain ranges were taken into consideration, the current borders do not reflect the natural line or environment but rather the balance of power between the countries of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece (Tamis 2015:522).

Thus the present borders of the geographic region of Macedonia were formed at the termination of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 by international agreement and these borders were subsequently disputed during both World Wars (Tamis 2015:13). During the Balkan Wars, atrocities were committed on all sides through acts of violence, brutality, massacres and destruction (Biondich 2011:81), with over 130,000 people killed (Axelrod 2009:205). On a regional scale, the wars intensified territorial, religious, nationalistic, and tribal instability (Axelrod 2009:219). It also intensified the fragile position of Slavic speakers within the emerging Greek nation. An estimated 250,000 Slavic-speaking Macedonians lived in the districts of Ottoman Macedonia that became part of Greece on the eve of the Balkan Wars, and of those, 120,000 people were considered to profess non-Greek sentiments (Koliopoulos

1999:28). Ultimately, Greece's gains from the two Balkan wars were considerable, and with the territorial additions of southern Epirus and Macedonia, as well as the islands of Crete and Samos, Greece nearly doubled in size (Woodhouse 1968:193).

Thus conflict over borders and boundaries of identity has had an enormous, and often violent, impact on those who have inhabited this region. Unsurprisingly, there are divergent interpretations of these attempts to forge a singular identity. On the one hand, Karakasidou (1997a:135) has argued that the creation of a national identity gave people a new identity and a commonness of culture and transformed the Slavic speakers of the region from a people without a nation to a transnational ethnic group. On the other hand, it has been argued that since nationalism 'invaded the region', cultural and linguistic communities have disappeared and extremely unsettled versions of history and senses of identity have emerged (Koliopoulos 1999:xiii). Put simply, the situation has created difficulties for many seeking to identify with a Macedonian 'homeland' – difficulties that are explored in greater detail throughout this thesis.

The tension created by the modern Greek view of Greece as the rightful and sole legatee of Macedonia's ancient Greek and pre-Slav cultural heritage, and the complex history of settlement of the region over many centuries, has in effect meant that those viewed as 'latecomers' into Macedonia have been unable to claim aspects of cultural heritage even though they have been co-occupants of the region (Koliopoulos 1997:41). Although shaped by a violent history, the 'nation' rather than faith, locality or occupation, gradually came to be seen as the most important group to which a person belonged in Macedonia (Cowan 1997:156). As the twentieth century progressed, and as territorial boundaries became fixed, communities in the frontier zone found themselves under pressure to embrace a single nationality within the nation-state under its enclosed borders (Cowan 1997:157). This history of conflict over identity has a legacy in the diasporic narration of belonging. In the next section, I examine more closely nation-building in the Greek Macedonian region and how this further shaped Greek national identity.

Greek nation building in Greek Macedonia in the early twentieth century

Although the seeds of a Greater Greece or the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) that included all of the areas of Greek settlement in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace had in fact been sown much earlier in 1832 with the establishment of the frontier of Greece, its greatest impacts were felt in the

twentieth century (Clogg 2008:46). To create a sense of loyalty to the state, there was a pressing need to create a shared sense of Greek identity in order to transcend the difficult issue of traditional loyalties to family, native region and region (Clogg 2008: 46). Consequently, the Hellenization of Slavic-speakers in Northern Greece was a major concern of Greek authorities during the interwar period (Karakasidou 2000: 230). Each time a new region was integrated into the Greek state, such as Macedonia in 1913 and Thrace in 1920, renaming with 'new Greek classical names' occurred, often through processes that lasted for decades, but still with the aim of ultimately producing a new national narrative (Liakos 2008:231).

One step towards the construction of Greek national identity in Macedonia was through the changing of personal and place names. The legacy of the multiple linguistic groups that had inhabited the region of Macedonia over centuries meant that human settlements and landscapes often had a variety of names associated with them (Cowan 2000:xv). A commission appointed by the Greek government in 1909 reviewed toponyms and reported that one third of the villages of Greece should have their 'barbaric' names changed because of their non-Greek origin and to support the ethnic and cultural homogenization of modern Greece (Liakos 2008:232). In 1913 all Macedonian names, including personal and place names, were replaced by Greek names and all evidence of Slavic literacy was destroyed (Danforth 1997:53). Although the memory of places and family names prior to Hellenization of the region were remembered by first-generation participants in this thesis, these names were not actively passed down through the generations.

In effect, the map of ancient Greece has been constantly redesigned since the beginning of the Greek state, and spaces have been nationalised to achieve a reorganisation of historical consciousness (Liakos 2008:230). Greek history, folklore and archaeology has been used to buttress this narrative and the Greek character of the northern borders of the Greek nation (Liakos 2007:213). As a result, the notion of common Greek ancestry, cultural traditions and religion has prevailed over any local or regional diversity, which has been largely suppressed (Triandafyllidou 1998:606). For example, the reinterpretation of the national past in order for Alexander the Great to become an integral part of ancient Greek legacy with the boundaries between Greeks and non-Greeks defined through to the present time has occurred much later in the modern era (Triandafyllidou 1998:607). In particular, excavations in Vergina in western Macedonia on Greek soil during the 1970s revealed the royal tomb of King Phillip, the father of Alexander the Great, and became a new 'holy place' for Greek national memory with the

previously unknown symbol of the 'Macedonian star' or 'Macedonian sun' becoming a new national emblem of Macedonian Hellenism in blue and gold (Liakos 2007:213).

To protect the newly created state boundaries in 1912, people from Florina in particular: 'had to be taught to construct an exclusive national identity with specific cultural characteristics' (Manos 2010:109). The intent was not only to build the nation but also to protect it from the threats posed by minorities (Liakos 2008:232). The First World War further tested Slavic-speaking Macedonian peasant loyalties in the region as a result of hostile relations between Greece and Bulgaria (Koliopoulos 1999:23). During the First World War (1914-1918) Florina was occupied by Bulgaria until the Entente countered this effort during the autumn of 1916 (Hall 2011:82). Consequently, the patterns of violence that were experienced in the Balkans during the First World War remained unchanged from the Balkan Wars (Biondich 2011:85).

The number of Macedonians in the Greek region, which had begun to decline during the Balkan Wars, further accelerated after 1918 under Greek plans to transform the region's ethnic structure (Rossos 2008:5). Policies imposed on the population included colonization and internal transfers of Macedonians, and these population transfers included both 'voluntary' exchanges with Bulgaria and compulsory exchanges with Turkey – what would now be termed 'ethnic cleansings' (Rossos 2008:5). This was not unique to Greece, as similar policies were pursued throughout Europe in the post-First World War period, which saw ethnic homogenization within local nation-states to the exclusion of minorities from the national 'imagined community' (Roudometof 2001:237). This included Macedonian Slavs who were not viewed as 'genuine' members of the Bulgarian, Serb or Greek nations (Roudometof 2001:237). As noted, these sentiments of 'genuine' identity also carried over into the diaspora and disrupted the early formation of a cohesive Greek Macedonian community, with suspicion towards Slavic-speakers from the broader Greek community in terms of national allegiances.

The exchange of populations following World War I and subsequent associated treaties, brought 120,000 new immigrants with Greek national consciousness into Greek Macedonia by 1920, and this added further complexities to the diversity of identity within the region (Karakasidou 1997a:133). In the aftermath of the great 'catastrophe' suffered in Smyrna in 1922, and with the population exchanges that followed in 1923, the massive influx of refugees from Anatolia would have a profound impact on all facets of Greek life (Biondich 2011:116, Clogg 2008:46-97). After two days of plunder and murder, the destruction of Smyrna was

aimed at ridding the new Turkish republic of as many of its unwanted minorities as possible including the Greeks and Armenians (Gerolymatos 2002:173). The 'cleansing' of Anatolian ethnic groups including the Orthodox Greeks by the Turkish Government resulted in over one million Asia Minor Greek refugees entering into Greece. They were strongly encouraged by the Greek State to settle in the mountainous border areas of Northern Greece in Macedonia and Thrace (Bruneau 2013). These population exchanges also served to reinforce Greek control over Greek Macedonia, with a programme of compulsory Hellenization strictly enforced and targeting the indigenous Slav-speaking population, who were officially referred to as 'Slavophone Greeks' in light of the ongoing threat posed by the MRO in Bulgaria (Biondich 2011:116). The Greek authorities continued to maintain a persistent sense of threat, as they were never entirely convinced their Hellenization policies were succeeding (Biondich 2011:117).

Both indigenous Greeks and the new immigrants, who spoke mainly Turkish or local Greek dialects, experienced a culture shock that saw the emergence of mutual prejudices that would persist for generations (Biondich 2011:116). Initially it was Greeks who were in the minority in Greek Macedonia following the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 (Clogg 2008:103). However, the influx and resettlement of refugees following the exchange of populations after the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 (also known as the Asia Minor War) altered the country's ethnic imbalance towards Greeks who were now clearly in the majority (Clogg 2008:103). For some refugees, such as the Pontic Greeks who were displaced from Asia Minor after 1922 and their descendants, such events created a refugee identity that has been used as a strategy to cope with the trauma of forced displacement (James 2001:2). It has been argued that among all the Greek refugees of 1923, the Pontic Greeks were the most attached to preserving and transmitting their ethnic identity from one generation to the next (Bruneau 2013). Greek historiography has also reflected the trauma of war and displacement from the Pontus region to record and preserve traditions from places lost to the Greek nation (Dragostinova 2011:231). Yet this experience is in sharp contrast to the little documented experiences of the Slavic-speaking Greek Macedonians, whose narrative of trauma and displacement has been highly contested within Greek historiography.

By the census of 1928 almost half the inhabitants of Macedonia were of refugee origin (Clogg 2008:103). The 1928 census also presented Greece as ethnically homogenous and 81,984 Macedonians were classified as 'Slavophone' Greeks (Rossos 2008:5), with almost half of the

Slavic speakers or Macedonian Slavs located in the Florina region (Roudometof 2002:95). Yet the majority of the population in most Slavic-speaking Macedonian villages were indifferent to identity and only cared about remaining alive (Koliopoulos 1999:39). In the 1951 census that took place after the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), 47,000 Slavophone Greeks were recorded and this was the last census to record ethnicity (Rosso 2008:5). After reciprocal emigration came to an end in 1928, the position taken with regards to identity was that the Slav-speaking Christians of Greek Macedonia who had not declared their wish to emigrate to Bulgaria were now regarded as Greeks who spoke Slav (Koliopoulos 1999:32). The influx of refugees into villages in Greek Macedonia, where available land was limited, placed considerable pressure on Slavic-speaking Macedonians to leave their homes for less inhospitable lands (Koliopoulos 1999:43). Although the refugees were expected to Hellenise the region in speech and sentiment, almost half of the refugees who settled in the district of Florina in fact spoke Turkish and little or no Greek (Koliopoulos 1999:42).

Other policies and practices of Hellenization included the gradual transformation of national consciousness among Slavic-speakers in Northern Greece through the repetitive ritual action of national celebrations (Karakasidou 2000:231). To this end, Greek administrators pursued a campaign to erect monuments to national heroes in the public squares of towns and villages throughout Northern Greece in the 1920s. This was designed to foster a sense of common belonging to the Greek nation collectively, as well as to its historical traditions and its ranks of martyrs (Karakasidou 2000:230). As the presence of ancient sites in Northern Greece was not as strong as in other parts of Greece, the demarcation of space occurred through the use of these national monuments (Liakos 2008:235). Such policies and practices meant that by 1924 the League of Nations could pronounce that there was no Slavic-speaking minority population left in Northern Greece (Karakasidou 1997a:133). With sovereignty over the southern half of Macedonia, the Greek state continued to seek to integrate regional and local administrative structures into national governance and economy in an effort to raise national consciousness (Karakasidou 1997a:133). Yet for many in Greek Macedonia, the nation of the Hellenes was largely an abstract identity during the years between the Balkan Wars and World War II that was invoked and symbolised through flags, schools, holiday celebrations, and official commemorations (Karakasidou 1997a:163).

Ultimately, through policies of Hellenization such as changes to toponyms, modern Greece was created by means of a continuous link and narrative to the 'glorious Greece' of the past

(Liakos 2008:236). While it could also be argued that both Slavic and Hellenic place names may say more about political or cultural events rather than massive demographic changes and the ethnicity or ancestry of inhabitants (Herzfeld 1982:79), by the beginning of the nineteenth century Macedonian Slav national consciousness was arguably developing concurrently with a Greek national consciousness (Shea 1997:164). But, until the Second World War, the official view of many was that the Slavs of Macedonia did not constitute a distinct ethnic or national group. For the Yugoslav state until that time, for example, they were all 'South Serbs' (Shea 1997:175). But, as Shea argues, the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Macedonia had perhaps by this time come to a realisation that it was no longer possible to identity as either Serbs or Bulgarians (Shea 1997:176). Subsequently, under Tito's government, Macedonians as a distinct ethnic and political group were first recognised when the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed in 1946 and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was recognised as part of that republic (Shea 1997:176). At this time, Macedonian was also internationally recognised as a language (Shea 1997:176).

While further elements of this development are tracked below, to put it in its simplest terms, on the one hand scholars dispute the existence of a Macedonian identity prior to the 1940s, while others assert Macedonian consciousness prior to this period (Kostov; Tamis; cf Petroff; Rossos; Shea). What is clear, however, is that the last phase of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans signalled the traumatic transition from empire to nation-states as Greece and Bulgaria sought to split up the same territories and claim the loyalties of the same populations (Dragostinova 2011:263). In the context of understanding diasporic identifications, I argue that this history of (often traumatic) realignments of identity should not be downplayed or understood as an outcome of recent history; rather, only when we appreciate the details and complexities of fluid interactions and identity-making across time can we appreciate choices made about how this identity is mediated in the diaspora, and how belonging through the family became a stable signifier of identity. It is also important to observe challenges pertinent to specific places, and so before turning to the narratives of my participants in the next chapter, in the final part of this chapter I concentrate on the disruption to place in Florina leading up to the Greek Civil War and how Greek Macedonian identity has subsequently been constructed and negotiated for those from this area specifically.

THE EFFECT OF WAR IN FLORINA UNTIL THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Over time, Florina has been known by its original Byzantine name *Chlorine*, the Latinised name *Chlerina* and the Slavic name *Lerin*. Yet these names all reflect the same concept – that of green vegetation of the region. Ottoman Florina was described as a place where the houses were full of gardens watered by a tributary of the River Erigon (now Crna Reka) of Monastir (now Bitola) (Vacalopoulos 1973:263). Known for its mainly agricultural characteristics, fruit orchards and vegetable gardens were cultivated along rivers and wherever soil could retain moisture, with paprika grown extensively (Koliopoulos 1999:3-9). Landholdings, however, were usually small and barely adequate to sustain even a small family (Koliopoulos 1999:9). A market town that attracted cross-border trading and cultural exchange, Florina became the site of the first rail line built in the southern Ottoman provinces in 1893, which linked it to Thessaloniki, providing further cultural and economic exchange. The development of railroad networks in the second half of the nineteenth century facilitated massive movements of Macedonians within Europe, primarily to Bulgaria, Romania, Constantinople and Thessaly (Tamis 1994:8). This period of flowering prosperity was to be short-lived, however, as a decline in the economic conditions of Greece in the 1930s saw the discontinuation of the line. Rail connection did enable greater movement within the Ottoman Empire of the population in search of more favourable economic conditions, but of greater concern was the ominous threat of war, occupation, violence and displacement that was to last into the middle of the twentieth century.

Greece faced a series of calamities in the period between 1936 and 1949 that included dictatorship, occupation and civil war that continued the conflict between communist and non-communist resistance movements (Biondich 2011:186). Stringent legislative and administrative measures were made under the right-wing dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941) in response to inroads the communists were able to make in Slavic-speaking Macedonian villages and to 'anti-state sentiments' on the Macedonian Question by Greek communists (Koliopoulos 1999:44). Under the Metaxas dictatorship, people who were beginning to identify themselves as Macedonians experienced severe repression and were beaten, fined, and imprisoned for speaking the Macedonian language (Danforth 2001b:89). As the speaking of Macedonian in public was banned, pastoralists of the region were obliged to provide evidence of their true Greek sentiments to be able to rent summer grazing land (Koliopoulos 1999:44-45). In 1942, an estimated 27,000 Slavic-speaking Macedonians lived

in Florina (Koliopoulos 1999:37). However, the advent of the Second World War and foreign occupation of the region in the 1940s curtailed the ruthless drive to transform the region and saw an end to the process of assimilating different linguistic and cultural groups into a homogenous national community (Koliopoulos 1999:45). Even so, existing divisions were further intensified in the lead up to the Second World War (Koliopoulos 1999:46) and, with food production in many villages in the late 1930s not sufficient, the only remedy to starvation for many was migration (Koliopoulos 1999:48).

Sources regarding events in Greek Macedonia during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War are at best fragmentary (Koliopoulos 1999:xviii), but it has been argued that the co-existence of minority groups in large numbers and communist ideology 'fuel[ed] the agony of the 1940s' (Woodhouse in Koliopoulos 1999:ix). This 'agony' saw Bulgarian nationalist forces challenge Greek national hegemony (Karakasidou 1997a:201), the attack by Italy in October 1940 with the advent of the Second World War, and six months later by Germany (Koliopoulos 1999:49), with Greece preferring to fight and fall, rather than invite Balkan allies to help themselves to Greek territory (Koliopoulos 1999:49). In 1941, the Nazis awarded Macedonia and Thrace to their Bulgarian allies and one hundred thousand Greeks were expelled with more than thirty thousand killed in a genocidal attack with thousands more seeking refuge in Thessaloniki and Athens (Gerolymatos 2002:242-243). Thus, despite British assistance during the Second World War, Greece experienced defeat and a painful occupation by Germany, Italy and Bulgaria that left the country ripe for civil war following the loss of wealth and capital assets, and with deep seeds of discord sown once the occupiers left Greece in 1944 (Koliopoulos 1999:49).

During the winter of 1941-1942, Greece also experienced the worst famine in modern times (Koliopoulos 1999:54). After the Axis occupation of Greece in 1941, the Germans confiscated all foodstuffs and livestock and the Bulgarians exacerbated the food crisis by seizing the wheat fields of Macedonia and Thrace (Gerolymatos 2002:243). There was a systematic plunder of foodstuffs and stock by Italian and German occupying forces in West and Central Macedonia (Koliopoulos 1997:51). The British also compounded the problem with a blockade and some Greek peasants saw the opportunity to eliminate their debts by charging exorbitant prices for their produce, which contributed to further starvation (Gerolymatos 2002:243). Consequently, more than one hundred thousand perished of starvation and disease in Athens alone, with countless more in other cities and towns (Gerolymatos 2002:243). It is thought that many

Slavic-speaking Macedonians declared Bulgarian nationality in order to secure food rations such as bread or flour in exchange for a Bulgarian identity card, although most refused to sign declarations despite having almost nothing (Koliopoulos 1999:54). Scarcity of resources, animals that perished, insecurity of life and property, tuberculosis advanced by malnutrition, unemployment, returned soldiers that were uncared for, the destruction of bridges and roads that further limited food distribution and the collapse of services were all features of the Greek Macedonian region following 1941 (Koliopoulos 1999:56).

Conditions were worsened by the division of the Greek Macedonian region into two zones of occupation: a German zone that included Florina, Ptolemaida and Kozani and was bordered in the east by the Bulgarian zone; and an Italian zone of occupation in the west (Koliopoulos 1999:57). The intense political situation was further compounded in 1941 when General Tito offered national status to Yugoslavia's 'South Serbs' who became 'Macedonians' with a new identity and a new history, albeit where land had already been carved out (Koliopoulos 1999:113). This move was intended to win the people of Yugoslav Macedonia over from Bulgarian sympathies (Koliopoulos 1999:113). However, after the capitulation by Italy in September 1943, mixed villages were often divided between the two hostile and irreconcilable camps of Greece and Bulgaria (Koliopoulos 1999:57-62). The impact was felt strongly in villages in the westernmost Slav-speaking enclave of Greek Macedonia, who faced competition between the Greek communist-sponsored Antartes, the Yugoslav Partisans and the occupying forces for the loyalty of the Slav Macedonians. Villages were further divided between: *'Komitadji'* (rebel) villages that had accepted arms from the occupying forces; 'converted' villages won over by Greek guerrillas whose propaganda exploited anti-royalist sentiments among the Slav Macedonians; and 'loyal' villages which had fully accepted cooperation with the Greek guerrillas and refused or disposed of arms from the occupying forces (Koliopoulos 1999:62-63). The legacy of the Second World War was enormous unrest and division, and civil war soon erupted.

The Greek Civil War 1946-1949

Civilians bore the brunt of the violence during the Greek Civil War, with sixty thousand deaths and fifty thousand people forced into exile in Eastern Bloc countries (Doumanis 2010:205). In the wake of withdrawing German forces, rifts developed between Slav Macedonian communities who desired Greek rule and those, much smaller in number, who desired

Bulgarian rule (Koliopoulos 1999:173). The consequences of this choice applied not only to individuals but to their extended family as well as their village or group of villages (Koliopoulos 1999:173). Thus, on the eve of liberation, the prospects of a peaceful transfer of power were unlikely and Florina has been described as akin to a 'powder keg', ready to explode in a land 'haunted by hatred, fear and suspicion' (Koliopoulos 1999:175).

Within the space of a few short years, the area around Florina and the town itself became embroiled in a vicious civil war in which pro-Greek and pro-Macedonian forces battled each other for control of the land they both called Macedonia (Karakasidou 2000:231). As an increasing number of Greek Slav Macedonians joined the Greek Resistance units of EAM/ELAS (the National Liberation Front and its military wing, the Greek People's Liberation Army) in 1943, they started to proclaim a separate Macedonian identity (Kostov 2011:82). Accordingly, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) founded the Slav Macedonian Popular Liberation Front (SNOF) in November of 1943 to exploit the situation (Kostov 2011:82). In 1945, the resurrection of Slav Macedonian armed activity commenced in Greece's northern provinces and agitated for the self-determination of the Macedonians (Livanios 2008a:217). This was despite an account of the inaugural 'Oxi Day' (No Day) celebrations of 1945 in the prefecture of Florina that reported all the population had paid tribute to their local heroes' monuments and that the 'state-mandated protocol or program of the celebrations had been followed to the letter' (Karakasidou 2000:231). The division between supporters of the republic and of the monarchy was overlaid by an even more fundamental division between communists and anti-communists (Clogg 2008:142).

For the poor, remote and diverse population of Greek Macedonia, years of occupation and resistance had eroded the legal and moral constraints to violence, which was subsequently used by different groups to enforce Communist, nationalist, and local agendas (Koliopoulos 1999, Biondich 2011:187). Florina remained under siege throughout the Greek Civil War and many tried to flee even before the government decided to evacuate villages (Koliopoulos 1999:250). Peasants sought to escape from their villages to the nearest towns in the autumn of 1946 and later *en masse* in the early months of 1948 when the government decided to move the village populations into the towns in an effort to deny communist insurgents sources of manpower, supplies and intelligence (Koliopoulos 1999:267). The total of evacuated villages in the Florina region was much higher than other parts of Greek Macedonia as most highland villages had already lost some of their population to FYROM, or to the town of Florina, and as a result there

were sixty out of approximately 110 villages that were either totally abandoned or occupied by the communist rebels (Koliopoulos 1999:269). Those left behind were usually elderly and neither the government nor the rebels considered them useful for their particular causes (Koliopoulos 1999:270). In 1948, guerrillas prevented fresh fruit, vegetables, milk, firewood and even water for people in the last villages and towns held by government forces in an effort to force their submission (Koliopoulos 1999:250).

By the late summer of 1949, the Democratic Army (founded by the Communist Party of Greece) was defeated with the massive influx of American military aid in the form of equipment and training to the Greek regular army (Clogg 2008:141). The unwillingness by Stalin to risk confrontation with the United States led to the closure of aid and the border by Yugoslavia to the Democratic Army (Clogg 2008:141). The Greek Civil War finally ended in 1949 in favour of the Greek government after the partisans waged their final battles along the mountains near the Albanian border in northwest Greece (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:31). In the aftermath, the government authorities were unable to shelter, feed and provide medical care to the displaced peasants and housing became a huge problem that was only solved when peasants were sent home in 1949 and 1950 (Koliopoulos 1999:272). Up until that point, central government and town authorities provided shelter for homeless peasants by commandeering rooms in private houses, public buildings that included churches and schools, and temporary huts (Koliopoulos 1999:272). In addition, the region had ceased to produce enough food to keep the population alive and depended largely on what came in from the outside world (Koliopoulos 1999:272). Everyday life was described as dreary and almost unbearable with kerosene and firewood hard to come by, especially in winter (Koliopoulos 1999:275).

A visible and lasting effect of the Greek Civil War was the destruction of villages as viable communities with their populations 'scattered' to Greece's towns and cities or to foreign countries (Koliopoulos 1999:288). The exodus of Greece's Slav Macedonians in the second half of the 1940s was also part of a more general peasant exodus in the same period, with approximately twenty thousand to the FYROM (Koliopoulos 1999:288; Michailidis 2009:73). By 1949, the Slav Macedonian pockets of the region had lost the bulk of their population and assimilation was further facilitated by mixed marriages with other Greeks, loss of their native language and the desire to advance through their attendance of Greek school, and previous population transfers (Koliopoulos 1999:285). Yet it was not only Slav Macedonian villages

associated with the communist guerrillas that suffered serious losses, but ultimately all villages (Koliopoulos 1999:288).

The children of the Greek Civil War

Arguably one of the greatest tragedies of the Greek Civil War, and certainly of relevance to this thesis, was its impact on the lives of children who witnessed traumatic events and experienced loss and displacement from their villages. During the height of the Greek Civil War in 1948, the Greek Communist Party began a program to evacuate twenty thousand Greek and Macedonian children between the ages of three and fourteen years from their villages in Northern Greece to the socialist countries of Eastern Europe (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:4). The communist-led program was known as the *paidomazoma*, literally 'the gathering of children' (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:14). Most of these children came from Kastoria, Florina and Aridea. The intent of the evacuation was for the children to be safely cared for and continue their education, yet some children were sent back to Greece to fight in the communist controlled Democratic Army (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:4).

In protest, the Greek Government submitted a formal complaint to the United Nations and claimed that the Greek children were being forcibly removed from their homes (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:5). Many parents, sometimes under duress, enrolled their children in the program, whilst some agreed to send only one or two children, and in other cases, particularly in Slavic-speaking areas or villages where children had already been killed by bombing, shelling or land mines, all the children left for their safety (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:50). The children who were aged between three and fourteen were eligible for evacuation, although younger or older children were also included so they would not be injured in the fighting or conscripted by the partisans (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:50). The children journeyed from Florina across the border into Yugoslavia by foot and were often cold, hungry and afraid (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:51). In 1948, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe agreed to host the refugee children from the Greek Civil War until the end of hostilities in Greece and their living conditions greatly improved after being settled in more permanent children's homes (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:68). But by the late 1950s only about five thousand had been returned to Greece due to the political tensions of the Cold War hampering repatriation of the refugee children (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:6). A more positive outcome of the program was child participation in education in their host

countries and the opportunity to continue studies at university or in vocational programs (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:74). Nevertheless, the impact of displacement and loss should not be underestimated.

Moreover, these children were not the only children evacuated from Northern Greece during the Greek Civil War as children were also evacuated by the Greek Government in 1947 (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:6). In a campaign led personally by Queen Frederica of Greece, eighteen thousand children were settled into 54 government-controlled children's homes in cities and towns throughout Greece which included one home in Florina and eleven homes in Thessaloniki (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:97). The program was initially presented as a humanitarian effort to improve the lives of the children but later termed an effort to save the children of Northern Greece from being 'kidnapped by the Communists' (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:16). During their time in the children's homes, the children were taught to become loyal citizens of the Greek state, with the aim of making them full members of the Greek nation (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:105). At the conclusion of the Civil War most of the homes were closed and sixteen thousand children were repatriated to their villages with the remaining two thousand children unable to return home as their parents had died, been imprisoned or sentenced to death as communists (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:6). Ultimately hundreds of thousands of Greeks lost their homes and villages, with perhaps seven hundred thousand, approximately half of whom were children, displaced from their homes due to the Civil War (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:88). In addition, three-quarters of the ten thousand schools in Greece had been destroyed or badly damaged and there was a shortage of teachers and schoolbooks (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:89).

Following the conclusion of the Greek Civil War, Queen Frederica became concerned about the children's ability to adjust to life in the villages after such terrible destruction. There was also further concern about the future of children from Macedonian-speaking villages in Florina and Kastoria and this included the desire for them to learn to speak Greek through the establishment of nursery schools in the youth centres in small villages across Greece's northern border (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:105). By the 1960s, the Queen's Fund was responsible for the operation of about 250 youth centres that provided entertainment, as well as educational and vocational programs that reinforced traditional gender roles in rural Greek society at that time, to over fifty thousand children in villages throughout Northern Greece (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:105).

It was hoped that encouraging children to love their villages and develop a ‘rural consciousness’ at the *paidopoleis* (children’s homes) would slow the rate at which rural areas of Northern Greece were being depopulated as a result of internal migration to Thessaloniki and Athens, as well as outward migration to Western Europe, Canada and Australia (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:110). Children were to be taught that they no longer belonged first and foremost to their families, but to the state as future ‘Greek citizens’ (Vasiloudi 2014:178). Yet many of these children would not return or remain in their villages in the mountains of Northern Greece; they left in search of opportunities elsewhere, often precisely because of the higher standards of living that the *paidopoleis* had led them to expect (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:111). Ultimately, while both evacuation programs succeeded in providing a form of safe haven for children, questions remain about these evacuation programs and whether they were motivated primarily by humanitarian goals or by the desire to create recruits to fight in Greece if needed (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:245, 267).

Following the Greek Civil War, a semblance of democracy and stability were restored until the early 1960s, although members of the wartime resistance who were deemed to be unpatriotic, as well as several minorities, were still persecuted and effectively marginalized (Biondich 2011:187). Indeed, long after the military conflict was over, the traumatic impact of the Civil War continued to polarise Greece for decades (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:31). Memories of the period of repression during Hellenization changed attitudes of the Slavic-speaking population of Greek Macedonia in different ways (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:35); but, like other Balkan countries, the Greek authorities did not attempt to integrate Slavic groups but rather to assimilate them (Kostov 2011:103). In Florina, the impact of war and poor economic conditions, particularly the aftermath of the Greek Civil War, was felt keenly, with an extensive loss of population due to mass migration. While Koliopoulos (1999:xiv) has observed that, by the 1970s, the aftermath of war in regions such as Florina, Kastoria, Kozani and Grevena were no longer as visible following the expansion of manufacturing, ‘ghost houses’ higher up on the mountain slopes remained to mark the impact of war and displacement (Koliopoulos 1999:xiv). Whole villages had disappeared and the legacy of this history would, as noted below in this thesis, have an impact in the diaspora.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POST-WAR IDENTITY IN FLORINA

So how was this history taken forward in the post-war period, and how does it affect the identity of those who trace their origins to the region today? The latter part of that question is addressed throughout this thesis, but it should be noted that when one visits Florina today there is scant visibility of the struggles of the past aside from some information on statues that recognise the 'heroes' of the Greek Struggle for Macedonia (1904-1908), such as Pavlos Melas, Leonidas Petropoulakis and Captain Kotas (Koliopoulos 1999:xv). Nevertheless, in the last two decades many researchers have focused attention on issues such as the erasure of minority languages, aspects of identity construction at the collective and individual level and the interaction between local populations and state institutions (Manos 2010:110). This was prompted in part by the events of the 1990s. If the region's troubled past had faded from immediate prominence, the declaration of independence of the 'Republic of Macedonia' in 1991 revived the Macedonian problem for Greece (Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997:11). Certainly, the Florina region has been a magnet for social scientists, diplomats, politicians, journalists, international organisations and human rights organisations who understand it as a zone of conflict over minority rights (Manos 2010:110).

In many respects, the contemporary Macedonian issue has reflected broader regional issues of national, ethnic and minority rights (Roudometof 2001:221), and it provides particular insights into how the Greek nation-state has imposed itself on a border population, as well as how markers of national sovereignty and doctrine may be accepted, reproduced, challenged or rejected by a local population (Manos 2010:111). In this regard, Herzfeld (1997:87) argues that Greece has been unusual among European and especially Balkan nation-states in its claims to ethnic and cultural homogeneity in the face of territorial disputes and what may constitute a genuine identity. With the assimilation of all non-Greek-speaking groups of the Byzantine and Ottoman eras into the culturally dominant Greek-speaking group; local Macedonians who can trace their ancestry back beyond the region's incorporation into Greece in 1913 have steadily lost ground to the state-sponsored language and culture (Karakasidou 1997a:xv; Koliopoulos (1999:xxviii). Whilst there has been language erasure, there is still a range of languages spoken in Florina, with minority language use higher in the rural areas where the majority of people are bilingual (Karakasidou 2002:133, Roudometof 2002:124). It has been estimated that there may be about 200,000 potential Slavic speakers in Greek Macedonia (Voss 2006:87); and whilst there are no official restrictions on the use of the Macedonian language in private or in

informal public situations, it is believed many refrain from speaking Macedonian openly, especially in formal situations (Danforth 2001b:91). The majority of local Macedonians in Greek Macedonia now have a Greek national identity – that is, they are Greeks from Macedonia, although it is claimed that as many as ten thousand may have developed a Macedonian national identity that is mainly expressed in private contexts (Danforth 2001b:87). The recognition of a 'Macedonian' national minority in Northern Greece has been rejected by the Greek state and by many Greeks (Manos 2010:110).

As Karakasidou has noted, categories of identity and national consciousness in the present may have been imposed on very different situations that existed in the past in the Macedonian region of Greece (Karakasidou 1993:9). Accordingly, the process of nation building may have taken several generations for the Greek language and Greek national consciousness to take hold among the Slavic-speaking population of Greek Macedonia (Karakasidou 2002:142). Arguably, three basic groupings of people have evolved among those of 'Slavo-Macedonian' descent in Florina (Karakasidou 2002:148-149). Firstly, an internalized sense of Greekness consistently expressed in public and private and where Greek nation building has been highly successful in erasing any memories and sentiments of ethnic characteristics. Second, a sense of distinctiveness that is more or less openly declared for those who may feel alienated from the Greek nation-state and marginalized. Third, an internal sense of distinctiveness but an external expression of identity orientated towards the Greek state although not necessarily towards the Greek nation or Hellenes (Karakasidou 2002:148-149). However, this group is distinctive culturally from the rhetoric and imagery across the border and as such are caught between the converging frontiers of contested Greek and Macedonian nationalisms (Karakasidou 2002:148-149).

Overall, the construction of a regional Macedonian identity in Greece has remained strong (Voss 2006:93), but some aspects of individual and collective identity in the Florina region also remain problematic and do not always manage to convey the complexity of links between the various cultural groups that have a common historical past (Manos 2010:261). Nor do processes of defining identity underline the significant differences within these groups, such as the effects of mixed marriages on culture, or the political dimension of an individual's action (Manos 2010:261). In the local context of a village setting, for example, the changes to marriage strategies in mixed villages in Greek Macedonia have resulted in spouses or children who may no longer identify with any of the population categories or *'ratses'* (common descent)

that may have originally constituted the village (Agelopoulos 1997:144). In effect, villagers in Greek Macedonia often experience and express various kinds of collective identity, and strategically and creatively construct their identities depending on context (Agelopoulos 1997:145). Consequently, belonging to the region of Florina since the 1990s in particular, but also for much longer, has been shaped by negotiation and influenced by the tide of politics, force and power correlations (Manos 2010:272). In this respect, individuals may identify with, or choose to distance themselves, from various identities that are linked to the place of origin or the cultural stigma attached to categories of identity (Manos 2010:272).

Indeed, it has been claimed that individuals in Florina tend to avoid, as far as possible, the identification of exclusive collective identities as they prefer to have the option to control an identity that fits their own interests (Manos 2010:272). At the collective level of family, the networks of people who live or come from the Florina region can negotiate multiple social identities that cut across each to negotiate different versions of how Macedonian identity may manifest in Florina (Manos 2010:260). Correspondingly, there are multiple answers to the questions 'Who is Macedonian?' or 'What does it mean to be Macedonian in the Florina region?' (Manos 2010:260). It is claimed that the region has begun to deal with its turbulent past and is developing a sense of national belonging that can be defined regionally in relation to cultural diversity (Manos 2010:118). The ongoing developments in the name dispute in 2018 between Greece and its northern neighbour (FYROM) continue to redefine what Macedonia means to Greece and its people.

CONCLUSION

Critical for this thesis is the fact that almost all Greek Macedonians in Florina have at least one relative who has migrated to Australia, Canada or the United States (Danforth 2001b:85). Largely migrating after the Greek Civil War, these migrants are bearers of this turbulent past. Thus it has been my concern in this chapter to outline in some historical detail how the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in Florina was a highly complex process influenced by the conclusion of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent emergence of the Balkan nation-states. Accordingly, the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in the diaspora needs to be more closely considered in terms of factors that are unique to the region, and which may arguably have interrupted the construction of identity and connection with the Greek homeland that has remained at the forefront of other Greek regional diasporic communities. Factors

significant to the Greek Macedonian region include the fear of expression of identity as a result of the policies of Hellenization, and the effects of repeated warfare in the region where identity was often violently contested.

I have underlined in this chapter that the period from the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the division of Macedonia at the end of the Second Balkan War in 1913 was crucial to the understanding of collective Hellenic identities (Livanios 2008b). During these years, 'violence was an everyday occurrence' with the most turbulent, savage and brutal history of the Balkans arguably that of Macedonia (Perry 1988:1). Whilst the construction of collective identity had previously been signified by family and religious affiliation, it now had to be reconstructed to fit homogenously within the modern Greek nation. Previously, the Ottoman Balkans had been a highly multicultural area characterised by fluid social and economic exchange between people, but the boundaries people crossed with relative eased were tightened or closed under the emergence of nation-states (Karakasidou 1997a:21). In contrast, the modern Greek state was the result of a gradual accumulation of regions subjected to rigid Hellenization in administration, education and cultural life and included changes to the names of places and surnames (Liakos 2007:210).

On the one hand, it has been argued that the conclusion of the Second Balkan War marked the victory of Greek nationalism over other forms of collective identity in Greece (Livanios 2008b). On the other hand, it could also be said that the cultivation of a sense of national identity, where there was no previous corresponding level of identification, can be a long and complex process that may, either peacefully or violently, destroy as many identities as it creates (Danforth 2000:90). Accordingly, those who migrated to Australia from Florina in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War faced the problem of defining themselves in terms of local and regional Greek Macedonian identity within a highly complex, contested and problematic space that continued to be shaped by geopolitical tensions and the tendency of others to include or exclude Macedonian identity in a national configuration of Greek identity. As we shall see in further chapters, I argue these factors limited the ability for migrant families to transmit collective notions about belonging to Florina. Within the broader complexity of the Macedonian Question, and all of its contested claims to soil, name and identity, has lain the difficulty of negotiating and constructing family identity against the goals and narratives of the nation.

My grandfather's pear tree was not transplanted; it remained in the same soil over time. But the meaning of that soil changed; it was identified in different ways by different people. Nevertheless, that tree and the patch of earth in which it stood has been an enduring signifier of identity for my family, even though we have sometimes struggled to articulate its meaning in relation to other signifiers. I note this to underline the fact that I have not attempted to trace all aspects of the complex historiography of the Macedonian Question, or to dispute competing claims about who has the greater right to the name and history of Macedonia. Rather, I have illustrated the key events that may have disrupted the ability to transmit family stories about connection to place and identity in Florina for migrants who have made their homes in the diaspora.

It is through examining this history, and understanding what for many was a landscape of terror, that we can begin to comprehend the disruptions to place and identity that have contributed to the breaking of the cultural transmission of migrant stories about a Greek homeland to subsequent generations. While, for some groups, continued attachment to Greek regionalism has been possible in multicultural nations such as Australia and Canada, for those from Northern Greece who wish to identify as 'local Macedonians' this attachment and identification is much more problematic (Danforth 2000:89). As will be seen below, families from Florina have thus had to make sense not only of their Greekness growing up in the diaspora, but also how to mediate and construct local and regional Macedonian identity. In the following chapter, I discuss the attributes of the traditional Greek family in the context of change in the diaspora, the role of the family in the transmission of migration stories, and then outline the common themes narrated across three generations that reflect the hardship and loss of migration, but also the idea of family as the cornerstone of reconstructing migrant meanings of 'home' from a contested place.

- CHAPTER THREE -

THE ROOTS – THE ROLE OF OIKEOGENÉIA IN THE NARRATION OF MIGRATION STORIES

> I always thought my mother-in-law had a strong connection to Greece. But now her kids are all married and have children of their own, I think she's realized the root system is here (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Did the idea of family for Greek Macedonian migrants become a stronger signifier of identity than a sense of belonging to the homeland? Did the traumatic emergence of Greek nationhood in the Macedonian region and further regional instability limit the transmission of family migration stories? In the statement above, Cassandra described how her mother-in-law Rita had come to terms with the 'root system' of the family becoming settled in Australian soil. The hardship of life in Greece, the sense of loss of the family separated through the act of migration, and subsequent negotiation of family life in the diaspora experienced by women often emerged throughout the stories narrated by their children and grandchildren. In some cases, like Cassandra's mother-in-law, the women were not ready to talk about their own migration stories, whilst other participants had observed that their mothers had remained silent about their life stories.

For post-war migrant families from Florina, I argue that the family itself has become an imagined site of belonging. This is due in part to the transmission of stories about Greek Macedonian place and identity becoming limited across the generations, which has prevented greater connection to the homeland. It is also because the networks of family ties remained durable throughout the turbulent history of Florina and were integral to post-war settlement in Melbourne and Toronto. In this chapter, I want to give greater attention to how families collectively narrate and pass down stories about their experiences of migration. I consider what types of stories are kept alive through repetition across the generations and what stories become lost. In the absence of stories of the homeland, what is remembered through the family? Here, I briefly consider the traditional structure of the Greek family as a means to collectively transmit stories, and I also consider the role of storytelling in shaping intergenerational family memories about migration.

