

MACEDONIAN AGENDA



16 essays on the development of Macedonian culture in Australia. Includes cultural values, language, religion, arts, identity, women's issues, the elderly, immigration, politics, the "child refugees", human rights and more

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Victor Bivell**

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*Front cover: February 2, 1960, Bitola Railway Station, Macedonia:
Mr Aleksandar Kolupacev is farewelled by his village, Gjavato, as he
sets out for a new life in Port Kembla, Australia.*

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Assimilation And The Public And Private Identity Of Macedonians: A Dialectical Expose

Pandora Petrovska

This paper is based on a 1991 Masters Preliminary Thesis

Synopsis

Social scientists have explored the phenomenon of assimilation and ethnic change in relation to the migration experience. The thrust of this study is to investigate the assimilation and political socialization of the Macedonian nation within their partitioned homeland, which exists within the boundaries of the Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. Apart from the Republic of Macedonia, Macedonians live in the other three partitioned regions as historical or "involuntary" national minorities (Radin 1989: 18) and as a result have not shared the same socio-political development due to the colonization of their homeland. Because of the complexity of the Macedonian situation on a macro level, I have chosen to concentrate on Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (northern Greece) in this work, as Macedonians in all the divided sections have experienced different forms of assimilation.

In this paper I will discuss the effects of assimilation on the individual. The thesis is based on the theoretical analysis of a case study which exemplifies the pre and post migration experiences of a Macedonian family from a village in Aegean Macedonia who migrated to Australia after World War Two to escape the political turmoil in their homeland. Based on the lives of two brothers and their families, the case study reveals a split between the brothers in terms of their ethnic self-identification once in Australia. One identified as Macedonian, the other as "Greek" Macedonian. Along with an examination of the socio-psychological consequences of the political partitioning of Macedonia on the individual, a discussion of ethnic self-identification and an analysis of processes which bring about ethnic change are presented.

Fear induced by political, linguistic and cultural subjugation and the psychological effects of assimilation and differentiation are examined in relation to the case study material as well as the Marx/ Hegelian theory

of dialectics (Dupre 1983, Jackson 1971, Bologh 1979). Dialectical theorizing will be used to interpret the psychological effect of socio-political phenomenon on the individual, in order to objectively examine the contradiction which is revealed in the case study, in terms of two brothers born in the same national group but who later adopt different forms of self-identification.

The case study is the focal point in examining the socio-psychological effect of the assimilatory policies in Aegean Macedonia, which were aimed against ethnic diversity and were designed specifically for the creation of a Greek ethnic identity for peoples who did not automatically self-identify as Greeks. This has led to the process of differentiation or split in terms of ethnic self-identification, namely the emergence of Greek Macedonian labelling in Australia. Those who take on an externally appropriate alternative ethnic identity are showing some outward signs of assimilation into the dominant society or culture. However, in the case of this Macedonian family, this process cannot be considered on face value only, because a duality of self-identification is also present and is used when situationally relevant. This is exemplified in the case study and it is this concept of "public" and "private" identity that will be examined.

Dialectic methodology reveals the way in which human made phenomena such as denationalization policies have been internalized and reproduced on a socio-psychological level, leading to the apparent duality of ethnic self-identification by some Macedonians. The phenomena of hyperconformity (bending over backwards to assimilate and be accepted by the dominant group) and differentiation (a splintering or splitting of a particular group) are evident in many of the Aegean Macedonian village communities in Australia, so in many ways the analysis of this case study family is an introduction to a better understanding of the assimilation of the Macedonians in their homeland. The inability to understand the reasons for this apparent duality of ethnic self-identification could lead to a total misunderstanding of the Macedonian community in Australia, particularly in terms of the "public" defining process and the offering of appropriate community, health, welfare and education services to the Macedonian communities in multicultural Australia. Because in their homeland the defining processes were in the hands of the non-Macedonian colonizers, a distinct "public" Macedonian identity has been suppressed; there is confusion as to the definition of the Macedonian nation and negation that an ethnospecific Macedonian nation exists. Hence, the duality of identification and Macedonians being identified as Greek Macedonian, Yugoslav Macedonian etc depending on which side of the political borders they happen to be. They are a divided people who

share the same language and culture regardless of public labels used to identify them. Their "private" Macedonian identity is very well developed, but it is the "public" component which has been suppressed due to the division.