In the second part of the chapter, I reflect on the themes that emerged as common narratives shared by participants *across* this study. Overall, stories that dealt with the theme of hardship shaped migration stories for families from Florina, unsurprisingly given the context of war in the region, although war stories were not widely circulated within the family despite the desire to do so. Ultimately, many participants narrated how they felt rooted in terms of transnational sites of belonging to where family members were located in contrast to notions of belonging to the Greek homeland, which for these families, had a troubled history. In addition, memories of Greece narrated by the second generation were mainly in terms of the home of their grandparents, and in particular, the memories of the flowers and trees in the garden. Thus the meaning of the Greek term for family – 'oikeogenéia' – becomes a metaphor for belonging when we consider family in its literal translation as the 'people who originate from the same house' by Dubisch (1986:141). It also reflects reimagined family ties to place that reflect the agricultural memory of the Florina region and this continues to reinforce the idea of family as the key signifier of identity in these communities, both before and after migration. I build on these concepts by situating this research within the collective family to understand how intergenerational memory can shape notions of belonging in the diaspora – the stories of migration that are important for the family to narrate and the stories that have become limited in circulation.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL GREEK FAMILY IN THE DIASPORA

This section provides the context for examining changes to the traditional Greek family in the narratives produced across the three generations in my study. In Australia and Canada, the Greek family has been a cornerstone of immigrant life (Chimbos 1999:91; Doumanis 1999:76). As noted in the introductory chapter, literature that deals with the maintenance of Greek culture and identity in the diaspora has described the family as the chief transmitter of culture (Avgoulas and Fanany; Christou; Chryssanthopoulou; Gavaki; Tsolidis). It is within the context of the family that young Greek children develop their sense of being and their self-identity and the family also provides the introductory vehicle for relationships that are socially positioned within the kinship system, community and the church (Christou 2002:13). In general, Greek families tend to cherish their cultural heritage and require their children to preserve and practice ethnic cultural values and norms (Christou 2002:13). Further, the future development and preservation of an ethnic group's heritage in terms of identity depends on the successful transmission of ethnic identity from the immigrant parent to the children born in the

host society (Gavaki 2003:5). But what I want to consider is how the transmission of generational stories of place within the family can become limited in their circulation.

The transmission of stories, in particular, between the grandparent and grandchild generations has been crucial to the maintenance of the strong importance of Greek cultural values. Often when we think of traditional western notions of the family, it tends to centre on the idea of the nuclear family comprised of parents and children. In contrast, the traditional Greek family has a much broader definition of who is considered to be family as well as some core aspects that have contributed to its durable nature. These differences include the extended idea of relationship networks considered as family: its collective nature rather than focus on the individual; and values of honour and shame associated with the survival of the family. In Greece, the traditional family structure comprised all three generations of grandparents, children, and grandchildren with authority resting with the grandfather (Georgas 2006:13). Relationship bonds extend even further than the immediate family to include 'collateral kin' of cousins, uncles, aunts, nieces and nephews (Georgas 2006:13). In addition, affinal relationships through marriage with parents-in-law, children-in-law and siblings-in-law are also included in the definition of the Greek family. Strong spiritual bonds known as *'koumbarri'* (godparent/best man/maid of honour) are also created through the baptism of children and sponsorship of a couple's wedding. Further ties of the family can even exist through mutual obligations and close friendship (Mylonas et al 2006:345). Interviews with participants in my thesis highlight the importance of relationships in the diaspora, but there is limited maintenance of extended networks by the third generation.

Historically, these dynamics of the Greek family offered protection and support with the added security of extended networks that were vital to the survival of the family in the absence of the ability of government to provide assistance (Georgas 2006:46, Tsolidis 1995:122). Great importance was placed on marriage to the extent that it was 'not simply the union of two independent individuals, but considered to be a fundamental union of two families' (Kourvetaris 1997:100). To further strengthen ties, marriage in Greece was restricted to potential spouses from the same village and of the same religion although these restrictions are no longer in place (Mylonas et al 2006:345). Collectivist in nature with gendered understandings of honour and shame that family members had to consider, it was the cultural expectation for women to manage the house, maintain family relations and care for children (Tsolidis 1995:123). In this context, daughters were often taught to follow the maternal

example of marriage and motherhood and there was an immense social expectation for couples to have children (Bottomley 1983:196; Callan 1980:14; Tsolidis 1995). Although changes in attitudes towards gendered roles have occurred in Greece, the value of family networks have remained of great importance. Thus, whilst the extended family system in Greece has moved away from its patriarchal nature, values associated with maintaining close contact with relatives, children respecting grandparents and obligations towards parents have continued to persist (Georgas 2006:45). Similarly, the traditional Macedonian family in Ottoman Macedonia was also bound by elective kinship and extended relations called *soj* (soy) that included relationships by marriage, a male-dominated patriarchal system and the cohabitation of three generations of the one family (Anastasovski 2008:243, Hill 1989:43).

The definitive dissolution of the patriarchal family in the rural regions of Greek Macedonia occurred due to large-scale migration from the 1950s to industrialised countries such as central Europe, Australia and Canada (Kelly Melidou-Kefala 2013). Unlike other European states, in the post-war settlement years, Greece did not create a welfare system until the 1970s (Eleftheriadis 2015). In addition, the intensity of the Greek Civil War meant that there was no trust on which to build such institutions or provide any long-term plan for the redistribution of resources (Eleftheriadis 2015). Thus it is not surprising that familial bonds propelled and shaped migration and settlement in Australia and Canada and many socialised within their family and village networks established in in the 1950s and 1960s. This experience of kinship migration has been common among immigrant groups who had few educational and occupational resources for dealing with urban society (Chimbos 1999:92). Within Greek diaspora communities, local and regional preferences of marriage initially centred on continued maintenance of kinship and identity (Hirschon 1999:159). The study by Mapstone (1966:350) of Greek Macedonians in rural Victoria highlighted the family as a valued institution and that marrying within regional groupings contributed to the strength of family and provided a vehicle to maintain language and traditional practices such as religion. Parents largely disapproved of marriage outside the Greek community until at least the 1990s in Australia, with many seeing it as a betrayal of loyalty (Doumanis 1999:78). Despite this, exogamous marriage has become the norm in Australia as highlighted in *Neos Kosmos* ('Mixed Marriages on the Up':2014), as well as in Canada (Gavaki 2003:8). This has meant that children of migrants grow up in diverse social environments, often with less focus on the preservation of traditional values that are no longer meaningful.

Accordingly, the family has arguably become the site for new forms of 'Greek' and 'Australian' culture to evolve in subsequent generations and has been crucial to the capacity of these groups to identify as 'Greek Australian' (Tsolidis 1995:143). In Canada, whilst there has remained a strong emphasis on the family there is also a great focus by Greek Canadian parents for the second generation to achieve higher social status through tertiary education and professional status (Chimbos 1999:96). This is also the broader case for second-generation Australians but differed in terms of this thesis, where there was a greater emphasis on education first, before the consideration of marriage in stories narrated by second-generation Canadian participants, in comparison to more traditional expectations of marriage for second-generation participants in Australia. By the third generation, families may consider themselves to be more Canadian, with social class and lifestyle more central to their identity than ethnicity or religion (Panagakos 2005:823).

Despite changes to the definition of the traditional Greek family in Greece and in the diaspora, the idea of family has retained value in terms of its capacity to support kinship networks and support development of the notions of culture and identity. Yet the process of migration has changed traditional notions of the Greek family that previously preserved traditional values. These changes include a lesser importance placed on the maintenance of extended kinship relationships into the third generation; less opportunity for the second-generation to see their grandparents who often remained in Greece; increased rates of the second generation marrying partners without a Greek background; growing up in a different social environment, and greater exposure to different cultures. In sum, the role of the Greek family with its traditional kinship networks that preserved traditional values to transmit Greek culture, language and identity has become less prominent within a different social environment. Although cultural traditions have been weakened, the importance of family continues to remain valuable, and this has an impact on how stories are told within these groups.

THE ROLE OF STORYTELLING IN MIGRANT FAMILIES

This thesis pays particular attention to how the transmission of stories across the generations may be limited where the connection to the original homeland has been contested and problematic, as has been the case for Greek Macedonians. As social frameworks of memory are primarily the people around us, families can be often considered the first and most important social framework (Erll 2011:305). Halbwachs considered family memory as a specific type of collective memory (Halbwachs 1992:63). It is through oral stories and repeated recall of the

family's past that family members can share memories (Erll 2011:306). Consequently, it is this repetition of memories that become building blocks through which meaning and identities can be created (Halbwachs 1992; Gardner 2002:2). Accordingly, the familiar building blocks of family and kinship may be used in order to make sense of larger entities, in particular that of the nation-state (Herzfeld 1997:5). However, the familial as well as the political transmission of memory between the generations can be crucial in strategies that shape memory, and these may project hopes as well as fears (Passerini 2005:12). In addition, renegotiation of the past through family memory can also mediate between national history and family history in the sense that remembering within a social group can keep sites of memory alive but also lead to their 'decay' (Erll 2011:311).

Although collective memory is often framed within the national domain, memories of home for some migrants do not always comfortably fit into any national project, either at home or abroad nor engage with only one official narrative (Canefe 2011:169-171). Highlighting the cases of post-war experiences of Germans living in Canada or the United States, and the Kurds of Turkish origin living in France, Kitzmann argued that a new identity can be chosen by immigrants in adopted nations to diminish a shared negative past, and the shame and stereotypes associated with a particular group identity (Kitzmann 2011:99; Guyot 2011:146). The negative messages about Macedonian identity allowed little opportunity for the growth of a positive 'public' Macedonian political culture of identity in Australia through the negation of a 'real' language or culture (Petrovska 1995:164). Further dislocation from tradition and culture with exposure to new values often caused generational conflict with children raised in Australia (Petrovska 2015:117).

Thus 'cultural trauma' may become applicable when we consider whether there has been 'a dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people who have achieved some degree of cohesion' (Eyerman 2004:160). Furthermore, 'the violence of history' may also silence the transmission of culture (Battisti and Portelli 2005:48). As established earlier, the construction of Greek Macedonian identity was disrupted by complex factors that included violence and war, and the process of creating nations arguably simultaneously created national minorities (Danforth 1995:20). Indeed, families and villages could become split as a result of the contentious issue of national consciousness and this division continued in diaspora communities (Radin 1995:124). Nation-building elevates cultural and ethnic identities from a local and particular context to replace them with a newly

created national consciousness (Karakasidou 1993:4). But nation-building also 'uproots' families and can destroy existing patterns of local life, language and culture (Karakasidou 1993:4). In the diaspora, regional identity may divide Greek from Greek in certain contexts but in relation to the society at large a common identity pertains (Hirschon 1999:163).

Second and third-generation participants in this thesis often stated during interviews that they knew very little about Greek Macedonia. The understanding of the connection to the homeland gives coherence and meaning to their experiences of migration (Gardner 2002:209). And yet, the oral transmission of Greek Macedonian culture and desire for the homeland was arguably limited in two respects: firstly, the contested nature of Macedonian identity, and the trauma experienced within the region as explored in the previous chapter; secondly, the reliance on oral stories within the family to keep culture alive when the fear of publicly expressing culture, the loss of language, and the stigma of identity have impacted families. In a peasant society, cultural heritage is transmitted orally, that is by direct human expression and contact (Radin 1995:125). This is crucial when we consider that the entire first wave and the great majority of the second wave of migrants from Greek Macedonia to Australia were from a peasant background (Radin 1995:125). In addition, first-generation Greek migrants relied on the oral tradition of storytelling as a means to pass on experiences as few post-war Greek migrants had written proficiency beyond primary school and many remained illiterate in English (Damousi 2015:7). On the one hand, the extended peasant family and the close co-operation between the different generations acted as a vehicle to preserve the conservative peasant culture, and in part this can explain the success of Macedonians from Greece in the maintenance of some aspects of traditional culture (Radin 1995:126). On the other hand, a problematic aspect of an oral culture is that the centuries of political oppression can severely limit cultural transmission from one generation to the next and in turn, and this restricts the transmission of aspects of cultural life (Radin 1995:126).

In a new setting such as Australia, old values and practices can become redundant and lost and be replaced by new cultural traits (Radin 1995:126). As such, the 'crisis of identity' may became more pronounced in the second generation of Greek Macedonians in Australia with trends indicating an ongoing and deepening rejection of the Macedonian culture in its traditional elements (Radin 1995:124). Notwithstanding, what also must be taken into account is the intergenerational development in the diaspora of a greater sense of belonging that sits within Greek national identity, with an affiliation with Macedonia forming at the regional level

of origin – and this has occurred through the day to day practices of the family in terms of language, culture, traditions and religious practices. But a crucial aspect that has been overlooked is what ability the family has to collectively transmit stories of identity and place following the partitioning of the Macedonian region. For many families, ways to deal with generational narratives can either result in the reliving of traumatic memories through the 're-telling' of trauma stories, or through silence including the inability to articulate emotion (Petrovska 2015:117).

Of central concern is that the generational transmission of stories about the many meanings of 'home' has not been thoroughly explored in the context of Greek Macedonian migration. What does home mean when it is equated as a place of war, poverty and where identity has been violently contested and further, where a stigma may be attached to identity that may form at the local and regional level? By way of example, family stories about 'back home' were identified as a significant element of second-generation Greek Canadian identity as these stories provided a 'roadmap' to connect to the place the family came from in their own journeys towards a symbolic homeland (Papayiannis 2011:81). Changing ideas of home may be located in individual and collective memories of an often mythologised 'original homeland' and place to which migrants or their descendants may eventually return (Jacobs 2004:170; Safran 1991). However, Mapstone's study found that although Greek Macedonians indicated they may want to return for a visit, none wanted to permanently return (Mapstone 1966:2).

For many Greek Australians, the affiliation with region remains significant such as for the Pontians who carry the memory of Asia Minor to capture, retain and transmit nostalgia for their lost homeland (Michael and Gonis 2016:15-16). Often the broader transmission of migration stories from the first to the second generation has tended to deal with themes of nostalgia for the homeland, a sense of belonging (although this may be navigated in terms of conflict between home and host places), and the desire to forge authentic host identities. These 'sites of belonging' as coined by Fortier (2000) can be formed through the collective nostalgia for the homeland among the parent generation particularly in terms of regional identities and transferred nostalgia to the second generation as was the case for Italians in London and also Switzerland (Wessendorf 2013:27). For migrants from the Dodecanese island of Castellorizo to Australia, and their descendants, a distinct sense of belonging to their ancestral homeland and Greek regional identity as 'Cazzies' has been maintained through systematic socialization in the island culture within the family and transmission of positive stories associated with place

(Chryssanthopoulou 2009:68). Likewise, migrants to Australia from the North Aegean island of Lemnos have also retained a strong transnational bond and connection through return visits, with a strong sense of identity defined first as 'Limnian' and then linked to Greekness (Afentoulis and Cleland 2014:40). Often the strong drive to return home develops concurrently with the desire to forge authentic 'Greek' identities, particularly for second-generation children in America and Canada (Christou and King; Panagakos).

In terms of this thesis, key differences between Canadian and Australian second-generation participants emerged in terms of their engagement with the homeland. For Canadian participants, this centred on return visits to Greece as a family during childhood, greater participation in the Greek community including learning the Greek language, and the fostering of a strong Greek cultural identity. In comparison, some Australian experiences displayed the desire to move away from the Greek Macedonian culture by adulthood, with a limited desire to actively participate in the Greek community particularly prior to the 1970s when Australia encouraged assimilation rather than multiculturalism. Despite different countries of settlement for these families from Florina, the sense of belonging and connection to the Greek homeland was through the family itself and the village and tied to the region where the family has come from. Notwithstanding, Canadian second-generation participants cultivating a greater connection to the homeland through family visits to Greece and greater opportunities to be with grandparents, gaps in family memory about place and identity about Florina remained consistent for both Canadian and Australian second-generation participants. For Canadian participants, family memory of place and identity was mainly acquired through observation during visits to Greece and through grandparents rather than active family storytelling.

Greek migrants may continue to think about the ancestral homeland and transfer nostalgic feelings to the second and even third generation (Christou 2011:253). For example, a sense of Greekness by post-war Greek migrant mothers in Canada and Australia were transferred to their daughters through the collective remembering and narration of what it meant to be Greek through real and imagined journeys of visiting home (Tsolidis 2011:417). In contrast, the transmission of a collective story of place in terms of the Florina region was by its nature diverse and contested. Thus stories formed a localised narration that tended to centre on the village and the family, rather than to Greece itself. In the absence of collective stories about Greek Macedonian identity crucially 'the family becomes a site of belonging, part of the imaginary unit through which a transnational family may seek its identity' (Chamberlain and

Leydesdorff 2004:233). Instead, home after the effects of war in the Florina region was equated with memories of hunger, poverty and destruction. Consequently, common post-war Greek migration narratives did not anchor on the yearning or nostalgia to return to Greece but rather to return to family.

For families from the Florina, migration stories can best be viewed through the lens of smaller-scale family memories within collective memory (Erll 2011:303). In this context, participants narrated common stories about aspects of the migration experience that sit more comfortably with the celebratory and successful aspects of post migration settlement. Yet participants negotiated identity and belonging in their own way that reflected the complexity of negotiating Greek Macedonian identity within families. Peter who migrated from his village in Florina at the age of eleven in 1972 made the following observation at the conclusion of our interview in terms of how participants would respond about their own identity. Peter commented:

> It's interesting what you're doing. You would have asked these questions to all of them and they would have all given different answers. The identity is different but the stories are the same (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

Peter's statement best sums up the collective migration experience of families from Florina but also identifies the possibility for individual differences in the construction and negotiation of identity that reflects the contested nature of Macedonian identity as the region emerged and took its place in the Greek nation. Thus personal narratives can help us enquire into the complicated nature of such issues as hyphenated identities and hybridized families both inside and outside the borders and to what extent identity and kinship are not merely interconnected, but often complicated and even contradictory forces in a person's life (Friedman and Schultermandl 2011:3). As such, the possibility for a 'new set of stories' of multiple pasts can engage with the official discourse of the nation (Herzfeld 1997:12).

This role, and these forms, of storytelling are important to bear in mind as we turn to examine the themes that were universally narrated across three generations of family about post-war Greek Macedonian migration to Australia. The narration of migration stories by Canadian second-generation participants also reinforces that despite different locations of settlement of families who migrated from Florina, and greater opportunities to engage with Greece through visits, the family is a key signifier of identity for these families who migrated from Florina. Across the generations, the narration of family stories revealed the hardship experienced in Florina that prompted migration, as well as the hardship associated with aspects of settlement.

Hardship was not solely limited to stories about war but also in terms of the hardships experienced by women, and for some second-generation Australians, the feelings of being in-between the home and host cultures. Yet there has remained the continued desire for the idea of family as an imagined site of family belonging. In this respect, diasporic imaginations extend beyond geographic boundaries and may revolve around notions of solidarity and security that family and family relations offer (Christou 2002:20).

FAMILY MIGRATION NARRATIVES – KEY THEMES FRAMING STORIES FROM THE THREE GENERATIONS

THE HARDSHIP OF WAR

Stories that reflected hardship were consistently narrated by all generations. Overall, the difficulties and hardship experienced by first-generation participants in their family village as a result of war was central to the narration of family migration stories. Individual stories detailed the experiences of war and the vivid memories of the poverty and hunger experienced after war in the region. These stories framed the collective experience of Florina that was circulated to children and grandchildren, although the generational recall of stories was often fragmented. Grandparents played a key role in the transmission of stories and this aspect was often missed by the second generation in Australia who grew up with limited contact due to the physical separation of family members. As Panayiotis highlighted, the third generation was able to benefit from the transmission of stories by their grandparents:

> It's worthwhile finding out. We didn't have opportunities to hear that straight from the grandparents. It's good to get the *yiayias* and the *pappous* to tell you the stories about the war and what they went through. I didn't really get that not having a grandma or grandpa in Australia growing up. Our kids are lucky to have that opportunity, to have their grandmas and grandpas here in Australia and they love seeing them (Panayiotis, born 1978, Melbourne).

During interviews, it was important for many first-generation participants to narrate the memories of the terror of witnessing the actions by soldiers in the village in terms of survival stories. Yet for others, there was an absence of the narration of traumatic war memories and this silence was noted by the second and third generations. Silence, as many have noted, is often a strategy deployed when the recollection of trauma narratives may be too difficult, or even impossible, to find the language or the narrative structure to convey that experience (Abrams 2014:105).

However, children and grandchildren still understood war and poverty to be the drivers of migration from Florina. The contested nature and, at times, the fear associated with expressing Macedonian identity framed the narration of pre-migration stories about life in Greece by the first generation. In contrast, when narrating individual migration stories, there was a willingness by the first generation to narrate their impressions of the diversity of minority identities in the Florina region. These stories narrated about identity in Florina were positioned at the start of interviews as well as throughout the interviews. It was important for first-generation participants to narrate and remember their 'roots' as part of their pre-migration story. Yet this aspect of their pre-migration story did not often circulate within the family. Rather, there has remained gaps or an absence of stories about the diversity of identity within families and villages in the recall of subsequent generations. This suggests a stigma in the transmission of family stories about identity that may have raised questions about genuine 'Greekness'. Thus, gaps in family memory may be 'reduced' to general impersonal history available to the public (Duprat-Kushtanina 2013:4). As noted in the case of the 'non-transmission' of family memory during the repression of the Stalin era in Russia, this was a means to prevent stigma from being transmitted to descendants (Duprat-Kushtanina 2013:4).

Further, there was an absence of stories narrated by the second generation in terms of experiences of their parents or grandparents in the Greek Civil War in general, and more specifically, about women's experiences of war. For some participants, they were unaware that their mothers had spent time in children's homes. In general, knowledge about this period of Greek history was particularly limited for second and third-generation participants. Second-generation participant Andreas stated he had not been told much about the Greek Civil War aside from the involvement of his grandfather in the Peloponnese:

> I don't know a lot about what happened and what it's about. I do recall my grandfather from my mum's side was involved in it quite a bit. I'm not sure about all the politics behind it and who was who (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

What was remembered within the family reflected the hardship of war, poverty and hunger in home villages particularly when participants were asked at the start of the interview to narrate their migration story or what they knew about their family's migration story. This interconnection between war and migration has arguably been the most striking in terms of shaping migrant narratives (Damousi 2015:84). However, greater acceptance of narratives that examine grief and loss, as well as the representation of migrant women and children who have

previously been under-represented, are stories that are gaining greater representation within Australia's post-war migration story (Dellios 2018:4).

First-generation participants began the narration of their migration story with their own direct experiences as children of war and poverty. One first-generation participant opened with the observation that life in Greece was defined by war to the extent that: 'The only history was the war with Hitler in 1940' (Christos, born 1933, Florina). War stories were often recalled as if the narrator was clearly present in the moment. Theodoros constantly repeated to his children and grandchildren his war story of being hungry and wanting to steal food from the German soldiers stationed in his village. Theodoros narrated the story during our interview:

> I was five years old. I went at lunchtime and I saw bread under the army truck. I got the bread and I tried to get the corned beef. There were two people and the other German saw me. He got the gun to shoot me. His friend said, 'If it was your son would you want him to be killed?' His friend called me. I remember, '*Kommen!'* He saw I was five years old and he opened the buttons of my shirt. And he gave me half the bread, one corn beef and one smack on the bottom (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Indeed, this particular story had the most generational recall by all family members in the second and third generation, and its re-narration remained consistent over time. Theodoros' daughter Faye said:

> My favourite story from dad which I always used to make him tell me about, and I love this story I still do, is when they were hungry, and it was war time and he stole the bread. I can just see it like a film. 'You come here boy, open your jacket'. The older soldier turned the gun on him, 'what are you doing, that's a little boy, come here' and dad went to him, 'open your jacket' and he stuffed more bread into the jacket. I used to get him to tell it to me all the time when I was little (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne).

Similar war stories about the fear of coming face to face with soldiers as children and then being overcome by the relief of survival were also circulated within families. Andreas stated that he was not familiar with many war stories but remembered his father Christos (who grew up in the same village with Theodoros) telling him a story that became his favourite:

> There was a German Shepherd who would jump up from his area that he was assigned to look out over the fence and the German soldier would be telling him to get down, get down. Dad in his wisdom as a small child of seven or eight years old would start saying that to the dog in German, 'get down'. But the dog thought I'm not going to listen to this kid, I will listen to the soldier, he's my owner so he chased dad. He was running through the fields, running for his life and [the dog] jumped on him and pinned him down with his teeth near his throat but it wouldn't hurt him, just waited for the soldier. The German soldier came

> up, took the dog off and shook the dust off his clothes and said, 'Are you all right?' and gave him a couple of lollies and said go off and what a smart dog for not attacking, just waiting for the order (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

Andreas also went on to recall how Theodoros and Christos 'were mates' in the village and would eat watermelon in the fields. This more idyllic memory of food and kinship was transmitted as a happier story of life in their village. At times, traumatic recall can occur firstly through sense such as smells, tastes and texture and only later emerge into words and narrative (Lindqvist 2011:184).

In contrast, very few women's stories of their experiences of war were circulated within the family. Although Tina stated her grandparents were 'very angry' about the Pontic genocide, the only specific war story that Tina recalled had been transmitted to her by her mother was about the Second World War. Tina said:

> The only one story she ever told me was when Hitler invaded. They went into my mum's village and my grandmother was really young, she was a little girl, and she had red hair and blue eyes. So some German soldiers took her to the store and bought her candy and chocolates. Her parents were freaking out because she went missing, but they just took her out. That was the only war story I'd ever known (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

Again, this was a story of fear yet ultimately one of survival. Similarly, a family story I remembered about my aunt Amalia was also a survival story. Although there were few details, the memory I recall is that my aunt was kidnapped during the Civil War but was able to escape by stealing a horse and holding on to its tail whilst crossing an enormous river. These stories of survival are illustrative of the power of stories and images as a vehicle of family identity when people make their way against the odds (Finnegan 2006:178).

In contrast to Theodoros who stated that he consciously used repetition of stories about his experiences in Greece for the generations to remember his migration story, his wife Zoi rarely shared any details other than the love of her family and village. Indeed, Zoi's eldest daughter Faye (my sister) commented that 'I don't remember any story of my mum' when asked what stories she remembered about Zoi (my mother) in contrast to the many stories about life in Greece Faye recalled about Theodoros (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne). However, for Zoi (as will be discussed further in Chapter 4) her stories reflected highly traumatic endings – the loss of her father, the killing of her teacher and the evacuation of her village – and thus the interview process provided a trusted space for her to share her migration story.

In the cases where a memory was of a less traumatic incident, stories were narrated without the context of time and with a clear sense of being in the past (Lindqvist 2011:187). In contrast to the hunger experienced in Greece, Lazaros recalled the availability of food as the key memory that he has of difference between his experiences of Greece and Australia:

> We had food here. We had marmalade all the time. We never saw sweets there. It was here all the time and it was affordable. There was plenty of bread [in Australia] (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

The lack of bread to eat was a recurrent theme for first-generation participants but there was no context given of the events that had triggered the shortage of food. I recall that at the wake for Lazaros' and Theodoros' brother Pandos, a key concern for Pandos' son Paul was that there was enough bread for everyone. Paul had remarked his father was always worried about having enough bread. Subsequently, during a family visit, our cousin Tashos (who grew up in my grandfather's house with Pandos, Lazaros and Theodoros) narrated a story about the Great Famine (1941-1942) during the Second World War of how the people were so hungry that they gathered the green spores of the wheat in May 1942. They did this in an effort to roast the spores to make flour for the bread. As the wheat was not ready, in their hunger, many people ate newspaper instead and consequently died (Tashos 2017, personal communication, August). Although I was not able to substantiate this story in written literature, it resonates with the narratives of hardship that were faced during the war.

Whilst the family migration stories narrated by second-generation Canadian participants were often framed by the need to leave Greece for a better life due to poverty, stories about the war itself were not widely circulated within the family. Instead, opening stories tended to centre on the networks of family to facilitate migration. Second-generation Canadian participants did have some awareness of the diverse identity within their families (for example, Arvanite, Macedonian, Jewish, Pontic). This was mainly through established connection with grandparents that had settled in Canada and/or through return visits to Greece rather than through the conscious transmission of family stories about identity. Cultural and regional differences such as language were mainly observed by contact with grandparents. Maggie reflected that very little was said within the family about the backgrounds and identities of their earlier ancestors:

> There were a lot of things that they didn't talk about. You just end up finding out from other sources or something happens and you have to find out information, things you never really talked about (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

In contrast, some opening narratives by Australian second-generation participants during interviews referenced a difficult aspect of growing up in the host culture. This was in the cases where the family's migration story had not been openly circulated within the family. For example, Helen stated her parents did not consciously narrate the family's migration story. Instead, she narrated her story of finding the citizenship certificates of her parents and siblings. Not knowing what these 'big certificates' were, Helen immediately thought she was adopted and thus different to her family (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne). Second-generation stories of hardship related to experiences of feeling like an outsider, competing cultural expectations, racism and conflicting identity. Furthermore, these stories of the second generation navigating tensions between the home and host culture were also narrated by the third generation. In this respect, the narratives of the children of migrants can highlight the 'cultural dilemmas and family tensions' experienced by subsequent generations (Thomson (1999:29).

When I asked Paul some basic biographic details to start our interview, Paul instead narrated the frustration of the cross-cultural difficulty of having saint's days rather than specific birth dates and the memory of the tension this caused when filling out paperwork for the family. In Australia, his family's surname was incorrectly translated and never corrected which meant the family maintained a different surname to the four other brothers who later migrated to Australia. Paul recalled:

> He [father] was afraid that if he used what he thought was his right name, they might not let him stay in the country, that he might be seen to be a fraud. He was afraid. He was quite mortified. You have this fear that you're invited guests and you could be disinvited. And we nailed out some birthdates (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

What perhaps underlay this fear was the distrust of government, and the family never addressed the misspelling of the family surname on government paperwork. Previously, the family's surname had been changed to a Greek surname from a Macedonian surname following the period of Hellenization of the region from the 1920s. Although the policy that brought about this change, or even the knowledge that there was previously a different surname, was actually unknown within Paul's family, the story of the name being changed by Australian immigration officers (and how Pandos felt they couldn't correct the spelling) was recalled by the third generation. In fact, very few family members knew the form of our surname prior to its

Hellenization. This was also the case for the original surname on the maternal side of my family. Although the name was not passed down, and it is felt that it is now lost forever, what has been remembered within the family is that it was changed to reflect the name of the village in Northern Epirus where our family lived before settling in Florina in the 1870s; and that it was done in an effort to evade persecution by the Ottomans.

Overall, collective family narratives consistently referred to Greece as a place of poverty and hardship following the wars. This is not surprising as by the 1950s, much of Florina was devastated. Migration was thus considered inevitable in the post-war years and I examine more closely the production of stories by the first generation in Australia in the following chapter. Re-narration of war stories was limited, however, among second and third generation, even though some family members, particularly in the second generation, were able to relate aspects of the wider context of this period in Greek history in terms of how war in the region prompted migration. There was very little known amongst the second and third generations, particularly in Australia, about the diversity of identity in the Florina region. This suggests a silence in transmitting family stories by first-generation participants in the early days of migration. As Damousi (2015:5) suggests, Greek migrants may have chosen not to speak of traumatic pasts or preferred silence to cope with family histories from another time and place. Accordingly, there was limited opportunity for regional Greek Macedonian narratives to circulate when positioned within the context of nation building and assimilation in Greece, and the desire to settle in Australia and Canada where assimilation was the dominant government policy until the 1970s.

THE HARDSHIPS FACED BY WOMEN

The narration of hardship was not limited to stories about war. Stories also detailed the hardships faced by the women in the family – including mothers, grandmothers and mothers-in-law – in terms of their pre-migration experiences in Greece as well as later post-migration experiences in Melbourne or Toronto. It was Bottomley (1979:309) who described how Greek immigrant mothers in a village setting were supported through social, educational, religious and domestic activities that further strengthened the domestic unit of Greek family life. However, women had to navigate these traditional activities in an unknown country with greater geographic separation from extended social networks of kinship and the patterns of village life. In a study of second-generation Greek and Italian Canadians, family stories were often remembered in terms of the courage, perseverance and strength of mothers, grandmothers

and great-grandmothers (Papayiannis 2011:82). Yet the examination of the meaning of loss of traditional ties to the family remaining in the homeland is beginning to receive greater attention. For example, Petrovska examined Macedonian biographical narratives (mainly from the perspective of national Macedonian identity in the diaspora) and how loss was experienced as a consequence of the partitioning of the geographic region and the long separation between family members who remained in the Republic of Macedonia before reuniting in Australia (Petrovska 2015:102). In the following discussion, I highlight the stories of three women that stood out as particularly poignant cases of navigating the hardship of migration: Olga, who was never able to adapt to life in Australia; Tina's mother Melina who arrived in Canada as a disillusioned bride; and Fotini, who coped by the recreation of her village life in suburban Melbourne.

For Olga, her traumatic experience settling in Australia was narrated by each of her three children: Paul, Nick and Kathy. Olga's Australian daughter-in-law Jennifer (married to Olga and Pando's second son Nick) narrated a story Jennifer recalled was often circulated within her husband's family. The story about the family leaving Greece gives some insight into Olga's predicament standing in the line before boarding the *Cyrenia* in 1954 to sail to Australia. Jennifer said:

> They were in the line to come to Australia. They were going to stop them and then Nick started crying and they just let them through because Nick was making too much noise. His mother didn't want to come so she probably didn't want to go through. Because of Nick [crying] they came. He was only 18 months old (Jennifer, married to second-generation participant Nick).

A source of distress for Olga was that she had no agency in the actual decision to leave Greece, and she did not want to leave her parents or village. On arrival, the family was sent to the migrant camp in Bonegilla in country Victoria, the largest migrant reception centre in the post-war era. Olga was then separated from her husband Pandos who was earmarked to work in the cane fields, thousands of kilometres away in Cairns in Queensland. Crucially, Olga did not have the support networks available that other women in this study narrated as being important to adaptation to Australian life. Instead, the decision to migrate was driven by the economic need for Pandos to provide for his family. Nick recalled:

> They kept saying it, there was nothing in Greece for him, no food, no jobs, so it was to get jobs and give the kids an education. He kept saying that. But he had to take my mother kicking and screaming to Australia, she never liked it. There's no checks and balances, no extended family support structure, no village life and the husband just ruled the roost (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

Without any extended family support, Olga struggled with the traditional patriarchal expectations and a 'domineering' husband who 'ruled the roost' whilst navigating life in a new country with young children and no English (Nick, born 1952, Florina). Later, Olga found a sense of enjoyment and independence through her work in the Myer café (a department store in the city) and at the fish factories in Richmond, but her children described how she never adapted to life in Australia. When Olga returned home after 30 years for three months, she became devastated when she realised she no longer fitted into the Greece she had left behind. Her son Paul said:

> My mother got a hell of a shock. She had always frozen the image of the village as it was. She really couldn't cope with the fact that what she remembered was no longer there. It was like her world had crumbled (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Olga's daughter Kathy also described how she felt her mother was never the same after Olga's return visit to Greece. Although her mother never felt settled in Australia, Kathy felt her mother came to the realisation that her home was with her family in Australia. Kathy said:

> She was never the same because her memories were very different. I don't think she could [fit]. She didn't fit here either. She was happy with her own family, with her memory of her sister and her parents and I think she missed them terribly. I don't think she wanted to migrate to Australia. She actually found it very hard (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne).

Ultimately, Olga was unable to adjust to her life in Australia. Nor was she able to return to the life she left behind. Eventually, Olga reconciled her home as being with her family in Australia although her son Nick felt that 'she was disappointed in so many ways in Australia' (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

As a young wife of just 15 years old, Tina's mother Melina initially faced great difficulty settling into Toronto. Melina came from a Pontic Greek family who lived in a village in Northern Greece until she was six years old. Melina was encouraged to get married by her friend who had fallen in love with a man who had migrated to Canada but did not want to go to Canada on her own and encouraged Melina to join her. Although Melina followed through by marrying the cousin of the man her friend had intended to wed in Greece, her friend later bailed out on the arrangement. Arriving in Toronto in 1975, Melina had no support networks and neither family approved of the marriage as her parents thought she was too young, and her husband's parents disapproved because she wasn't from the same village in Florina as her husband. Tina recalled:

> It was really hard for my mum because she didn't have any family or friends. My grandparents freaked out and said if you leave here, then you don't come back…When my mum came to Canada to Toronto it was winter and she was freaking out about how much colder it was. That was an adjustment too, the weather. A year later I was born. She was on the cusp of 15 when she came and I was born when she was 16. My brother was born when she was 19 (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

When Tina was in primary school, her parent's marriage ended and this further resulted in the breaking of some family ties on her father's side for Tina. Although Tina and her brother Angelo travelled to Greece regularly as young children, neither Tina nor Angelo felt a connection to their father's village in Florina. In contrast, they both identified strongly with their mother's Pontic roots and culture and through frequent return visits, the children developed strong ties to their maternal grandparents in Thessaloniki, their heritage and greater connection to Greece as a home. Angelo did not recall his mother wanting to return 'home' to Greece permanently but rather an idea that she would come to divide her time between Toronto and Thessaloniki after retirement. Ultimately, Angelo felt that once grandchildren arrived that his mother would more likely be tied to Toronto.

In contrast to her sister-in-law Olga, Fotini never returned to Greece following her immigration to Melbourne, nor did she or her husband Lazaros ever desire to return. Fotini's daughter Helen recalled how her mother did not talk about her early life in Greece because of the association with bad memories of war. Indeed, very little was known about Fotini's life experiences in Greece. As a teenager, Fotini fled from Kastoria during the Civil War to the village of Itea in Florina where she met her husband Lazaros, and lived in my grandparent's house. After Lazaros migrated to Australia, she joined him two years later in 1962 with their two young children. With many networks on both sides of her family around her, Fotini embraced living in Australia through the recreation of many of the village patterns of life in Melbourne. Helen narrated the story of how Fotini would walk her children and grandchildren to school with the family's pet goat. Helen said:

> My mother danced to the beat of her own drum. She didn't like domestic animals like cats and dogs, she liked farm animals so dad bought home a goat for her and she really loved it. She'd sit out in the garden and the goat used to sit with her the whole time (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

For Helen, walking to school with a goat was uncomfortable. Helen described the embarrassment she felt at school during a biology class when some of the other girls talked about a woman with a goat and she realised they were talking about her mother. Reflecting on

her memory as an adult, Helen reconciled what the goat meant to her mother and how it represented a tie to her life in Greece:

> My mother never really changed, right up until she passed on in her 80s. Her village feel never changed. She never changed. She still slept in the afternoons (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Despite her earlier hardship in Greece, Fotini recreated village life in the migrant space she located for herself in Australia. These stories about the hardship that women faced reflect the ways in which migrant women from Florina coped and adjusted to life through the family to reconcile the loss of home in the village. It also indicates the reflection of subsequent generations of what it may have meant to permanently leave one place for another.

STORIES ABOUT TREES AND GARDENS – THE IDEA OF FAMILY RATHER THAN ATTACHMENT TO SOIL?

As well as stories of hardship, stories about trees and gardens also figured prominently in family memory. An unprompted story narrated by my cousin Tashos in Greece, for example, demonstrates the significance of the extended networks of family, how little had been consciously transmitted about our family history and heritage but also the symbolic role of trees. Tashos remembered my *yiayia* arriving at my father's home in Itea following the announcement of my parent's marriage in Australia (Tashos 2017, personal communication August). Dressed in a traditional Arvanite dress, my *yiayia* rode 18 kilometres on her donkey to my *baba*'s house. The Arvanites speak Arvanitika (although its usage is in sharp decline) but identify as Greeks and Orthodox Christians (Koliopoulos 1999:11, Magliveras 2009:2). On arrival at the house, she yelled out *'krusco'*. Although puzzled by her statement, my *baba* responded by picking a pear from my father's tree and handing it to my *yiayia*. Thus what had been lost in translation was that *'krusco'* meant pear in Macedonian as my *baba* literally understood it, but what my *yiayia* was signalling in Arvanitika was the word *'krusco'* to mean family. It was through the marriage of my parents that the previously two separate family trees were now tied together as one family through extended networks of kin.

Later, when my *dede* visited Australia in 1972, he presented my mother with a necklace. It had a gold medallion with Thessaloniki engraved on one side and Epirus on the other, representing ties to the two regions through the joining of the families. Thessaloniki represented the capital of the Macedonian region, and Epirus represented my maternal family's routes from Northern Epirus (that was annexed to Albania in 1913) before my mother's family settled in Florina.

However, these stories of familial place and cultural identity were rarely transmitted through the family. The resurfacing of these memories during discussion with family members over the course of this thesis suggests these attachments remain important, yet there was little opportunity to narrate these stories.

As noted, the idea of family as the cornerstone of 'home' and its many meanings has not been thoroughly explored in the context of Greek Macedonian migration, particularly as collective identity was primarily constructed through the family before the partitioning of the region. Overall, the main characteristic by participants was to articulate the theme of family itself and sites of family memory when narrating stories about whether they thought of Greece as a 'home'. Consequently, the Greek homeland for families who had origins in the Florina region tended to become reframed in terms of the place where the family has come to be rooted. When examining the concept of 'home', or the assumption that the homeland or native village is always the best place to return, we need to consider that it 'may mean different things to individuals from different walks of life from the same country of origin' (Eastmond 2007:253).

Third generation participant Cassandra did not consider Greece to feel like a home although she clarified that she felt a connection through her family and her heritage. Cassandra explained:

> In my DNA, in my cellular memory, I felt healthier back there [in Greece]. It was like I was kind of rooted and home. But I was born here [in Australia] and I've never known any different. It [Greece] doesn't feel like a home but it feels like a part of family, but not home (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Second-generation participant Andreas referred to feeling at home in Greece, but this was largely due to his association of Greece with family ties and hence the coming home to family. Andreas said:

> I felt at home everywhere in Greece. I felt even though not being born there, and not being there for such a long time, I really felt at home because I associate any Greek people as family. There has always been family there. I felt really warm and I felt really close and connected (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

As noted, Dubisch (1986:141) described how traditionally in rural Greece, the house carried a connotation that goes far beyond the normal definition of the place or the home. It was literally the place where the family gathers. Words for 'house' such as *spiti* were synonymous with the word for family and the family line (Forbes 2007:116). Furthermore, the Greek word for family, *oikeogenéia*, is a compound of *oiekos*, the *Katharevousa* (considered a pure form of

Greek) for 'house' and *genéia,* 'offspring'. In spite of the geographical scattering of individuals, kinship remained crucial to patterns of Greek cultural transmission based on movement from the family between different urban and rural communities within Greece (Friedl 1959). Thee kinship relations continue to remain important to a sense of belonging to a homeland, and a study of how students viewed Northern Greece referenced national belonging and affiliation in terms of a territorially formed community over time where they were literally related to those from the same place (Argyris et al 2009:11). It speaks to the need to maintain a link to family history and roots in the Greek nation, although this is mainly achieved through property (Knight 2018:31). Thus migrant families from Florina have recreated home in Australia and Canada through necessity, and generally have let go of ties to family property, but not family relationships.

In the consideration of how migrant families from Florina narrated stories about their ancestral homeland, I argue that it was family relationships that came to reinforce the sense of belonging to Greece as a 'home' over an attachment to the land itself. It was the enduring attachment to the idea of family that lay at the heart of family migration stories. Hence, the memory of soil became literally the home where the family originated and this was arguably due to the limited transmission of family stories about Florina that did not develop intergenerational regional attachment in line with other regions of Greece. What it does reflect, however, is the agricultural memory of place associated with the Florina region. Although the name of 'Florina' has changed over time since the Roman Empire, it has retained essentially the same meaning to denote green vegetation, its plants and flowers. Stories that remembered grandparents' gardens and trees were narrated as the favourite memory of Greece, with some stories further framed in terms of being with extended family members. As second-generation Canadian participant Bessie said:

> I remember eating fresh almonds. That really brings it home in terms of Greece for me – my grandparent's house and eating almonds off the tree. That wasn't anything I did at home. Living in the city, living in Toronto, I never had that kind of thing. That was a nice experience (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Stories about trees and gardens often emerged organically during interviews with second and third-generation participants. Questions such as 'what is your favourite memory of Greece', or 'do you have an attachment to Greece?', also prompted stories by participants about feeling rooted to Greece through the family. This use of an agricultural and gardening trope is often evident in the semantics and discourse of diasporas as is the importance of metaphors such as

roots, trees and gardens in migrant stories (Battisti and Portelli 2005; Cohen 2008:13; Christou and King 2008:10). Furthermore, family trees and reference to the way roots are anchored in one place with branches in several other places are used to describe kinship by diasporic individuals (Christou and King 2008:10). The metaphor of 'roots' has also been described to denote the return of second-generation Greek migrants to their homelands (King and Christou 2008:10). Despite these notions, the generational role of family memory and the breaking of ties with the place that was once home in the context of war and displacement has been often overlooked. Yet it has recurred as a theme in Macedonian literature that deals with the desire to take root in another place to ultimately exist and survive, and for the legacy of the generations to know where they have come from that reflects the soil and the family tree (Petrovska 2015:125; Vereni 2000:64). The enduring memory of home in this thesis is located locally and literally in terms of the place where the family originates, rather than broader attachment to the original homeland. Stories have not been narrated in terms of the loss of the Macedonian homeland (cf Petrovska 2015), but rather the loss of the framework of the traditional family and life in the village as a result of war and migration. Often memories by the second and third generation were instead associated with memories of being with their grandparents in their gardens.

Although the meaning of the planting of the pear tree in 1901 to honour my grandfather's birth has been lost over time, fragments of its story persist. My cousin Helen has never visited Greece but she did hear about the tree from her father and does have an image of the pear tree in her memory. Helen said:

> I do have a picture in my mind. I have a picture in my mind that it's like really tall and the trunk's very veiny looking with roots sort of sticking out of the ground and it's sort of half way up the house, not quite a climber but looking like a climber. I don't know what it actually looks like but that's my vision of it (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Paul remembered the tree went he went back to Greece in 1977. Paul recalled stories being told:

> Our grandfather talked about how old the tree was and what a rich part of the family it was. It looked gnarled and old and there were only a few fruit on it at the time when we went there. I remember it being talked about when we visited Macedonia or when we visited the village. My father didn't talk about it. It was more when I went there that it was referred to. When I came back I asked my father about it and he said 'Oh yeah, the old pear tree. Did you see it?' So yes, there was recognition but I had not heard about it until I went there. It was

> more my grandfather who tended to say it was so old and how he was as old, that type of thing (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

On his final visit to the family home in Greece in 2008, my father Theodoros watered the pear tree before leaving in the hope that it would live for many more years. Although the story of the pear tree was limited in circulation within the extended family, storytelling has played a role in the durability of its memory. The transmission of the key idea of the length of the tree's life through family stories was to mark its longevity and resilience, although the original purpose of its planting (to honour the birth of my grandfather in 1901) had been forgotten by family members in Australia. Memories of trees and gardens as metaphors for migrant families often appear in hybrid cultural writing about the diaspora. In essence, roots may stay with you as you move as symbol of the homeland, rather than keeping you grounded in one place (Hage 2008). For the first generation of Greeks who went to Bulgaria between 1900 – 1949 following population exchanges from Western Thrace and Greek Macedonia, the process of remembering often focused on the tangible recollections of their connection to Bulgarian and Greek landscapes in terms of trees, greenery and fruit (Dragostinova 2011:241).

The memories of trees and gardens were also evident in other family groups. Maggie stated she felt no attachment to Greece. When I prompted Maggie to recall whether she felt any attachment to place she recalled the memory of her grandmother's garden in Meliti, Florina. Maggie said:

> What I would remember is my grandmother's house. In the front, there were flowers, different types of flowers. There's nothing else that stands out for me apart from my grandmother's garden. Grandmother would always be there first thing in the morning watering the plants. There would be sunflowers and lots of plants and it was always immaculate (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Likewise, Aliki also recalled how the flowers she remembered from her time living for six months in Greece in 1975 where no longer there when she later visited. Aliki said:

> I remember my grandmother had flowers. She loved flowers but I didn't see the old red flowers we used to have and gardens at the front. Now it's built out. The children live in the city in Florina (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

In fact, Aliki's grandmother would send her son Christos dried flowers from her garden in the mail to Australia as a memory of home. Aliki's brother Andreas favourite memory of visiting Greece when he was 23 years old was also about the garden of their grandparents:

> I remember my grandfather in Florina would love sitting in the garden in summer. It was big open grass filled with flowers and a couple of overhanging

> trees providing shade. He loved sitting there with the Greek radio station on listening to news, right on his ear because he could hardly hear (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

Stories by the third generation in Australia also continued the connection to the gardens of grandparents. Andrew narrated his favourite memory of his grandfather Theodoros being in his vegetable garden:

> Pappou is very fond of his *kippo* (garden). I enjoy watching him. I enjoy helping him garden (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Often the gardens of Greek migrants in Australia can reflect a range of processes associated with migration that can signal evolution and change, as well as being symbolic of the homeland, social environment and maintenance of food traditions (Graham and Connell 2007:390). These stories of the symbolic nature of trees and gardens in association with the connection to Greek migrant grandparents was a recurrent theme throughout the narration of family stories. These stories symbolise the connection to remembered sites of family and place and the space they occupy in the lives of families from Florina. In summary, the gardens and trees of grandparents were remembered by participants as sites of family memory and connection to place. Ultimately, many participants narrated how they felt rooted in terms of belonging to the site of family. This was not necessarily dependent on a physical place but the memory of the family and feeling of belonging within its relationships.

CONCLUSION

The success of negotiating diasporic minority identity and culture becomes dependent on how it is kept alive within the family through cultural practice, and whether there is a space for stories to be culturally transmitted to subsequent generations. As will be detailed in subsequent chapters that describe the experiences of migration, second and third genealogical generations were often unsure of what Greek Macedonian means to their own identity or family history. But it was important for first-generation participants to narrate their pre- migration story and their experiences during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War – even though these stories were not often circulated within the family. For first-generation participants, stories narrated about family reflect the realisation that they now belonged in the place where they had set down new roots, with many indicating that they had severed the ties they had with home upon arrival in Australia. Connections to home were thus framed in terms of the memory of family itself and local village.

In terms of the transmission and circulation of migration stories, I found that the process of migration has further interrupted the cultural framework of family memory when traditional generational bonds are broken between the first and the second generation of the Greek family through separation. The second generation often grows up without the stories and bonds of the grandparent generation acting as the main vehicle to transmit cultural stories. Through the act of migration, and, in many cases, the leaving behind of grandparents, the traditional Greek family has been reinterpreted but the opportunity to reconnect between the first and the third generation remains open. Thus family storytelling between grandparents and grandchildren becomes limited where there is a conscious desire by second-generation parents to move away from aspects of Greek Macedonian culture they do not identify with; where has been trauma that silences the transmission of stories between generations; or where the family bonds are not as close. Instead, stories about the experience of migration tended to become reframed by the experiences of the second generation.

Despite any hardship encountered as a result of family migration, symbolic stories about remembering the gardens and trees of grandparents were often narrated as the favourite 'memory' of Greece and connections to home were framed in terms of where the family has roots. The experience of hardship was also central to the narration of Greek Macedonian family migration stories. Stories that reflected hardship were not only framed in terms of the effects of war. Children and grandchildren also narrated observations about the hardship and difficulties first-generation mothers faced, in both pre-migration and post-migration contexts. Children of migrants in Australia also narrated hardship in terms of perceptions of feeling in-between Greek and Australian cultures. In the following chapter, I examine more closely the stories narrated by the first generation who left Florina for Australia in the 1960s.

- CHAPTER FOUR -

THE TREES – LEAVING AND FINDING HOME: STORIES FROM THE FIRST GENERATION

> We were poor. You couldn't think of the future. All the years passed by in poverty (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

The Australian writer David Malouf (1992) highlights that: 'One of the oldest stories we tell is the story about leaving home'. Malouf offers a version of the migrant's story that emphasises that in finding a new home, there is hardship and loss but also an open and hopeful new beginning (Malouf 1992). For many Greek Macedonian migrants, the necessity to leave home was seen as inevitable due to the poverty experienced in Florina. First-generation participant Christos was unable to 'think of the future' in Greece but he was able to achieve his 'dream to get a job' when he secured employment within three days after arrival in Australia on 8 May 1960 (Christos, born 1933, Florina). Christos grew up with my father Theodoros and sailed to Australia with my uncle Lazaros on the *Patris*. Christos stated that he was very happy to live in Australia for the rest of his life. On reflection of his *patridia* (Greek homeland) Christos still loved Greece as much as his second homeland of Australia, although he felt he no longer belonged in Greece. Furthermore, the memories of the war and hunger overshadowed the loss of home in Florina. Christos stated:

> I thought about my house in Greece but I wasn't worried. When it is empty and there is nothing to eat, what can I do with it? (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

In effect, the 'empty' house for Christos signaled the greater loss of family following the passing of his parents in Greece and through the migration of his brothers to Australia. His sisters now also belonged to new households through their marriages. Ultimately Christos reminisced that life in Australia provided opportunities and narrated an open and hopeful story of migration:

> It's important to talk with family and friends about how we found a better life here. After many years, we talk about how we were, how we came here, and where we are now. And now we will always be good here (Christos, born 1933. Florina).

In this chapter, I focus on the production of stories as narrated by the first generation that migrated to Australia from Florina, Greece during the 1960s. Overall, four main themes were

narrated by first-generation participants about the migration experience that reflected the phases of pre-migration and settlement. Firstly, the stories of loss through the disruption of place and identity through war were consistently narrated, and these stories reflected the hardship of life in Greece prior to arrival. Secondly, stories about the settlement years reflected the early strength of the Greek Macedonian community and the successful attainment of home and family. Thirdly, stories were narrated that documented experiences of work and although these times could be difficult, the desirable outcomes of independence and economic stability and a future for their children were achieved. Finally, stories reflected the complex notions of navigating local and regional identity in Greek Macedonia, yet the recognition of dual ties to Greece as the country of their birth and to Australia as home.

STORIES ABOUT WAR AND THE DISRUPTION OF PLACE

As noted, stories about war emerged as the prominent theme during my interview with first-generation participants and these stories were particularly framed in terms of the resulting poverty and hunger experienced in villages in Florina. In Chapter Three, I examined the transmission of war stories within the family but here I want to pay attention to the direct experiences of the first generation. Stories were often generated in two places during interviews. Firstly, stories were positioned at the start of the interview when I asked first-generation participants to tell me about their migration story. Secondly, stories about the impacts of war were chosen as the type of stories participants wanted to share across the generations when asked at the end of the interview if there were any stories they remembered or narrated to their children. Yet circulation within the wider family of these 'war' stories to children and grandchildren was limited, which suggests that whilst there was an expressed desire to transmit war stories, these traumatic narratives were too difficult to narrate in practice.

Overall, stories reflected the period of great deprivation and hardship in Greece during the Second World War that eventually led to a full-blown Civil War. A man of few words, the impact of the Greek Civil War was instead written down by Forti and handed to me during a joint interview with his wife, Eleni. Forti was born in Lamia in central Greece but had worked as a policeman in Eleni's village in Florina between 1960 and 1964 prior to his migration to Australia. Forti wrote his impression down in Greek of the impacts of the war, particularly in terms of the family:

> The Macedonian freedom fighters started to spread and there was fighting in the hills of Florina and Kastoria and along the Greek-Serbian borders. Finally, the war ended but the damage was done. Those left behind had only the bones of their loved ones and lost dreams. In the freezing winter of December 1949, the people were without jobs. The family went back to the table for the New Year in 1950 with hardly any bread and no sweets. But the worst to come was that many chairs at the table were empty from the lost ones of their family from the war (Forti, born 1937 Lamia, worked in Florina).

This intense description was followed by an account of how the 'grace' offered through migration to Australia in 1954, and later Canada and Europe, became the solution to the 'heartache and difficulties' faced by the people of Macedonia. Through their hard work, Forti wrote, this not only ensured their own survival but the opportunity for future generations – the *Makedonoupouli*s (Macedonian children). On the whole, this story sums up the initial despair yet hope many felt in ensuring a future for their children following the devastation of war. It echoes the sentiment expressed by some of the settlers from Florina (who Mapstone interviewed in Shepparton in rural Victoria) who would narrate a legend of Macedonians from ancient times being cursed – only knowing suffering, war and poverty – and how this curse has been broken through migration (Mapstone 1966:1-2).

First-generation participants were born during the period 1928 to 1940 and as such were mainly in the early years of childhood during the Second World War or early teenage years by the time of the Civil War. Consequently, the narration of their stories reflected this difficult and traumatic period and defined their early memories of Florina. Participants narrated the hardship and trauma they felt as the direct result of war: the loss of village life, living in fear of being killed by soldiers and abject poverty and hunger experienced during both wars, and in particular the famine of winter 1941-1942. Very little was narrated in terms of the direct witnessing of violence, but rather participants relayed stories of survival. Where stories have been consciously transmitted by the first generation to their children and grandchildren, it was these 'war' stories that emerged as the key types of stories remembered and retold within the family. Family stories reinforced that the decision made by first-generation participants to migrate was inevitable due to the impacts of war, hunger and poverty in the Greek Macedonian region. Many first-generation participants stated their belief there was 'no future' by remaining in Greece. Lazaros said:

> It was hard to live. We couldn't separate to buy another house so we lived together. There was no future to buy a house. There was no food and no work (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

The early memories of their small village of Itea being occupied during the Second World War shaped the early life experiences of Lazaros, Theodoros and Christos, particularly of living in fear. There was very little account of any Civil War stories narrated by male participants. When pressed during our interview, Theodoros who was nearly killed during the Civil War when he was mistaken for a grown man simply stated:

> They were ready to shoot me but then they saw I was a young boy of 12 years old. They showed me the bullets and told me, if you were here for another few minutes, you [would have been] killed (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Rather, it was the probing of stories outside of formal interviews where further war memories were related. My father Theodoros spoke about how his father Trianos served in the Second World War and his elder brothers served in the Civil War. Too young to serve, Theodoros helped his mother with the younger children. A particularly traumatic experience for Theodoros was leaving his village to run and hide in the mountains during the Civil War. Theodoros was told to leave behind his two year old brother Stefanos, who fell over during the rush, in order to save himself. What happened to Stefanos was unclear, but my father thought he was helped by others to safety. Stefanos passed away shortly after and my father thought it was due to illness, although he was unsure of the cause of his death. Although only narrated as fragmented memories, this story is an intimate account of war. The manner in which men narrated their stories of the consequences of war was highly pragmatic and matter of fact. Their statements often signalled that there was no hope of a future in Greece that would provide the opportunity to work and thus establish a home and provide for a family. This gendered reflection focused on how little opportunity was available in Greece to fulfil the attainment of a '*spiti'* and '*oikeogenéia'* (home and family) that were indicators of Greek Macedonian cultural success.

In contrast, female first-generation participants Zoi and Eleni tended to describe their emotional connection to their family and village and of the nostalgia of their home that existed before its destruction and disruption by war. Although the poverty resulting from war was overwhelming, my mother Zoi remembered her village of Flambouro as being a happy site of memory. These ties to an idealised village often became strong sites of family memory that were circulated and remembered by the second and third generations interviewed in this thesis, yet there was often little recall of the specific names or details. Consequently, stories by subsequent generations were re-narrated in terms of their parent's or grandparent's local 'village' as a reflection of the homeland, rather than broader stories about Greece itself. Zoi recalled:

> It was a nice childhood. Life was beautiful and we played. We had a river in the village and a beautiful school. We had beautiful water in the village that came from the mountain. We had a farm with apple trees and a beautiful vegetable garden. We had plenty of wood for winter and there was plenty of snow in the winter. Every night you had to sit down with all the grandmothers and old people and they would tell you stories like Snow White and Cinderella. We had nice animals and plenty of goat's milk. Before the war we were able to sell all these things and we had plenty of food because my father was a builder. But after the war everybody had a problem (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

It was at the end of our interview that Zoi described her idyllic life in the village with an abundance of fresh food, water, education and community but that was ultimately disrupted by the Civil War. These memories of Zoi's village were prompted when I asked about whether she knew the story of my father's pear tree. Instead, she narrated her own memories of cherry and plum trees that no longer grew in her village. Zoi described the memory of her childhood as a 'never ending story' that she would be happy to talk about forever (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

In contrast, it was very difficult for Zoi to narrate her memories of the war. When I asked Zoi to tell me her migration story, Zoi instead felt compelled to begin the interview by narrating her eyewitness account of how her father and two uncles were forcibly taken from her home at gunpoint during the night. This traumatic event changed the family fortunes with the loss of the family breadwinners. When the men were taken, Zoi's mother Fotini *(my yiayia*) was pregnant with her fourth child. Zoi's father was never seen again, nor did the family ever learn what happened to him. I learnt in a later conversation with my mother Zoi that she thought her uncles were taken to the island Makronissos, a re-education camp for communists, where they were tortured but eventually returned home. Zoi linked the continuation of her memory of both wars and recalled the terror she felt:

> I remember after the German war left Greece in 1945. I was five years old. It was after the Civil War in Greece that they took my father and my two single uncles. I was scared and I knew partisans would come in the night to look for food and for clothes. In 1948, they just took them (Zoi, born 1939, Florina)

The interview with Zoi was the first time that I learnt about her life in Greece, as previously Zoi had not actively transmitted her life story. Zoi talked about how she was placed by her mother in a children's home in 1948 for her safety along with her cousin Maria, and later moved to a home in Thessaloniki until 1950. Zoi recalled the children in her village were voluntarily evacuated. As noted in Chapter Two, the program known as the *paidofilagma* (gathering of

children) by the Greek Government aimed to protect the children in contrast to the Communist program of *paidomazoma* (kidnapping the children) (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:14). It was these direct experiences of war by women that were seldom recounted within the family. As a result, many second and third-generation participants did not know their mothers or grandmothers had spent time within the children's homes. Despite the distressing circumstances, Zoi reflected on her time in the children's home as being relatively happy as she had food and she had children to play with. The strong role of family and ties to community perhaps supported the ability of evacuated children in the homes to cope with their experiences of war (Dalianis and Mazower 2000:102, Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012). Zoi recalled the memory of her village being evacuated to Florina in response to the partisans who were taking families and young girls. Zoi said:

> You have to go to Florina otherwise the partisans would kill you. Even the police went to Florina because they were too scared to stay. They even killed our teacher. You have to sell everything and start again (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

For Eleni, evacuation of her village was her main memory of this period as she recalled very little about the war. In interviews with Eleni and Zoi, stories about the Greek Civil War were firstly about loss and destruction of home and village, and secondly about the experience of being evacuated from the village. Eleni grew up in the village of Sklithro in Florina and became a family friend to Zoi after the two women became neighbours in inner-city Richmond, following their migration to Australia. Eleni stated:

> We were very poor. I don't remember much about the war. I was five years old. I left the village and went to Amyntaio for one year. All the family and all the village had to leave because there was too much fighting in the village (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

Ironically, the mountainous villages Flambouro and Sklithro that offered protection from the Ottoman Turks came to be devastated during the Greek Civil War. The geography of Northern Greece greatly influenced events with the Democratic Army controlling the more isolated and inaccessible mountainous regions along the northern borders, and the Greek army controlling the plains and valleys supported by transportation and communication networks (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:33). The villages in the foothills of the mountains of Northern Greece were occupied by partisans at night and the Greek army during the day and endured immense suffering. In villages under partisan control, food and animal supplies were taken, men and women were forced to join the Democratic army and villagers accused of collaboration with the enemy were executed (Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:33). Of note is that the stories

narrated by first-generation participants were without reference to whether their family or village may have had any public or private political alignment to communist or royalist allegiance, and this perhaps indicated a deep-seated fear of repercussion even from the safety of Australia. Overall, collective memory of the period of the Greek Civil War has been fragmented and thus family and community memories have often been isolated from dominant historical narratives (Van Boeschoten 2000a:139). In its place, collective memory of this period has tended to reflect the construction of a national narrative created by the transmission of a public version of history by teachers which centred on the legacy of ancient Greece and the struggle for democracy (Van Boeschoten 2000a:138).

The sensory experiences of 'war stories' often described immense feelings of hunger and starvation during the famine in the winter of 1941-1942. Theodoros talked about the extreme hunger he felt and remembered that: 'You were lucky if you had bread. In 1942 for seven days, we never saw bread' (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina). Other statements included:

> We were extremely poor. No future at all. We wanted to work and to live like humans. We only had bread (Christos, born 1933, Florina)
>
> No I never wanted to go home. I'm scared I would be hungry if I went back. This is our home [in Australia] (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

Eleni's statement of her fear of being hungry in Greece has indicated the permanent disruption to her notion of homeland and instead, home for her has become Australia. It also echoed Christos' earlier statement of his description of his empty house in Greece where 'there is nothing to eat' (Christos, born 1933, Florina). Returning from a two-month holiday in 1975, Eleni reflected on how she felt different as a result of the visit particularly in terms of her life in Australia compared to Greece. Eleni said:

> I felt different. I felt sorry for my country, for my house. My heart hurt and I grew up. It hurt me. I was happy to come back to Australia (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

With her house and parents now gone, Eleni felt there were no ties that bind her to Greece, but was able to recreate her Greek life in Australia for herself and for her two children. Eleni's husband Forti also stated that: 'The only thing I miss is the family, nothing else' in terms of his connection to Greece having seen firsthand the devastation in Florina (Forti, born Lamia 1937, worked in Florina).

In summary, it was important for participants to tell stories about their experiences of war and how this permanently disrupted their early childhood and future viability of their villages. Told in vivid terms, describing hardship, hunger and poverty, their stories laid a foundational migrant narrative to communicate to subsequent generations why they had no future other than to leave Greece 'for a better life'. What I have highlighted is the nuanced understandings of home that emerged and how belonging in Australia was re-created through family and regional ties. The stories signalled that Florina was no longer viable as a home due to its destruction through war and limited economic conditions. Rather stories narrated by the first generation indicate that their feelings of loss were in relation to loss of traditional family ties rather than emotional ties to a physical 'home'. Indeed the process of the loss of 'home' had occurred in the 1940s due to war, well before first-generation participants left Greece for Australia in the 1950s and 1960s. Aside from family ties, the connection to their original 'homeland' were not actively maintained for first-generation migrants from Florina. For example, there was an absence of repeated family visits, and some never returned at all. Rather the Greek Macedonian homeland was conceptualised in terms of an acceptance of the loss of home and loss of the traditional family as an outcome of war in the region. In contrast, stories of establishing the community, the development and maintenance of family ties and the love for Australia as home were common themes narrated in terms of the earlier settlement years (1950s to 1970s) of migration.

STORIES OF COMMUNITY

Much attention has been given to the importance of setting up community institutions and celebratory stories of Greek migrant adaptation to Australia. In contrast, far less attention has been given to how the families of Greek Macedonian migrants coped as early post-war arrivals in the 1950s. Here, I want to begin this discussion with the stories narrated by children of the first of our extended family members to arrive in Australia in 1954. The migration story of Olga and Pandos represented the starting point in the chain of my own father's migration story. As noted, family members described the particularly traumatic experience settlement that Olga faced. In contrast, for many Greeks who arrived later in the 1960s the story of migration to Australia has often been described as an adventure and the chance for a 'better life'. Whilst there has been a focus to explain Greek migrant adaptation in terms of separation from the homeland, more intimate details of what migration represented to family have been missed.

For Olga, the permanent separation from her family in Greece was thought by her children to have contributed to her distress in later years. Olga and Pandos and their two young sons Paul and Nick (aged four and 18 months) arrived at Bonegilla in October 1954 (a third daughter was born in Melbourne in 1958). Bonegilla was the largest migrant reception centre in the post-war era. During 1953 to mid-1956 there was a large influx of 33,649 Greek migrants and almost all were processed at the Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre in Victoria (Pennay 2011:1). The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) and the Australian Government assisted approximately half of these migrants, while others were privately sponsored by Greeks that were already in Australia (Pennay 2011:1). In return for assisted passage, migrants entered into a contract to be employed as directed by the government for two years (Pennay 2011:3). The priority was directing men to fill vacancies in industry and locations where there was difficulty finding workers. This included the rural sector, manufacturing and railway construction with migrants in danger of losing social service benefits if they declined two offers (Pennay 2011:3). The Greek community in Australia generally viewed the work offered at Bonegilla with distaste. Rather, the preference for Greek families was to be together in a home located in an urban centre within their ethnic community (Pennay 2011:3). Initially, Pandos was sent to work on the cane fields in Cairns in northern Queensland and the family was separated (Paul, born 1950, Florina). Paul remembered the distress this caused:

> We were taken up to Bonegilla on arrival, even though we knew people from neighbouring villages through extended family circles. We were taken up to Bonegilla as part of the demobilisation. My father had been given a job to go up to Cairns to work in the cane. We were trained up to Bonegilla. My father headed off to Cairns before we would. Now I'm not sure whether it was myself or Nick were a bit ill, so we stayed a bit longer. Father went up and then mother, Nick and I followed. Nick was actually hospitalised. I was told I was probably hospitalised as well. We both had chickenpox and a range of diseases that cleared up but they were pretty traumatic for my mother to be in a new country on her own with two young children and some hospitalisation involved (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

In his recollection, Paul described how the separation between the family members was a traumatic time for Olga and Nick, as well as the memories of his mother's anxious journey from Albury in rural Victoria to Cairns in Queensland (2,600 kilometres to the north) with all the number of train changes.

Subsequently, stories circulated within his family were centred on the 'disrupted memories' of the family separation, illness and the anxiety waiting for trains and being afraid in case they

missed the train (Paul, born 1950, Florina). Notes from Olga's papers from the Wacol East migrant holding camp where Olga and her children arrived on 27 October 1954 confirm that the family was originally on transfer to the Stuart Migrant Camp in Townsville, Queensland and the family departed to Fitzroy, Melbourne on 16 November 1954 following the hospitalisation of a child. On return to Melbourne, Pandos was able to access support provided to the family by their Macedonian networks living in Clifton Hill. Through their hard work, Pandos and Olga were able to purchase a house in Richmond, Melbourne. Pandos was subsequently able to sponsor the migration of four of his brothers to Australia between 1956 and 1966.

In Greece, their nephew Tashos remembered the memories of his uncles leaving for Australia as a time for celebration (Tashos 2014, personal communication, July). A '*yiorti*' (feast) was held in the village to farewell each brother as their parents (our grandparents) assumed that the brothers would never return home, or have had the opportunity to see each other again. This was the case for Pandos and Lazaros who never returned, and Theodoros returned after 45 years by which time his parents had passed away. Theodoros said:

> My mother was still alive when all the brothers came to Australia. She said it was better to go to Australia than to live in poverty, but our father wanted us to stay. He was a good man and he looked after us (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Despite my grandmother's encouragement for her children to leave, I later learned in conversation with Tashos that the permanent separation from her five sons caused her great distress and contributed to a decline in her mental health (Tashos 2017, personal communication, August). It is over time that people tend to become more reflective and contextualise their lives when narrating events that are meaningful to them (Gardner 2002:29). As family members in the first generation age, a greater examination of the loss to the family through its separation in different countries has become more meaningful, and this is also reflected in the stories narrated by the second generation.

In contrast to Olga's experience, the stories narrated by first-generation participants about arrival in Australia in the 1960s that occurred after the establishment of family ties were related with happiness, and this was particularly the case for male participants. For Theodoros, a sense of adventure, new things to see and looking forward to a new life in Australia were evident in the narration of his memories of the journey and arrival in Melbourne in March 1960. It was

also particularly special for Theodoros as he met my mother Zoi for the first time during the migration journey. They married soon after in 1961 and initially lived with Olga and Pandos in Richmond. Theodoros said:

> We had a good time on the boat with dancing, singing when we were waiting to come to the ground, to Australia. We were very happy when we came to Perth from Fremantle and after another five or six days we were in Melbourne. I wish I was still there on the boat. It was the best time (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Two months later Theodoros' brother Lazaros made the journey to Australia but was unable to secure visas to bring his wife and two young children. Instead, Lazaros travelled with his friend Christos on the *Patris* and arrived in May 1960. Lazaros was encouraged by his brother Pandos to come to Australia and felt comforted by the support offered by his extended family. Lazaros said:

> When I came to Australia, I came on the boat. I saw that there weren't many things but I knew my brother Pandos was waiting for me. We knew we were going somewhere so I felt comfortable because someone was waiting for me (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

Lazaros also described the difficulty he felt due to the separation from his wife Fotini and two young children in Greece who arrived two years later through financial support loaned by Pandos to Lazaros for their passage. On arrival in Australia, over 65 per cent of Greek Macedonian men joined their relatives and fellow villagers with less than 15 per cent boarding with other single men and the remainder accommodated through the Commonwealth Immigration Centre at Bonegilla or Port Melbourne (Tamis 1994:172).

For Eleni, the voyage to Australia was the first opportunity to travel outside her home region. Eleni was 18 years old when she immigrated to Australia in 1963 to join her sister. Eleni described how the memory of the Acropolis 'never went from my mind' when she saw it for the first time before leaving Greece (Eleni, born 1940, Florina). The voyage on the *Patris* was enjoyable and she only brought clothes and blankets with her. Prior to immigration, Eleni had learnt English for six months in Greece as she came to Australia as a domestic worker to clean 'rich people's houses' (Eleni, born 1940, Florina). In 1962, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) acted for both the Greek and Australian governments in the recruitment and training of female trainees through a monthly bulletin advertising the scheme in Greece (Appleyard et al 2015:30). Potential migrants could see ICEM teams when they visited their region and pre-selected trainees were enrolled in groups of 10-30 women for

training courses at schools in Thessaloniki and Kifissia, Athens where they learned home skills and English for approximately two months (Appleyard et al 2015:31). Various programs were initiated in Australia to support industrial developments in the 1950s and 1960s that aimed to recruit single women in particular employment categories which included special provisions for the nomination of their fiancés and unmarried sisters, and financial incentives such as eligibility for assisted passages for single women aged 18 to 35 years (Appleyard et al 2015:30). Although Eleni felt overwhelmed about going to Australia, she saw it as an opportunity and was supported by her older sister.

Eleni later nominated her fiancée Forti's immigration. Eleni had met her future husband Forti in 1961 when he was stationed as a policeman in her village in Sklithro, Florina. They married one month after Forti's arrival in Australia in January 1964. Eleni narrated the memory of her first home in Richmond, Melbourne:

> I remember the house in Richmond. It was very old with a tin roof, that's all I remember. I lived on the corner of Lennox and Egan Streets. The first people I met was your mum and your dad [Zoi and Theodoros] and we have been friends ever since. Everything was perfect here in Australia, much better from what I had in Greece. It was different and it was a lot better. We had work and money. We bought the house and people helped us and it didn't matter if people were from different parts. Everyone was close and we talked and we compromised like friends. We worked together. There were not many Australians [in our lives] but a lot of Greeks and Italians. We went to Greek community [events] and churches (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

Throughout her life in Australia, Eleni has continued to maintain strong networks with family, friends and through the Greek community at church. This has supported Eleni to recreate a traditional version of a Greek lifestyle that has shaped her belonging in Australia.

Zoi also narrated how she felt initial happiness about the prospect of coming to Australia to join family and friends from her village. Zoi initially went to live with her married sister who had settled in Adelaide. Zoi was also able to migrate of her own decision, knowing family and support networks would be waiting. Indeed, there had been an exodus of more than 350 people from Zoi's village through chain migration, with more than half of the population of her village Flambouro concentrated in the inner suburban areas of Adelaide (Tamis 1994:212). With assisted passage, an established community in Adelaide and support of family meant Zoi could migrate to Australia with the aim of bettering her own economic position. Zoi said:

> At first, I was happy when I came in 1960. My sister was here in Adelaide and there were many people from my village who were in Adelaide and that was why we left Greece (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

After she became engaged to Theodoros, Zoi moved to Melbourne where she developed strong relationships with her sisters-in-law. Later her younger brother Yiannis was able to migrate to Melbourne in 1966 with only one brother of the four siblings remaining in Greece. The friendship of Zoi and Eleni and their families become a lifelong bond that started from their time as neighbours in Richmond and was considered a close kinship relationship, further strengthened by the regional ties of Florina. Neither Zoi nor Eleni looked back on their decision to migrate to Australia with regret. However, the women did feel loss for the way things once were at home. Statements included:

> For me it was a very old place in Richmond. My village was better. But I worked hard and I had money. My village was more beautiful but I was happy to come here (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).
>
> I went back in 1975 and found it was hard. I felt sorry for my house which had been destroyed. '*Me panousi*' [it hurt me to see how things were]. I felt happy to go back to Australia (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

Through acceptance that their former life in Greece had changed, Zoi and Eleni recognised that they had made Australia their home. For Zoi, although life in her village was beautiful, it did not offer the opportunities she was able to make for herself in Australia. For Eleni, the physical loss of her home hurt her deeply, but Eleni appreciated the opportunity to remake 'home' in Australia.

In addition to family and friendship networks, many first-generation participants embraced the chance for community and cultural expression that was offered through organised Greek community events. For example, many participants engaged with the Greek Macedonian regional association of the United Villages of Florina. With policies of multiculturalism emerging in Australia in the 1970s, there was a growth of ethnic community organisations and migrant groups (Danforth 2000:91). Nevertheless, the emotional attachment to the locality of origin remained an extremely strong bond and this was reflected in the number and activity of Greek regional associations (Gilchrist 2004:343). Lazaros narrated a story of how village and friendship networks in Melbourne initially met in the Exhibition Gardens. Later, formal associations were set up as numbers who participated in the informal events grew and Lazaros served as president of United Villages of Florina for a period in the 1970s. Lazaros recalled:

> We didn't go much to church but we went to the parks. Every Sunday we found friends in the Exhibition Gardens and we would meet there and put music on. There were a lot of people and we organised a committee and had dances and later picnics in Kalorama [in the Dandenong mountains]. Afterwards, the community started to separate (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

Theodoros also recalled the initial strength of the Greek Macedonian community as one of the highlights of his life in Australia. This period occurred predominantly from the 1960s to 1980s in Melbourne and it focused heavily on social activities. Theodoros remembered:

> There were picnics and dances. We visited each other, and we were always busy. It was good, the best time in Australia. When we left Greece we were living in poverty. The government couldn't help after the war (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Often comments by participants reflected the formation of community in Melbourne that was able to develop without the historical and political constraints experienced in Greece. As noted in Chapter Two, the establishment of United Villages of Florina Association was not intended to be politically aligned to a separate or national Macedonian identity but rather offer a place for people to practice cultural expression of language, music and dancing. Christos said:

> We made a community with music and picnics. We went for friendship. I couldn't say whether the government was good here. But compared to Greece it was democratic. We were happy here. I love Australia (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

Both statements by Theodoros and Christos indicated that Australia offered happiness through the community that they created, in stark contrast to the instability of the government in Greece to provide assistance following the war. For Forti, the ability to make friends and compromise on once strongly held beliefs and ideas was the making of the Greek community that was forged on immigrant cooperation. Forti noted the help that was provided during the earlier years of settlement:

> We had a lot of help. It didn't matter if you were from different parts, everyone was close and we talked and we compromised like friends. We worked together. There were not very many Australians. We were a lot of Greeks and Italians. We went to Greek community [events] and churches. We found each other and we could talk in our language. We understood what we heard. There were no politics (Forti, born 1937 Lamia, worked in Florina).

It was these crucial family and village networks that helped ease the arrival of Greek Macedonian migrants into Australian society, particularly in terms of initial concerns with housing and work. In contrast to the migrant ships described by Hammerton and Thomson

(2005:106) that brought Britons to Australia from diverse social and regional backgrounds, Greek migrant ships often carried familiar networks of family and village and ultimately a strongly shared Greek culture and religion. For example, very early experience of sea voyages from Greece to the United States tended to strengthened localism as most migrants clustered in groups with people from their village or district of origin yet realised the similarities that tied them to other members of the broader Greek nation through cultural bonds and common rituals that united them as a community (Papadopoulos 2013:51).

Despite this, deep divisions in the early post-war period within the Greek Macedonian community emerged over the contested issue of Macedonian identity and this led to its fracture in terms of language and loyalties (Damousi 2015:77; Danforth 1995, 2000; Doumanis 1995:16). Notwithstanding, the families within this study remained close and never indicated in the narration of stories if there were any divisions between families, rather there was a sense of compromise of beliefs. Stories narrated by participants tended to focus on their own local and regional expression of Greek Macedonian culture, rather than its political dimensions. For example, participants instead tended to speak in terms of their language, traditions and sense of identity rather than their own political beliefs such as whether they or their family were pro-Greek or pro-Macedonian during the Civil War (refer later section on 'Stories about identity in Florina'). Division in the broader Greek Macedonian community was again experienced in the early 1990s with the independence of FYROM in 1991. However, no stories were narrated in terms of this event and this was not the focus of interview questions.

In reality, formal participation in community events began to organically decline by the late 1980s as there was less interest in participation shown by the second generation. In contrast, picnics and dances organised by the United Villages of Florina were strongly attended in the early days of the community. Australian-born Sally who is married to Paul, reflected how dancing was a positive aspect of her introduction to the community in Melbourne. Sally and her former sister-in-law Elizabeth (also Australian-born) attended Greek Macedonian events during their earlier years of marriage in the 1970s. Sally described how dancing provided the opportunity to culturally participate:

> Dancing, I loved the dancing. Really sorry there's no more dancing and big old style weddings in the town halls. I loved all that. When Nick married Lib, she was an excellent Macedonian dancer. We went to a wedding where she led and to me that epitomises the communality of the Greek culture. The dancing is just

> so full of fun and everybody has a turn and it's fantastic (Sally, married to second-generation participant Paul).

Other organised Greek community events such as town hall dances also provided the opportunity for single immigrants to meet their future spouses. Christos met his wife Toula at a dance and said:

> I met her at the Fitzroy Town Hall dance in 1961 and I got married in 1963. We had everything for the wedding, the church and dancing. Theodoros was the best man. We were friends from childhood. It was important to have traditions from Greece. We sent photos of the wedding to Greece (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

Here Christos narrated the importance of the maintenance of Greek traditions, continued village networks of kin through Theodoros' role as best man ('*koumburro'*) and sharing the wedding through photos with family in Greece. For Zoi, the crucial factors that shaped her wedding was that everyone came together to celebrate and dance. With little money to spend, Zoi said:

> At our wedding we had a party in a hall but no food, only drinks. We wanted people to dance and celebrate. We only had beer and lemonade but we had plenty of dancing. That is all we wanted to do at the time – to dance (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

Family and community events provided the opportunity to celebrate life in Australia and in a sense, move forward from the poverty previously experienced in Greece. In later years, the prospect of meeting potential spouses at dances, picnics and weddings was encouraged for the second generation. Marriages with potential spouses from the same region were also particularly encouraged.

Any challenges faced in navigating Greek and Australian culture were not prominent themes in the stories told by first-generation participants. Rather, hardship was narrated in terms of working conditions and balancing family and domestic duties that I will discuss shortly. In contrast, the study by Bellou (1993:226) in the 1990s highlighted the difficulties experienced by first-generation Greek migrants in terms of settling into Australia and the feelings of exclusion by Greek migrants from the Australian culture. For example, Theodoros focused on the happiness of settlement in Australia, emphasising positive aspects of the help provided by Australians. Theodoros said:

> The Australian people are the best in the world. They took my wife to the hospital when she had Faye. All the neighbours help you. Australians are good people (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Yet, my earlier recollection of Theodoros' attitudes towards Australians tended towards distrust and fear that his children would develop a different cultural value system to his own. Thus I am aware that Theodoros' story has changed since it was told in the 1970s and 1980s. When our family moved away from the heavily Greek populated neighbourhood of Richmond into the Anglo-centric eastern suburbs of Melbourne, my sisters Faye and Mary felt bullied for being the only 'wogs' in the street. The term 'wog' was directed at southern European or Middle Eastern immigrants as a racial slur (Clark 2005). Over time, the term 'wog' gradually gained acceptance and considered less offensive in the post-war Greek, Italian and Lebanese migrant communities in Australia during the 1980s and was further adopted as a badge of pride through the use of humour and as a statement of belonging (Clark 2005; Tsolidis and Pollard 2009:441). When I pressed Theodoros about whether he experienced more problematic aspects of migrant integration, he said:

> No worries, you can't get away from them calling you wog. We didn't know what it means. You get a bit upset but you get used to it (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Similarly, Zoi did not want to dwell on negative stories about adaptation into the Australian community and instead felt that she did not experience much racism. Zoi commented that her children were called racist names, but stated:

> These people who called my children names were the same like we were. They were from other countries too. They weren't any different (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

The experience of racism and bullying was recollected more strongly in stories narrated by second-generation participants as I will discuss in Chapter Five. It was often the children of migrants who were born in Australia that were most impacted as many first-generation participants were largely socialising and working within Greek networks. For first-generation participants, stories that reflected negatively on Australian life were not narrated in terms of their personal migration story. This perhaps reflect the desire to focus on the positive and celebratory aspects of their story as narrated in the later stages of life, in contrast to any earlier concerns with integration into the Australian culture. Overall, stories tended to focus on the comfort that family and village networks provided on arrival and the subsequent support gained through the creation of the Greek community in Melbourne.