1. Introduction

The negation of Macedonian ethnospecificity is a reality experienced by Macedonians all over the world. When one's national identity is constantly being challenged as a result of the denationalization process, one's very existence is also being challenged and is problematic for the individual and the nation as a whole. The purpose of this paper is to uncover why and how this is taking place in the Macedonian context.

* Why is the use of Macedonian as a marker of ethnic self-identification problematic?

* Why is Macedonian identity challenged on a micro (individual) level and a macro (political) level?

* What happens to the individual whose Macedonian identity is negated?

These are just some of the issues what will emerge in the context of this paper.

The term "multi-statal nation" used by Van Den Berghe (1981: 62) to define divided peoples like the Kurds and Armenians can also be used to define the Macedonian people. Macedonia has existed within the present political borders of the Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania since its political partition in 1913 and the Treaty of Bucharest. However, it is only within the Republic of Macedonia that the Macedonian people have been free to develop as an ethnospecific nation with a recognized official language, education system, literature and socio-political life. Macedonians in the other sections do not have national minority status and have been subject to systematic denationalization.

In terms of the development of a national 'psyche', the first multi-party democratic elections held in the Macedonian Republic in 1990 and the subsequent establishment of an independent Macedonian Parliament has been a turning point for the Macedonian people all over the world. For the first time in the history of their national development, Macedonians are able to define the parameters of their national existence and further develop a "public" political culture, which has been somewhat limited in the past. The desire to exist as a sovereign state has been highlighted in the September 1991 Referendum when there was a unanimous vote for sovereignty. In fact the political instability in former

Yugoslavia and the Balkans has far-reaching implications for Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, for those who live as ethnic minorities within Greece, Bulgaria and Albania, as well as for the Macedonian emigre communities in Europe and Western capitalist countries such as Australia, USA and Canada.

On the macro level of international politics the use of the name Macedonia is still problematic, with pressure applied by the Greek Government on the European Union and others not to recognize the sovereignty of a state called Macedonia. The expression of the Macedonian ethnicity in the divided sections was restricted because of the fear of territorial claims being made and the emergence of a unified Macedonian nation. The colonizing countries fear losing their portion of Macedonia which provides agricultural wealth, and in the case of Greece a sea port on the Aegean Sea. Hence, the resistance to the sovereignty of Macedonia.

It has become evident that Macedonians in all sections of partitioned Macedonia have been vocal in seeking very basic human rights in the form of freedom of thought, religious, cultural and linguistic expression, freedom of movement and repatriation and freedom to an education in their mother tongue. This has been motivated by their common identity.

The Macedonian people are recognized as a separate ethnic group or nation (depending on whether reference is being made to Macedonians as a minority or national group) by the United Nations, world organizations such as the European Community Council and the European Parliament, as well as by the governments of large emigre communities in Australia, Canada and America.

In the Australian context, the recognition of Macedonian ethnospecificity has been supported in terms of government funding for Macedonian language programs within State education systems, funding for bilingual community, social and medical workers and for the translation of government documents and community information into the Macedonian language. However, confusion is created when the Macedonian community are inaccurately classified and labelled as Greek Macedonian or Yugoslav Macedonian by some government departments: for example, the Victorian Ministry of Education Scope Survey 1990 which made use of the above-mentioned labels in relation to language spoken at home. These categories have also been used to classify statistical information about the ethnic composition of Victorian State Government schools in terms of birthplace and fail to give a homogenous view of the Macedonian community. Rather, they tend to perpetuate the geo-political division. This is evidence of confusion regarding the defini-

tion of the Macedonian people based on geographic identification as opposed to national identification. There is also a problem with the meaning of 'nation'.

Limited scholarly works exist about the Macedonian people as a nation since its partition and the attempted assimilation by dominant groups within their homeland. The problematic for Macedonians is that they exist as divided minorities rather than a consolidated nation state. In the socio-political colonization by the dominant groups, the process of further development has not occurred systematically and there has not been sufficient "development or public presentation of a self conscious ethnic group" within the divided parts. Macedonians experience negation by the dominant groups if they self-identify as Macedonians and so a "public" political cultural identity is under-developed due to suppression in their homeland. It demonstrates a particular type of "power relationship" between the Macedonian minority groups and the colonizers, in whose interest it was to suppress the Macedonian nation.