STORIES OF FAMILY AND HOME

Stories about the importance of family were frequently repeated in interviews with first-generation participants. The stories reinforced the importance of family and children to their core beliefs, in terms of the high value placed on the idea of traditional notions of the Greek family. Stories also reflected the desire to maintain close relationships between extended family relations, particularly those from their home village, and more broadly at the regional level. Consequently, many migrants socialised within their family and village networks established in the early days of migration in the 1950s and 1960s. Although the first generation maintained family relationships in Australia, Greece and other sites of global migration, connections between extended family networks have tended to decline by the third generation. In contrast, these familial bonds that propelled and shaped migration and settlement in Australia were at the heart of the developing Greek community during the 1950s and 1960s in Melbourne. For migrants, support through family and kin networks provided stability and success in the host country based on 'ethnic embeddedness, rather than independence or individual separateness' (Georgas 2006:78). Paul reflected on the importance that his parents Olga and Pandos placed on relationships from those who immigrated to Melbourne from nearby villages in Florina. Paul said:

> They maintained the big weddings, the big Saint's Days when people would come around. The primary social networking was with extended family and then the people from the village. It didn't extend to Greece as such. It was more based around that part of Macedonia – around Florina, around those villages, around Itea (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Paul's statement highlights the insular nature of Greek Macedonians families and the desire to remain close to extended kinship and regional ties. This was often driven by a desire to strongly identify with their own group and value their kinship ties including in an economic sense, and this was consistent with the pattern for early Greek Macedonian settlers in rural Victoria who settled in the 1940s (Mapstone 1966:208).

The importance of having children in Australia was consistently narrated by first-generation participants. This was stated in terms of being a core motivation for migration – an opportunity to establish a home was not seen as viable if they remained in Greece – as well as a reflection of traditional Greek cultural beliefs in terms of the value placed on children. Consequently, a family that included children were at the core of their own indicators of what made a successful life. Statements strongly reflected the importance of family:

> The family comes first. If you don't have a family, you have nothing. You have to make a house first and have a roof over your head (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina),
>
> Family is important. For me, coming to Australia I was very happy to have children and family. In Greece, I couldn't afford to have a family. That's the truth. Why would you get married if you don't have children? That's why I came here to Australia, to have a family and so they can have a home. My children can live here well (Christos, born 1933, Florina).
>
> The first thing is family (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).
>
> It is very important to have a family and get married (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).
>
> There is nothing more important than family. I feel that if you don't have a family, you have nothing. That is what life is about (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

These statements reflect not only the particular significance of family formation within traditional Greek Macedonian culture, but also that these values were continued in Australia. These statements reflect the transmission of attitudes from rural villages in Macedonia where family was seen as the core signifier of identity along with local ties to the region. For women, marriage often provided the opportunity to fulfil their social role as wives and mothers in what was regarded as culturally important in traditional Greek families (du Buay 1983 as cited by Dubisch 1991:45). It was often through the birth of children, especially male children, that women were recognised as a member of the husband's house and his *oikeogenéia* (Iossifides 1991:140). In addition, Greek men within the context of traditional families were not able to achieve full adult status until they were married (Dubisch 1991:45). Thus the desire to have a home and family marked progression to adulthood and status within the collective idea of the traditional Greek family.

The importance of attaining a physical home in Australia was also a repeated theme narrated by the first generation, important to the second generation, with the third generation reflecting greater mobility. An aspect of home-making for the first generation was the desire to maintain close physical links to family relations. Lazaros talked about his happiness upon finding a house close to Theodoros and their brother Bill. Originally, the three brothers moved from Richmond in inner city Melbourne with their young children to Blackburn in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne. Pandos had earlier moved to the western suburbs and their youngest brother Con had moved to the northern suburbs. Regular visits between the families were maintained and later became weekly coffee meetings after retirement. Lazaros recalled:

> In Australia we saw the brothers all the time. We were walking from Nunawading station [after a visit nearby to his brothers in Blackburn] with my children hanging around my neck and we saw this house for sale in 1970. My wife Fotini said this house is for us, go and buy this house. They took our house in Richmond for the Housing Commission high rise. It is all gone. It was beautiful here and I was very happy as my brothers Bill and Theodoros were here in Blackburn. We felt closer (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

In terms of returning 'home' to Greece, Christos was the only first-generation participant that spoke about wanting to go back to Greece within the first 15 years in Australia. In this case, Christos' wife was not from the Macedonian region but from the Peloponnese and she found it difficult to adjust to life in Australia. When the family returned to Greece in 1976, they only stayed six months before returning to Australia. Unlike other colleagues Christos knew at that time, the family did not sell their home in Melbourne and so could easily return. Rather, a change had occurred as Christos felt that he became '*xeni'* – a stranger – in his place of birth and this feeling was further consolidated in 1998 after a planned three-month visit to Florina. Instead, Christos returned from Greece after only three weeks. Christos said:

> After many years in Australia, it was very different. There I became *xeni.* Australia became home. I wanted to come back to Australia quickly, my beliefs changed (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

For Eleni, Greece as a home was imagined in terms of the ties with her family. But the loss of home, the passing of her parents and the fear of being hungry permanently disrupted her connection to place. Eleni said:

> There is nothing left, they sold their *spit*i [house]. There is no house there. It is all new. No I never wanted to go home! I'm scared I would be hungry if I went back. This is our home. The only thing I miss is the family, nothing else. The old house is gone, my parents after that (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

Other statements indicated the severing of the connection to Greece as a home upon arrival in Australia. Lazaros and his wife Fotini never returned to Greece, nor have their children visited. Lazaros felt like his life in Australia had been a holiday compared to the hardship of his life in Greece. Lazaros said:

> I never want to go back. I think nothing about Greece. I am Australian now. I never want to go back even on holiday. I don't even want to see it. I am on holidays here (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

Forti and Theodoros reinforced how much better their lives were for migrating to Australia:

> Everything was perfect when I came to Australia. It was a much better life than I had in Greece (Forti, born 1937 Lamia, worked in Florina).

> You work and pay for everything. We never say we go back, never! Australia is a lucky country and we were lucky to come here (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

The adaptation to Australian life for Forti, Eleni and Zoi was crucially about maintaining the traditions they felt had changed in Greece – 'there people change' (Eleni, born 1940, Florina) but 'we never change here' (Zoi, born 1939, Florina) and 'if you want to see Greece in 1950 to 1960, go to Australia' (Forti, born 1937 Lamia, worked in Florina). These statements echo the general feeling of the Greek community in Australia where life in Australia became an 'extension of Greek life, an extension of Greece' (Doumanis 1999:78-79). Zoi also reflected on leaving her village that she loved, but recognised that the traditional rural life she had grown up with had changed. Zoi said:

> We never went back to Greece for 45 years. I love my village but things have changed very much. The life that I am living now is a beautiful life. Even though we didn't have much of a life here in Australia, our children can have life in Australia. When we got our Australian citizenship they told us, 'for you it is not going to be very nice, but for your children it is going to be very nice.' And that is true because we had to work (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

In effect, Zoi understood her sacrifice would be defined by hard work but that it meant she could provide a better future for her children. In the post-war era, Australia encouraged migrants, their families and subsequent generations to stay and become part of nation building (Collin 2014). The adaptation of Greek migrants in Australia has tended to be seen as a 'modest success story' with the narrative emphasising hard work and sacrifice for the advancement of their children (Doumanis 1999:58; Gilchrist 2004).

STORIES OF WORK

In stories narrated by participants, the sense of how easy it was to find work through networks from Florina was apparent. Whilst men seemed happy working towards the ultimate goal of home and family, women had the more difficult task of combining family and household responsibility with hard physical work. The traditional domestic spheres of Greek men and women also changed with women achieving a limited degree of independence through work and men contributing more to the household in terms of child-caring responsibilities. Learning English was also challenging for the first generation as they were mostly surrounded by other migrant workers and thus had limited opportunities to learn the language. This was

compounded where families lived in neighbourhoods that were highly populated with immigrants as there was limited opportunity to develop friendships with Australians. Lazaros talked about how he loved his one job that he worked at until he was made redundant. Lazaros said:

> My first job in Australia was working on the railroad as a carpenter. I was a car builder. My brother helped me find work there as Peter [Pandos] was a blacksmith helper. I stayed for 27 years in the one job and I was happy. I repaired carriages for the red trains. I didn't know much when I started so it was hard but friends from Florina helped me and the other carpenters were very good and they taught us English too (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

Christos also reflected on how easy it was to find work and was supported by friends. Christos said:

> I worked in different jobs. I worked in furniture places. I worked on the railways. Wherever I wanted I could have a job. There were lots of jobs. I went with friends. I worked with the railways with Lazaros. When you get a job, you need to do the job properly. I did what I was asked to do. I did what I could. I wanted to speak English but I couldn't, it worried me a lot (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

As Christos was predominantly around fellow migrants, there was little opportunity to learn and practice English and this lifelong difficulty hampered his efforts to make friends with Australians. Whilst there has been a focus on documenting successful Greek migrants who became distinguished in professional occupations, the reality for many Greek migrants was work prospects in unskilled labour as many were limited by their inability to speak English (AGWS 1996:21). Nevertheless, the ability to work meant a future for their families.

In my interview with Theodoros, the second story he narrated after he spoke about his experiences of war was to describe the happiness he felt of obtaining a job within a few days of arrival in Melbourne in 1960. Theodoros recalled that he arrived during the annual Melbourne community festival of Moomba. Theodoros said:

> I came to Australia at Moomba and I saw very happy times. After Moomba, I started work on 13 March. My first job first was in a foundry, which was a very, very hard job. I had no English and they always call us to do this, to do that. It took two and a half years to learn a bit of English (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Despite the difficulty of the job and limited English, ultimately, Theodoros felt grateful that he had been able to immigrate to Australia and achieve material success as well as create a home and family. Theodoros reflected:

> I feel happy to come to Australia. Happy because we were living in poverty and coming here was beautiful. We get a job, make a family, make a house, and buy cars, everything (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Later, Theodoros worked night shifts for 20 years at Kayser in the Australian Knitting Mills factory in Richmond where he made ladies undergarments and silk hosiery. Initially, Zoi also worked at Kayser. It became common for migrant married women to break with the customary Greek practice of managing the household and seek work that could supplement the income of the family (Pennay 2011:11). Indeed, the 1961 Australian census recorded a high concentration of Greeks in manufacturing occupations with an under-representation in high status jobs and showed 32 per cent of married migrant women in the paid workforce compared to 15 per cent of Australian-born married women (Pennay 2011:11). Zoi found working in the factory environment to be of great hardship to her. Zoi said:

> I changed a lot of jobs. I tried to find a good job but any time I tried a new job it was the worst job. I never had a good job. I worked in Kayser on the knitting machines making the stockings with dad [Theodoros]. After that I made bearings for cars and for swimming pools in a steel factory. I worked in electrics at Arlec (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

After the initial excitement of arrival and gaining employment, Zoi talked about the ongoing hardship she experienced managing both family and work, particularly after the family moved to the suburbs. Theodoros and Zoi worked alternate shifts for over twenty years to be able to care for their young children. Zoi said:

> I have to work, not because I liked it, I have to work. It was very hard with three children. My husband and I did two shifts because we didn't want to give the children to somebody else to look after. I came home at one o'clock in the night. I was not scared at the time but now you can't go in the backyard. I caught the train and bus from Richmond. Sometimes I used to cry when I walk home. I would say what life is this? It was too much work (Zoi, born 1937, Florina).

Whilst the first generation acknowledged the hardship of work, they ultimately felt it was worth the sacrifice and embraced Australia as home. Overall, stories about work reflected the ease of finding work, the difficulties of learning English, and the support offered through village networks. First memories of arrival were contextualised by successfully obtaining employment. Surprisingly, stories did not focus on the desire for upward social mobility, but rather work as the first step towards a future home and family.

Stories about identity in Florina

Stories narrated by the first generation also illustrate their past and present sense of identity and belonging. When viewed through the narratives of personal stories of local and regional experiences, the impact on the family due to the partition of the Macedonian region in 1913 become evident. Accordingly, stories referenced the diversity of identities in the region of Florina as well as conflicting attitudes towards negotiating Macedonian identity. Overall, Macedonia as an emerging region, reflected the contested nature of negotiating Greek identity and other Hellenic identities leading to the period of post-war migration. These narratives about local places and identities engage with the national narrative of Greek nation building and Hellenization following the 1920s but do present the perspective of lived experiences within this contested space although very little has been transmitted down the generations through family memory. First-generation participants also narrated their development of a dual identity that recognised the place of birth and the citizenship of the place of settlement. In these cases, identity also reflected a greater desire over time to adapt and assimilate the values of becoming Australian, but with continued ties to their cultural past. The first generation also recognised that they were unable to return to their first homeland in the context of the way they remembered it.

As noted, the integration of Macedonia into the Greek nation-state in 1913 was the end of a long process that marked the most difficult phase of Greek nation building with Macedonia the area with the greatest cultural diversity (Van Boeschoten 2000b:36). Yet official statistics in Greece since that time do not recognise ethnic or linguistic groups as a parameter, and, therefore the position of each minority group has been rendered invisible in the socio-economic structure (Van Boeschoten 2000b:29). However, personal narratives referred to the diversity of identity within Florina. Eleni described the agricultural nature of her village that was made up of farms that grew potatoes, beans and corn and also described the different groups that lived in and around her village of Sklithro in the Florina region. Eleni said:

> We were very poor. We had *Arvanitikas* [Arvanites] and *Vlahi* [Vlachs). The *Vlahi* were Greeks who came from Romania from one place called Vlahos, that's why we call them *Vlahi*. They came from Romania but they were Greek. There were also Turkish from Constantinople (*Thraki* from Thrace). Constantinople was Greek Turkish *Byzantos*. The Turkish didn't like the Greek people who lived there so they set fire to Smyrna in 1922. They burnt it all (Eleni, born 1940, Florina).

Eleni described her village of about 1,000 people in terms of its diverse profile. She noted the displacement through population transfers, for example, the influx of refugees from Anatolia following the destruction of Smyrna by fire in 1922. But she also described the people within her village as identifying with a collective notion of being Hellenic – 'they were Greek' – and the movement of these groups during the decline of the Ottoman Empire. In essence, Eleni's recollection perhaps reflects ties to the original local sites of identity where 'routes' were culturally 'travelling' and being reshaped (Clifford 1997:249).

Overall, all first-generation participants referred to Macedonia as being the territory that lay within the Greek boundaries. To put it another way, Macedonia was Greek – the territorial soil was inseparable from the Greek soil. However, how first-generation participants negotiated their local or regional Macedonian identity was varied due to their own personal beliefs and experiences. As noted, current national classifications that are often used to describe very complex ideas of identity are often projected into the past for those from Ottoman Macedonia (Vermeulen 1995:45). The labels that we ascribe to national categories of identity do not always reflect past notions of belonging as we understand them. Further, the use of 'Macedonia' as a geographic descriptor in Northern Greece and by FYROM become far more problematic in light of the independence of the Macedonian Republic (Petrovska 2015:106).

In this respect, Danforth (2000) provided three key insights into the negotiation of identity for immigrants from Florina. Firstly, those who identify as Greeks often came from a village that supported the patriarch in the early twentieth century or a family that supported the Greek Government during the Civil War. Further characteristics include coming from a wealthy family or the city of Florina itself. They may have been the youngest child in the family who grew up speaking Greek as their older brothers and sisters had started school. They may have left Greece as adults but were fully socialised into Greek national society as a result of high school or the military, and they may have married into a family with a strong sense of Greek national identity. They may also fear publicly identifying as Macedonians as they may not be able to return to Greece or their relatives still living in Greece may be harassed by Greek government officials (Danforth 2000:92-93).

Secondly, those from Florina may identify as Macedonians because they come from a village that supported the Exarchate in the early twentieth century or a family that supported the communists during the Civil War. Characteristics include being born in a small poor village

inhabited exclusively by local Macedonians, or they were the eldest child in the family who grew up speaking Macedonian with their parents and grandparents. Alternatively, they may have left Greece for Australia at a young age and were not fully socialised into Greek national society, but only the local society of their family and village. Other factors included those who settled in Yugoslavia or eastern countries before migrating to Australia, and those who remained in Greece but experienced harassment and persecution by the Greek Government. People who marry into a family with a strong Macedonian identity or who have no relatives still living in Greece are also likely to develop a Macedonian identity as well (Danforth 2000:93). Finally, there is a third stance that is a neutral position where people refuse to identify themselves publicly with either one of the two mutually exclusive national groups (Danforth 2000:93). The stories narrated by participants revealed a mix of these characteristics reflecting variances within the family, village and interaction with Greek institutions, particularly in terms of participation in the army and through schooling.

For Lazaros, his identification and sense of belonging with being a 'Macedonian' in Greece was in practice limited due to the historically contested space in terms of what local, regional and national identity came to represent. Yet it was an identity that could be more easily practised and culturally transmitted within his family in Australia. Lazaros talked about the difficulties he experienced in Greece and how he later found comfort in his life in Australia where he did not feel persecuted or scared to identify as Macedonian. Lazaros said:

> In Greece the government was much, much different. We can't even go to the police, to the offices. You can't meet. We were scared. It was different there. Here it is beautiful. You go to offices. You go to banks. People here talk to you. We were scared in Greece because we were Macedonians. They didn't like us much and there was politics. They treated you as less. Here I never feel scared. I got the job in the railway and after I got the job, what is there to be scared of? Here you have everything (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina).

Due to his Macedonian identity, Lazaros felt feelings of fear and being shamed in Greece by being treated as a 'lesser' person. In fact, at the conclusion of our interview Lazaros asked if he would be 'in trouble' for telling me he felt Macedonian or what we had discussed (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina). Despite his fear, his daughter Helen who was also present during the interview with her father Lazaros later stated that her father had seemed more at peace for having talked about his life story (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

The politics of Macedonian identity remain a very real source of distress particularly for those whose local identity has no modern counterpart yet want to identify as Macedonian. Other first-

generation participants felt reluctance or fear to discuss aspects of the Macedonian identity during interviews. For some, participants may not want to publicly identify with being Macedonian. For others, nation building in the region through Greek national institutions such as the army, school and the *paidopoleis* (children's homes) reinforced the construction of a Greek identity. Others stated they simply felt Greek. Although there were differences in opinions and negotiating Macedonian identity at the local and regional level, participants made it clear that Macedonian identity in these cases was linked to the geographic area within the modern Greek nation.

In fact, it was the first interview in this study with Lazaros that opened up this avenue of investigation into what it meant to be a Macedonian living in Greece in the first half of the twentieth century. When asked how he viewed his identity, Lazaros stated he felt Macedonian more due to his language and cultural traditions as well as Australian. Lazaros described the difficulties with being a bilingual speaker in Greece. Lazaros said:

> I feel Macedonian more and Australian. We speak Macedonian and we had Macedonian traditions…*Makendonski [Macedonian language]…Zelnick pita [pie]*. Kastoria was [also] part of Macedonia. This is Greek, but it was in Macedonia before but we don't know when. We speak Macedonian and Greek. We were in the Greek boundaries. We went to Greek school. Macedonia does not exist there. The police don't want to hear you speak Macedonian. You can't speak Macedonian at that time. 'You are Bulgarian or Macedonian', the Greeks would say, 'You are Bulgarians, *Bulgaros'*. I like Greek too. It was important to teach my children the Macedonian language and traditions (Lazaros, born 1928, Melbourne).

In effect, Lazaros is describing the period following the Balkan Wars where the Florina region was incorporated into the modern Greek nation, as we understand its borders today. It also speaks to the Hellenization policies from the 1920s and the development of national categories of identity where local and regional identity was assimilated and as noted in the introduction, local or regional diversity within the Greek state was to a large extent suppressed (Triandafyllidou 1998:606). Here, being marked by the police as 'Bulgarian' was likely used as a derogatory term to denote the 'other'. Implying that someone was 'Bulgarian' was at times also used towards post-war bilingual speakers in Macedonia who were placed in a difficult position because of the dialect they spoke and where national consciousness by others was seen as somewhat fluid (Haida 2000:44). It is important to note that identifying with being Macedonian did not always imply national consciousness and therein lies the difficulty for the local inhabitants of the Macedonian region.

Public opinion was also quick to ‘tar all Slavic speakers with the same brush’ following the trials held between 1945 and 1949 in Thessaloniki of those accused of collaboration with Bulgaria during the Second World War, although not all were pro-Bulgarian (Haida 2000:56). Rather, it was the political environment at the time that created an atmosphere where Lazaros stated that ‘Macedonia does not exist’ as well as the placement of people into national categories of identification. Despite the contested nature of Macedonian identity, Lazaros was a rare example in the families interviewed where a conscious decision had been made to transmit Macedonian language and cultural traditions to his children. Notwithstanding, his pre-migration story and stories about place were not consciously transmitted. Within Lazaros’ household, the Macedonian language was spoken and their children also attended Greek language school and the Greek Orthodox Church. Lazaros’ wife Fotini was from Kastoria but moved to Florina when she married Lazaros. Despite being predominantly a Greek-speaker, Fotini also spoke Macedonian in the household and came to use it as her main language. Although Lazaros no longer has a connection to Greece as his home, he had not severed his connection to his local and regional identity and heritage, nor to his family. Being Macedonian for Lazaros meant keeping alive the local practices of language, food and traditions from a homeland that for him, had ceased to ‘exist’.

In many respects, the complexity of Macedonian identity was shaped by external geopolitics that post-war immigrants to Australia had no control over. Rather, they had to navigate public and private displays of identity, often interpreted by the perception of others including those within the family. Paul and Nick described their parents Olga and Pandos as Macedonian. In contrast, their daughter Kathy described their parents as Greek Macedonian and this reflects the change over time to distinguish between local/regional Macedonian identity versus the development of a modern Macedonian national identity that mirrored developments in the steps towards independence for FYROM. The children noted that the family spoke Macedonian within their household. Their parents also wanted them to learn the Greek language which the children were not willing to embrace, as they preferred to maintain an Australian identity (refer Chapter Five). In fact, Nick was surprised that I did not speak Macedonian and I was in turn surprised that he did not speak Greek despite the fact that we were first cousins. Within our family household, Macedonian was never used, and neither was my mother’s language of Arvanitika. Initially Greek and later English became the main language used to communicate

within my family. My father Theodoros described his identity as Greek and Australian. In contrast, Peter (his son-in-law) observed an identity that could shift. Peter said:

> Dad [Theodoros] is different depending on who he is with. With his brothers he is Macedonian. If he gets together with his brother Bill they are both Macedonians. Bill says he is Macedonian. Every family has a different story (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

The statement by Peter that 'every family has a different story' best reflects the nature and complexity of the construction of identity for families from Florina and reflects some of the insights offered by Danforth in understanding 'how can a woman could give birth to one Greek and one Macedonian?' (Danforth 1995:222, 2000). As a further example, Peter who did not identify as Macedonian described how his younger cousin reverted back to his Macedonian surname in Australia. Born in Florina, Peter migrated to Australia when he was ten and said:

> The problem is every family has a different story to tell. I have a cousin who changed his name back to his great-great grandfathers' name, to be known by his Macedonian name. He was born two years after me but he definitely believes he is Macedonian (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

Christos who grew up in my father's village identified as Greek and Australian. In contrast, his daughter Aliki felt that her uncle (Christos' brother) identified as Macedonian. In terms of the women, neither Eleni who was from a mixed village, nor Zoi who was from an Arvanite village, identified as Macedonian. For Zoi, she recognised Macedonian identity that occurred at the regional level, but not necessarily at the level of local identification.

First-generation participants did not narrate any views about Macedonian identity in terms of the independence of the FYROM in the 1990s, nor was there any discussion of how they felt about this event. Interviews also took place well before the current dispute over the name issue was re-ignited. Neither did I specifically question them on this matter as this was not the main focus of the thesis but rather to gain an understanding of the broader stories of migration. Instead a more general 'trouble' was alluded to and this was framed more in terms of the political climate that had existed within Greece prior to migration and how this complicated construction of their own identity. Both Forti and Christos alluded to the complexities and political dimension of identity in the Greek Macedonian region. Indeed, Christos urged that these things 'should not be written' and Forti who was born in Lamia but was stationed as a policeman in the village of Sklithro in Florina from 1960 until 1964 said it was better to not talk about 'these things' due to its highly charged political nature. Forti described the beauty of the village of Sklithro in Florina but the geopolitical difficulty of its geographic position:

> It was beautiful. It was different to Lamia. It was high in the mountains. It is very complicated. They are lots of problems with this. If you want it or not, it is complicated. *Politiki* [Politics]. This person thinks this. This person thinks that. It was political (Forti, born 1937 Lamia, worked in Florina).

Indeed, Christos strongly urged me not to write about this period of history and said:

> I am not *Makedhonos* ['Macedonian']. For *Makedhonos* don't write anything. Everyone knows Macedonia is Greek. This is the same thing. Greece and Greek. The languages, I can't say. I am Greek. These things are not to be written (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

In contrast to his brother Lazaros, Theodoros described his identity as Greek Australian. Theodoros said:

> I am Greek. Greek Australian. The village where we live was in Macedonia in Greek Macedonia, that's all. If we live in Serbia, we will say we were Serbian (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Theodoros also described the change of the family's surname during the region's period of Hellenization. Theodoros said:

> The surname has been changed. That was my father's name. My name was changed before I came to Australia. I did it before I went to the army. I used the new name. Nobody told me at that time because all the family has the Greek name. The Greek Government gave us Greek names because our name was a Slavic name. They changed us. They changed the village to Itea from *Vrbeni*. I knew it as *Vrbeni* but Itea after it changed. I don't know when. You can't help it. We don't care for that (Theodoros, born 1935, Florina).

Theodoros stated that although he did not initially know his father's surname was changed to reflect a Greek name, he felt that it was ultimately outside his control. His reference to the use of 'a Slavic name' indicates the changes to label the language that resulted from the 1940s.

The partitioning of borders also had lasting impacts on my mother's side of the family. The events leading to the ceding of Northern Epirus to Albania in 1913 resulted in an earlier movement of my mother's family to settle in a village in Florina. My mother's great grandparents were one of four families to purchase land from the Ottomans in the village of Flambouro in the 1870s. Zoi said:

> I know another language. I learnt Albanian but because of the war our family had to leave Vorio Epirus [North Epirus]. It was not part of Albania [then]. This land was Greek. This is where my great grandparents lived. All this land now belongs to Albania (Zoi, born 1935, Florina).

As noted, my mother's surname was also changed to reflect the name of the village in North Epirus in what is believed to be an effort to evade persecution from the Ottomans. Our original

surname was not passed down and hence has become an inaccessible to the family aside from fragmented stories of the movement of my maternal family. Stories reflect that the family were builders and craftsmen and various parts of the family tree may have had some roots in Romania, Constantinople and Northern Epirus during the Ottoman Empire before settling in Florina. The movement of the family across the empire reflects the dangerous situations they faced over the course of history, and ultimately their village in Florina was directly impacted in the Greek Civil War.

Ultimately, participants described an identity that had been shaped by dual terms – as Greek and Australian, or in the case of Lazaros as Macedonian and Australian. Participants did not locate themselves by the use of the regional term of 'Greek Macedonian' that came into usage to describe migrants in Australia. Rather than a regional description of identity, Danforth argued that the term 'Greek-Macedonian' has been used with a very different meaning by immigrants from Florina to Melbourne who wanted to remain neutral in the extremely politicized atmosphere created by the intensification of the Macedonian conflict in 1991 (Danforth 1995:220). In this respect, people tended to avoid identifying themselves as either Greeks or Macedonian, or were confused or unsure about their identity. In addition, people who often identified as 'Greek-Macedonians' were often Slavic speaking local Macedonians who have been assimilated to Greek culture or people who speak two languages and participate in two cultures. The Macedonian issue in the 1990s often resulted in these voices of identification being 'drowned out by nationalist voices on both sides' over the irreconcilable and mutual exclusivity of Greek and Macedonian identity (Danforth 1995:220). Accordingly, Greek nationalists insist that all local Macedonians are Greeks, and Macedonian nationalists insist all local Macedonians are Macedonians and thus self-identification is often rejected by people who have the same national identity as something that is not real or genuine (Danforth 1995:221). With the exception of Lazaros, on the whole, first-generation participants identified as Greek. Christos said:

> I am Greek. I have grown old here. But I was born in Greece. My children were born here. I was born there. But I am also a citizen of Australia, that's how I feel. I am the two of these, Greek and Australian. I am very happy that I came here to live for the rest of my life. I am Australian. I felt Greek because I was born there. I went to school there and was in the army. I love Australia like a *patridia*. I love them the same (Christos, born 1933, Florina).

For Christos, the national Greek institutes of school and the army reinforced his identification with Greek identity. Eleni and Forti also described their identity as dually Greek and

Australian, reflecting their ties between Greece, their place of birth, and their home, Australia. Eleni said she felt:

> Both Greek and Australian. I like it to be both. No other. Greek and Australian. We did not speak Macedonian except what I learnt was when I was young. I never felt Macedonian. This is a Slavic language. There is no Macedonian language. From that [issue], came the problem and came the trouble (Eleni, born 1940, Florina)

In effect, Eleni has flagged how a multilingual community within the desire for a homogenous nation created both the 'problem' and the 'trouble' . Zoi described herself as Greek Australian, but felt 'more Australian' due to the greater length of time she had lived in Australia. She said:

> I am Greek Australian. I am more Australian now. Fifty years in Australia, 20 years in Greece, of course I am more Australian. I am Australian anyway (Zoi, born 1939, Florina).

The ideas of citizenship that included length of time in a place and the place of birth contributed to notions of identity. However, there were different beliefs that shaped attitudes towards Macedonian identity and I would suggest through this particular set of stories that these notions were shaped by the level of interaction individuals had with Greek national institutes such as children's homes, school and the army. Thus many stories reflect the distancing of Macedonian identity in public spaces. For Lazaros, the expression of a localised/regional Macedonian identity had the opportunity to flourish in the diaspora. Danforth (2000:89) highlighted that Macedonians in Australia enjoy a degree of freedom with the expression of ethnic identity not available to them in Greece. Further, for the majority of Australian society, it makes little difference if migrants from Northern Greece identify themselves as Greek or Macedonians (Danforth 2000:88). Consequently, it has remained difficult to understand the construction of regional or ethnic identities where there was no comparable counterpart at the national level (Danforth 2000:88).

When Danforth (1995, 2000) examined the Greek Macedonian community in Melbourne in the 1990s, he came to the conclusion national identities were not biologically given, but instead socially constructed. 'It is possible precisely', Danforth (2000:100) wrote: 'because Greeks and Macedonians are not born, they are made.' Hall (1996:4) also highlights identities are constructed and produced within specific historical and institutional sites with specific formations, practices and strategies. This is in contrast to the belief that a person's 'genuine' identity is biologically given at birth, against an 'artificial' national identity acquired somehow later in life (Danforth 2000:100). Nevertheless, these stories of identity provide insights into

how identity for the first generation from Florina tends to steer away from the broader Macedonian issue about what constitutes genuine Greek or Macedonian identity into absolute terms. Finally, these stories discussed were not intended to be political by any means although it is important to note that there remains a fear about discussing Macedonian identity and opposing views. Instead these stories in my study intend to provide insight and understanding, particularly to the next generation growing up in Australia, about the complex construction of Greek Macedonian identity.

CONCLUSION

Overall, it was important for the first generation to narrate stories about place and identity, and these stories often referenced hardship and loss through the disruption of war. The loss of home was overshadowed by the memory of war and its aftermath. Consequently, the village was no longer seen as a viable place for economic advancement, a place to have a family nor a place of return. Rather it was the loss of the family left behind in Greece that was of the greatest concern and it was these relationships that created ties to the homeland. Yet the first generation was able to recreate many aspects of their life in Australia whilst acknowledging home was no longer the way they remembered it, and this shaped a sense of belonging to Australia. In addition many of their family networks and relationships from the village had settled in Australia and this further fostered a sense of community. Whilst Balkan geopolitics overshadowed the Greek Macedonian community, families were able to navigate these constraints and continue to practice culture in ways that were meaningful, whilst at the same time accepting their children felt a greater sense of belonging to Australia.

Overall, the phases of pre-migration and settlement were reflected by four main themes that were narrated by first-generation participants about the migration experience. Firstly, stories reflected the hardship of life in Greece as a result of war. Secondly, stories about the settlement years reflected the early strength of the Greek Macedonian community with a continued focus on maintaining relationship networks with the ultimate goal to have a family and home. Thirdly, stories detailed the central place that hard work came to occupy within their lives, and although these times could be difficult, it ensured a future for their children. Finally, stories reflected the complex processes of navigating identity in Greek Macedonia, with the development of dual ties to Greece as the country of their birth and to Australia as home. Ultimately, migration stories reflected how the strong bonds of family and village networks were integral to successfully navigating the migration process.

- CHAPTER FIVE -

THE BRANCHES – GROWING UP GREEK: STORIES FROM THE SECOND GENERATION

> I remember my cousins and I organised a picket line. We said, 'No more picnics!' in front of our parents (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne)

Growing up in Melbourne as the daughter of Greek migrants, Aliki regularly attended Greek Macedonian picnics and dances with her family. Although Aliki enjoyed the dancing, she commented that the events became monotonous as she grew older and felt she did not necessarily identify with some of the 'wogs' in attendance. Aliki's statement of 'no more picnics' reflects the desire by Aliki and her cousins to detach from parental expectations to attend community cultural events and to branch into their own experiences. By the late 1980s, these picnics and dances gradually faded for many village-based associations as they lost relevance as a vehicle of ongoing cultural maintenance of the community. In Toronto, Maggie was also 'raised to be Greek' (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). As the daughter of Greek migrants from Florina, the language spoken in the family home was Greek, she attended Greek school and performed in the Greek dancing group at Greek festivals. As Maggie grew older, there were times that she hated being Greek as she felt she 'couldn't get away from it'. In raising her own children, Maggie felt that family time was very limited due to the various after school activities. As such, Maggie has tried to instil Greek cultural values in her two daughters but it is no longer considered to be a necessity, or a priority, for Maggie and her second-generation Greek husband.

In this chapter, I focus on how the children of migrants (defined as the second generation) from Melbourne and Toronto narrate their experiences growing up in a country different to their parent's homeland. I examine the common stories narrated by the second generation and I also consider the relevance of Greek Macedonian identity and whether traditional notions of the Greek family considered so integral to the first generation continue to persist in the narratives of the second generation. During interviews, second-generation participants were asked to narrate their own memories about the family migration experience. This was in terms of how they viewed their own identity, whether they felt a connection to Greece as a 'home' and specifically the Greek Macedonian region, as well as perceptions about Greek family life. As

a result, four broad themes framed how second-generation participants narrated the experience of growing up in the country of their parent's settlement. Firstly, participants narrated stories I have described as 'growing up Greek' within the host culture, reflecting on their schooling and other childhood experiences that highlighted cultural differences in Melbourne, yet in comparison, shaped belonging in Toronto. Secondly, stories narrated about visits to Greece by the second generation were framed in terms of the sense of a greater belonging to family in contrast to the homeland. For Canadians, there was greater participation with the Greek culture and with the homeland through at least one dedicated family visit to Greece as children. Thirdly, stories were narrated about how participants negotiated identity and connections to their regional Greek Macedonian roots. Finally, the second generation also articulated a strong attachment to the traditional idea of family, while at the same time exhibiting a lessening of Greek cultural practices within their own households.

STORIES ABOUT CULTURAL DIFFERENCES: 'GROWING UP GREEK' IN MELBOURNE

The term 'growing up Greek' is often used in social media groups and memoir to describe the common experiences of growing up with Greek heritage in a country outside the Greek homeland. In effect, it describes how people with common cultural experiences within the diasporic space may draw on more than one culture (Brah 1996:15-16). Although the settlement of migrants from 1947 to the mid-1960s in Australia focused on assimilation with a transitional phase of integration until 1971, it eventually led to the introduction of multiculturalism in the late 1970s and 1980s (Burnett 1998:4-7). Consequently, second-generation participants who were born in the 1960s and 1970s tended to benefit in terms of less cultural conflict and greater acceptance of migrants in the Australian community. For the majority of Australian participants, the stories narrated by the second generation were often defined by the tension of wanting to culturally belong in Australia and as a consequence, many felt conflicted about the meaning of their Greek Macedonian migrant roots.

As a four year old, Paul remembered 'running up and down the gunnels' of the *Cyrenia*, with a sense of adventure during his journey to Australia in 1954. After his family left the migrant camp in Bonegilla in Victoria and a short period in northern Queensland, Paul grew up in inner-city Richmond, Melbourne. Paul's earliest memories of Australia centred on his attendance at primary school in Richmond. Paul reflected on the cultural differences he experienced between his home and school environments:

> My home life compared to school life was a total split living environment. It was like living in two worlds. As migrants, we didn't talk about it but it was a very different culture [in Australia]. We'd have bloody thick sandwiches with salami in it, not vegemite sandwiches with white sliced bread. It was just one of the obvious manifestations but there were lots of things that were different such as the way we dressed, what we ate and the fact that we spoke a different language (Paul, born 1950 in Itea, Florina).

Paul's statement about 'living in two worlds' describes the cultural divide experienced by many second-generation participants in Melbourne. In this early period of settlement during the 1950s, migrants were expected to adopt Australian cultural practices and there was a lack of specific services or programs to support migrants (Burnett 1998:6). The children of post-war Greek migrants tended to adapt to their complex situations despite feeling some social alienation from the Australian community (Doumanis 1998:78). Although Paul recalled he was young enough to pick up English without difficulty, he recalled how tough it was for the older Greek immigrant children who had commenced their education in Australia. Paul reflected:

> There were kids of twelve and thirteen [years of age] without a word of English. They were brought into primary school and they found it really tough. They were having trouble with the language so we used to help teach them (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Paul described the difficulties the older children experienced being placed in a primary school with little formal language support in an environment where assimilation was expected. But the beginning of community began to develop through the sense of belonging that came from bonding with fellow migrants at school. Paul recalled that working class Australian families were the main cultural group in Richmond at that time, however the other predominant group soon became Greek and Italian migrants as immigration from these countries increased considerably by the 1960s. Paul learnt to cope with the racism he experienced and said:

> The anti-Wog type stuff was alive. We learnt how to handle that as a group. We'd play wog ball [soccer] while they played football and cricket but we were a significant enough group to be able to stand up for ourselves (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

As Paul has indicated, soccer in Australia was often referred to as 'wog ball' and participation in sport contributed to bonding with other migrants. Four kinds of football are played in Australia – rugby league, rugby union, Australian Rules Football (known as football) and soccer – with Australian soccer growing in popularity following the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe in the 1950s (Danforth 2001a:369).

Starting school a few years later, Paul's younger siblings Nick and Kathy (the third child of Olga and Peter who was born in Melbourne) remembered attending primary school in Richmond among 'broadminded' Australian families (Nick, born 1952, Florina). Nick recalled that 'no one ever called me a wog' (Nick, born 1952, Florina). The family later moved in the early 1970s to a larger family home in Sunshine, in Melbourne's western suburbs, a neighbourhood heavily populated with diverse groups of migrants. Kathy described her time at high school as happy and she attended school with children from predominantly European backgrounds. Kathy recalled that only the Greeks were 'stirred' (teased) because of their sandwiches but that Kathy would 'chuck' (throw) hers out instead (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne). Overall, Kathy felt that she did not have a particularly tough time at high school as she did not think that she looked particularly Greek and thus students were not able to easily identify her cultural background. In addition, Kathy's friends also had migrant backgrounds and she felt she fitted in. However, Kathy did not feel comfortable enough to bring home any of her friends. Kathy said:

> I had an Australian friend and I didn't think she'd understand the food difference and your parents not being able to communicate in English (Kathy born 1958, Melbourne).

Although Kathy blended in at school, she did not want to feel different in terms of the visibility of Greek Macedonian culture within her own home. Kathy felt unable to bridge her public and private spheres as the distance between the two cultures was too great. Kathy's statements speak to the 'cultural difference' that may be felt between the norms associated with predominantly Anglo-Australian values and how that may influence the degree of prejudice experienced in Australia (Fincher et al 1993:108).

By the 1970s, greater recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity was being encouraged through government policies aimed at fostering multiculturalism (Burnett 1998:7). It was also driven in part by the increasing assertiveness of second and third generation migrant Australians (Danforth 1995:203). Peter arrived in Australia at the age of ten in 1971 as the number of migrants from Greece hit their peak at 160,200 as recorded by the 1971 Australian census. Peter's family settled in Northcote, a neighbourhood heavily populated by European migrants. In the late 1960s and 1970s in Melbourne, the northern suburbs of Northcote, Thornbury and Preston were the predominant areas where migrants who identified with a national Macedonian identity lived (Anastasovski 2011:34). These northern suburbs of Melbourne continue to record

the largest population of Greece-born residents in Victoria (10.3 per cent) with 68.2 per cent of these residents arriving between 1961 – 1980 (Victorian Government 2011).

Consequently, Peter recalled there were many Greeks and Macedonians at the primary school he attended in Northcote. The school held special English classes for children to learn the alphabet and phonetics. His parents encouraged Peter and his brothers to develop a sense of belonging to Australia but to not forget their Greek roots. Peter said:

> They didn't stop us from learning English or the Australian culture as long as we didn't forget where we came from. Make sure [you remember] you came from Greece. They influenced us to learn and be as educated as we can (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

Whilst his older brother experienced being called a wog at Thornbury High School, Peter himself did not recall the direct experience of racism or bullying. This was due to a different attitude towards immigrants in the older Australian teenagers. Peter said:

> We had a few Aussie friends and they didn't mind us being wogs. In the three years above us at school, there was a different attitude. The guys were rougher and there were more louts. The wog thing was happening (Peter, born 1961 Florina).

Not surprisingly, the feeling of being culturally different in comparison to their peers tended to occur where there were lower numbers of children from migrant backgrounds. Helen talked about the warm memories she had of growing up in Richmond where the children would play on her street until dark and sit on the family's beaten up DeSoto car (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne). When the Housing Commission of Victoria compulsorily acquired the family home to build high rise affordable housing on Highett Street in Richmond, Helen's family moved to an outer eastern neighbourhood. The family's new home was in Blackburn, a working class Anglo-centric suburb that became middle class by the 1980s. Helen attended primary school and the earlier years of secondary school with my sisters Faye and Mary as our family also moved to Blackburn from Richmond. Although Helen recalled some teasing due to her surname, she did not cultivate a negative attitude towards Australians nor did she feel the teasing was racially motivated. Rather, Helen reflected how the visible cultural marker of her sandwiches made her feel different to the Australian children:

> The feta cheese and tomato sandwiches and that whole thing about going to school and having to hide what you're eating in case people actually see the contents of your sandwich. You've got these big thick slices of Vienna bread and the Australian kids have got their beautiful sandwiches cut into beautiful

> quarter and their crusts cut off them and in beautiful rainbow wax-proof paper. Everyone felt that in the '60s and the '70s (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

In contrast, Faye and Mary recalled negative experiences of what they felt were racially-motivated bullying. In the 1970s and 1980s – in spite of developing multiculturalism – the children of migrants were still often the target of racism (Tsolidis and Pollard 2009:430). Faye talked about her feelings of embarrassment as her Christian name made her feel different to the Australians in her classroom. In turn, she stated this made her feel that she 'didn't want to be Greek' (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne). Although named Fanoula after her paternal grandmother, she preferred to be called Faye at school:

> I was teased. I felt embarrassed of being Greek. Fanoula really made me stand out from the crowd. As much as you get teased about being a wog, you get teased about your name. I wanted my kids to have basic boring names (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne).

As a consequence, Faye preferred to identify as Australian and not as Greek. In contrast, Mary's experience of racism and bullying meant she felt excluded from being Australian and developed a greater identification with being Greek. Mary felt her experience of growing up as a child of Greek migrants was very difficult and both Faye and Mary's experiences of being bullied underline feelings of shame and embarrassment of growing up culturally different to their peers. The bullying occurred predominantly by the neighbourhood children in Blackburn, rather than at primary school. At high school, Mary felt that she encountered more direct bullying when the family moved out further to Vermont in the eastern suburbs where European immigrant numbers were typically low. Only one per cent of the population in the council area where Blackburn and Vermont are located is made up of people who were born in Greece with roughly a third of residents from countries in Asia and the United Kingdom (City of Whitehorse 2012). Mary said:

> It was very, very hard being teased and being bullied about being a wog. You weren't proud to be a Greek (Mary, born 1965, Melbourne).

In contrast, growing up in inner-city Clifton Hill for Aliki was a very different cultural experience as she grew up within the Greek community. Aliki was very proud of her Greek background and recalled:

> It was fantastic because in my area, [everyone in] the streets around Clifton Hill were all Greek. It was a very big Greek community and we all spoke Greek or English. We all got on really well and we all knew each other's brothers and sisters and parents. It was great growing up (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

Due to the large number of students from Greek and Italian backgrounds at the local secondary school (Fitzroy High), Aliki reflected that perhaps it was the Australian teachers who found it initially more difficult to adjust rather than the students. Aliki described being called a 'wog' on occasion but instead she and her peers coped with it by being able to make jokes back to the smaller group of Australians at the school such as 'spot the Aussie' (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne). However these types of jokes did not create racial tensions between the students. Aliki's brother Andreas also narrated the strength of growing up within the Greek community in Clifton Hill. Andreas said:

> It was a community that was predominantly Greek so we all had that in common. Culturally we were identical and seemed to have so much in common and we still do today. I didn't feel different. I felt that was pretty much the norm (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

On the other hand, Andreas found he needed to make a cultural adjustment in his early adulthood to adapt to other cultures. Although it was a positive experience for Andreas to grow up in a Greek environment, he reflected that he wished he had greater exposure to other cultures earlier on in his schooling. When he reached university, Andreas found that all the 'Greeks' he had been around since high school had gone their own ways. Instead, Andreas found he enjoyed the diversity of culture at university and said:

> I would have liked to be exposed to other cultures, or Anglo-Australian people a little earlier. I did find after finishing high school that I had to make an adjustment because I had been around Greeks all the time (Andreas, born in 1971 Melbourne).

For Panayiotis, growing up in Thomastown in the northern suburbs also meant there were many Greek, Macedonian and Italian migrants in his community. In addition, a sense of belonging closely within the Greek community was influenced by the strong participation of his family in the local Greek Orthodox Church and attending a Greek private school. Panayiotis described growing up as being very social and he attended village dances, Greek events and church with friends whose parents also migrated from surrounding villages in Florina. Accordingly, Panayiotis 'didn't really feel like a migrant' as a younger second generation Greek Australian (Panayiotis, born 1978, Melbourne). Although Panayiotis enjoyed the different cultures he grew up around, he felt that there was not much opportunity to make friends from a variety of backgrounds including with Anglo-Australians. Despite his parents both being from Florina, Panayiotis described his father as more Greek than Australian and distinguished his mother as being Greek Macedonian.

It was often these Greek cultural and community institutions such as language schools, village associations, the Greek Orthodox Church, picnics and dances where the second generation could engage with their sense of belonging to the Greek nation (Doumanis 1999; Giorgas 2008; Avgoulas and Fanany 2015). Yet the cohesiveness of community ties and associations began to rupture for migrants from Florina by the mid-1950s (Doumanis 1999:80). For some of the older second-generation participants, the negotiation of Greek Macedonian cultural identity often led to greater complexity in navigating cultural boundaries and feelings of exclusion from the Greek community. The three children of Olga and Peter clearly narrated how they did not embrace their parent's culture during their early years in Australia. With Paul and Nick arriving at an early age, and Kathy born four years later in Australia in 1958, the siblings felt little connection to their parent's homeland. Later, participation in the Greek Macedonian community in Melbourne held little meaning for them.

Paul's earliest recollection of community participation was in terms of familial and social networks created from villages within Florina and although these formed 'a significant part of our lives', he personally felt little affiliation with the events (Paul, born 1950, Florina). Instead, Paul felt Australian due to the environment of his educational setting, particularly at university, and he felt driven to move socially upward through his career. Although there was an initial sense of belonging within the Greek community at primary school, Paul stated that he felt no 'cultural connection' or 'memory with Greece' and he attributed that to his arrival in Australia at the age of four years old (Paul, born 1950, Florina). In fact, Paul resisted and rejected many aspects of his parent's Greek Macedonian heritage and that included formal learning of the Greek language. Paul said:

> My parents did send me to Greek school for a while and I reacted very strongly to that. Most of my other friends didn't have to do it, particularly the Australian friends. Saturday morning at Greek school was not my idea of fun (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

On the whole, Nick and Kathy also rejected the Greek Macedonian culture and did not want to attend Greek school. Words used by the three siblings such as 'act of resistance', 'avoided', 'shunned' and 'rejected' signalled negative association with their cultural background and that was further reinforced by the expected attitude at that time for migrants to assimilate as Australians. Nick stated that he 'avoided anything to do with Greek Macedonian functions' (Nick, born 1952, Florina). Nick said:

> You felt out of place with the village things because not having seen the village you couldn't understand the village dance or picnic. You couldn't relate to the 'Greekness' or 'Macedonian-ness' (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

Nick's statement that 'you felt out of place' indicates the cultural divide that marked the experiences of being in between the Australian and Greek Macedonian culture for some second-generation participants. Nick perceived a distinction between the Greek and Macedonian cultures around him, albeit ones he could not identify or engage with the 'Greekness' or 'Macedonian-ness'. Growing up, Kathy rejected much of the traditional food associated with her cultural background and like her brothers Paul and Nick, she also refused to embrace the Greek Macedonian culture. Kathy talked about how she felt her parents came to accept that their children were Australian:

> I refused I supposed to do certain things I really didn't want to do. I wouldn't go to Greek school. Being the youngest I got away without a lot of their culture. I used to say we live in Australia. I think eventually they accepted it. I think they did (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne).

Instead, the cultural aspects Kathy enjoyed were framed around family events such as the tradition of cracking eggs as a child after the big feast at Easter and visiting the extended family of uncles, aunties and cousins. In contrast, participation in the Greek community did not create sites of belonging for the three siblings, but rather sites to be rejected as the Greek Macedonian culture did not resonate outside the family. For Kathy, the context of the meaning of the Greek Orthodox Church was somewhat missing and therefore this presented a barrier to greater engagement and cultural understanding. Kathy remembered:

> Having to be dragged to church every Sunday, not understanding and asking my father 'what are they saying?' and he didn't have a clue either. I still light candles to this day when I go to church. I think that was the only thing I liked about going to church and having a look at all the beautiful stained glass windows but not having a clue. I used to go there and I didn't understand it (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne).

As Kathy's father was primarily a Macedonian speaker, his Greek was limited in understanding the Greek Orthodox church service although the family continued to attend services. The loss of meaning of the traditions of Greek Orthodoxy continued to be compounded for third-generation participants, as many in the second generation was unable to transmit knowledge and practices. For second-generation participants who continued to maintain the Orthodox religion in their lives, this tended to be framed around personal preferences, ritual and family tradition rather than as a means of maintaining connection to the Greek homeland. For Helen,

attendance at the Greek Orthodox Church has remained a regular and important part of her life. It also provides the opportunity for Helen and her daughter to learn Greek through the language school offered through her parish. Many of the traditions and meanings associated with both the church and with religious village practices had been explained to Helen by her mother Fotini, although many of these traditions no longer held any meaning for Helen in Australia.

At times, second-generation participants had to contend with feelings of exclusion from within their own Greek migrant community due to the contested and misunderstood nature of local and regional Macedonian identity. Nick described how he experienced problematic attitudes from within the Greek community towards identification with Macedonian identity. Nick said:

> The secondary school was more Greeks so that wasn't a problem except from the Greeks. I had more problems with the Greeks than the Aussies. Never tell the Greeks you are a Macedonian, particularly if you're from the Greek part (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

Nick also outlined the dilemma faced between the division between Greece and Macedonia in terms of identity that was encountered within the Greek Macedonian community. This was further complicated by the feeling of not being able to belong to his parent's homeland as it became a choice between nations, rather than acceptance of being a Macedonian from Greece. Nick said:

> The thing about Macedonians they are not nationalistic because to what? You can't be nationalistic to two countries, the little Macedonia and Greece. We're in a bind. Have we got more ties with Macedonia or with Greece? It's hard to be a nationalist in our situation (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

Nick's statement outlines the dilemma faced by people from Florina and as previously noted, how nationalist voices that proclaim the irreconcilable and mutual exclusivity of Greek and Macedonian identity as something that is rejected by those with the same national identity as not real or genuine (Danforth 1995:220-221). Helen also described the frustration she felt when she encountered rejection from the Greek community about her cultural background and her connection to Greek Macedonia. Helen commented:

> People would ask 'What are you?' and I struggled with answering that question in a simple way. The one thing I find the most insulting is when someone asks, 'What are you?' and you say, 'I come from a Greek background'. The first thing they will say is 'You're not Greek'. I find it to be the most insulting thing, not so much because you're not Greek but because they're questioning what I'm telling them. Strangely enough it's the Greeks that question your background, not the Australians (Helen, born 1963 Melbourne).

I also encountered the situation Helen described among the Greek community up until the late 1980s when I was asked about my cultural background and where I was from. When I would tell Greek migrants that I had a Greek background and that my family was from Florina, I would be told: 'you're not Greek, you're Macedonian'. In time, I described myself as Greek Macedonian in these situations and this alleviated any further questions or statements about my identity. Yet, without any references to place or culture passed down through my family, I did not understand the context of what 'Greek Macedonian' actually meant, and as Helen highlighted, I also faced the difficulty of knowing where our identities 'fitted' in.

Over time, sites of belonging for the Greek community also lost relevance for the second generation, including dances, picnics and Greek language school. Not wanting to disappoint his parents, Andreas would pretend to attend Greek language school but instead would go to watch Collingwood play Australian Rules Football at Victoria Park, as he felt a greater identification with Australian sport. Collingwood Football Club is a club in the Australian Football League that originally had its home ground at Victoria Park in inner-city Abbotsford. One of its greatest players was Peter Daicos who was known as the 'Macedonian Marvel' as his family originated from a village in Florina (Hill 1989:132). Andreas said:

> I would hide my scarves and Collingwood jumpers in my bag. I used to pretend to jump on the bus but I would put on my Collingwood gear and walk over to Victoria Park and watch the mighty Magpies. I didn't like Greek school. I hated it (Andrea, born 1971, Melbourne)

In addition to a growing sense of belonging by engagement with Australian culture, the second generation also found belonging through the family. Although Helen disliked Greek school in the secondary years, she had fond memories of Greek school in the earlier years when she attended with her cousins Faye and Mary. Helen stated:

> I loved Greek school. It was additional schooling to the normal primary school and it was on Saturdays from nine till 12 and I loved it for two reasons. I loved it because we were learning and also that I was there with my cousins (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Helen also looked backed at the dances and picnics as positive memories of being together with family. Helen said:

> There were the Greek dances we all had to go to and the parents had to teach us to dance and we'd all be dancing together, it was wonderful. It's a vivid memory. I remember it like yesterday (Helen, born 1963 Melbourne).

The importance of kinship relationships and the distrust of perceived outsiders often meant that second-generation participants largely associated with the extended family. Overall, the tendency for the family to distrust those outside the circle of the extended family, as noted, was shaped in part as a means to survive under Ottoman rule and the inadequacy of the government to provide support (Clogg 2008:3). It can also be explained, as previously noted, by the insular nature of Greek Macedonian families in Australia. For example, the Greek Macedonian community that developed in Shepparton in rural Victoria was limited to social contact within their own group through events such as dances and weddings, or visits in the home and this was further restricted following a division that occurred after the Greek Civil War between those who desired an independent Macedonia and those who supported Greece (Mapstone 1966:208). Although second-generation participants did not understand the context of the insular nature of Greek Macedonian families, it was reflected in the following statements:

> Mum and dad said you're not allowed to have friends, you can only hang out with your cousins. I suppose they didn't trust other people (Mary, born 1965, Melbourne).
>
> I think because we were such a large family we stuck together with cousins. We didn't have outside friends, we had cousins (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).
>
> There was a very big sense of mistrust outside the family. [We were told] family were the only people you could trust at the end of the day, you can't rely on friends (Paul, born Florina, 1950).

Memories of the extended family in Melbourne were 'vivid' for Helen who said:

> The five brothers all met up regularly for picnics and beach trips to Frankston. They would all rock up with their Eskies [ice cooler] nice and early and we'd all hang out at the beach while the olds were sitting under the trees. They couldn't see us and you'd never do that in today's society. You'd have to have the kids right next to you. We were down at the seaside getting up to all sorts of mischief and they would just be sitting under the trees relaxing in the shade. They're all vivid memories that I hold dear (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Consequently, memories narrated by the second generation often reflected a sense of belonging through the family itself. Second-generation participants also developed a greater sense of belonging to Australian culture. Although there were opportunities provided by the first-generation to participate in Greek cultural practices, these were at times rejected by the second generation as no longer meaningful.

Stories about belonging: 'growing up Greek' in Toronto

In this section, I focus on the narratives produced from a smaller sample of five second-generation participants from Toronto. I investigate whether there were any similarities or differences between how second-generation migrant children navigated growing up in Toronto in contrast to experiences in Melbourne. Later, I reflect on their visits 'home' to Greece. Stories reinforced a sense of belonging to Canada but with the continued desire by the first-generation to transmit Greek cultural practices to the second-generation. Unlike the Australian experience, there was not the sense of complexity of mediating regional Macedonian identity within the Greek community in Toronto. This is perhaps influenced by greater engagement with Greek cultural practices, including retention of the Greek language and family visits to Greece as children.

Bessie described her parents' migration in terms of how 'they were looking for opportunity and a better life' in Canada (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto). Initially, her mother Maria (my mother Zoi's first cousin) migrated to Germany from Flambouro before permanently settling in Toronto in 1963 and was married in 1966 following an arranged (proxenio) marriage with her husband from a nearby village in Florina. The family lived in 'Greektown', a neighbourhood in Toronto located on Danforth Avenue that became one of the major settlement areas of Greek immigrants to Toronto after the Second World (Wencer 2016). Prior to the influx of post Second World War European migrants to Toronto, an article in *The Globe and Mail* in 1960 referred to Toronto as 'unquestionably British' but through migration the city had come to the realization that 'newcomers' made up almost one third of its total population (Wencer 2016). Bessie recalled:

> We lived right in the heart of Greektown at Pape and Danforth, which is Greek Village. Most of the people I was around were Greek up until Grade One. When I was in Grade Two we moved out to Scarborough. There were a few Greeks but I never really felt out of place. You had a little bit of everything in your classroom (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Statements reflecting the perception that 'I never really felt out of place' as the child of migrants, were consistently described by Canadian participants. Many did not feel earmarked or different as the child of a migrant, in contrast to some Australian experiences. In 1967, Maria's younger sister Panayiota migrated to Toronto with her childhood sweetheart Tacos, also born in Flambouro. Tacos is also a first cousin to my mother Zoi, his mother (my great-

aunt) was the sister of my maternal grandfather. The family lived close to the Danforth Village and their eldest daughter Maggie recalled:

> If you wanted to go to the butcher, you went to the Greek butcher. If you wanted to go to the baker, you went to the Greek baker. You went to the Greek supermarket. You went to the Greek restaurants. You didn't really need to speak English if you didn't want to (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto)

After the family moved to the multicultural neighbourhood of Scarborough, Maggie described the school she attended in terms of the 'mish-mash of different nationalities' that included Greeks, Italians and Portuguese immigrants (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). In Canada, the central ethos of multiculturalism has been the equal celebration of racial, religious and cultural backgrounds (Dewing 2013:1). During the formative period of multiculturalism in Canada from 1971 to 1981, Greek minority identity was encouraged through government policy that fostered integration rather than the assimilation of culture (Chimbos 1999:97; Dewing 2013:3). In contrast to some of the experiences of racial bullying felt by second-generation Australians, none of the Canadian participants felt they encountered any racism despite a mix of cultures in the neighbourhoods where they grew up. In addition, they did not describe feeling that the boundaries and cultural differences between the Canadian and Greek cultures required negotiation. Rather, the common experience narrated by second-generation Canadian participants reflected the retention of Greek cultural practices in the family and the Greek community as they grew up. Maggie described how her parents desired to raise their daughters as being Greek. Maggie said:

> The mother tongue at home was Greek. Both my sister and I spoke and wrote Greek. We went to Greek school and Greek dancing. We were part of the Greek dancing group that performed at various festivals. We were raised to be Greek but that was stemming from our parents (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Rather, perceived feelings of differences narrated by Canadian second-generation participants tended to be framed around their observations of the cultural values of Greek migrant parents and their expectations compared to the parents of their Canadian friends. This was particularly the case in terms of Greek migrant parents being seen as 'stricter' (Agapi, born 1969, Toronto) than the parents of their Canadian friends, and a focus on ensuring that Greek cultural and family values were retained by the second generation. Second-generation female participants also described how their parents encouraged them to focus on the pursuit of education.

For Tina, 'growing up Greek' meant she felt she was raised with a greater focus on the importance of family and cultural values based on respect, warmth and generosity. Tina loved

many Greek cultural aspects such as music, dancing and food, and in particular identified with her mother's Pontic culture. Many second-generation Canadian participants also stated that there was a strong drive by the first generation for their children to learn the Greek language. At their peak, around 80 Greek heritage schools (through churches, community and private schools) that taught the Greek language, religion, history, geography and culture were established in Toronto by the late 1970s and early 1980s. The schools were supported by the Canadian federal multiculturalism policy to provide for the teaching of heritage languages and by the communities themselves, but by 1990, federal funding had ceased (Gavaki 2003:7).

Tina stated that she felt she was 'forced' to attend Greek school but in hindsight was glad to have the opportunity (Tina, born 1976, Toronto). Tina's younger brother Angelo found that it was harder to initially learn English, as his main language was Greek in the home and he also attended Greek school. Angelo observed that the ethic and focus of hard work by Greek migrant parents meant parental involvement at schools was limited in comparison to the involvement by Canadian parents in their children's education. Angelo highlighted the main focus of his parents was on Greek activities rather than widening their involvement outside the Greek community. Angelo said:

> There was never hockey just soccer. In terms of parents being involved in the schools, my mum and dad just worked. They didn't really care for that stuff just regular school, Greek school, Greek dancing and soccer (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto).

Similarly, Bessie felt there was greater focus on working hard and instilling cultural practices by Greek parents in comparison to her peers. Bessie felt that this was driven by the desire of her parents that 'just wanted what was best for us' (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto). Bessie described the family household:

> We went to church on Sundays. There were name days we recognized and we visited cousins. In terms of school no [there were no differences]. We came home did our homework just like any household. Our parents both worked. I think for a lot of other Canadian families the mum was home, maybe just the dad worked. I don't remember too many kids where both parents worked. I remember people having babysitters. We would never have a babysitter. We had family who would look after us (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Bessie' sister Agapi enjoyed having Greek and English friends when she was growing up and this helped her understanding of 'both aspects' of Greek and Canadian cultures although some aspects of Canadian culture felt daunting to her. At times, Canadian second-generation

participants used the term 'English' to describe Canadians from British backgrounds. Agapi talked about how her parents wanted to keep traditions and values alive:

> Compared to my English friends it was different. I went to Greek school and to Sunday school. My parents were trying to keep traditions and instil their values. We were instilled family traditions like Easter and celebrations our family wanted to keep ongoing (Agapi, born 1967, Toronto).

Within the school environment second-generation Canadian participants did not state that they felt conflicted or different in in terms of culture. In contrast to Australian participants, lunch at school was not a visible cultural marker, as Canadian participants often went home for lunch. Tina did not recall anybody being singled out because of their cultural background:

> I didn't notice that I was different at all. I never realized our differences at all. It was totally mixed. There were probably four or five Greek people in our class growing up. No one was singled out (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

Similarly, growing up Bessie never saw being Greek as being culturally 'different':

> I never saw it as different. I don't know if that's a good or a bad thing. It's not that I dislike Greek. It's not that I thought Greek was any different. That's just what it was (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Although Maggie did not reject her Greek cultural heritage, she described how at times she hated being Greek in her teenage and early adult year. This was mainly due to the attitude of her peers believing that they were 'better than everyone else' (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). Maggie did not identify with this aspect that she attributed to Greek culture that placed emphasis on its greater European status. Maggie attended Greek events in Toronto with her social group as she was the only one in the group with a car licence, rather than from her own interest in Greek events. Maggie said:

> Sometimes growing up I was like I hate being Greek. Growing up back then and going to a high school that was predominantly Greek and being around Greeks was like OMG [oh my God] I can't stand being Greek. For the teenagers and people in their early 20s it was all about being Greek and going to the *Bouzikia* [Greek nightclub] and Greek bars (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Maggie's earlier statement that 'we were raised to be Greek' perhaps best sums up the general experiences of Canadian participants.

In contrast, experiences of 'growing up Greek' in Melbourne mostly fostered a desire to move away from Greek culture, rather than seek belonging through it. Although many first-generation parents desired their children in Australia to grow up within the Greek culture, some

Australian participants rejected many aspects of their Greek Macedonian heritage. This was particularly the case during the earlier years of settlement where assimilation, rather than multiculturalism, was the dominant ideology in Australia. In addition, the stories narrated by Australian second-generation participants suggest there was greater conflict in terms of how Greek Macedonians were treated with regards to identity within the Greek community in Melbourne. Families interviewed in Canada reflect a greater identification with Greek Macedonian identity formed at the regional level, rather than a local level of identification. That is, although these families migrated from villages in Florina, all identified primarily as Greek. Consequently, many of the memories narrated by second-generation participants in Canada reflected a more cohesive Greek community in Toronto. A story narrated by Maggie suggests that the Greek community was not always understanding of those who considered themselves to be Macedonians from Greece or Greek Macedonians. Maggie felt uncomfortable talking about the issue but reluctantly gave some insight into her belief that if you came from Greece, you therefore could not come from Macedonia:

> We knew individuals who considered themselves like Macedonians. We were like they're not Macedonians, they're Greek and that would spark, not trouble, but they didn't like that. Growing up and my dad coming from Meliti which is Greek-speaking, but also Slavic Macedonian, a lot of family friends and people from the village would talk to me and my sister in Macedonian. I didn't know Macedonian. My dad knows how to speak it (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Stories also reflected the decline in prominence of Greek culture over time for the second generation. Bessie recalled attending Greek picnics and festivals as children, but not as adults, as these events had mainly ceased by that time (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto). For Maggie, memories were framed around regular trips to a farm owned by a family member who was also part of the village association. The children loved going there every year and being together until Maggie was in her early 20s. Maggie said:

> I remember growing up and at Greek Easter every year all the family friends from Flambouro would go up to a farm. It was set up with a spit and there would be food and picnics and music and everyone would be dancing. The women would be preparing the salads. As kids, we thought it was great (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Over time, Bessie identified more with the Canadian aspect of her upbringing. Bessie said:

> Once I got married and got more older, it was more Canadian than Greek. When we were younger it was easier to keep the connections with family and cousins and your Greek heritage but once we got older and had friends that weren't Greek or married partners that weren't Greek, it just didn't really continue (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Agapi also talked about how the busy life of the second generation that began to centre around their own families often prevented greater connection with the Greek community and with extended networks of kin. Agapi reflected:

> Not so much [contact] now that we have our own families. It's more like weddings, christenings and funerals. We try to but we never connect. It was more the early days but now I think everyone's just too busy. Life doesn't allow for it. I think it's sad because contact has ceased as such (Agapi, born 1967, Toronto).

For Maggie, some traditions such as name days lost relevance after her mother passed away as they are no longer on her 'radar', as did more regular attendance at church (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). Maggie's father has continued to maintain many family and cultural traditions such as Greek dances, marching in the parade for Oxi Day (No day which marks Greece's participation in the Second World War) and the extended family celebrates Easter. Maggie reflected her own family commitments changed the nature of her participation in the Greek community in Toronto. Maggie said:

> As we grew older we tried to go as a family to church at Easter and Christmas. Church is something I would like to do as a whole family but it's a bit difficult now with all the activities of the children including Sunday (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Overall, the stories narrated by Canadian participants reflect the desire by the first generation to instil Greek cultural values, language and traditions in the second generation – key markers of Greek identity. Canadian second-generation participants did not reject Greek culture. Rather, in the earlier years of adulthood, some aspects of the Greek culture no longer resonated as strongly for some second-generation Canadian participants. The stories narrated by participants suggest that multicultural policies, the lack of racial bullying and growing up with other migrant peers, often influenced positive participation in the Greek community by second-generation Canadians.

Consequently, second-generation Canadian participants did not feel different in a general sense to other children due to their family's migrant background. Rather, differences were described in terms of their parental attitudes towards stricter values and the desire to maintain Greek culture. None have rejected their Greek cultural background. For some, it became less prominent as they have aged. It should be noted that the one of the main attributes that framed more distinct experiences between Australian and Canadian participants was the greater transnational participation of Canadian Greek migrant families with Greece and I discuss this

further below. A feature of Canadian experience was at least one family visit to Greece by 1980 and Canadian participants were under the age of ten years old at the time of the first visit. As such, stories about family visits by Canadian second-generation participants suggest familiarity with the Greek culture as it evolved over time and greater ongoing connection to family members in Greece including grandparents.

As such, the degree of cultural difference between the Canadian and Greek culture was often not as great at the gulf in the experience of Australian participants depending on how individual families interacted with Greece. In addition, regional Greek Macedonian identity (discussed further in the chapter) required less negotiation at the family level of collective identity for families in Toronto. The complexity of negotiating Greek Macedonian identity was not narrated as a feature of the Canadian migration experience in contrast to the Australian experience. Nevertheless, connections to Greece was framed mainly around the connection to family rather than to place (as discussed in Chapter Three). In the following section, I consider how the second generation has related to Greece as a homeland. Ultimately, there is a sense of belonging to family and, to a lesser extent place, in terms of the family connection to the Macedonian region of Greece.

STORIES ABOUT FAMILY VISITS TO FLORINA AND THE GREEK HOMELAND

Ongoing transnational connections to the homeland through return visits have helped shape the formation of second-generation Greek identity (Giorgas 2008:63). Yet stories about visits 'home' to Florina by the second were often framed in terms of the sense of a greater belonging to family in contrast to place. On the whole, Greece was not seen as a dual home but rather feelings of being at home were formed mainly through the family. For Canadians, there was at least one dedicated family visit to Greece as children, particularly due to the closer proximity between Canada and Greece (compared to Australia). Consequently, there was also greater opportunity for Canadian participants to meet their grandparents due to earlier visits. This differed greatly to the Australian experience where visits to Greece largely occurred after second-generation participants were adults and Australians tended to travel with younger family members (for example, children spouses, siblings), rather than with their parents. Visits for Australian participants were generally aimed at visiting the family village to gain a sense of understanding of the family history and connect with family members who remained in Greece. Often a great deal of time had elapsed between the migration to Australia by their parents and the initial visit by the second generation to Greece. This was generally twenty-five

to forty years since the event of parental migration to Australia. In comparison, all Canadian participants had visited Greece by the age of ten years old.

For Tina and Angelo, regular visits to Greece from Toronto every two to three years were part of their childhood. Although this contributed to a greater sense of feeling at home in Greece, it was the idea of family that shaped belonging to the homeland. Although their parents did not live through the direct trauma of war (as they were born in 1949 and 1959), they nevertheless felt the effects of the poverty in Greece in its aftermath and migrated to Toronto in 1975 where they were married. Neither parent had a desire to return permanently to Greece, and Angelo said: 'I've never heard them say they wanted to live back there' (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto). During family visits, Tina and Angelo mainly spent time in Thessaloniki with their maternal grandparents as well as their parents' villages in Florina. After their parents divorced Tina and Angelo no longer visited their father's village. In addition, they did not feel a great bond to their father's village or to their paternal grandparents nor did they feel particularly welcomed due to family tensions as their parents' marriage had not been accepted by either set of parents. Yet some happier memories of visiting the village in their earlier childhood years were framed around playing with their cousins. Over time, the visits by the family to Greece became less frequent although both Angelo and Tina maintained a close connection to Thessaloniki where their mother's relatives live.

When Tina's mother was six years old, her family had moved from a small village in Florina to Thessaloniki where her father built a block of apartments when 'everybody thought he was crazy' to do so (Tina, born 1976, Toronto). Later, Thessaloniki was to become the second largest city in Greece. With two condominiums for each child, the apartments were a legacy from Tina's grandfather to be 'passed from generation to generation' (Tina, born 1976, Toronto). Nevertheless, Angelo equated his belonging to Greece as a home through the connection to his late maternal grandparents. Consequently, Angelo felt that 'something is missing' when he subsequently visited Greece after they passed (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto). On Angelo's last visited to Greece in 2016, it was important to return to his mother's village to visit his grandparent's resting place for the first time with his wife. Both Tina and Angelo described the loving and generous relationship with their maternal grandparents and the close connection that they shared. Tina attributed the idea of family to '100 per cent' forming her ongoing connection to Greece (Tina, born 1976, Toronto). Tina stated:

> I love going to Greece. I feel when I land in Greece my blood starts to warm up. It's like one of my homes. All of my family on my mum's side is there. That's most of the connection where that comes from. Your genes come alive (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

As Angelo gets older, he stated that he felt more of a longing to go to Greece. Angelo would like to visit every year if he could if cost was not a factor. Angelo said:

> I miss it. My family is there. I feel different as a person going there. Your blood feels alive. I can't really describe it. Maybe it's something chemical in my brain. My appetite comes back (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto).

Statements about the physiological connection to Greece though one's 'DNA' in terms of feeling healthier and coming alive after arrival in Greece were repeated by second and even some third-generation participants. This tended to occur in families where all parents and grandparents of the participant had Greek ancestry. Although for some participants being in Greece did not feel necessarily feel like home or that they belonged, the sense *of* home was often described through connection to family ties in Greece. Angelo reflected that his main reason for going to Greece was no longer there since his grandparents passed. Angelo said:

> I always break down in tears when I go there because they are not there. It's like something is missing. Their soul isn't there but I can feel their presence. The main reason why we wanted to go to Greece isn't there anymore. Sure we have our aunt and our cousins but it's different. Yes I want to go back and I love it. My blood feels different there but the main factor isn't there and it's sad (Angelo, born 1975, Toronto).

Both Tina and Angelo described how transnational family links were forged through recurring visits that shaped strong emotions about Greece. For Angelo, later living in Greece to play soccer created more positive associations with the Canadian homeland as he became more aware of values he did not relate to such as the inherent corruption he felt he encountered in aspects of Greek society. For Tina, despite her strong connections to Greece she described how she did not feel a sense of belonging as being a 'Greek' in Greece. Furthermore, the feeling of being an outsider has remained consistent over time and despite numerous visits. Tina described being *xeni* – a stranger or foreigner – in Greece as:

> You go to Greece, you're not Greek. You're *xeni*. They see you as a Canadian (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

The feeling of being *xeni* was also narrated by other second-generation participants in Australia and Canada. Maggie's family moved to Florina from Toronto in 1979 when she was ten years old. Staying for only six months in Greece, Maggie reflected how grateful she was when the family returned to Canada. Maggie said:

> I was like 'thank God'. The lifestyle and working to support a family was different in Greece. You've been away from Greece for so long it was not like you thought it was (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Maggie's family subsequently visited Greece many times and Maggie can still remember waiting for the tiles to flip over on the airport flight boards en route to Greece in Amsterdam to update departure times. The flights seemed to be extremely long but knowing that family was at the end of the 'long haul' was worth it (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). Maggie described her memories of visits back to Greece:

> You remember seeing your grandparents and seeing your cousins. There were tons of cousins. I remember as a kid having the freedom in the villages you wouldn't necessarily have in the city. Everyone knew each other and people in the evenings would go for walks. You had the freedom to go wherever without your parents watching you. In the village, everybody knows each other and therefore you were safe (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

One family visit occurred with a number of relatives from her parent's village that migrated to Toronto travelling together to holiday in Greece. Despite the feeling of closeness with her relatives, Maggie recalled at times 'you have the feeling they would see you as *xeni* (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). Maggie also reflected that her father's connection to Greece 'is the connection to family than actually to Greece' (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto). Maggie also stated how that connection to family was kept alive through phone and by visits:

> Back in the village, they were so close. [They wanted] to keep that contact of family to keep that connection and even if they only went once or twice a year it was like that connection was still there. If was not like time affected the relationship, it was still there (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

Although Maggie does miss her grandmother, she has not returned to Greece since 1994 when she last visited with her sister.

Like Maggie, Aliki also lived briefly in her father's village of Itea in Florina in 1975 when she was six years old. In the village, Aliki felt her grandparents treated her and her two brothers as *'xeni'* and said: 'They treated us like we weren't Greek, as outsiders' (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne). Despite feeling that he was not Australian in the earlier years of settlement as previously noted, Aliki's father Christos, also felt in Greece that 'there I became *xeni* and Australia became home' as his beliefs had changed (Christos, born 1933, Florina). Although Aliki felt her father Christos viewed his initial migration to Australia as temporary, he had not

sold his home in Melbourne and the family were able to easily return home to Melbourne after six months. On return, Christos became an Australian citizen.

In contrast, Aliki's mother from the Peloponnese had a difficult time adjusting to Australia in terms of balancing hard work with the pressures of family with limited support networks. I was not able to interview Aliki's mother for this thesis as her health was declining and I was unsure if it would be upsetting for her to discuss past memories Aliki recalled 'the minute my mother walked off the boat' in Australia she felt 'why didn't God cut my legs off?' reflecting her mother's reluctance to leave Greece (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne). When the family returned to Greece Aliki's youngest brother Andreas was four years old. Looking back, Andreas recognized that 'the dream of going back to the motherland was no longer a dream' for his parents once they realized their life was in Australia (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne). Being so young, Andreas remembered very little but felt life in Greece was carefree. Andreas said:

> I remember going to school and having a siesta, which I thought, was pretty cool. I remember it being warm and somewhat carefree. I learnt how to ride a bike and I seemed to have quite a bit of freedom, which I enjoyed and I could speak Greek (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

Aliki also remembered going to school in the village but, in contrast to her brother, did not like it. Although she felt different and was trying to navigate different experiences than what she was used to in Melbourne, she enjoyed the time with her cousins. Aliki said:

> I did feel different because although I spoke Greek I also spoke English. I got on really well with all my cousins. It was just trying to get used to the differences such as the food and the water. I hated mineral water. At the time, the bitterness was horrible. When I think about it now, I think wow that was the best water, it was fresh from the well and I remember the bread (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

Aliki remembered certain food and smells of the village that have always stayed with her. A key driver to return to Greece in 2003 was to see her family. Although she only lived in Greece for a short time as a child, Aliki felt like she had never left Greece and 'still had that bond' with her cousins. In addition, the cultural differences between Greece and Australia 'wasn't a shock to the system' due to her earlier time in Greece. Aliki said:

> It was like I never left. It was like being at home here in Melbourne. They are a beautiful family. I love my aunt and uncle and all my cousins. It was like we never were apart all those years. We left crying as young children that we were going to be apart, that we're not going to live in Greece, and were going to come back to Australia, so it was very sad. But to think so many years have passed

> away and you still have that connection with them, it was fantastic (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

For Aliki, her return to Greece as an adult felt 'like being at home here in Melbourne' and so home was recreated through the family and the Greek cultural aspects that now felt familiar and comfortable to her.

Bessie and her sister Agapi first visited Greece from Toronto on a family visit in 1980. Their parents had only visited Greece twice since emigrating in the 1960s, rather than every year as was the case for some Canadian Greek families that Bessie observed. This was because most of their extended family lived in Toronto and consequently there was not as great a need for the family to return to Greece. Bessie did not have any preconceived ideas or images of Greece before the first family visit to Florina. She described the difference between the 'city' spaces of Athens and Thessaloniki, compared to the 'country' where her parent's villages were located in Florina. In particular, it was a 'shock from one extreme to the other' in terms of the living standards in the villages as the houses had only a hole in the ground for the toilet and there was no hot water (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto). Despite this, Bessie felt more at home in the villages as she had developed a connection through her parents' stories about their villages:

> Athens was an ideal with all the ruins and architecture when I first went. We went to the country more and I guess because we heard more about it through our parents and how they grew up, it was a little more homely feeling. You heard about it more as our parents didn't live in the city (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Later when Bessie visited Athens in 2005 with her mother and husband, she found it to be a 'culture shock' as Athens had been over developed and consequently she found it easier to navigate Florina and her parent's villages. Bessie also described how she felt more at home in her mother's village. Furthermore, Bessie had felt like an outsider to her dad's village as her father had passed and she felt there was no longer that family connection. Bessie said:

> I felt more at home in my mum's village than in my dad's village. The people in my dad's village are a little more standoffish, a little more cold. My dad had passed away and we were going there without my dad in 2005. It wasn't so much family now. You felt like more an outsider because your dad wasn't there for that connection anymore (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Ultimately, Bessie stated that her sense of belonging to Greece was through family rather than the sense of belonging to Greece as a home. Bessie's sister Agapi described how she 'almost'

felt at home in Florina and felt that she was part of the family. Agapi enjoyed the gardens and Parthenon in Athens but said:

> I loved Thessaloniki the most and Florina. In Florina, I felt at home almost. It was beautiful and the people were nice (Agapi, born 1967, Toronto).

Overall, memories of Greece for Agapi were framed around local village spaces - the beauty of their mother's village of Flambouro, the memory of filling up fresh spring water from her dad's village and spending time with her cousins.

For some second-generation Australian participants, the first visit to their home villages in Florina was as an adult as many in the first generation had no desire to visit Greece. By way of example, Pandos and his brother Lazaros never returned and my father Theodoros often told me that he never wanted to go back and subsequently only returned after 45 years in Australia to attend a family wedding in Florina. In fact, it was the Anglo-Australian parents-in-law of Paul who first visited his parent's village in 1974, before Paul later visited with their daughter Sally. Although Paul was born in Greece, he had no conscious memories of his first four years in his parent's village. Paul reflected that he felt 'overwhelmed' by the amount of people who knew him and came to greet him on his return to the village of Itea in Florina. Paul spoke about how our grandfather was looking forward to Paul's visit:

> My grandfather had told people for ages that we were coming to the village and they were waiting for us. I remember the promenading in the evening and people coming up to say, 'Oh you remember me. My son and you were best friends and used to always be at our place' (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Despite Paul's stated rejection of the Greek Macedonian culture in Australia, the visit to Florina to visit family was very emotional and he was surprised that he felt a sense of belonging in Greece. Paul said:

> There was a great sense of belonging that really freaked me that here was I, at that time, seeing myself as 99.999% Australian but all of a sudden belonging there as much as I did in Australia. It was quite a confronting and overwhelming experience (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Ultimately, Paul felt it was important to visit the village to connect with where he was born, to gain a sense of understanding and to visit his extended family. Later, Paul and Sally also felt it was important to take their own children to Greece on a family visit. Paul said:

> We have visited the village several times and we took the children there when they were old enough to appreciate it. I found it very easy to pick up with the extended family and they were so thrilled to see us there more than once. They said a lot of people come only once, the fact that we bought our children was

> really well received. There's a sense of belonging there and there's still a sense of having come from there that is still there with me (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Sally found it 'humbling' to see where Paul came from and how much he has achieved with very little help 'apart from his own drive and determination'. She came to understand the extraordinary opportunities that Australia has provided Paul in contrast to an alternative life in Greece (Sally, married to second-generation participant Paul). Sally also felt very welcome in the village and said:

> It was very humbling to see the people. They're very warm and I felt very welcome in the village, much more welcome there by Paul's direct parents. I certainly enjoyed meeting the extended family in Australia and Paul's mother's extended family have always been extremely welcoming to me (Sally, married to second-generation participant Paul).