The sociological concepts I wish to explore in this paper are those of ethnic and national identity. The purpose of this sort of research is not only to draw connections between nationality and ethnicity as defined by geographical borders and common peoplehood but also individual identification as defined by geographical and political borders and common kinship. Moreover, I wish to examine the social consequences of the political partitioning of Macedonia after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. With reference to ethnicity survival and or change, I will explore in what way the identity of Macedonians in Greece has survived, despite the deliberate policies and strategies opposing ethnic diversity and pluralism which were incorporated in the Hellenization process after the partitioning of Macedonia. The case study provides us with concrete evidence of the above process and a humanistic view of the social reality and human consequence of political division.

When an individual's self-identification is challenged, he/ she must make choices as to how to consolidate the power relationship with the dominant group. On the one hand the individual may become "ethnically aggressive", maintain and develop his/ her culture and continue to self-identify as Macedonian. On the other hand, the individual may maintain the status quo, accept the superiority and domination of the majority group, assimilate accordingly, and adopt an acceptable form of ethnic self-identification, such as a Hellenized version of their identity.

The significance of the word "nash" (literally "us") is important in understanding how Macedonians have been defining themselves for generations, regardless of the labels and "public" definitions that have

been given to them by the states dominating their homeland. For Macedonians their "private" self-identification has always been Macedonian and the pronoun 'us' may be used to reinforce this when Macedonians interact with one another regardless from which section of their divided homeland they come from.

The following theoretical considerations and definitions will be examined in this paper. Most significant is the concept of dialectics which was a method originally used by Socrates to discuss different points of view. The adaptation of this concept by Hegel and then Marx is presented as a different problematic by both writers: the former seeing it as purely theoretical in terms of human thought and the interplay between thesis and antithesis to form a synthesis; whereas the latter applied it to the practical, namely materialism and the interplay between people and the mode of production. For us the problematic as presented in the case study is in the form of a contradictory interplay between individual ethnic self-identification and the forces of assimilation and definition according to geo-political borders.

The theory of dialectics will be used to develop a theoretical framework to objectively examine abstract and subjective phenomenon, such as ethnic identity, which is both "intra-psychic" and "social" in character. Dialectics is a way of examining and understanding the complexities and contradictions inherent in the case study and the phenomenon of ethnic change. Complex abstract elements such as identity are simplified and the fundamentals which comprise them are isolated. Dialectics, as a mode of analytical theorizing, illuminates the contradictions and the inter-relatedness of such phenomena, particularly the misinterpretation of the duality of identity presented in the case study. Because of the inherent contradiction, I found it necessary to simplify the components of the dual identity, in order to facilitate a greater understanding of the issues which have been used to politically negate the ethnospecificity of the Macedonians. Whilst social theory gives us some insight into public and private identity, dialectical reasoning enables us to delve deeper into this process of dual self-identification.

The concept of ethnic identity is central to this paper and has been presented by sociologists in the following ways. Van Den Berghe sees the "evolutionary origins of ethnicity as an extended kin group" and he concludes that ethnicity in humans "is not in principle different from the phenomenon of boundary maintenance between animal societies" (Van Den Berghe 1981: 27). He also states that "ethnic solidarity is an extension of kin based solidarity." However, while ethnicity cannot be manufactured it can be manipulated (Van Den Berghe 1981: 27). This is

of particular relevance to this study in relation to assimilation and ethnic change, as is Edwards' analysis of this concept which concludes that "Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group large or small, socially dominant or subordinate with which one has ancestral links ... some sense of group boundary must persist, this can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion)" (Edwards 1985: 10). For the Macedonians, regardless of political division and emigration, a very strong sense of group allegiance still exists particularly on a "private" level, in terms of language and group boundary but also on an international level which is exemplified in the Human Rights Movement.

Weaver's concept of ethnicity includes a discussion of both "public" and "private" ethnicity as applied to minority groups and nation states (Weaver 1984: 184). The concept of private and public ethnicity in terms of defining the parameters of the Macedonian nation is the fundamental thread in understanding the dialectic of the identity crisis as revealed in the case study, resultant from deliberate assimilation policies in the Macedonian homeland. The parallels with Weaver's analysis of Australian and Canadian Aborigines are very valid especially in relation to the ethnic definition and separation of the Macedonian people. The main link with the Macedonian situation is in terms of "power relations" and the majority's domination of the minority and the defining process. In other words, non-Macedonians have had the "power" to define who Macedonians are, in the similar way that Canada and Australia have been defining who constitutes the Aborigine or native population. Further to the maintenance of ethnic separation, Devos maintains that this depends on the people outside the group, the group itself and the individual's definition of him/ herself (Devos 1975: 30). It is this defining process which is the centre of the problematic in the analysis of the Macedonian people, because they fall under four different defining processes as a result of the political division of their homeland and have not had the same opportunities to define their own parameters as a nation in a "public" political sense. As a result some have adopted separate public and private identities.