Paul also encouraged his brother Nick to visit Greece in 2002 (during the time that Paul's company was developing the roof of the Olympic Stadium of Athens as part of the 2004 Olympic preparations). In contrast to Paul, Nick felt no connection to the village where he was born or to Greece as he had been in Australia since the age of 18 months old:

> I don't have memories because of my age and not learning Greek. I don't bond to Greece or Macedonia (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

Although Nick speaks Macedonian, he observed that the older family members in the village had trouble speaking Greek. Yet when he met family members in Athens he felt they did not want to have any connection with the Macedonian language. Rather, family members in Athens only wanted to speak Greek or English. Nick reflected:

> They don't want to be seen as non-Greek or Macedonian speakers. They may have learnt it as mother tongue. They never asked me if I could speak Greek. As the generations go, they'll eventually drop Macedonian and claim they didn't know it or didn't want to know it (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

Nick's observations suggest the complex nature of navigating Greek Macedonian identity even within the family and how belonging may be shaped by a greater identification with Greek identity, or perhaps the desire to move away from an identity with a contested past.

For Peter, his return to Greece after 40 years in Australia made him feel that he and Greece had not changed since he had left as a child of ten years old in 1971. In the earlier years of settlement in Australia, Peter thought of Greece as home. However, he felt that the notion of 'going back' was just a saying. Peter did not believe that his parents ever wanted to permanently return to

Greece and his parent's subsequent visits to Greece were based around family reasons. Peter said:

> It was home until a point where you sort of grow out if. But until then you think of it as home. The opportunity to go back never came. It's just a saying, I'll go back, I'll go back. Things changed in Australia so there's no way you would have gone back (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

Peter recalled that his parents were worried about how he would feel on his first return to Greece to mark his fiftieth birthday with his wife Faye. However on his return to his village in Florina, Peter felt neither Greece nor he had changed over time:

> It was like I hadn't left Greece for 40 years. I was just back like nothing's changed. I thought, 'have I been away for 40 years?' This is exactly the same. I felt the same. I didn't feel like I was Australian. I felt like I've never left the place, I've never left Greece (Peter, born 1961, Melbourne).

Through their visit, Peter and Faye ultimately felt fortunate that their parents emigrated from Florina to Australia. Peter reflected that his life in Australia offered far more economic prosperity. For Faye, the visit to Greece changed her attitude towards her parent's homeland. Initially, Faye had never wanted to visit Greece as she had negative perceptions about the culture due to her experiences growing up and not feeling that she fit into either the Greek or Australian culture. However, the visit changed her perception of the country and the visit to see her parent's villages in Florina made her understand how hard it would have been for her parents to arrive in a country with no English and no possessions. Faye said:

> I just felt 'wow' look where mum and dad came from. We went past their villages. I was so thankful I saw where they came from. It didn't feel strange. It just felt like a dream. It felt good knowing where you came from, where you're parents came from (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne).

Like Faye, the visit by Panayiotis in 2005 to his parent's villages in Florina as an adult was also an important process in putting 'a picture to all the stories I was told and of who's who' as he met extended family members for the first time (Panayiotis, born 1978, Melbourne). Although Panayiotis first visited Greece with his family, he was only three years old and consequently has no memories of his first visit to Greece. On a later visit with his brother in 2005, Panayiotis felt at home in terms of how he felt physically 'suited' to the environment and climate but thought it would actually be 'more homely than it was' (Panayiotis, born 1978, Melbourne). Instead, he found that the manner in which Greeks did things were 'a different way' to his own cultural experiences of being Greek in Melbourne. Despite being highly fluent in Greek, Panayiotis also found it difficult to speak Greek on a permanent basis. Returning to

his father's village of Flambouro in Greece, he remembered being mistaken for his father by the older villagers who were delighted at the thought his father Yiannis had returned. However, the villagers were equally excited to discover Panayiotis was in fact his son. Panayiotis reflected:

> I went to Flambouro and me and Chris were walking past a group of old ladies and one of them was screaming out Yianni, Yiannis, I looked similar to my dad when he was a young guy. They were quite emotional. It was the first time we went to Flambouro and to mum's village Amohori meeting both sides of the family. I didn't get a chance to meet my uncle Nick [who had recently passed], we heard a lot of stories about him and saw photos, it was quite emotional (Panayiotis, born 1978, Melbourne).

These stories of visits to Greece indicate a sense of belonging but not one that was shaped by parental desire to return permanently to Greece as a desired homeland. Rather it indicates that stories circulated within the family were about experiences in the village and the family left behind. However, return visits helped to mediate the space between growing up in the diaspora and the homeland and create a sense of belonging to a place that was not quite 'home'. This sense of 'belonging' can be a process of identification and contestation generated by the struggle to understand a sense of self through emotional attachments to place and nostalgia for the homeland (Christou 2011:249). Ultimately, it was connection to family that shaped belonging to Greece and fostered a sense of being at home in the family region in Greek Macedonia.

STORIES ABOUT GREEK MACEDONIAN DIASPORIC IDENTITY

In this section, I examine whether the second generation in Australia maintained a Greek identity and the extent to which Greek Macedonian identity remained meaningful. I then discuss insights into the formation of Canadian second-generation identity. Second-generation participants developed a stronger identification with being Australian yet there is still a desire to acknowledge the heritage of migration. Paul said:

> I think of myself as Australian with origins in that Macedonian part of Greece (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

In this statement, Paul has reconciled the past and the present and aligned it to national signifiers of identity. Paul articulated his sense that while Macedonia is regionally distinctive within Greece, it is also a part of the Greek nation. Growing up in Australia at a time when assimilation was the dominant government policy in Australia, Paul had previously stated that he did not identify with the Greek or Macedonian cultures. Further Paul narrated how he carried

‘some emotional cultural baggage from that Macedonian experience rather than the Greek experience’ when navigating his identity (Paul, born 1950, Florina):

> In fact, our grandfather used to coach us, he’d say ‘You’re not Greek, you’re Macedonian’. True story. He would be asking us as grandchildren. I remember, ‘You’re not Greek, you’re Macedonian’ (Paul, born Itea, 1950).

To put it simply, our grandfather who was born in 1901 was telling Paul not to forget his roots – roots that were complex and often easily simplified or forgotten in the context of diasporic identity formation. As noted, the notion of the Greek nation was an abstract concept for much of peasant society at the regional level, and it was a concept that took time to take hold (Tziampiris 2011:217). As a result, navigating Macedonian identity could produce different forms of identification – from local to regional to national – even to members of the same family in Australia. And in that respect, for these particular families, Macedonian identity did not necessarily imply identification with nations in the way that we currently understand them, but rather a historical geographic space and culture that my grandfather wanted to keep alive through the family. Moreover, as Helen’s father Lazaros stated, this was also a complex identification, with him noting that ‘Macedonia does not exist there [in the Florina region]’ (Lazaros, born 1928, Florina) following the emergence of the Greek nation-state from the Ottoman Empire. Helen talked about the difficulties she faced when she described her identity to others and said:

> I struggle with it constantly and it’s more so not knowing what to call myself, whether I call myself a Greek or a Macedonian or a Greek Macedonian. It’s just a constant struggle with me particularly with the Greek community because you’re *xenos* to them and you’re *xenos* to Australians and you’re *xenos* to the Macedonians, so you sort of don’t fit anywhere really. *Xenos* is stranger, a stranger to all of those three cultures (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Here Helen outlines the difficulties of being perceived as the ‘other’ which reinforced feelings of being an outsider and that she did not fit in anywhere. Despite this, Helen described her self-identification and belonging to all three cultures:

> I see myself as Greek Macedonian Australian. I see myself as all three cultures because given the predominant language is Macedonian, you can’t discount that and given that we were born in Greece, we can’t say we’re Macedonians because we’re on the Greek side of the border. We’re in Greece, we’re not in Macedonia. We were born there, not so much me, but my parents were born there. So you can’t say you’re not Greek because you were born in Greece and then we were born in Australia from Greek Macedonian parents (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Ultimately, Helen has navigated her Macedonian identity as being tied to Greek national identity – it acknowledges her home region within the Greek nation but separates this from identity formation that has developed in the FYROM. Although Helen identified with all three cultures, she has developed a greater sense of belonging as an Australian. Helen also stated that her Macedonian heritage was at times still negated by some people she had contact with in the Greek community and that aspect remained hurtful to her. In Nick's case, he predominantly identified with being Australian although he identified to others as 'Macedonian Greek Australian' with the Macedonian descriptor placed first as he felt the region pre-dated the modern nation of Greece. However, Nick was affronted by being labelled at times as a 'New Australian' despite living in Australian since he was 18 months old. The term 'New Australian' was coined by the first Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, to describe newly arrived non-British migrants following the Second World War in an effort to allay any fears of difference and diversity in Australia (Damousi 2015:48). Nick said:

> I couldn't remember anything of Greece. I knew of uncles and aunts but couldn't relate to the place or the people. Greece and Macedonia were nothing to me. I was even offended by New Australian. I assumed I was old Australian. When someone said you were New Australian, I said: 'what does that mean? I don't know what that means' (Nick, born Florina, 1952).

Nick spoke Macedonian in the home before he started school and his knowledge of the Greek language was fairly limited as he did not want to attend Greek school. Instead, English became the main language for Nick once he 'picked it up in the street and at school' (Nick, born Florina, 1952). Nick described how he spoke Macedonian with his relatives, as well as how tensions about Macedonian identity arose due to perceptions about being outside of the Greek community. As noted, the Greek community in Australia up until the late 1980s often labelled Macedonians as not being authentically Greek, thus perpetuating the feelings of being an unwanted outsider. Nick said:

> It was only to the parents or relatives that you bothered with Macedonian. It was definitely Macedonian the mother tongue, and no Greek and no Greek school. I was behind the eight ball when these Greek fellows said you're not Greek, you're Macedonian. From the Greek friends and relatives in Richmond, 'you're not Greek, you're Macedonian'. With my ignorance then, I just saw it as the best part of Greece, you know like the biggest part, like the Queensland of Greece. My father didn't promote the Greek stuff and he'd say Macedonia and they would hit the roof (Nick, born 1952, Florina).

In terms of language, Nick felt that he did not want to pass on the Macedonian language to his daughter Emily. Rather, Nick felt by doing so he would avoid creating any 'confusion about

whether the ancestry is from Greece or Macedonia' (Nick, born 1952, Florina). Paul and Nick's sister Kathy, who was born in Australia, also described her identity as Australian. Kathy stated: 'I didn't classify as Greek or Macedonian' and she consciously distanced herself from her family's cultural background (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne).

In contrast, Helen has found it easier to teach her daughter Macedonian, the language she uses with her father Lazaros. Although Helen struggled with whether to teach her daughter Greek or Macedonian, she wanted her daughter to have the educational benefits of learning a second language. However, Helen was not as proficient in Greek and said:

> I was keen to try and teach her Greek initially but because I struggle with the Greek language, it makes more sense to teach her Macedonian just as something to keep her learning and then she can pick up a language as time goes on (Helen, born in 1963, Melbourne).

Indeed, Helen was the only participant who has tried to teach the Macedonian language to the third generation. Although Helen and her daughter subsequently took part in formal Greek language lessons, it has been a struggle to maintain the Greek language within their own family household as Helen's partner is from a non-Greek background. It has also been important for Helen to pass on the Greek Orthodox religion, as well as cooking and traditions from her Greek Macedonian background. Helen said:

> I think she needs to know. I think everybody needs to know their background and my daughter is no different. I just think our Greek Macedonian culture is so colourful. It's got spirit and it's got spunk (Helen, born 1963, Melbourne).

Helen grew up with positive associations with her Macedonian cultural background and she continues to actively maintain her heritage within her own household by passing her knowledge to her daughter.

In my study, there were two cases that were an exception to the development of a stronger identification with Australian identity for second-generation participants. Although the participants felt their identity was fixed at this stage in their lives, identity can continue to change and may be shaped by later experiences. Peter identified with being Greek as linked to the place where he was born, although his two sons Andrew and Michael viewed their father's identity as Australian. Peter sees his identity as straightforwardly 'Greek' and not in dual terms:

> If someone asks me now what I am, I would say I am Greek. I was born in Greece. I couldn't say Australian because I wasn't born in Australia and I

> couldn't say Macedonian because I wasn't born in Macedonia. I still think of myself as Greek (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

In discussing Macedonian identity formation in more depth, Peter talked about how changes over time Florina can shape identity, but that he and his parents identified as:

> Always purely Greek. Even dad would be saying he was Greek because he was born under the Greek banner. Prior to that it would have been dad's dad's dad that could have been Macedonian. As far as I know if you were born Greek and you've got a Greek passport and you were born in a Greek place, you are Greek so I don't know how these people think they are Macedonian (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

Although Peter was able to speak and understand Macedonian, it was only spoken in the home in Florina to his great-great grandparents who did not understand Greek. At school in Greece, Peter learnt Greek. Peter said:

> Greece is Greece. I can speak Macedonian and I understand Macedonian, but we went to Greek school. The Macedonian language was something you spoke with your great-great grandparents (Peter, born 1961, Florina).

At his workplace, Peter uses both the Greek and Macedonian language to communicate with many of his customers in the northern suburbs of Melbourne where there are large communities with these backgrounds. When dealing with customers, Peter will identify publicly when asked his background by customers as 'Greek Macedonian' to signal that 'you've agreed to both cultures' to prevent any further judgement about national allegiances, particularly from people in the Greek community. This example acknowledges the Greek region of Macedonia where Peter has family roots, and also highlights the careful navigation of boundaries of belonging that can take place in navigating the perception by others of Greek Macedonian identity.

In another exceptional case, belonging was shaped by negative experiences growing up as the child of a migrant in Australia. Mary felt that she identified with being Greek and further distinguished Greek as being Greek Macedonian. Although Mary had never been to Greece, Mary felt she had lost her connection to an Australian identity as she had felt excluded from the Australian community due to racial bullying at school and by her Australian neighbours. Mary stated that 'back then' she wasn't proud to be Greek when she was growing up but that she had come to feel proud to identify herself as Greek (Mary, born 1965, Melbourne). On the other hand, Mary's sister Faye identified over time as being Australian with a Greek background and also wanted to reject her Greek background growing up. Faye said:

> When people asked when I was younger what's your background, I would say Greek. But I look at myself as Australian now. As I get older, I'm an Australian with a Greek background. I didn't want to be Greek. I couldn't call myself an Australian because I was doing all the traditions, Greek Easter, religion, speaking Greek. I didn't want to be Greek. I was torn in the middle, that's how I felt so when I was with Greeks I was Greek and when I was with Aussies, I was an Aussie (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne).

For those who had positive experiences growing up Greek, belonging was generally shaped by a greater identification with being Australian yet with the desire to acknowledge a Greek background. Siblings Aliki and Andreas made the following statements:

> I see myself as Australian with a Greek background. I see myself as Australian because I was born in Australia and although I do have a Greek upbringing from my parents, which is amazing, I still feel that I am Australian. I am comfortable with my identity and to say yes I'm born in Australia and I do have a Greek background and I'm proud of that (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

> I would say I am an Australian of Greek background of Greek descent. I still carry a lot of those Greek influences. As most Australians, we are all different because we've come from somewhere unless you're indigenous. What makes Australia today is all those differences. I identify myself as being Australian but certainly of Greek background (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

Although Aliki felt that members of her extended family identified as Macedonian and spoke the Macedonian language, her father Christos strongly identified as Greek. Furthermore, her father consciously desired to marry a partner who was not from the Macedonian region. Aliki described how the term 'Greek Macedonian' was previously used in her high school days during the 1980s to describe identity for those from the Macedonia region but that it perhaps no longer held any currency. Aliki said:

> We used to call ourselves Greek Macedonian, that was the 'it' thing to say you were from there. Yes, you come from the country Greece, but you come from the state Macedonia. But in this day and age, dad, no he says he is Greek (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

Aliki also described how the term 'Macedonian' had lost currency in Greece with her relatives in Florina. Aliki said:

> It's not a part of the equation, not now after knowing that Macedonia is in Greece, or the Greek-part of Macedonia, not the former Yugoslavia. I just say I'm from Greece and the relatives over there say that they're Greek, they don't say Macedonian. They do speak Macedonian. It's been brought down from the grandparents from the grandparents from the grandparents (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

In general, Canadian participants identified as Canadian Greeks with the tendency to feel a greater sense of belonging to being Canadian over time. This is somewhat consistent with the trend for many second-generation female Canadians to assert multiple and at times conflicting spaces of belonging as Canadian or Greek or hyphenated identities (Papayiannis 2011:83), however there is less focus on conflict of identity in the stories narrated. There was also recognition for the region of origin and Canadian participants were able to effectively navigate inclusion of their 'roots' within their national identity. Although Tina considered her identity to be dual Greek and Canadian, she further identified with the Pontic identity from her mother's family. Tina said:

> I consider myself Greek and Canadian. I am very proud to be Canadian and I love my country but I'm also proud to be Greek (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

Angelo also identified as Canadian Greek. However, Angelo narrated a story about the change in identity from Greek to being more appreciative of being Canadian that came from living in Greece to play semi-professional soccer. Angelo actually felt that Canada did not feel like home until he lived in Greece. Angelo said:

> I was like I'm so Greek. I'm so proud. Canada wasn't even in the limelight. I didn't give that opportunity to Canada. It just never felt like home. But when I went to Greece, I saw what happened with all the corruption. I came back to Canada and I started to get more pride in the fact that I was Canadian, that I had the opportunity to be born in Canada so it opened my eyes a lot to being Canadian (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto).

Angelo's story illustrates how his Canadian values were reshaped by his experiences in Greece. With the opportunity to live in Greece, and the cultivation of a close relationship with his maternal grandparents, Angelo felt encouraged to ask questions about the Macedonian region and his mother's Pontic culture. Consequently, Angelo stated that he further identified with his Arvanite, Pontic and Macedonian heritage. Angelo said:

> They are my roots. I can't deny any of that. I actually studied a lot about the region my mum came from and the region my dad came from. You have to learn the history, it's our culture, it's what dignified. Look at what Alexander the Great did. It's our area. It's interesting to know where we're from. It makes us who we are today. We didn't feel the struggle directly from the Ottoman genocide but it is a part of us. We probably did have family members or someone who was close to it (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto).

Proactively engaging with questions about his heritage helped shaped Angelo's sense of cultural belonging. In turn, he saw it as essential to be able to pass on information he has learned about his culture and identity to his own children:

> I would ask where we came from because it's always good to know. Eventually we're going to have kids and they're going to ask so it's just good to have something rather than nothing. At least they get a sense of their culture and their identity right. They can grow on that and learn from that (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto).

Complex and different notions of belonging can occur within family groups with diverse Greek minority identities. Agapi's mother Maria identified herself as Arvanite (Albanian) but also as Canadian and Greek but did not consider herself to be Macedonian (Maria, born 1939, Florina). The main languages spoken by Maria were Arvanitika and Greek, and Maria spoke Arvanitika with her own grandmother. Maria's eldest daughter Agapi understood there was a distinction between minority identities in the region of Macedonia. Agapi identified as being Greek Canadian but also identified with the Arvanite and Macedonian identities. Agapi said:

> Both my parents spoke different languages, but they considered themselves Greek because they both could understand Greek. I knew my dad was Macedonian and my mum was from Albania [the part in Northern Epirus that was ceded to Albania in 1913]. I knew the difference between the two of them. I think he [my dad] was more Greek than Macedonian (Agapi, born 1967, Toronto).

In terms of language use, Agapi was able to speak and understand Macedonian, understand but not speak Arvanitika and speak and understand Greek. In contrast, her sister Bessie identified as Canadian Greek but said:

> I'm Canadian, and then if someone really wants to get into further, then it's like my background is Greek. People don't seem to think I am Greek so it doesn't really play into everyday situations (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

Although Bessie was unaware of the Arvanite identity within the family, she was able to understand some of the Arvanitika language. Bessie could also understand Macedonian and was fully fluent in Greek. Bessie also felt her father identified with being Greek, although some of his brothers identified as being Macedonian.

Maggie described her identity as being interchangeable and 'intertwined' as being Greek and Canadian but ultimately described herself as 'Canadian first'. Maggie also knew very little about the Arvanites aside from an understanding that there was a general connection to Albania although she knew a few words of Arvanitika. Maggie said:

> My background is Greek but I am born Canadian. I am Canadian first before I am Greek. If you were to ask me my nationality, I am Canadian. But if you were to ask me what my background was, I am Greek. My husband and I said to my dad, you know you're not really Greek-Canadian. You're Canadian first.

> You've spent most of your lifetime here in Canada than in Greece (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

In terms of regional Macedonian identity Maggie stated that it 'doesn't really gel in the equation' unless she was asked to describe where in Greece her family comes from. Maggie would find that it was often assumed she was Macedonian although Maggie firmly identified as Greek and this perception by others was frustrating for her.

Overall these stories about identity suggest that for some families, Greek and Macedonian identity were not mutually exclusive processes of identity construction, although others often sought to place them within one national camp or another. However, the development of Greek national identity had been the dominant force that shaped family identity although personal processes were further shaped by family, local and regional Macedonian affiliation. Accordingly, stories about identity narrated by second-generation participants revealed the complexity of diasporic identity formation for migrant families who have originated from Florina. In the absence of the transmission of a collective narrative of place, second-generation participants negotiated identity based on the visibility and retention of cultural practices within the family household and the degree to which individuals accepted or rejected their cultural heritage based on their individual circumstances. This reminds us of Danforth's observation that national identities are not born, but are made and are socially constructed (Danforth, 1995:231). Although individuals within nuclear family groups expressed their identity differently, overall a greater sense of belonging was formed to the country of their parent's settlement. There were no stated feelings of 'living between two worlds' by Canadian participants as was sometimes the case with second-generation Australian participants. Nor was there rejection of the Greek identity for Canadian participants (in contrast to Australian second-generation participants) but rather an ongoing dialogue between the Greek and Canadian culture that shaped notions of identity and belonging.

STORIES ABOUT GREEK MACEDONIAN FAMILY LIFE IN THE DIASPORA

In this final section, I reflect on the practice of Greek Macedonian family life in the diaspora. The importance of family was a theme narrated by all second-generation participants, and stories reinforced some Greek cultural values that continued to remain meaningful. Stories also reflected the navigation of traditional parental expectations about marriage and family, and the changing notions of the family and practices of assimilation and integration of cultural values. Stories reflected the trend for families to become more diverse and inclusive families, albeit

with a desire to recognise the family's heritage. Although maintaining networks of familial relationships continued to be of great importance, these tended to focus mainly on the nuclear family and grandparents, although many also retained the role of godparents in their children's lives. Although the second generation may sometimes struggle to articulate their sense of being 'Greek Australians' or 'Australians with Greek heritage', their focus was ultimately on the experience of being raised within a Greek family, and the culture, relationships, values, hierarchy and celebrations that emanate from this (Appleyard et al 2015:301).

Paul recalled in his teenage years that his parents joked that they would find him a 'nice Greek girl', but Paul was determined not to marry a partner with a Greek background (Paul, born 1950, Florina). As Paul did not identify with the Greek community, he saw marrying a partner from a different background as an 'act of resistance' and a trend that occurred frequently in his peer group. The marriage of Paul to Sally, a third-generation Australian, also paved the way for his brother and sister to marry a partner from outside the Greek community. Paul's brother Nick and sister Kathy said:

> Once my brother didn't have to [marry a Greek girl], I knew I didn't have to. There was no pressure (Nick, born 1952 in Itea).

> My father had no hope that all of his children would marry any Greeks or Macedonians (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne)

As neither Paul nor Sally was religious, they were married in the Victorian Registry Office in Melbourne in 1975. Being one of the first weddings to occur within Paul's extended family, Paul described how the registry office coped with the large turnout of family that wanted to take part in the celebration. Traditional and large weddings were considered an important celebration for the Greek community, but in this instance Paul's parents were only involved as guests, whilst Sally's parents organised the wedding with a reception at 'home' at the pub they owned. The couple preferred to put the money that would have been spent on a traditional wedding towards a payment on a house in inner-city Brunswick. Paul said:

> They [officials of the Victorian Registry Office] just couldn't believe that one hundred people turned up. They were thrilled because normally they get three or four people and a rushed job at the window. They really tried to make a ceremony and drag the thing out. Of course, the Greek side of the family all had to be invited which was painful (Paul, born 1950, Florina).

Sally was an only child and the emphasis on family of her husband's culture appealed to her:

> My mother's an only child and I'm an only child, so we didn't have family gatherings when I grew up. It was quite interesting to go to events with

> Macedonians because there was a lot of activity and noise (Sally, married to second-generation participant Paul).

Sally recalled how challenging it was to meet Paul's family. Paul had not initially revealed his Greek Macedonian background to Sally when they were dating and she felt he was ashamed by its difference. For his twenty-first birthday, Paul's parents had a party and it was one of the first opportunities for Sally to meet the extended family. Sally recalled how she felt like an outsider to the family:

> I ended up in tears that night because I had never been to an event where I was completely ignored. They all spoke in their own language in front of me. I'd never experienced that before and it was really awful. I hated that. I look back on those days with maturity and a bit more experience and understand that they just didn't know how to relate to other people (Sally, married to second-generation participant Paul).

Sally did not feel welcomed by the family and although she felt that was due in part to her Australian background, she also attributed this to her different value placed on the role of women in contrast to the desired traits of obedience and domesticity of traditional Greek Macedonian culture. Sally said of Paul's father:

> His father didn't like me from the moment he laid eyes on me, that's my perception and it was probably mutual. I didn't behave in a way that he would have expected a woman to behave, because a woman wasn't supposed to stand up to a Greek man. I challenged everything about him including his authority as the head of a patriarchal society. At the time that I grew up, there was a strong feminism philosophy going on and I was fairly strong about that. I hadn't realised the serious patriarchal nature of a Greek family (Sally, married to second-generation participant Paul).

In contrast to her sister-in-law's early experience of marrying into the family in the 1975, Jennifer felt welcomed by Nick's parents when she joined the family in the 1990s. Jennifer was open to the cultural differences and described the first time she met her father-in-law Pandos:

> I accepted them because they were a bit different. I always remember his father came over to the flat. It was three flats up and his father had to climb the stairs and was so exhausted he nearly had a heart attack. He brought some lamb chops over that he cooked. The whole European thing when you go somewhere and you have to bring something over is different (Jennifer, married to second-generation participant Nick).

Although Jennifer described the cultural differences she observed, it suggests a change in her father-in-law's values towards family life in Australia by welcoming Jennifer through the hospitality he offered.

For those second-generation participants who married partners from families who migrated from the Florina region, the desire of traditional parental expectations was reflected in the stories narrated by Helen, Faye, Peter and Mary. For Helen, her first marriage in 1985 was to a partner from Florina who had a 'more' Macedonian identity than she had experienced within her own family. Helen described how she felt she had to conform to the cultural and parental expectations of her upbringing (Helen, born 1965, Melbourne). Helen said:

> I basically followed the traditions. When you're a lot younger you're more impressionable. At twenty-one, I was always taught that you should listen to your mother-in-law and your mum and dad and your parents-in-law, so [with them] being fairly strong–minded there was a lot of tradition, particularly with people coming over and bidding for glory boxes (Helen, born 1965, Melbourne).

Helen's reference to 'bidding for glory boxes' describes a tradition prior to the wedding where the intended husband and his extended family goes to the bride's house and an auction is held for a wooden box containing items saved for her wedding and married life such as embroidered tablecloths and linen. Although it acts as a dowry or fundraiser for the young couple and displays the wealth of the groom's family, it also signals the new bride joining her husband's household when the glory box is carried out of her family home and later into her husband's house where many brides lived for at least the first year of marriage. I remember acting as the 'auctioneer' for the bidding of my sister Faye's glory box before her wedding to Peter. Faye and Peter had met at a United Villages of Florina dance event when Faye was sixteen years old. A traditional wedding that included over three hundred guests was held and both sets of parents organized all the details of the wedding. Faye and Peter were excited about their wedding and were happy to maintain the Greek traditions expected of the family including many family events leading up to the wedding as well as on the day. Faye recalled that: 'It was exciting. I looked forward to it. At twenty [years of age], I thought I was so grown up' (Faye, born 1963, Melbourne).

Faye's sister Mary felt it was expected of her to get married and to marry a partner with a Greek background. With strict family rules around dating, Mary's former husband made the traditional promise to marry ('*logos*') within two months of meeting and the couple were married six months later in 1987. Mary said: 'You just had to have a family. That's what you did, got married and had kids' (Mary, born 1965, Melbourne). Mary described how she enjoyed having a big wedding and was happy for her partner to organize all aspects of the wedding, maintaining Greek traditions. Like Faye, Mary also participated in family events leading up to

the wedding aimed at bringing the families together as well as raising money for the new couple.

More reflective of changed attitudes and trends towards exogamous marriage, Siobhan described how she felt welcomed by Andreas' family. Andreas' English partner was born in London and has a daughter from a previous relationship. The couple were married in the Greek Orthodox Church in 2013 and although Siobhan had not widely interacted with the Greek community before meeting Andreas she said:

> [The family has been] nothing but beautiful to myself and my daughter, very welcoming and loving. I hadn't really met any other Greeks before I met Andreas' family but they were just beautiful, very warm and lovely (Siobhan, married to second-generation participant Andreas).

Siobhan understood the importance for Andreas and his family for the couple to be married in the Greek Orthodox Church and this influenced their decision of where to marry. Andreas also indicated his desire to baptize any future children as Orthodox to retain his Greek cultural background. Andreas said:

> The wedding was important, not in a religious sense but more as a cultural thing. If we ever have children, I would like them to follow in that Orthodox culture (Andreas, born 1971).

Andreas described the importance of family and this included his own obligations of being a godfather and best man *('koumburro')* as well as the connection he feels to his own godparents, Theodoros and Zoi. Andreas reflected how this role enhanced kinship relations:

> It's a spiritual connection rather than just family or an aunty or an uncle. You both take on that extra spiritual connection that is established on your christening, that's when it happens (Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne).

Maintaining the networks of family relationships has been extremely important for Andreas' sister Aliki who was delighted to be the godmother to three of her best friend's children. In addition, she has also maintained a close relationship to her godparents Theodoros and Zoi. Aliki said:

> I love being godmother and I adore my godchildren. I think it is such a huge honour to be asked. I remember from a very young age always thinking very highly of our godparents. I couldn't wait for them to come over. As you start getting older, you like to pay back a bit of that love and care they provided you with. As they get older, I try to stay in contact. A lot of people just let it go, but I think it is something very special (Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne).

Canadian participants also highly valued the idea of family, with many maintaining the traditional role of godparents for their children. Although it was important for Bessie to have a Greek wedding, she felt she was not going to marry someone with a Greek background as these relationships never worked out. Although Bessie's partner is Canadian, she hoped that her son would develop a little bit of 'Greekness' (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto). Having godparents for her son was also important and one of her cousins performed the role of godmother and they continue to recognize their son's name day. Maggie also had a good relationship with her children's godparents. Whilst it was not important for Maggie to marry someone with a Greek background, her parents were 'actually shocked' when she did in fact marry a Canadian Greek. Maggie described how important family was to her:

> It comes from my background but it comes from a sense of who I am, wanting to have a family and grow old with someone and having kids. A lot of it has to do with the way I grew up (Maggie, born 1969, Toronto).

The high cultural value placed on family was also important for Tina who echoed the sentiments made by the first generation that: 'family is always number one in our culture' (Tina, born 1976, Toronto). Before their wedding, Tina's Canadian husband decided to be baptized into the Orthodox faith. Tina said of her husband:

> He was phenomenal. He was never baptized. I told him he could be whatever as long as it was some sort of Christian faith but he said it would be easier for the kids so he got baptized Greek Orthodox Christian. He did the whole kiddy pool thing. My stepbrother is his godfather (Tina, born 1976, Toronto).

Tina loved having a big traditional Greek wedding and followed many traditions such as her mother putting money in my shoe (to bless her marriage with wealth) and wearing the evil eye and the cross to ward off bad luck and jealousy. On the other hand, her brother Angelo was unaware of any Greek traditions that he follows and despite believing in his Greek Orthodox faith, he no longer attends church. Angelo would still like his future children to be baptized either Greek Orthodox or Catholic and he is looking forward to having 'Braveheart Alexanders running around' in reference to his wife's Scottish heritage and his own Greek Macedonian heritage (Angelo, born 1979, Toronto). Despite the importance of family, Canadian participants felt they were encouraged by their parents to focus firstly on their education before considering marriage. Bessie said:

> School was really important. First they wanted us to have an education. In terms of getting married, it was after the education (Bessie, born 1971, Toronto).

However, her sister Agapi summed up nicely the underlining attitudes by the first generation towards marriage and children when Agapi said: 'It was more important for my parents than me to have children. You get married, you have children' (Agapi, born 1967, Toronto). Although, Greek culture in Canada has been described as changing from each generation to the next without necessarily disappearing, there has been a retention of these traditions that remain meaningful such as religion and the strong values associated with family relationships (Chimbos 1999:98).

CONCLUSION

This chapter detailed the experiences of the second generation in Melbourne and Toronto. Despite settlement in different countries, the connection to the homeland continues to be shaped by ties through the family. Stories narrated by the second generation reflect their experiences of 'growing up Greek', their impressions of visits to Florina and Greece, their ideas of how identity has been constructed, and the importance of family life that has been influenced by Greek Macedonian culture. Although there were differences within individual family households, there was an overall sense of a collective belonging to family and the desire to retain kinship relationships despite the lessening of interaction as their own nuclear family life became busier. In both countries, the values of the second generation reflect adaptation and adoption of aspects of the values and lifestyles of the country where they have grown up.

Overall, these stories narrated about 'growing up Greek' reflect factors that shaped feelings of inclusion for some who grew up in migrant communities and exclusion for others, where they did not want to be culturally different in Melbourne. Both factors have shaped a greater sense of belonging to Australia for many second-generation participants. In Toronto, the second generation felt a greater sense of community through the support provided by grouping together with fellow migrant children and family visits to Greece. There was also a greater focus by first-generation Greek Canadian migrants on the transmission and retention of Greek heritage in their children. For Canadian participants, there was least one dedicated visit to Florina as children, in contrast to Australian participants who often did not visit until twenty-five to forty years after their parent's migration. Although the second generation felt at home in Florina, many did not see Greece as a dual home, but as a place that signified ties through family. Their stories suggest that although the second generation still desire to engage with aspects of their Greek Macedonian regional heritage, particularly relating to family, their sense of belonging is

shaped by a greater attachment to Australia and Canada. This thesis did not set out to do a full study of Canadian experiences, but there is the possibility for future research in this area.

- CHAPTER SIX -

THE FRUIT – GREEK MACEDONIAN LEGACIES: STORIES FROM THE THIRD GENERATION

> We were both little blonde cherubic children. We didn't look Greek at all. There's one picture, I think it must have been at a Greek wedding in the 1980s. Everyone's got moustaches and their tuxedos on this big table of swarthy Greek looking people. Then there's Craig and I, these two little blonde children and we look adopted (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

Craig and Sarah were the first grandchildren born in Australia to Olga and Pandos who migrated from Florina in 1954. A photograph prompted Sarah's recollection of attending a Greek wedding and her observation that 'we didn't look Greek at all' (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney). Sarah's statement reflects her recognition that one branch of her family has come from someplace else. For Sarah, growing up Australian meant her upbringing was largely distanced from many notions of the traditional Greek family. Yet Sarah has remained interested in where 'half of me has come from', a legacy of post-war Greek Macedonian migration that is shared by many third-generation participants.

In this chapter, I examine how the grandchildren of migrants (defined as the third generation) narrate the legacy of post-war migration from Florina. The particularly traumatic history and contested space of minority identity associated with the region of Macedonia has arguably meant that, for some families, ties to the homeland were permanently disrupted. In turn, this has shaped intergenerational cultural and identity shifts aligned towards a sense of being Australian by the third generation. Despite this, the interviews conducted for this thesis indicate that many desire to have some connection to the home region in Greece, and acknowledge their Greek heritage alongside a strong sense of family. In this respect, grandparents have played a crucial role. Identifying three main themes in this chapter, I begin by firstly discussing stories that reflect the role that Greek migrant grandparents played in the lives of the third (grandchild) generation, particularly in relation to the transmission of stories between generations. Secondly, I explore stories narrated by the third generation about cultural identity. Thirdly, I look at stories centred on the theme I have described as 'It's All Greek Macedonian to Me' which explores the connections as well as disconnections made by participants in this study in relation to their family's migrant heritage.

STORIES ABOUT GRANDPARENTS: TREES BEARING FRUIT

In this section, I distinguish third-generations experiences in terms of family groups and stories narrated about their grandparents.

A desire to branch away from the roots – the descendants of Olga and Pandos

Following their early childhood years in Sydney, Sarah and Craig grew up in an upper middle class suburb of Melbourne and later spent some years working in London. Their father Paul achieved immense career success and Sarah and Craig were able to attend private schools from their later primary years. Sarah's recalled her closest friends were mainly from Anglo-Australian backgrounds. Sarah described the cultural differences she experienced when visiting her Greek Macedonian grandparents and said:

> We're not having afternoon tea with teapots and china. They were very different to everyone else's grandparents (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

Craig also narrated his memory of visiting his grandparent's house by defining the cultural difference he felt compared to his day to day life. Craig said:

> There was a lot of clear plastic on the carpets and on the couches. They had chooks and veggie patches. They enjoyed seeing us, but growing up, my sister and I had an Anglicised upbringing so it was a bit more foreign for us as well (Craig, born 1979, Sydney)

These examples contrast experiences by Craig and Sarah growing up within a middle-class environment, in contrast to their father's migrant working class household. Both Craig and Sarah described how their upbringing was consciously not based around the transmission of the Greek culture through the family. Their father Paul felt he did not identify with his migrant roots and wanted to distance himself from his background. This was clear in Paul's own narration of his migration story as well as by Craig who said:

> Dad talked about being part of the Greek community and feeling like an outsider in that regard. That's something I think he has had to work through and deal with when he was younger as well. Dad lived a Greek life early in his upbringing but consciously stepped away and that meant that my upbringing was quite an Australian/Anglicised upbringing at the will of my parents (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

Their mother Sally is a third-generation Australian, and the children saw less of their paternal grandparents compared to Sally's parents. In addition, the language barrier limited communication between Craig and Sarah and their grandparents, Olga and Pandos, who spoke mainly Macedonian within the household. Instead, migration stories circulated within the

family were often framed around their father Paul's experiences growing up in between cultures and were mainly transmitted through conversation, rather than by active storytelling. Intergenerational communication was often an issue of significance for the children and grandchildren of those who migrated from Greece in the 1950s and 1960s, and in particular, the third generation, as many had a parent from outside the Greek community (Tsolidis 1995:140). In effect, there was limited opportunity to share language, culture and family stories. Earlier research by Tsolidis argued that exogamous marriage changed the cultural nature of Greek migrant families, but this did not pose an insurmountable barrier to the transmission of aspects of culture as the second generation still wanted their children to grow up with a sense of being Greek (Tsolidis 1995:140). Yet, this has not always been the case for families from Florina who have tended to focus on integration in Australia, with some choosing to distance themselves from their migrant roots.

In contrast, John and Belinda had a closer relationship with their grandparents although visits became more limited as Olga and Pandos became quite ill as they aged. Their mother Kathy wanted to encourage greater contact between her children and her own parents as she was the only daughter in the family (Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne). Belinda and John were encouraged by their mother Kathy to call their grandparents *'baba'* and *'dede',* Macedonian words for grandmother and grandfather although they later called their grandparents by their first names. Like the observations narrated by their first cousins Craig and Sarah, Belinda and John also reflected that their parents did not want to embrace the Greek culture within their nuclear family. John said:

> We lived the real Australian lifestyle and we were worried we didn't have all that much to tell you. But that's kind of the point. We've assimilated through mum marrying an Australian husband and they moved away from it [the Greek Macedonian culture] (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

The statement 'we were worried we didn't have all that much to tell you' by John highlights the significant loss of the family as a vehicle to transmit migration stories of identity and place. Opportunities to foster connections to their Greek Macedonian heritage were also lost despite Belinda and John spending time with their maternal grandparents while they were growing up. Although their mother Kathy refused to attend Greek language school, John felt that their mother would have liked John and Belinda to learn Greek if they had the opportunity. In turn, John felt their father did not further encourage it. John said:

> I would have loved to have been able to speak to Peter [Pandos] and to Olga a bit more and to have a bit more of a connection. I had a lot of love for grandpa

> and he used to look after us. He used to spend a lot of time at our place and babysitting us (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

John and Belinda knew very little detail about the family migration story in terms of where and when their grandparents migrated from Greece, or the details of the extended family tree within Greece and Australia. Instead, the circulation of family migration stories was in terms of their mother's more negative experiences growing up in between the Greek Macedonian and Australian cultures. Reframing of migration stories by third generation participants to reflect the experiences of the second generation often occurred where details of the family's broader migration story had little circulation within the family. John stated that there were very few stories transmitted from his grandparents to him about their migration story, although he understood from his mother that Olga experienced difficulty assimilating in Australia. Nor were stories circulated about the effects of successive wars that directly impacted the family's village in Florina. John sensed his grandfather did not want to speak about the past:

> My grandparents, especially grandpa, wanted to experience and be with us rather than just telling us where he'd came from. It almost felt like he never wanted to talk about it (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

This absence of the transmission of family stories of Olga and Pandos' pre-migration experiences to the second and third generation suggests a silence about their own direct experiences of war and how they felt about Hellenization of the Macedonian region. In contrast, stories narrated by first-generation participants Lazaros, Theodoros, and Christos who lived in the same village spoke to the effects and witnessing of war on place and identity during interviews, although these stories were also only partially circulated within their own nuclear families. Experiences of loss can thus silence the transmission of culture and create an 'irretrievable distance' between the home and host cultures (Battisti and Portelli 2005:49). Further, the contested meanings of the term 'Greek Macedonian' in Australia remained problematic (Allimonos in Jupp 2001:418), and as such, the loss of the physical home was arguably compounded by the loss of the ability to articulate the meaning of being Macedonian. Further cultural loss may also occur through negative experiences of cultural difference that have shaped second-generation adaptation and created the desire to branch away from their cultural roots.

John felt that the intended cultural distancing by his parents in essence 'separated us from the roots of the family' (John, 1986, Melbourne). This was not a unique experience. It is indicative of the broader loss of post-war Greek Macedonian family migration stories as the first

generation passes and the second generation perhaps only later renegotiates more positive feelings and memories towards their migrant roots and cultural identity as they age. John said:

> After both her parents died, mum regrets they didn't connect more in those years when they were around but that always comes in hindsight (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

Belinda also reflected the loss of cultural knowledge in the desire by her parents to move away from the Greek Macedonian culture in the years following the migration of Kathy's family to Australia. Belinda said:

> I think it makes me quite sad reflecting back and growing up a little bit. I want to understand the culture more and be more appreciative of family and tradition. I don't blame my father, but he didn't embrace it at all and he still doesn't (Belinda, 1989, Melbourne).

On the other hand, the encouragement of multiculturalism in Australia created a different setting for Emily, the youngest granddaughter of Olga and Pandos born in 2000. As noted, Emily's father Nick felt that he could not relate to Greek or Macedonian culture (Nick, born 1952, Florina). Due to Emily's younger age, I conducted a shorter interview with Emily and her Australian mother Jennifer whose family has been in Australia for several generations. Emily has grown up in Sunshine, a working-class neighbourhood in western Melbourne. It is heavily populated by migrants from many different backgrounds since the post-war period with a large Greek community located in western Sunshine. This visibility of migrant peers influenced Emily's desire to identify with her Greek migrant heritage in conjunction with Emily's connection to her grandparents. Despite the culture not being practised within the wider family Jennifer described how her daughter Emily identified as being part Greek:

> She's very interested in Greece and she sees herself as part Greek. She always talks about it and tells them at school she's half Greek, half Australian. Even though she doesn't have the culture because it's not in the extended family, she still identifies with it. When you live in Sunshine you've got to be something else. It's a very multicultural school (Jennifer, married to second-generation participant Nick).

Emily described how she would speak English to her grandparents but if they were not able to understand, her father Nick would translate in Macedonian. Emily was able to tell me that she knew her family migration story centred on her *'dede'* (grandfather) and '*baba'* (grandmother) leaving Greece on a ship when her father Nick was very young. Jennifer also actively encouraged Nick to find out further details about the family migration story before his parents passed. Yet were very little details known about her grandparents' pre-migration story aside from the difficulty Olga experienced in adapting to life in Australia. Overall, the stories

narrated by their second-generation children to the third generation suggest that Olga and Pandos came to accept their children wanted to grow up Australian, and by implication, the family was thus permanently rooted in Australia.

Keeping it Greek in the family – the descendants of Theodoros and Zoi

In contrast, the upbringing of the grandchildren of Theodoros and Zoi was framed through continuous exposure to traditional notions of the Greek family through the day-to-day practice of family life, albeit reconstructed in an Australian setting. Their daughters, Faye and Mary, married husbands of Greek ancestry in large traditional Greek weddings and baptised their children in the Greek Orthodox Church. The grandchildren lived nearby to their grandparents and the continued maintenance of relationships with both sets of grandparents was extremely important. Godparents also played an active role in the earlier years of the children's lives. Theodoros and Zoi provided care to their four grandchildren when they were younger and the grandchildren visited almost every day on their way home after school.

Andrew narrated the crucial role his grandparents played in his upbringing. As the first grandchild born in Australia for both families, Andrew was named after his paternal grandfather to demonstrate the values of respect. Andrew felt his relationship with his grandparents was integral to shaping his development and this included the transmission of the 'fundamentals' of Greek values (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne). Andrew reflected:

> Without them I would have been very different. With *pappou*, we've been more mates than grandparents. We talked about everything. We'd speak about girls and stuff in Greece and here in Australia. The other *pappou* was more serious. They both taught me something and so did both my *yiayias*. Going every day after school to *yiayia's* [house] was something (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

At their maternal grandparent's home, life revolved around the garden that was planted with many fruit trees and the tending of the vegetable garden by *pappou* Theodoros. Within the *kippo* (vegetable garden) the family had created a barbeque picnic area and this was the central point for family celebrations. The garden was a symbolic tie to the homeland with food traditions maintained by growing peppers, beans, oregano and *horta* (wild greens). *Yiayia* Zoi would cook traditional Greek meals and the grandchildren would often eat the late afternoon meal with their grandparents after school. Through these activities, Theodoros and Zoi maintained many aspects of

traditional Greek gendered roles split between the domestic duties inside the home by Zoi and in the garden by Theodoros.

The visibility of Greek Macedonian migrants was extremely high for Andrew and his brother Michael. All grandparents migrated from villages in Florina, as did their father and many relatives on both sides of the family. Andrew learned to speak limited Greek from being with his grandparents and was the only third-generation participant with some proficiency of the Greek language. Andrew described the language switching in his paternal grandparent's household between Greek and Macedonian. Andrew said:

> I speak English when I go to *yiayia* Zoi and *pappou* Theodoros' house but I can speak Greek with the other grandparents. It's funny, when I'm there and I'm not speaking to them, they speak Macedonian but when I'm there speaking to them, they speak Greek (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Andrew felt a greater identification with Australian culture despite his upbringing being shaped by the maintenance of many elements of the traditional Greek family. In addition, Andrew felt that he did not feel any significance or connection to Greece as the family had been settled so long in Australia. However, Andrew noted that family storytelling was a means to transmit culture and 'Greek values' through 'a flow on effect from them [my grandparents] to mum and dad to me' (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Michael also narrated how he spent a lot of time with his grandparents and remembered fondly the cultural aspects he identified as Greek that were practised within the family. Michael said:

> I was born into it from day one. Christmas, Easter, lamb, huge amounts of food, the family, everyone yelling a lot and being loud. I loved it, I was proud to tell people. The whole racism thing, the stranger, that was all gone (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

Michael's comment about the 'stranger' suggests the change brought about by multiculturalism that the grandchildren born in the later years of settlement were able to enjoy and feel comfortable acknowledging their Greek roots in Australia. As the Greek community achieved acceptance within Australian society due to their contribution, new waves of migrants, predominantly from Asia, began to be seen as the 'other'. Consequently, Michael was proud of his heritage that was familiar to him, a sharp contrast to more negative experiences narrated by many second-generation participants who grew up in the 1950s to 1970s.

In terms of the family's migration story, the grandsons were heavily engaged with the stories narrated by their grandparents. As stated previously, Theodoros made the conscious effort to transmit stories about Greece and his life in Australia so that his children and grandchildren would understand the hardships of migrant life as well as the gratefulness he felt being able to settle in Australia. In terms of specific war stories that were remembered, the main story remembered, as noted, was the survival story of Theodoros stealing bread from the soldiers stationed in his village. In contrast, very little was known about the politics of war and identity. Andrew spoke about how stories about migration were circulated by both sets of grandparents in terms of details of the journey and how the Second World War and the bitter Civil War disrupted opportunities in Greece. Post migration stories were framed around a heavy emphasis on work, including the display of strong ethics and values. Andrew said:

> I know a lot about *pappou* and *yiayia*. I grew up with them as well as dad's mum and dad. I spent a lot of my younger life with them. They came in 1960 and dad's lot came later in 1970. Both grandparents had similar qualities, the same values, the same fundamentals, and the Greek mentality (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Michael also narrated the importance of hearing stories of migration from his grandparents. However, the language barrier between his paternal grandparents made the transmission of stories more difficult. Michael said:

> I love hearing about the stories from *pappou* and *yiayia* about the differences between the villages. It was a bit harder with *baba* and *pappou* Andrea because I don't speak Greek. They really stuck around other Greeks whereas *pappou* and *yiayia* learnt English (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

Granddaughters Cassie and Ivana remembered the family migration story in terms of the romance of the journey to Australia as Theodoros and Zoi met on the *Patris*. Ivana said:

> They came from Greece on the boat and that's where they met. My grandpa fell in love with my grandma and he had to go across states [from Victoria to South Australia] to find her [after they landed] (Ivana, born 1997, Melbourne).

Stories were also passed down to Cassie and Ivana by their mother Mary who re-narrated migration stories passed down by her father and her own difficult experiences growing up as the child of migrants. However, the granddaughters had not yet fully engaged with the need to remember the migration stories and had yet to think about whether they would pass stories on to their own children in time.

Migration stories about *yiayia* Zoi were not as widely circulated, as she remained mainly silent about her experiences in Greece aside from stories about the beauty of her village. Stories

narrated by their paternal grandmother were also limited as she mainly spoke Greek and hence there was a language barrier. Ultimately, the traditional framework of Greek family and sense of belonging shaped a hybrid Greek Australian identity for both Cassie and Ivana. Cassie described the extremes of growing up within a Greek migrant family and her observation that family life often centred on arguments and heated discussion. This perception was also brought up by other second and third-generation participants as being a difference in the Greek culture compared to the Australian culture. Cassie described the dynamics in her Greek migrant family:

> There is a lot of arguing and a lot of disagreements. But there's a lot of laughing as well. Everything is very heated and extreme (Cassie, born 1992, Melbourne).

Ultimately, Cassie narrated her favourite memory as spending Christmas at her grandparent's house and eating fresh cherries from the tree in the garden with her sister and cousins. Cassie said:

> I loved Christmas when we would all go inside the net and pick the cherries off the tree at *yiayia* and *pappou's*. Ivana and I would be there with Andrew and Mikey. We would climb in the net to get all the cherries and it would be fun (Cassie, born 1992, Melbourne).

Cassie's story about the cherry tree echoed the stories by the second generation of their connection to their grandparent's gardens and trees being remembered as their favourite memory of Greece. The symbolic nature of trees and gardens in association with the connection to Greek grandparents has been a constant theme throughout the narration of family stories showing the connection to remembered sites of family and the place and the space they occupy in the lives of migrants and their descendants.

In the case of Cassandra, her exposure to stories narrated by her grandparents who migrated from different regions reinforces limited circulation of pre-migration stories for many families from Florina. Cassandra is married to Zoi's nephew and both sets of Cassandra's grandparents migrated to Australia in the 1950s. Cassandra's maternal *yiayia* and *pappou* migrated from the Peloponnese to Australia in 1953 and Cassandra's mother was 'made in Greece and born in Newcastle' in Australia (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne). Cassandra had a very close relationship with her *yiayia* Evanthia who passed on many detailed stories about life in Greece and Australia. In fact, *Yiayia* Evanthia's migration story, as told in her own words, was featured in a local council book of oral histories (Coburg Oral History Group 1986). Evanthia often shared stories with Cassandra about the beautiful life that she enjoyed in Greece before it was disrupted by the Civil War. However, Cassandra noted that her *pappou* did not talk much about

his time during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War because it was too painful for him.

Evanthia had felt completely lost when she migrated to Australia, particularly when the family were initially sent to the migrant camp in Bonegilla where the men were separated to work on the sugar cane fields in Queensland. Not long after, the women and children were sent to the Greta migrant camp in New South Wales. Evanthia believed that she would only be in Australia for two years and she left her eldest daughter behind in Greece, as she was unable to bring more than two children with her to Australia due to the restrictions in place at the time of migration. These detailed stories of loss circulated within Cassandra's family including the hardship her *yiayia* and *pappou* experienced in Australia, firstly losing their house in the Maitland floods of 1955 and later their first two houses in Melbourne as her grandparents were unable to read and understand the terms of their contracts. The family was able to finally settle in Broadmeadows with the public housing assistance through the Victorian Government. Although her *yiayia* could not afford to return home permanently she later reconciled her life was in Australia with her family. Evanthia's stories reflect the difficulties faced by these earlier migrants, such as Olga, that arrived without the benefits of family support and community around them to ease the initial difficulties of settlement.

The detailed family narratives of Cassandra's grandmother from the Peloponnese was in stark contrast to the absence of stories about Florina from her paternal grandmother (her *baba)*. Cassandra's *dede* (grandfather) permanently migrated from a village in Florina in 1952, following ten years of going back and forth between Australia and Greece. Cassandra's father was also born in in Florina and was four years old when he migrated to Australia. In contrast to her *yiayia*, Cassandra heard very little stories from her *baba* who passed away when Cassandra was 22 (and her *dede* passed away when she was only three years). Neither were stories transmitted about Greece to Cassandra by her parents. Rather, Cassandra described how her father has displayed no interest in going to Greece nor did he actively encourage Cassandra to visit his village in Florina on her trips to Greece. Cassandra said:

> My dad's never been back. He hasn't expressed any interest to go. Even the two times I've been to Greece he's never really wanted me to go to his village to say hello or see the family (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Cassandra reflected how the narratives of home in Florina were not consciously transmitted to her by her grandmother and father:

> I remember doing traditional things with my *baba* like making pita, helping with things and the crops in the garden but they didn't talk a lot about back home. I think they did realize though how much they had a better life here than they did in the village in Northern Greece (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Ultimately, Cassandra felt very 'blessed' to have her grandparents in her life for such a long time. She felt knowing the stories of how her grandparents had lived through times of war had taught her about being humble. Cassandra also spoke about how her parents embraced being Australian and had tried to shield her from more traditional notions of the Greek culture in terms of what they felt were out of date attitudes. Cassandra ultimately reflected that she has become prouder of her heritage as she has grown older and how in turn, her grandparents accepted the family was rooted in Australia through their children and grandchildren in Australia.

This research conducted for this thesis provides evidence that grandparents have played a vital role in the transmission of migration stories between generations. Whilst the transmission and re-narration of stories between generations and over time have been consistent in the details, there has become a tendency over time for more unprompted memories of life in Greece to be shared as the first generation reflects back over their life and memories evolve into words. There were two contrasting attitudes in terms of whether grandparents consciously shared stories or, alternatively, remained silent about difficult pre and post migration experiences. For some younger third-generation participants, the desire to actively find out more about the family's migration story was not something they thought about. However, older third-generation participants felt some degree of loss of the family's Greek Macedonian migration story in cases where families did not actively engage with their heritage. Consequently, there were open and interested to learn more about their family's migration story and this included further knowledge about the historical and regional context driving post-war migration from Greek Macedonia. In turn, third-generation participants often stated they wanted to pass on knowledge about family migration stories to their own children, particularly those who already had children. This was not limited to Greek Macedonian migration, but other routes of their family's ancestral heritage as a reflection of the diverse and changed nature of migrant families long settled in Australia. Overall, there was limited circulation about local or regional Macedonian identity in the third generation. Yet the third generation indicated that they observed subtle cultural differences in comparison to the broader Greek community in

Melbourne. This may be due to the regional cultural differences by the first generation being maintained, as well as a greater affiliation with Australian identity and cultural practices.

STORIES ABOUT IDENTITY: GROWING UP AUSTRALIAN

This section examines how the third generation negotiated the complexity of Greek Macedonian identity in Australia. It also considers how the contested nature of Macedonian identity meant that transmission within the family of a collective narrative of place was highly problematic. Consequently, stories about the broader Macedonian region and identity tended to be very limited in the transmission from the first or second generation to the third generation. Craig said:

> I would put my hand up and say I'm fairly ignorant of the background, in terms of the breakup of Macedonia and the part that is now Greece. It's not something that dad went into too much detail (Craig, born 1977, Sydney).

Craig described how he felt 'agnostic' about Macedonian identity and how these were not ideas he would engage in 'heated debate' over (Craig, born 1977, Sydney). Nevertheless, Craig and his English wife Abby were more aware of how the 'fate about what side of the border you lived on' could shape a 'very different history' (Abby, married to third-generation participant, Craig). This occurred through Craig meeting a work colleague in London who was from the FYROM and the insight it brought to the sense of the history and deep feelings associated with the broader region.

Confusion about Macedonian identity by the third generation often centred on the difficulty in understanding what Macedonian identity meant within the family. This reinforces the importance of personal stories to shed light on complex historical processes. Sarah said:

> When I was growing up it was always we're Macedonian or half Macedonian. I didn't really understand what that meant. When dad got a Greek passport I was like hang on a second, I thought we were Macedonian (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

Without the transmission of family stories about identity and place, it was difficult for Sarah to have gained an understanding of what Macedonian identity and place meant to her grandparents or how local and regional Macedonian identity can be expressed in terms of Greek national identity. Sarah also stated she knew little about the region and what the term 'Macedonia' meant:

> I don't really get what that means and that's probably a lot of ignorance on my part that I don't really know a lot about the history or the geography or the culture (Sarah, born 1989, Sydney).

For Andrew, the complexity of Macedonian identity stemmed from how people from the same place could identify in distinctly different ways. Andrew experienced greater exposure to people who identified as Macedonian as his father owned a business in the northern suburbs where many Macedonians live in Melbourne. Without any knowledge of the historical context, Andrew felt he was unable to understand why people who come from the same region of Florina could form a different sense of identity. To further complicate the matter, Andrew was also aware of families where Macedonian was spoken as the primary language in the home although the household did not identify with being Macedonian. Despite the differences in how Macedonian identity and place was contested between individuals and families around him, Andrew felt everybody got along. Andrew said:

> It's funny because I think how can you have one side like that and the other side like this? We were born in the same location. Seeing that perspective was interesting because people used to tell me I'm Macedonian but I didn't really care (Andrew, born in 1985, Melbourne).

Andrew also felt that 'the only real understanding I have is that it gets very political' (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne). Andrew described his experiences at soccer:

> I saw more of it when I played soccer in the northern suburbs in 2005. I used to play with the Greek Great Alexander Football Club in Heidelberg and we used to play with the Macedonians and it was massive rivalry. We all like to play the game, and there's that race thing behind fans and people. I didn't care for the ethnicity I just wanted to play for that league. I'm from a very Aussie area and then you go to Heidelberg and it changes. Everyone was nuts at the club, 'I'm Greek, I'm Greek'. Everyone was proud of their ethnicity. Then we're playing against the Masos [Macedonians], all that stuff, even against the Serbs and Croats. It's all about that. It's funny we're all born in Australia. It's washed off from their dads but I never really cared I just wanted to play (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

In Australia, inter-ethnic rivalry between clubs associated with Greek, Macedonian and Turkish communities occurred before soccer clubs were renamed in the 1990s to delink specific neighbourhoods and the ethnic make-up of that neighbourhood (Tsolidis and Pollard 2009:433). By 1991, the National Soccer League consisted of 14 clubs of which 11 were 'ethnic clubs' – four were Greek, three were Italian, two were Croatian, one was Maltese and one was Macedonian (Danforth 2001a:370).

The complicated political nature of the issue was also sensed by Belinda as she had a general understanding that the region no longer existed in its previous form due to the instability and political background of its break-up. However, Belinda was unable to contextualize what it meant to her own family heritage:

> I don't understand why we are Greek Macedonian but mum doesn't understand either and so I ask her questions but she can't really explain (Belinda, born 1989, Melbourne).

Belinda and her brother John were also unaware of the name and details of their grandparent's village aside from knowing in a general sense that it was in the northern part of Greece. This was often the case for other third-generation participants, who had a general sense of region, but did not always know the name of family villages.

For Michael, the matter of whether his grandparents (who all migrated from villages in Florina) identified with being Macedonian was up to them. Michael viewed the identities of his grandparents as Greek and said:

> I see all my grandparents as Greek. They've always spoken Greek to me and never educated me [about Macedonia]. I think that's a discussion for them, what they are, but to me they're Greek because they've always been Greek to me in terms of speaking, eating and values (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

In the case where one set of grandparents came from Florina and the other set of grandparents migrated from another region of Greece, there was some limited cultural distinction that was discernible to the grandchildren. This was mainly in terms of an attitude described by the degree of 'Greekness' observed and cultural traditions such as regionally specific food styles. For example, Cassie and her sister Ivana observed from extended family experiences that there was a cultural distinction between the migrants from the Macedonian region compared to migrants from other parts of Greece that they interacted with, particularly as the paternal side of Cassie and Ivana's family originated from the northern Aegean island of Lesbos. The sisters also attended school with children who had Greek heritage. Whilst Cassie considered herself to be Greek Australian, she further defined her Greek identity as specifically Greek Macedonian due to a greater sense of belonging with the cultural attitudes of Greek Macedonians within her extended family. These subtle perceptions about the boundaries of belonging to Greek cultural identity by second and third-generation participants in Australia were at times described by statements such as 'too Greek', 'really Greek', 'more Macedonian' and 'not Aussie enough'

when trying to define where their own sense of identity comfortably fit. When asked whether she identified with any aspect of her Greek regional heritage, Cassie responded:

> I consider myself Greek Macedonian, rather than just Greek. I think the full Greeks are very up themselves and they think they are all that and a bag of chips (Cassie, born 1991, Melbourne).

Cassie had experienced a cultural difference between her father's Greek island heritage that was more heavily shaped by traditional Greek values compared to her mother's regional Macedonian heritage where much of her extended family had formed a greater sense of belonging to Australia over time. The perception of Greek arrogance and the sense of being an outsider to evolving notions of Greek culture in Australia were themes also narrated by Michael and Andrew. Consequently, Andrew and Michael at times experienced a disconnect from their peers who they felt displayed 'more Greekness' that they perceived to be inauthentic in Australia. For example, Michael found the mall in the south-eastern suburb of Oakleigh in Melbourne (which is often referred to as a 'second Athens' due to its large Greek migrant population as well as more recent Greek arrivals) was not particularly welcoming. This was in comparison to Lygon Street in inner-city Carlton which was initially known for its Italian community following extensive post-war migration from Italy but has become more diverse and multicultural over time. Michael stated:

> I've seen it quite a bit in Oakleigh to be honest. They act like they're Greek, like they are in their own country and they're not even Greek. It's like a magnetic field. You can't walk in there unless you're Greek. Really Greek. The things they talk about, the way they smoke their cigarettes, you can tell. It's not very welcoming either. They try to shut you out. You don't feel like that on Lygon Street (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

As multiculturalism became more normalised in Australian society, it was desirable for some third-generation participants to have a multicultural background amongst their peers. Cassie described having a migrant background as being a very positive aspect of her identity and she stated:

> No one really wanted to be Australian at that time. Everybody wanted to be something else. I prefer to be European rather than just being Australian (Cassie, born 1992, Melbourne).

For Cassie, a European heritage meant greater sophistication and cache in comparison to newer waves of migrants to Australia from non-European countries. Ivana also described how she felt very comfortable about her migrant background. She described her grandparents as 'very Greek' and considered herself to be part of the 'Greek girl

group' at the primary school she attended with her sister Cassie (Ivana, born 1997, Melbourne). Ivana described how she did not feel any different to her peers as a result of her migrant background. Indeed, she felt it was very normalised around her. At Ivana's primary school her friends also maintained Greek traditions such as attending church at Easter so there was a shared basis of cultural understanding. Ivana considered herself to have a dual Greek Australian identity although she observed a difference between her parent's identities. Ivana said:

> I see myself as both Greek Australian. Mum's more Macedonian and dad's more Greek and if people ask that's what I would usually say. There's not really much difference, just the food (Ivana, born 1997, Melbourne).

Emily, the youngest granddaughter of Olga and Pandos also identified with being Greek Australian and felt she didn't know much about Macedonia. Her Australian mother Jennifer described how Emily felt Greek and how Jennifer observed some inherent Greek character traits in her daughter. At the time of our interview, Emily was eleven years old and her statement of identity represented a child's view of what being Greek meant to her and the potential for change as she grows older. Emily said:

> I see myself as half-Australian and half-Greek. I'm not that Greek but I know a few things and I celebrate Greek Easter. I like cracking the eggs and the Greek dancing is good and Greece looks nice. I'm probably more Australian, a quarter of Greek because I don't know how to speak Greek. Maybe one day I can learn (Emily, born 2000, Melbourne).

Emily's feeling of being Greek developed despite having limited exposure to the Greek culture through the family. However, Emily lived in a highly multicultural community where she had been exposed to a diverse migration population including Greeks and Macedonians, in her school and community from a young age. For the younger female participants in the third generation such as Emily, Cassie and Ivana, identity was shaped by an openness and desire to retain Greek and Australian identity that had become valued in a multicultural setting.

Overall, the main characteristic of older third-generation participants was to describe their identity as Australian with a Greek heritage or background. Although this suggests a greater sense of belonging as an Australian, it does reflect the desire to acknowledge the heritage of the family and its migrant past. Indeed, the question in the 2016 Australian Census to define a person's ancestry prompted further discussion for Craig and his British wife Abby about Craig's identity. When I asked Craig to describe his identity, Craig responded:

> I would say an Australian with Greek heritage would be my way to describe it, but I would probably change that if I was speaking with someone of Greek heritage, I would be more Greek (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

Craig's statement of being 'more Greek' indicated that greater emphasis of his heritage would be placed to engender greater connection with someone who had a shared common heritage. Although Craig had limited exposure to people with a Greek background until his working career in London, living physically closer to Greece shaped further interest in his background. Craig stated:

> Like Sarah, I don't think we were passionate to find out more about our heritage in our younger years. You tend to get more interested in the background living in Europe. Being physically closer in London tends to make you think more about it as well (Craig, born 1979 Sydney).

Sarah also stated that she developed a greater connection to Greece when she lived in Europe. During her time in London, Sarah never felt the need to acknowledge her migrant background to describe her identity. In Australia, Sarah tended to describe herself as Greek mainly for 'novelty value' as her friends were Australian. Sarah narrated the story of how she had an identity crisis when she received her Greek passport in London. Although the process, was 'a traumatic amount of bureaucracy and paperwork', it enabled Sarah to work in London (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney). For Sarah, the passport 'was not because I wanted to feel in touch with my Greek roots, that was something that happened anyway' (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney). Sarah said:

> I did have a bit of an identity crisis. I was like 'what the hell', I've got two passports. It was really amplified by the fact that [for] my Australian passport, I had blonde hair and a big smile and then I had my Greek passport and I looked like this angry brunette and all the writing I didn't understand. It was just really funny. I felt like I was two different people (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

Sarah also spoke about how she felt more connected with her Greek heritage over time. Sarah said:

> As I get older I feel it more and maybe meeting more of my extended family has probably given it a bit more context as well. We saw Dad's siblings growing up, but not a great deal. I probably feel more in touch as I get older. When I was younger I didn't really think that much about it (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

In John's case, he identified as being 'definitely Australian' but wanted to acknowledge his Greek migrant heritage. John said

> I say that mum's family is from Greece and she was born here and we talk about it a lot [with mum]. In Australia, everybody hails from somewhere (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

As people often thought that John looked Greek, John often encountered the difficulty of being asked where he was from despite the fact he was Australian and his answer being refuted. John encountered this issue at school and in his early working life. John's first job was in inner-city Richmond (a suburb where many Greek migrants and their families settled) at the old Dimmeys and Forges store, a large retail store which sold discounted goods. John remembered the older Greek women would speak to him in Greek and they would be put out when he told them he couldn't speak Greek. John reflected:

> People always come up to me and ask, 'Where are you from? Where did you come from?' I have to say I identify myself as Australian because I was born here and so was my mum. And they would say, 'no you're not, no you're not.' My upbringing was so Australian I just wanted to identify as Australian and people wouldn't believe it and I found that quite difficult (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

John's sister Belinda also identified with being Australian with a Greek heritage. Belinda wanted to identify more with the Greek aspect of her heritage but felt unable to do so:

> I would like to identify more so with the culture but I wouldn't know where to get that from or where to start. I don't think I've got the right to identify myself as Greek. I don't have anything that sets me apart as a Greek person other than my heritage (Belinda, born 1989, Melbourne).

In fact, none of the third-generation participants viewed their upbringing as being framed around what they considered to be traditional notions of Greek culture. For example, there was very little formal language learning or traditions passed down. Nor was there continued connection with the homeland through return visits to reframe the idea of belonging to Greece. Like John, Andrew described how he did not feel that Greece itself held a significant attachment for him:

> I'd like to see where dad came from but it's been that long now, I don't really understand the significance. He's been here so long. I've been here so long (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Andrew also stated he had a learning gap in terms of knowledge of the Greek culture and that learning the Greek language may have helped. Andrew said:

> I wish they sent me for a couple of years to learn the fundamentals say from ages of five to ten but probably not through high school because I [would have] enjoyed going to footy rather than Greek school (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Ultimately Andrew felt that he placed more value on the Australian culture and his statement indicating his preference to continue with sport suggested further identification through

participation with Australian culture. Andrew's brother Michael also felt his upbringing was not shaped by traditional notions of the Greek culture but rather the Australian culture. Being the youngest grandson in the family, Michael described how his identity shifted as he grew up. Michael said:

> I thought I'm a Greek living in Australia, born in Australia. But now, when I look back, I'm an Australian with a Greek background with Greek values. That's what makes me Greek but I'm an Australian (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

Michael's ability to culturally shift identity to fit in with the dominant cultural group of his peers often occurred when he played sport. Michael described being more Australian when he played Australian Rules Football and more Greek when he played soccer. As noted, the game of soccer (also known as football) has been historically more popular with immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe since the 1950s in Australia (Danforth 2001a:369). Michael also discussed the authenticity of being Greek in Australia:

> A lot of kids try to put in on a bit much 'I'm Greek' but they're Australian. They try to be more Greek than Australian. I was never like that. When I was playing soccer, I did feel part of the team, more than half the side was Greeks that I played with but when I went to footy, it was different the way they bond (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

For Cassandra, her upbringing was 'European but in an Aussie sort of setting' as her family lived in a suburb which was largely Anglo-Australian. Aside from her family, Cassandra did not grow up with many Greek migrants in her life. When she changed schools for her final years, she was around more 'wogs' and this caused her to question where she belonged. Cassandra said:

> It was hard to fit in because I wasn't that European that I was woggy enough for the wogs and I wasn't Aussie enough for the Aussies (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Through her upbringing and her parents embracing the Australian culture, Cassandra also felt more connected with the Australian culture but felt prouder of her background over time. For Cassandra, the notion of her heritage was linked to her family. She said:

> We say our family is Greek. I wasn't born in Greece and my mum was born here so I guess it feels like my parents weren't either. I've gotten more proud as I have gotten older (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Cassandra also reflected on the irony of being Australian in Greece but describing your family as Greek in Australia. Cassandra reflected:

> It's funny because when you're over there [in Greece] you say you're Australian, but here [in Australia] you say my family is Greek and it made you more proud to be Greek and to think that you actually fit somewhere (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

On the matter of identity for future generations, Cassandra's viewed the identity of her children as Australian as she stated they are now into the fourth generation on her side. Andrew also reflected on how he felt that with each generation, the Greek identity in Australia might become diluted. Andrew said:

> *Yiayia* and *pappou's* identity might not change a heck of a lot. As each generation passes, the identity of being Greek will probably fade out a little. It will be there underlying in the family, but it will fade as the generations pass. It will fade slowly, slowly, but if people are driven to go to school and learn those values, it might help. It might hold very consistent for the next few generations (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Craig and his wife Abby felt their own children would grow up with a mobile and global sense of identity reflecting the ability to live and work in many places. Nevertheless, Abby hoped that her son would feel connected to her own heritage of being British as well as Australian. Abby reflected:

> I feel as the world is shrinking that my son won't be in Australia all his life. He may settle elsewhere and there will be a lot of other people like him moving around the world and having different upbringings (Abby, married to third-generation participant Craig).

Abby's reflection sums up the open possibilities that can be offered through the process of migration. The ability to negotiate multiple identities and multiple ideas of home for future generations reflects the changed nature of global mobility and new possibilities that shape the identity of the children of future generations.

STORIES ABOUT THE LEGACY OF MIGRATION: IT'S ALL GREEK MACEDONIAN TO ME

Stories narrated by third-generation participants demonstrate how Greek Macedonian post-war migration to Australia ultimately changed many aspects of traditional notions of the Greek family. The intergenerational effect of settlement and migrant adaptation to the Australia was a simultaneous process of cultural loss and renewal, in addition to cultural changes to the family as a result of exogamous marriages. The gradual loss of cultural identifiers such as Greek and minority languages, customs, traditions, religion and lack of knowledge about regional identity were indicators of this change. Yet there remained an enduring legacy by the third generation

of wanting to acknowledge Greek migrant heritage and the importance of family particularly values related to respect of your elders. Traditional ties of the family were often inherent in the stories narrated by the third generation even when Greek cultural values were not explicitly known or taught to them. This final section examines the stories narrated by the third generation about whether they felt a connection to Greece, the role of family and whether there was maintenance of any Greek traditions.

Third-generation participants narrated how they felt connected to Greece in terms of the place of where the family originated, rather than a sense of Greece being a home of eventual return or a dual home. Connections to Greece were mainly shaped by visits, through stories narrated by grandparents and parents about family villages and by viewing photos. Third-generation participants tended to narrate how they felt connections specifically to the village and the region of their family. Craig and Sarah visited Greece with their parents Paul and Sally in 2004. The main reason for this trip was to visit the family village of Itea in Florina where their grandparents Olga and Pandos and their father Paul and uncle Nick was born. Craig said:

> I'd always wanted to see it and get a better understanding of my heritage. I felt a connection there. [The village was] somewhere I felt I needed to go to and wanted to spend time there. From dad's upbringing I had quite that rural image in my head in terms of what he described as well (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

Craig recalled that his father felt the family village had changed yet had remained the same. The sense of connection to the village had been strengthened by stories narrated to Craig by his father describing the village. Consequently, Craig found it interesting to bring the stories to reality and he felt a connection to the village as well as to certain places in Greece such as Thessaloniki and the beaches. Subsequent visits to Greece have been mainly to the islands rather than a return to visit the village as Craig felt he would prefer to return to the village again with his father mainly due to the language barrier. Craig was also unclear as to whether he will take his own children to visit when they are older, but he remains open to the possibility. I also asked Craig whether he felt a connection to the United Kingdom where he is now a citizen, and the place where he met his wife and where their first child was born. Although Craig felt connected to both places, he stated that he had a greater connection to Greece due to his heritage and through the relationship with his grandparents. While Craig did feel the 'cultural pull' of Greece, it was not a place that he felt to be a 'home' and Craig stated how: 'It's an assumed heritage with the UK but with the Greek one it's a blood heritage' (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

The language barrier during the family visit to the village was not only limited in terms of Paul's family not being able to speak Greek (as Macedonian was the dominant language used by Paul with his parents), but also members of the family in Greece who no longer spoke Macedonian. As migration to Germany became an option in the years after Australia was opened to migration, some family members in Florina chose to permanently settle in West Germany. Immigration to other parts of Europe by Greeks increased markedly after 1960, especially to Germany following the signing of an agreement with Greece in March 1960 and within three years, 106,200 Greeks were working in West Germany (Appleyard et al 2015:12). Other family members also worked in Germany but returned regularly to their villages. Finding a common language ground, Craig was able to communicate with some of the family members in German as he had learnt it at school. Craig said:

> What was interesting was they could speak German and some of them had worked in the factories in Germany. I've learnt German and I could actually speak to them in German and that was bizarre and quite surreal as well. It was really interesting that we could have a conversation and they could tell us stories. It was quite fascinating (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

Craig felt a sense of being part of the family despite the difficulties in communicating due to language barriers. Craig described the resemblance to family that his sister Sarah also encountered despite knowing very little about them. This was due to the permanent separation of family members as most of the extended family migrated to Australia. Craig said:

> It was very interesting because there was dad's cousin who was a bit younger than him, maybe a second cousin, and he had a young son who was about ten years old. There was a photo of dad, myself and him and his son and the family resemblance was very apparent. It was quite bizarre. It was quite a surreal connection (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

As a result of the family visit, Sarah spoke about feeling a connection to Greece despite not having a 'particularly Greek upbringing' (Sarah, born 1971, Sydney). Sarah narrated a story about the first time she visited Greece to see the village and the sense of cultural understanding she gained. Sarah recalled:

> I remember feeling like I sort of got it, looking around at the people and the places and just the general feel of it. I understood the pace of life. It didn't feel particularly like I was like them or that I belonged there. I don't know whether it was the food or the climate but it felt comfortable (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

On further reflection, Sarah did describe how she did feel a sense of belonging to family despite not having any prior knowledge about family members in Greece:

> There was a family resemblance that was quite strong. I remember meeting someone that looked a lot like Dad. It was quite creepy seeing all these people

> that we were related to. I couldn't speak to them because they didn't speak English and I didn't speak Greek. But they were really warm and really lovely and I just remember feeling a sense of belonging as much as you can in a foreign place with people that you don't know and can't communicate with (Sarah, born 1981, Melbourne).

As a result of the visit to her father's village, Sarah felt more interested about her heritage and enjoyed meeting the family and seeing what the environment was like. Ultimately, Sarah came to the realisation of how much life changed as a result of her father's migration to Australia in 1954.

In the case of John, family storytelling through his mother has instead shaped a sense of connection to migrant spaces in Melbourne. John stated that he did not feel a connection to Greece. One reason may be perhaps as John has yet to travel to Europe. On the other hand, positive stories about Greece were not widely circulated within the family, nor was the culture desired to be retained by his parents. In contrast, post-settlement migration stories about where his grandparents first settled and places the family visited in Melbourne became sites of family memory that were narrated by his mother Kathy. John said:

> I do feel a connection to places like Richmond and where the family landed. Mum would always drive us around and say, this is where we first arrived and that were the areas we would go and visit. When I'm there I think back to all the immigrants that must have landed at the time, but no, not to Greece itself (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

Consequently, the memories of migration for John's mother were linked to physical sites where the family experienced the earlier years of settlement in Melbourne to fill in the unknown gaps of the narrative of the family's migration story.

In time, Belinda would like to visit Greece with her mother Kathy to further connect with her heritage. Belinda visited Athens and the Greek islands on a trip with friends in 2012. Yet, she felt it was not the right time to visit to her grandparent's village as Belinda had no family with her to support understanding. Belinda said:

> I was with a few friends and it wasn't the right time. I had no family with me and I've always wanted to do it. I've always said to mum that I would like to go with her but she's even having trouble getting there herself (Belinda, 1989, Melbourne).

Belinda felt disappointed in some aspects of her visit to the Greek islands. At the time of her holiday, Greece was experiencing the effects of its economic crisis and the island she visited

had become run down. Belinda was also faced with riots in Athens as thousands of Greeks protested against the Greek Parliament passing strict austerity measures to meet demands by the European Union and the International Monetary Fund for a bailout during the economic crisis. Despite this, Belinda felt that she would have liked to explore more of Greece and enjoyed being there. In terms of connection, she felt a 'little bit' at home to a small degree (Belinda, born 1989 Melbourne). Belinda travelled with a friend with a Greek background and she felt that they bonded over their backgrounds during the trip.

In contrast, visits to Greece for Cassandra were shaped by a desire to connect with family. Although Cassandra's first visit was as part of a tour, she arranged to spend more time with her maternal family from the Peloponnese. Cassandra said:

> I didn't know quite what to expect other than I was quite stressed about the language barrier but seeing them, the warmth and the affection from these people who I'd never met before but were obviously related. Seeing Theo Carpo, my yiayia's brother, was just like looking at a boy version of my grandma (Cassandra, 1977, Melbourne).

Cassandra described how emotional it was to see everybody, particularly when she was able to arrange to Skype her *yiayia* in Australia who was able to see her brother for the first time in over 20 years. Cassandra was impressed by the simple quality of life and the strength of the Orthodox religion. In 2010, Cassandra returned to Greece with her husband Panayiotis to visit family in the Peloponnese as well as the villages in Florina on her husband's side of the family. Having Panayiotis as a translator meant she was able to engage more with family. Cassandra described how she felt 'rooted' to Greece specifically in terms of where her family has come from and where she has family members although she thought her connection to Greece would no longer remain once there were no living family members remaining in Greece (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne). Cassandra visited her father-in-law's village in Florina and he had narrated stories to her of how beautiful his village was. Cassandra unconsciously picked up on the difference of identity she felt in the village of Flambouro:

> It's such a beautiful village and it felt more Greek to me to be honest, even the buildings. It was a beautiful place like my father-in-law always explained, the beautiful paved streets, the retaining walls and brick buildings. I found, rather than being Macedonian as such, they were more Greek. They spoke better Greek. Even their appearance, and the vibe, was different. It was a lot more sophisticated than I imagined it was going to be. But it was quite an insular place and everybody knows each other's business (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Cassandra was unaware of the diversity of identity in the Macedonian region and, in particular, that the village of her father-in-law (and my mother) had an Arvanite background as distinct from a local Macedonian identity. Although Arvanites identify as Greek to outsiders, they maintain an Arvanitic identity at a local level (Forbes 2014:83). Cassandra also visited her mother-in-law's village in Florina and felt welcomed by the family but could see the impact of the economic crisis. Being a mixed village (Greek and Macedonian speakers), it also reflected more of her experience of attitudes and customs maintained by Greek Macedonians that Cassandra had encountered in Melbourne.

For those in the third generation who had not visited Greece, the feeling of a connection with place was at times imagined and this was largely shaped through stories and photos. Cassie would like to go to Greece as she felt it was a beautiful place but did not feel a connection to Greece as 'home'. Rather than family stories, the image in her mind of Greece had been shaped by photos and the Internet. In contrast, her sister Ivana did feel a connection to Greece as a sense of an imagined 'home' that was shaped by her background and culture. Ivana's mental image of Greece was its beautiful beaches with white houses which perhaps reflects her father's Aegean island heritage. For Michael, family stories and family photos influenced the desire for Michael to visit Greece with his family and to see the villages in Florina where his father and grandparents were born. Photos from his parent's visit to Greece in 2011 confirmed his mental image of the village that had been narrated by his paternal grandparents. Michael said:

> I hear more about the village from [my grandparents], so when I hear about the village and when I saw the photos, it was pretty much like I pictured it. Brick houses, sort of crumbling, cobbled roads, and rolling hills (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne).