The process of assimilation is many faceted and can take place in a number of ways depending on the social context. I believe that there is significant difference between assimilation or acculturation in the migration process and the deliberate assimilation of minorities as a result of colonization. The latter is more aggressive and further complicated by the political component and fear of the dominant group. The form particularly relevant to this study is known as "incorporation" and occurs when one group merges into another group and loses its identity in the

process. This has been the aim of Greek government policies opposing ethnic diversity and promoting "Greek nationality and national unity" in the latter part of this century (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 172).

The phenomenon of dual identity and lifestyle is by no means uncommon in emigre communities where immigrants "pass" or become absorbed into the dominant culture and public life, whilst still retaining their original culture and lifestyle at home (Leman 1984, Roosens 1989). In the colonizing context, the minority group often experiences a more aggressive form of assimilation and the duality of self-identification becomes a necessity for survival. Fear plays a very important role in the assimilation process as well as the psychological internalization of the minority group's negative self-perception. Pauwel's 1983 study of the South American Indians highlights the characteristics of ethnic change in the colonization process as being: changes of self-identification, adoption of Spanish names, claiming to be monolingual in Spanish and denying bilingualism on census data. In fact, the "residents of Turco appeared to be doing everything possible to forget their ethnic identity" (Roosens 1989: 109) in order to overcome their sense of backwardness and inferiority. This internalization of a negative self-image is central to oppression culture (Freire 1972). These characteristics are also present in the Macedonian example, although taking a slightly different form because of the political division.

On a psychological level, Tajfel categorizes four main types of assimilation, of which "illegitimate" assimilation (Tajfel Report 38: 14) is relevant as it presents considerable "difficulties for the assimilating individual in that they are not fully accepted by the majority." Furthermore, this also leads to "an identification with the new group and a rejection of the old" (Tajfel: 14-15). This group rejection and "hyperconformity" occurs in an attempt to gain acceptance. Tajfel concludes that one of the well known effects is leaning over backwards in the acceptance of the majority's derogatory views about the minority (Tajfel: 15). In the Macedonian context, this can be seen in the adoption of a dual identity as deemed necessary and an acceptance of misinformation about the Macedonian people without any conscious realization that one can define oneself and does not have to rely on definitions presented by others.

Furthermore, I hold that dual identification is the beginning of a process known as "differentiation" where definite division begins to take place and one group divides into two or more components (Horwitz 1981: 116). Giles explains this phenomenon as occurring as a result of "the perceived threat experienced by a social identity, associated with a racist culture ... and psychological differentiation" (Giles 1977: 234). Others

point to a variety of possible adaptations.

In the case study to be presented, there is evidence that the action of one of the brothers clearly indicates the process of "leaning over backwards" in an attempt to be accepted by the dominant social group, to ensure that their children will not suffer the same psychological alienation that they have. By self-identifying as Greek Macedonian instead of Macedonian, the psychological effects of the denationalization policies emerge as a split or differentiation between brothers born into the same kingroup. However, the dialectic which is also present is that the differentiating brother also retains his Macedonian self-identification in private settings. The duality of identity and public and private self-identification reflects the internalization of the oppression and the negation of the existence of the Macedonian people.

Clarifying the duality is the purpose of this paper.

2. Historical Overview

Macedonia is the mirror of the oldest melting pot in the history of Europe, the ethnographic synthesis of the Balkan peninsula of today (Nirugiani 1967: 23)

During Ottoman rule, the Macedonians remained illiterate peasants who were unable to break out of feudal oppression. In the latter part of the 19th century, Greece and Bulgaria, and later Serbia, had a powerful influence over the church and education system. Subjecting the Macedonian population to this type of tripartite influence plus feudalistic practices imposed by the Ottomans were effective mechanisms for controlling the development of Macedonian insurgence against Ottoman rule. In fact, it has been claimed that the Macedonians escaped the Hellenization process "by remaining illiterate" and as a result of this retaining their language and customs (Friedman 1975: 86).