In an illustration of the differences that occur between family members with the same type of upbringing, Michael's brother Andrew felt that he did not understand the significance of Greece although he would like to visit. However, he did not discount that a visit may in turn change his sense of identity. Andrew described how his mother Faye never desired to visit Greece but her perception has changed over time and through a visit to Florina for her husbands' fiftieth birthday. Andrew said:

> Mum never wanted to travel at all. She never wanted to go but now she wants to go every year [to Greece] after that trip. Dad got emotional when they were there. The last time [he was there he] was 11 and then he's there at 50. To me it's just the village (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

When asked if Andrew had an image of Greece in his mind, it was the image of the Acropolis that resonated the most. He also had a sense of simplicity of life from the photos of his father's village. In sum, the stories narrated by the third generation rarely used phrases associated with the experience of diasporic return migration to the ancestral homeland such as 'going back', 'going home' or 'return' to Greece. For many third-generation participants, this suggests Greece, and more specifically Florina, has not come to occupy a sense of belonging through an imagined homeland, but rather a connection to where the family has come from, shaped in part by stories narrated at a localised level of 'the village'.

STORIES ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY

Ultimately, the enduring legacy of post-war Greek Macedonian migration has formed around notions of the family itself with the desire to acknowledge the heritage of the family. Although third-generation participants did not always understand the meaning and context of Greek values and traditions, the importance placed on family continues to have meaning for the third generation. First cousins Craig, Sarah, Belinda and John narrated elements of their Greek Macedonian heritage they highlighted as being transmitted through the family, despite the cultural distancing by their parents. These stories were framed around the significance of food in their lives, and in particular, the family coming together to share food. Stories were also framed around the importance of the family itself. However, greater focus on a limited extended family over three generations has developed in contrast to the first generation that maintained extended networks of kinship that included affinal, collateral and other significant relationships.

Belinda talked about how her mother often narrated the happy memory of Belinda's grandmother Olga making food with Kathy. Belinda talked about her mother's awareness of how this came to represent an enduring migrant legacy shaped around her mother's kitchen and her father's garden where he grew fruit and vegetables. This suggested some reconciliation of a migrant past that has become more meaningful over time for Kathy. Belinda reflected:

> She appreciated what she used to have with her mum, Olga. She used to make fresh yoghurt with her mum. She didn't know it was anything different back then but now she looks back and appreciates how lucky she was with the food and how it was fresh and organic (Belinda, born 1989, Melbourne).

The following statements reflect the importance of family getting together over food as a practice of Greek migrant culture:

> The food has always been a really big part family life for us. I think that's probably to do with the European heritage (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

> I remember Paul always wanting to cook Christmas lunches and he was really into that whereas my [Australian] dad was not really interested. I definitely think that's a Greek thing I've gotten, and Belinda identifies with (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

> There are certain parts that dad still holds onto, in terms of family lunches and meals. Tonight we're going out to dinner but mum and dad will also cook at home. We'll often go around there for lunch for fairly Greek things like a big piece of meat that's been cooking for a while or a whole fish. Certainly [dad holds onto] the food part and the family values (Craig, born 1979, Sydney).

As it was rare for the extended family to gather at their grandparent's house, family gatherings tended to be at Paul and Sally's house for Christmas and big events. However, John spoke about his memories of the garden and being with cousins when asked what he remembered about his grandparent's house:

> I remember going there with Belinda and sitting around the table eating pickles. Grandfather had a lemon tree that he loved. We had Boxing Day there and we sat outside with Sarah and Craig, Paul and Sally (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

John felt that the 'Greek story for us would have been bigger' if more members of the extended Greek side of the family were included in John and Belinda's upbringing. John felt he was unable to 'pull up an image' of any of the four brothers of Pandos who migrated to Australia as he had little opportunity to meet them until his own grandfather's funeral (John, born 1986, Melbourne). Belinda also reflected:

> The only Greek family thing I can think of were the funerals for *dede* and Olga. I had no idea what was going on. There was incense and all this banging. I did [like it] but I didn't understand, I couldn't relate any of it. I didn't know what the process was (Belinda, born 1989, Melbourne).

It also became apparent to Sarah at their grandfather's funeral that she knew very little about the extended family relationships on her father's side:

> At my grandfather's funeral I was asking Mum pretty much the whole time, who's that? Who's that? Who's that? I don't know if that's because Dad hasn't really encouraged much bigger family stuff. I couldn't even tell you how many siblings my grandmother has. I probably can't even remember how many siblings my grandfather had either. I'm not familiar with the family tree on that side very much at all (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

A recurring theme for many in the third generation is the understandable branching off into smaller extended or nuclear family formations with little contact between more distant relationship networks. After the birth of their first son, Abby and Craig moved to Australia

from England. Abby perceived the generational change away from extended Greek family dynamics in Australia:

> I come from quite a small family myself. Craig's family is also very small. It would have almost been nice to see a Greek family. You've always got that idea of what a Greek family is with hundreds of people and it's very busy. It would have been nice to see that side of it (Abby, married to third-generation participant Craig).

In contrast, Andrew continued to maintain close relationships within his extended family and networks influenced by an upbringing that fostered traditional kinship networks. Andrew described the relationship with his godparents and their children:

> I see them a little bit but it's dropped off in terms of them coming at Easter and Christmas and we've all stopped with the presents. We've all grown up. It was fun. I looked forward to them [my godparents] coming three times a year at Easter, Christmas and for my nameday. They brought the boys over and we had a good time (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Ultimately, Andrew sees the family as being a source of help and guidance, in particular he has a close relationship with his uncle who he looks to as a mentor. Andrew also described the close bond with his first cousins Cassie and Ivana:

> I love my cousins and it would be a pity if I lost touch with them. *Yiayia* is paranoid because we don't talk but we all have our own lives. It still feels like we're young when we're together. I will always love them. They are my cousins. I would always help them if they needed help (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

The importance to the third generation of having their own family was narrated as central to personal values, and some felt it was shaped in part by their Greek cultural heritage. In terms of marriage and baptism within the Greek Orthodox Church, this tended to be influenced by family tradition and beliefs. Craig and Abby were married just prior to their son being born in London. Craig said

> For us it was something we wanted to do but it didn't have to follow that traditional route. We had a ceremony in a national trust building. It was sixty odd people. Drinks and canapés, it was very low-key (Abby, married to third-generation participant, Craig).

For Abby it was important to have her son baptised in the Church of England in Cornwall where her family had a long connection with the church as she wanted to maintain the family tradition. Ivana also spoke about family tradition shaping her own desire to follow the family connection to the Greek Orthodox Church. Ivana also felt it was important for her own children to know their Greek heritage:

> I want to get married and I want to have children. But I want to make sure I get married and then have children. I do want to be married in the Greek Church because it's what the family has done from the start. Everyone in the family has done that. I do the religious things like Greek Easter. I want my children to be baptized because I got baptized and I want my children to have the same thing as well (Ivana, born 1997, Melbourne).

Likewise, having a family for Cassie was important and it was desirable that her partner had similar values to her own. Cassie didn't feel that she needed to have a traditional Greek wedding but wanted her children to be baptised in the Greek Orthodox Church as: 'That's what I've always known' (Cassie, born 1992, Melbourne). Michael described Greek values as showing respect towards family, particular the older members and staying connected to grandparents. In terms of the practice of Greek cultural values, Michael felt it was important to make his parents proud and by extension, to make his parents feel they achieved a good result in raising him. Michael also felt that family was important but was focused on his career and travel and said: 'I'd like to have a family one day but not right now. There's more things to do before you get married' (Michael, born 1991, Melbourne). In effect, Michael's statement signalled a generational shift away from the attitudes of his parents. However his brother Andrew had thought about the longer term implication of having both children and grandchildren. Reflecting the attitudes narrated by first-generation participants, getting married and having a family was important to his sense of success. Andrew spoke about wanting the experience of his own family and how that had been shaped by the values of his grandparents:

> I look forward to grandkids probably more than kids at the moment because I see the relationship that I have with my grandparents. It's fun. I want to be that fun grandfather. I want to have what *pappou* and I've had. I probably won't be as full on as him with the *kippo* [vegetable garden] and stuff. I like having people around you (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

For the third generation, marrying a partner from a Greek background was not highly important. Although Cassandra had not intended to marry someone with a Greek background, in reality she found the extension of family, shared religion and shared values to reshape traditional notions of the meaning of family. It also made Cassandra understand more fully what her grandparents viewed as culturally important. Cassandra said:

> We didn't grow up with a lot of Greeks other than with my family. I look at the extension of family, my mum being one of five and Pete [Panayiotis] being one of five. It is lovely when we all got together, that sense of family and celebration and that love, caring and support network (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

Reflecting the changed and diverse nature of family in Australia, Cassandra performed the role of godmother for her Japanese-born sister-in-law to sponsor her marriage in the Greek Orthodox Church to Panayiotis' younger brother. Likewise, for Andrew who is dating a Greek Australian, there was a sense of belonging to shared values and importance placed on family. However, he reflected that he did get questions of 'what am I?' from his partner in terms of his heritage from Florina and hence the confusion of what Greek Macedonian identity may mean to others in the Greek community (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne). Ultimately, the diversity of family relations continues to become more global for the third generation who have partners with heritage that reflects Scottish, British, Maltese, Iranian and other backgrounds, and this will continue to reshape notions of family and hybridised cultural identity. However, underlying the choice in partners was a shared sense of the value of the importance of family.

Family traditions shaped continued maintenance and understanding of Greek culture and traditions into the third generation, particularly in relation to celebrating Greek Orthodox Easter. Not surprisingly, cultural practices also occurred to a greater extent where the third generation had both sets of parents and grandparents with Greek backgrounds. For the children of mixed marriages, Greek cultural practices tended to occur when the children were younger. Sarah reflected:

> I wasn't one of those Greek or half Greek kids that went to Greek school or anything like that. I think that the most Greek thing that I can remember about being younger was that we used to do a token Greek Easter egg dyeing and smashing but that's really the only thing that I can recall (Sarah, born 1981, Sydney).

Without the context or cultural identification, John likened Greek Easter to Chinese New Year as being symbolic:

> Mum never really embraced the cooking side or the traditions, except for Easter. We used to do the red eggs. I think mum will keep that going [with my son] to be cemented as a part of something. I always appreciated it but I don't identify as Greek in that sense so I look at it a bit like Chinese New Year. It's a time you can appreciate and watch and have fun. We never went to Sunday school or we never did those sorts of things so we don't have that knowledge (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

Emily's mother Jennifer talked about how Olga and Pandos' family were laid back in terms of practising customs and traditions. Although, the family was not always conventional in their celebration, Emily continued to make traditional Greek Orthodox eggs with her parents for Pandos after Olga became too ill. Jennifer said:

> One day we made the eggs and it's not the traditional type of Greek. Paul and Kathy are not the norm. They don't really celebrate and they're not very Greek in those traditions. One time we ended up going to the Indian restaurant and breaking eggs there (Jennifer, married to second-generation participant Nick).

In contrast, the grandchildren of Theodoros and Zoi were exposed to traditional events leading up to the celebration of Easter. The extended family would come together after church at midnight on Saturday evening to crack eggs and break the fast with a traditional meal of Easter soup and biscuits, followed by a traditional Sunday lunch. It was also important for a family member to bring home a candle lit at church to keep the light burning overnight in the household. Andrew reflected that he never got sick of Greek Easter although there were other Greek traditions such as name days that he enjoyed but did not understand the significance behind their meaning. Ivana enjoyed having the Greek culture in her life particularly in terms of how events were celebrated and wished she maintained learning the Greek language so she could have greater communication with family members. For Cassandra, her strong Orthodox family background meant that traditions around Easter and the church held particularly strong meaning for her. Cassandra said:

> We always remember Greek Easter, the painted eggs on the Thursday before going to Church and helping do all the flowers for the cross, communion at church, the feast for Easter and christening. The *stefan*o particularly, I always remember being little and going to weddings and being fascinated by the *stefano* [the crowns that join a couple together in marriage] (Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne).

For the third generation, the stories reflect an overall loss in many traditional aspects of their Greek cultural heritage such as language. But stories also reflected hope and renewal through the reconnection with heritage and the continued importance placed on family. There is also the opportunity for identity to change as participants age and reflect the meaning of migration to their life. Thus the legacy of what it means to be the grandchildren of migrants may also come to occupy more significance in their own family story in the future. John reflected:

> I didn't think about it in terms of maybe they wanted to leave it there [in Greece]. I remember that *dede* seemed to want us to be part of it more, but the next generation stopped it and he was like ok (John, born 1986, Melbourne).

Ultimately, Belinda understood the importance of taking part in this research and understanding her place in the bigger picture of migration history. Belinda said:

> Upon reflection, I wish things were different. I kind of want to identify more with it and I want to learn more so that's why this will be really good because

> it would really help. I feel like I've got so much to learn (Belinda, born 1989, Melbourne).

The sentiment to transmit stories about family migration is best summed by Andrew who expressed the desire to tell stories eventually to his own children and grandchildren in an effort not to forget where the family has come from. Andrew said:

> You don't want to forget what your roots are. It will good for my grandchildren to know where they came from. I will tell them about my *pappou*. I will tell them about both of them. They may not care but I think it's good to educate them (Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne).

Andrew's statement echoed the sentiments of his grandfather – my father Theodoros – who made a conscious effort to ensure that there was not a forgetting of what it meant to be a migrant from Florina. What the future holds for the fourth generation remains to be explored. However, one aspect that has remained constant is the desire by many of the third generation to transmit stories about where the family has come from. Reflecting the truly global picture of migration, these stories may go beyond routes from Greece.

CONCLUSION

This chapter seeks to redress the gap in our knowledge of family experiences of third-generation post-war Greek Macedonians in Australia. It finds that grandparents play a crucial role in the transmission of migration stories between generations and a greater connection to these experiences have been shaped through repeated stories. Overall, third-generation participants wanted to pass on knowledge about family migration stories to their own children, particularly those who already had children and this included any other routes of their family's ancestral heritage in addition to Greek Macedonian migration. In contrast the loss of the migration story occurred when grandparents have not narrated stories, particularly where they have had difficult pre and post migration experiences. Stories passed down about local or regional Macedonian identity to the third generation were very limited, and stories tended to instead reflect memories of the local village, the effect of war and later the immense work experienced in Australia. Stories by the first to the third generation were not framed around a desire to return to the homeland, but instead reflected the desire for permanent settlement due to the opportunities in Australia.

Some younger third-generation participants had not actively engaged with finding out more about the family's migration story. Yet older third-generation participants felt some degree of

loss of the family's Greek Macedonian migration story, particularly where there was little engagement by their parents with Greek Macedonian cultural practices. Stories narrated by the third generation reflect an overall loss in many traditional aspects of their Greek cultural heritage such as language. But stories also reflected hope and renewal through the reconnection with heritage and the continued importance placed on family. There is also the opportunity for identity to change as participants age and reflect the meaning of migration to their life. Thus the legacy of what it means to be the grandchildren of migrants may also come to occupy more significance in their own family story in the future. Overall, belonging for the third generation has been influenced by growing up in the Australian culture with visibility of Greek culture maintained largely through family tradition. It also demonstrates the importance of seeking out stories to further our understanding of the longer-term implication of how Greek Macedonian migration has reshaped the idea of family and cultural identity in the diaspora. In the concluding chapter, I reflect on the importance of transmitting stories of place for migrant families.

- CONCLUSION -

THE ORCHARDS FROM SCATTERED SEEDS

On my last visit to Florina in 2017, I felt at peace in the home of my ancestors. Instead of wondering if and where I belonged, I instead saw the beauty in its green mountains and fertile valleys. I admired the decaying mansions reflecting the architecture of the Ottoman era as I walked along the River Sakouleva, many built just before the region would be split apart in the Balkan Wars. Taking photos of one spectacular house, a neighbour stopped to talk to me and asked me where I was from. After establishing my family was from Florina and that we had a connection with my cousin who had migrated to Rochester in New York, he then told me a story. He spoke of how the partisans would fire cannons from the mountains behind us during the Civil War and how his neighbours would hide him and the children from the nearby school in the cellar of this mansion for their safety. Now the house is empty with its family gone to America and Thessaloniki, returning less and less over time.

I grew up listening to stories about war and migration, yet I knew very little about the place my family has come from or its culture. My desire to collect these stories from my family before it was too late became the basis for this thesis. I wanted to ask questions about the personal meaning of being part of history's greatest mass migration following the Second War in case one day I may not have the opportunity to ask. I wanted to understand what it meant to leave Florina and settle in another place. It was important to know how family members felt about their identity, had they come to feel Australian or did many of my generation feel a sense of not wanting to be Greek, and not understanding what it meant to be Macedonian? Was life hard, was it all worth it? Was it different for family who migrated to Toronto? In the search for an understanding of what the pear tree witnessed since it was planted in 1901, I came to appreciate that memories of home were framed around the memory of the family itself and the attachment to soil was wherever the family had put down its roots. Thus, I reconciled a sense of belonging was through the family itself located in an imagined and enduring network of scattered seeds across the world, hybridising, grafting and growing into 'orchards' – literally meaning in Greek – a 'garden of trees' (δενδρόκηπος).

On this trip, it was important to visit my familial villages with my five year old son and husband and crucially develop my son's connection with our relatives in Greece. Like my father, I

actively narrate family stories to my child as my father has now has lost his memory. Where the pear tree of McKenzie's *pappou* Theodoros – and my *dede* Trianos – once stood, a self-sown blackberry bush has grown in its place. Standing there with my son and my cousin Tashos I felt a sense of Odysseus on his journey home, stopping to visit the orchards in the Garden of Alcinous and the notion that the yield of the trees in the orchard 'will never flag or die' (Homer). This speaks to the notion of eternity through the longevity of family. But as Friedman (2000:31) highlights, whilst we may fight over who owns which olive tree and thus the control of its soil, we ultimately desire to be rooted as part of a nation-state through which we gain our sense of identity be it through family, a community, nation or tribe that represents home. However, the displacement caused by war means whilst there is loss and hardship in leaving one place for another to which the family may never return, there is a sense the journey has been worth it to ensure the future of the family. Despite separation from the homeland and its roots:

> We may start to put down roots in a place without knowing it – perhaps even beyond our own volition – just as a plant pulled from the ground will seek to attach itself to any new patch of earth on which it is discarded (Mares 2016:272).

As I write this conclusion, the heated and at times ugly debate between '*Macedonia is Greek and will always be Greek*' versus '*Macedonia was never Greek'* contests over social media about who has the right to the name 'Macedonia' as talks between Greece and FYROM reignite to resolve the name dispute from 1991. Greeks in Athens and Thessaloniki demand 'hands off Macedonia' whilst protesters on the diasporic soil of Melbourne and Toronto clashed in February and March 2018 to again divide these communities. The issue continues to flare with public rejection by both sides and in the diaspora as it moves closer to a resolution of the 'Republic of North Macedonia'. This follows the signing of a preliminary agreement on 17 June 2018 in the village of Psarades on the southern bank of Lake Prespa in Florina where there is a natural water boundary between Greece, Albania and FYROM.

I have friends and family from both sides of the border who claim Macedonian identity. Reflecting back to the 1990s, I remember asking my father 'were we Greek or Macedonian?' and his response being 'these things no longer mattered as we were in Australia'. At that time, I myself identified to the Greek and Macedonian communities as Australian to avoid any conflict when I lived in the northern suburb of Preston at the time the local Macedonian Orthodox church was fire-bombed. Although scholarship from the 1990s (Danforth; Van Boeschoten; Karakasidou; Manos) has started to address narratives of the history and

construction of identity from those Florina, it is hard to put to rest the past stigma attached to being from a place where although being Greek and/or Macedonian may be inseparable concepts of identity, you were not considered at that time to be authentically 'Greek' within the Greek community. Within the middle of these national arguments, sits the complex narrative of what Macedonia may mean for those who come from Florina. In addition to documenting family experiences of migration, this is the story this thesis seeks to address – a collective narrative of Greek Macedonian migration stories that is rarely articulated nor understood at a localised and regional level of identity. I argue this can be attributed to an inability to articulate a collective narrative due to the loss of its story within the family, as well as to the contested meaning of Macedonian identity for post-war migrants from the region that rendered its transmission to be problematic, and at times, silenced.

* * *

This thesis used the method of oral history to examine the transmission and production of generational stories within extended families who migrated from Florina to Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s and how belonging and identity is constructed into the third generation. I documented the main intergenerational themes about post-war Greek Macedonian migration to Australia and I considered whether stories about migration have been circulated within the family. Firstly, the selection of stories narrated by each kinship generation in this thesis contributes to our understanding of the lived *experiences* of Greek Macedonian migrants including connections to Greece, the importance of family and negotiation of cultural identity. Secondly, this thesis extends our understanding of the types of stories that have been *transmitted* to subsequent generations about Greek Macedonian migration. I redress the gap in our understanding of how cross-generational memories of migration are narrated in the family and passed down through the generations. This furthers our understanding of how the collective framework of family shapes (dis)connections to the homeland in the diaspora through the intergenerational transmission of memory and stories.

Family stories about Greek Macedonian place and identity were limited in their circulation and I came to consider the disruption of place and identity through war as the Florina region emerged from the Ottoman Empire into the modern Greek state. I have historically situated these personal stories to fill in the gaps in family memory, and considered ethno-regionality and traditional roles of kinship as a generational tool to further inform our understanding of

Greek Macedonian migration to Melbourne and comparatively, through a smaller cohort of second-generation participants in Toronto. Both Canada and Australia were sites of considerable post-war Greek migration settlement in Toronto and Melbourne. Despite migrating to different countries, I found connection and belonging to Greece was also shaped through the idea of family for Canadians.

I argue that there is a gap in our understanding of post-war family migration from Florina and hence intergenerational experiences of migration and Greek Macedonian identity formation in the diaspora. For many families, notions of an idealised Greek homeland were disrupted by successive wars in the region that drove mass migration. Further, the complexity and contested nature of even the meanings of the word 'Macedonia' and 'Macedonian' limited the ability for families to articulate a shared collective history that could be actively transmitted through the generations. As a result, the third generation have constructed a sense of home and belonging focused on Australia, although many retain a desire to understand the legacy of their migrant past and understand their Greek Macedonian heritage. Nevertheless, in this coming to terms with their identity, this thesis argues that the idea of family has replaced permanent links to the Greek homeland due to the complexity associated with its historically turbulent soil as the region evolved into the nation.

Focusing on ethno-regional analysis, migrants from the region of Florina including the second and third generation, have not cultivated a strong connection to Greece as an imagined or dual home they yearn to return to. Rather the yearn is for family and these transnational collective networks of kinship and relationships remains a durable signifier of identity through which there is a sense of belonging. Consequently, connection to Greece has been maintained through connection to the family itself, rather than through continuous links with the physical homeland. This may contrast with the experiences of other migrants who have maintained strong transnational links to the homeland such as Greek islander diasporic communities. Even where there have been stronger transnational links such as the experience of the Greek Canadians through more frequent return visits, Greece was viewed as the place where family is, rather than as a place that necessarily signifies home. Family networks in Greece contribute to a sense of being at home, with the loss of family members seen as lessening the ties to the homeland.

In my research, I suggest that the linkages of home and identity have been disrupted significantly by the impact of successive wars in the Greek Macedonian region and extreme deprivation combined with the needs and instincts to quickly adapt to the host country and opportunities provided for their children. Literature focusing on more complex notions of the generational experiences of Greek Macedonians in the diaspora has been largely neglected, particularly that of the third generation. This is despite migrants from the region of Macedonia in Greece being the largest regional group from Greece to arrive in Australia and Canada. In Canada, the majority of Macedonians who migrated to Canada arrived in the aftermath of the Illinden Uprising of 1903 before the present Greek borders were established. However, the exodus of Macedonians from Northern Greece continued in the aftermath of the Second World War and the Greek Civil War and gained momentum in the 1960s.

The strength of this thesis lays in the collective networks of stories from the perspective of kinship roles to document the family experiences from the perspectives of men, women and children. It highlights the use of family memory as tool to engender connections to the homeland by migrants. It also analyses the importance of the transmission of migrant stories from the grandparent to grandchild generation in keeping alive family memories. However, I was limited by a small cohort of first-generation women available to participate in this study. Women's stories are crucial to a fuller understanding of how families experience the processes of migration and this remains an area for further investigation. Nevertheless, this in part was addressed through stories narrated by the second and third generation of the experiences of women. It could also be addressed by future research which specifically focuses on the stories of first-generation women from Florina through a broader range of villages, and which is not limited to family members. I was further limited in developing a larger cohort of Canadian participants to cover three generations of the family, and this could also be addressed by further research into broader village networks. One avenue for future research is to replicate the study to analyse a cohort who have constructed national Macedonian identity. Another avenue is an oral history study to understand what migration for the family means to those family members who remained in Florina, Greece.

Following the review of literature, my thesis addressed the gap in our understanding by providing the historical overview of the factors that drove post-war migration from Greece to Australia and Canada and I then focused specifically on migration from Florina in the Macedonian region of Greece in Chapter One 'The Seeds – A Greek Macedonian Diaspora'.

Commencing from the 1890s, large scale outward migration from Greece resulted in mass migration to almost 150 countries until the restoration of democracy to Greece in 1974 (Tamis 2005:2). The third massive migratory wave followed the period of economic devastation and political turbulence that followed the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949. Australia began to open its door to attract migrant workers with an extensive post-war immigration program. In 1952, the agreement between the Greek and Australian governments on assisted passage for Greek migrants was the catalyst to open up significant migration from Greece to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s with the largest group to migrate from the Greek Macedonian region and predominantly, Kozani, Kastoria and Florina. Canadian patterns of migration tell a similar story to the Australia experience, and facilitated the largest Macedonian settlement outside the Balkans, with an estimated 40,000 migrants from the Macedonian region of Greece to Toronto. Although the development of Greek Macedonian communities in the diaspora were successful with family networks instrumental to this success, the politics of identity disrupted the cohesiveness of the community and this had implications for how families negotiated intergenerational identity and legacy, particularly the loss of the ability to transmit a collective narrative of place within families.

The focus of Chapter Two, 'The Soil – The Construction of Greek Macedonian Identity in Florina', was an analysis of how the Greek Macedonian region was reshaped by war and its disruption to place and identity. Following the partition of the region, the position of Florina, located close to the present borders of Albania and FYROM required me to situate my thesis within the historical context of Greek nation-building. Central to the understandings of this thesis was the historical period that commenced from the end of the Ottoman rule in the 1890s as Greece moved from empire to the modern Greek nation-state and the creation of the new territories following the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) through to the devastation of the Greek Civil War (1946-49). Underlying this history was the diversity of multicultural population groups in the Macedonian region of Greece, as well Greece's geographic position within the Balkans Peninsula. Indeed, the Balkans have been labelled as the 'powder keg' of Europe due to instability, frustrated nationalism, numerous wars and territorial claims (Woodhouse 1968:187; Tatsios 1984:148), with Macedonia the most blood-soaked region. Under Ottoman rule, the diverse inhabitants of the area (that was to later emerge as Northern Greece) were organised into communities, known as *millets* (literally 'nations'), based on religion, rather than language or ethnicity (Clogg 2008:8; Danforth and Van Boeschoten 2012:35; Vermeulen 1984). Consequently, the sense of a common 'homeland' remained elusive for most peasants until at

least the early twentieth century with, Orthodox Macedonians tending to have local rather than nationalist identities and an identity affiliated with family and village (Biondich 2011:44; Hall 2011:72).

Accordingly, the construction of Greek Macedonian identity in the diaspora needs to be more closely considered in terms of the unique factors to the region that may have arguably interrupted the construction of regional identity and connection to the Greek homeland that remained at the forefront of other Greek regional diasporic communities. Factors significant to the Greek Macedonian region included the fear of expression of identity as a result of the policies of Hellenization, and the effects of repeated warfare in the region where identity was often violently contested. I did not attempt to trace all aspects of the historiography or to dispute competing claims about who has the greater right to claim the name and history of Macedonia. Rather, I illustrate the key events in the modern era that may have disrupted the ability to transmit family stories about the connection to place and identity in Florina within the context of post-war Greek migrants who have made their homes in the diaspora.

In Chapter Three, 'The Roots – The Role of Oikeogenéia in the Narration of Migration Stories', I highlight notions of the Greek traditional family before discussing factors contributing to its change. I outline universal stories narrated *across* this study of hardship, yet this was countered by memories of the family. Ultimately, it was stories narrated about the enduring importance of family that lay at the heart of how stories were narrated. Despite any hardship encountered as a result of family migration, symbolic stories about the gardens and trees of grandparents were often narrated as the favourite memory of Greece, and connections to home were framed in terms of where the family has roots. It is hard to understate the importance of the traditional Greek notions of the extended family and its networks of kinship. The family, particularly the grandparent to grandchild generation, has remained crucial in the transmission of elements of the Greek family and retention of some aspects of culture into the third generation. Through the act of migration, and in many cases, the leaving behind of grandparents, the traditional Greek family has been reinterpreted but the opportunity to reconnect between the first and the third generation remains open. However, family storytelling between grandparents and grandchildren became limited in families where there has been a desire by second-generation parents to move away from aspects of the Greek Macedonian culture that they feel they did not identify with, where has been trauma that silences stories, or where the family bonds were weakened. Thus the success of negotiating diasporic minority identity and culture becomes

dependent on how alive it is kept within the family through cultural practice, and whether there is a space for stories to be circulated to subsequent generations.

In the remaining chapters I discuss the *generational* themes narrated by each of the three generations. In Chapter Four, 'The Trees – Leaving and Finding Home: Stories from the First Generation', I consider the broader diversity of Greek minority identity in the Macedonian region and how this affiliation to local and regional identity has remained important to the stories of the first generation. Crucially transmission of pre-migration stories and other identities were often not consciously re-narrated to the second and third generation. Rather, stories centred on the effects of war and the hardship of work, particularly in the narration of the first generation to the third generation (grandparents to grandchildren). Secondly, stories highlight the personal experiences of what migration has come to mean for the family. The dream of being able to have a home and family was often at the core of the drive by first-generation participants to permanently leave their home in Greece and to ensure a better life for their (future) children. The narration of connected family stories about migration illuminates the intergenerational effects of what it means in terms of kinship roles for grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren within the family to uproot from one place and set down permanent roots in another.

In Chapter Five, 'The Branches – Growing Up Greek – Stories from the Second Generation', I examine the experiences of the second generation in Melbourne and Toronto. Stories narrated by the second generation reflected their experiences 'growing up Greek', their impressions of visits to Florina and Greece, how identity has been constructed, and the importance of family life that has been influenced by the Greek Macedonian culture. Although there were differences within individual family households, there was an overall sense of a collective belonging to family and the desire to retain kinship relationships despite the lessening of interaction as their own nuclear family life became busier. Despite Canadian second-generation participants cultivating a greater connection to the homeland through family visits to Greece and more opportunities to be with grandparents, gaps in family memory about place and identity about Florina remained consistent for both Canadian and Australian second-generation participants. Ultimately, it was connection to family that shaped a sense of belonging to Greece for second-generation participants.

In Chapter Six, ‘The Fruit – Greek Macedonian Legacies: Stories from the Third Generation’, I address the gap in our knowledge of family experiences of third-generation post-war Greek Macedonians in Australia. Overall, belonging for the third generation has been influenced by growing up in the Australian culture with remnants of Greek Macedonian culture maintained largely through family tradition, although much of its meaning has been lost. The chapter also demonstrates the importance of seeking out stories to further our understanding of the longer-term implication of how Greek Macedonian migration has reshaped the idea of family and cultural identity in the diaspora.

Overall, narratives were framed by how a better life was achieved as a result of migration that overcame war and poverty. Consequently, family migration stories were remembered in terms of traditional Greek migrant themes of journey, settlement, hard work and family framed by the hardship of poverty caused by war in the region consistent with narratives located in national narratives. In the absence of nostalgic stories about the ancestral homeland of Greece, and more specifically Florina, the recall of family memories was more closely associated with memories at a localised level of village and the location of the family, that is literally the family homes, gardens, villages and family members. A repeated theme that defined the region of Florina in literature, as well as recurrent in family memory, was the agricultural characteristics of Florina in terms of its gardens, vegetable gardens and orchards. Thus the enduring memory of home in this thesis is located locally and literally in terms of the place where the family originates, rather than broader attachment to the original homeland. Often memories by the second and third generation about Greece were instead associated with memories of being with their grandparents in their gardens. Greek Macedonian family migration narratives also reflect the loss of the framework of the traditional family and life in the village as a result of war and migration.

Despite the physical family ties that were broken through migration, these ties were not reliant on physical visits to Greece for their continuation, but rather the desire to maintain kinship networks. The loss of family members and kinship networks in Greece often meant a loss to the connection to Greece. Although the debate about nationalism or ethnicity in the Balkans that opened in the nineteenth century continues to remain unresolved (Tamis 2015:13), what can be said it that the Balkan states have paid a huge price to match national borders with national history (Gerolymatos 2002:xi); when we consider history from those personally affected by the dissolution of empire and the making of nation and further, in the context of

war. To this end, the use of family stories and whether migration stories were passed down within the family was an insightful methodological tool to examine the transmission of migration stories and culture. It also reinforces the crucial role of family in the transmission of stories of migration to maintain culture ad identity as well as links to home, and how this can be disrupted by the trauma of war and the complexity of articulating stories about Greece Macedonian place and identity.

Finally, in surveying over sixty years of family settlement, these stories contribute a narrative that has been absent in Greek Australian historiography – the lived experiences of post-war Greek migration from the region of Macedonia and what it meant in terms of the collective family to uproot from one place and permanently settle in another. Ultimately, the thesis has revealed the additional complexity in negotiating Greek Macedonian identity in the diaspora. Yet there has remained a continued desire by the third generation to not 'forget your roots' in the face of changing family life and limited transmission and knowledge about their ancestral region. The stories of migration reflect a historic moment of the opportunities available to the family through assisted passage and sponsorship of family members from Florina to Australia. Although the transmission of stories about Florina were disrupted due to the contested nature of place and identity, these stories also point to the enduring legacy of family and the desire to retain Greek Macedonian migrant heritage. It demonstrates the importance of family storytelling in maintaining culture, identity and tradition. It uncovers stories that deal with war, trauma, hardship, separation of family and loss to balance the narrative of more celebratory aspects of post-war Greek Macedonian migration to Australia and provides new forms of identification and belonging.

APPENDIX

ABOUT PARTICIPANTS

I briefly describe family members that participated in this research. I acknowledge it may be easier for readers to show these relationships in a family tree diagram, but I had to consider the privacy of family members, including those who did not wish to participate in this study.

Kinship relations

Olga and Pandos

Pandos was the elder brother of my father Theodoros and was one of eight children. Pandos sponsored the migration of four of his brothers to Australia between 1956 to 1966. The eldest brother and youngest sister remained in Greece, and one younger brother passed away at two years of age. I interviewed two of the four brothers who live in Australia, Lazaros and Theodoros. Pandos also sponsored the family's childhood friend Christos from the same village who I also had the opportunity to interview (discussed below).

Olga (born 1926) and Pandos (1927) were both born in the village of Itea in Florina and were married in 1948. The family migrated to Australia in 1954 with their two sons – Paul, aged four years, and Nick, aged 18 months – and their assisted passage was facilitated by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. On arrival, the family went to the migrant camp in Bonegilla in Victoria and later to north Queensland where Pandos cut sugarcane for a short time before returning to Melbourne. Their daughter Kathy was born in Australia in 1958. Olga and Pandos bought a house in Richmond, Melbourne where the family provided accommodation for new arrivals of family and village networks. I was not able to interview Olga and Pandos as they both passed within four months of each other in 2010. However, their stories emerged during interviews with all three of their children. I interviewed their eldest son Paul, his wife Sally and their son Craig together with Craig's wife Abby. I also interviewed Paul and Sally's younger daughter Sarah. I interviewed Nick, his wife Jennifer and their daughter Emily. I also interviewed Kathy and her two children John and Belinda.

Fotini and Lazaros

Fotini (born in 1928) met Lazaros (born 1928 in Itea) in Itea after she left her village in Kastoria for her safety during the Greek Civil War. Lazaros is the brother of Pandos and Theodoros.

Fotini and Lazaros met in 1948 and were married in Itea in 1950. With assistance from his brother Pandos, Lazaros migrated to Australia in 1960 together with his friend Christos from their village. Fotini migrated with their son and daughter and joined Lazaros two years later. A third daughter, Helen was born in Melbourne. The family moved to Blackburn from Richmond, Melbourne. I was not able to interview Fotini as she passed in 2010. I interviewed Lazaros and Helen.

Zoi and Theodoros

My mother Zoi (born 1939 in Flambouro, Florina) and father Theodoros (born 1935 in Itea, Florina) met on the *Patris* during their voyage to Australia in 1960. Theodoros is the younger brother of Pandos and Lazaros. My mother migrated to be with her sister in Adelaide, South Australia where many people from her village had settled. After meeting my father, she moved to Melbourne and they both lived initially at the home of Olga and Pandos. Zoi's younger brother migrated in 1966 and one brother remained in Greece. I interviewed my sister Faye (born Melbourne) and her husband Peter who migrated from Kelli in Florina, and their two sons, Andrew and Michael born in Melbourne. I interviewed my sister Mary and her two children, Cassandra and Ivana, born in Melbourne. I also interviewed Zoi's nephew Panayiotis who is the son of Zoi's brother in Australia, and Panayiotis' wife Cassandra. Panayiotis' mother and father (my uncle) both migrated from villages in Florina and Cassandra's paternal grandparents and father also migrated from Florina.

In Toronto, Canada, I interviewed Zoi's first cousin Maria, her two daughters Agapi and Bessie, and Maria's granddaughter Alexia (Agapi's daughter). I also interviewed Maggie who is the niece of Maria. Maggie's mother was Maria's sister and also my mother's first cousin. My maternal grandmother and Maria's father (my great-uncle) were siblings. I also interviewed siblings Tina and Angelo, who are the grandchildren of my maternal grandfather's brother (my mother's uncle and my great-uncle).

Kinship bonds

Eleni and Forti

Eleni was born in Sklithro, Florina in 1940. She met Forti (born 1937 in Lamia) when he was stationed as a policeman in her village in Florina 1961. Eleni migrated to Australia in 1963 and sponsored Forti's migration from Florina in 1964. The couple were neighbours to my parents

in Richmond in the 1960s. Pandos, Lazaros and Theodoros and their wives Olga, Fotini and Zoi all maintained lifelong friendships, particularly with Theodoros and Zoi. Eleni and Forti have two sons. The family has been considered ‘kin’ through their strong bonds of friendship and I address Eleni and Forti as ‘aunt’ and ‘uncle’.

Toula and Christos

Christos was born in 1933 in Itea, Florina. Migrating to Australia on the same ship with Lazaros in 1960, he met and married his wife Toula in 1963. Toula migrated from the Peloponnese to Melbourne but due to her ill health, I was unable to interview her. The family live in Clifton Hill and have two sons and a daughter. Theodoros and Zoi are also *‘koumbarri’* (best man and matron of honour) to Toula and Christos and are also the godparents to all three children. I interviewed their daughter Aliki, and their youngest son Andreas together with his wife Siobhan.

LIST OF SOURCES

INTERVIEWS

Abby, wife of Craig, born Cornwall England

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Abby and Craig. Melbourne, Australia, 20 August 2016.

Agapi, born 1967, Toronto Canada

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Agapi, Alexis and Maria. Melbourne, Australia, 7 June 2016 (AEST) via Facebook Video Call to Toronto, Canada.

Alexis, born 2005, Toronto Canada

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Agapi, Alexis and Maria. Melbourne, Australia, 7 June 2016 (AEST) via Facebook Video Call to Toronto, Canada.

Aliki, born 1969, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Aliki. Melbourne, Australia, 10 August 2013.

Andreas, born 1971, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Andreas. Melbourne, Australia, 11 October 2015.

Andrew, born 1985, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Andrew. Melbourne, Australia, 29 October 2013.

Angelo, born 1979, Toronto Canada

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Angelo. Melbourne, Australia, 8 August 2016 (AEDT) via Facebook Video Call to Toronto, Canada.

Belinda, born 1989, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Belinda and John. Melbourne, Australia, 21 August 2016.

Bessie, born 1971, Toronto Canada

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Bessie. Melbourne, Australia, 23 September 2016 (AEDT) via Skype to Toronto, Canada.

Cassandra, born 1977, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Cassandra. Melbourne, Australia, 26 July 2015.

Cassie, born 1992, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Cassie. Melbourne, Australia, 8 September 2015.

Christos, born 1933, Florina Greece.

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Christos. Melbourne, Australia, 10 August 2013.

Craig, born 1979, Sydney Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Abby and Craig. Melbourne, Australia, 20 August 2016.

Eleni, born 1940, Florina Greece.

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Eleni and Forti. Melbourne, Australia, 6 April 2014.

Emily, born 2000, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Emily and Jennifer. Melbourne, Australia, 16 January 2011.

Faye, born 1963, Melbourne Australia
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Faye and Peter. Melbourne, Australia, 24 November 2013.

Forti, born 1937, Lamia Greece
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Eleni and Forti. Melbourne, Australia, 6 April 2014.

Helen, born 1963, Melbourne Australia
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Helen. Melbourne, Australia, 2 September 2010.

Ivana, born 1997, Melbourne Australia
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Ivana. Melbourne, Australia, 8 September 2015.

Jennifer, wife of Nick, born Melbourne Australia
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Emily and Jennifer. Melbourne, Australia, 16 January 2011.

John, born 1986, Melbourne Australia
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Belinda and John. Melbourne, Australia, 21 August 2016.

Kathy, born 1958, Melbourne Australia
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Kathy. Melbourne, Australia, 18 August 2015.

Lazaros, born 1928, Florina Greece.
Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Lazaros. Melbourne, Australia, 19 July 2010.

Maggie, born 1969, Toronto Canada

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Maggie. Melbourne, Australia, 22 September 2016 (AEDT) via telephone to Toronto, Canada.

Maria, born 1939, Florina Greece

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Agapi, Alexis and Maria. Melbourne, Australia, 7 June 2016 (AEST) via Facebook Video Call to Toronto, Canada.

Mary, born 1965, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Mary. Melbourne, Australia, 15 August 2015.

Michael, born 1991, Melbourne Australia

Digitally recorded oral history interview conducted by the author with Michael. Melbourne, Australia, 24 November 2013.

Nick, born 1952, Florina Greece.

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Panayiotis, 1978, Melbourne Australia

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