At the turn of the century the "Macedonian Question" was a very important political power question as Macedonia lay on the gateway to the East and was an important consideration to the Russian and Austro-Hungarian as well as the British and French Empires. Moreover, weakening Turkish rule in the later part of the 19th century signalled territorial considerations by Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. With developing Macedonian national consciousness or to use the Freirian term "conscientization" during the 19th century, there is evidence of an understanding of the socio-economic and political processes in the "empowerment model" by the emerging middle class in the towns (as opposed to

the villages) who had access to education, albeit in another language. "A major and far-reaching result of educating young people from Macedonia was that enlightenment often bred dissatisfaction and frustration with the political, social and economic status quo" (Perry 1988: 28). The Macedonian writers of the time clearly reflect and have documented the complex socio-political situation at the turn of the century. One such example is intellectual, sociolinguist and teacher Krste Petkov-Misirkov who wrote:

"Three nations struggling against one another in our country to force us to accept their religion and national propaganda. All three are battling against us and our interests hoping to deal us a mortal blow by taking church and school in their own hands ... stifling our national consciousness." (Misirkov 1903, 1974: 195).

The main historical event which consolidated the evolving Macedonian national consciousness occurred about the same time that Misirkov wrote his expository socio-political account of the time, *On Macedonian Matters*, in 1903. The unsuccessful Ilinden Uprising occurred on 2nd August, 1903 when the VMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) undertook an insurrection against Turkish domination as a result of "restlessness and dissatisfaction", fed by a steady stream of students, graduates and teachers into revolutionary circles and later into guerrilla bands (Perry 1988: 30). Although unsuccessful and premature due to heavy Bulgarian influence, the failed uprising is a concrete example of Macedonian 'conscientization' and for 10 days the first Macedonian Republic in Krushevo was formed until a crushing defeat by Turkish forces. This event, St Elijah's Day, is celebrated as Macedonian National Day in the Republic of Macedonia as well as emigre communities the world over. It is also celebrated in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia but in a more subdued manner. Although short-lived it exemplifies the existence of an ethnospecific Macedonian nation and the difficulty of national development in the context of feudal domination. As survival and the protection of "one's land and family" (Perry 1988: 21) were the basic pre-occupation of peasant society, the failed Ilinden Uprising exemplifies the extent of hardship experienced by the Macedonian peasantry led by their intelligentsia in trying to achieve "political legitimacy".

In the years that followed Ilinden, pre and post the division days of 1912-13, there is primary source material in the form of letters sent to British and European powers arguing for Macedonian autonomy and gaining the support of politicians and statesmen in influential political spheres. For example, there was the Memorandum on the Independence

of Macedonia submitted by the Macedonian Colony in St Petersburg to the conference of the representatives of the great powers in London (1st March, 1913) and a Memorandum of the Macedonians to the Russian Government in August, 1914. Further, the active Macedonian Scholarly and Literary Society in St Petersburg sent open letters, and published articles in Russian and other newspapers. Of particular significance are writings by Dimitria Chupovski and Krste Misirkov in terms of demanding an autonomous Macedonia. As late as 1918 there were declarations presented by the Macedonian Liberation Movement demanding an autonomous settlement of the Macedonian Question, as well as further protests from the Provisional Representatives Office of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization to the Paris Peace Conference 10th April, 1919. (Documents Vol 1 1985: 655)

It is important to understand these facts as they are crucial in the conceptual understanding of the development and to a point the latent development of the Macedonian nation. Clearly, Macedonian ethnospecificity was ignored by the world powers, particularly the development of an autonomous Macedonian State. Although specific reference was made in the Bucharest Treaty to the protection of the minorities in the divided parts, the territorial division meant that the notion of Macedonian ethnospecificity was further suppressed and distorted by systematic assimilation programs in all divided territories.

This, coupled with the population exchanges set about in the Neuilly-Sur-Seine Agreement between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey in 1919 meant there was quite an extensive Macedonian population exodus from Aegean Macedonia.

The effect was catastrophic in changing the ethnographic make up of the region which was predominantly Macedonian Christian before the division. Considerable discussion is revealed in the Minutes of the Committee for the New States and the Protection of Minorities at the Paris Peace Conference July - November 1919. Article five of the Neuilly Convention between Greece and Bulgaria refers to a specific form of social engineering in the population exchange program:

"Emigrants will lose the nationality of the country ... from the moment of their departure, and will acquire that of the country to which they go as from the time of their arrival in its territory." (Documents 1985: 676 Greece/ Bulgaria Emigration of Minorities, Neuilly, 27th November, 1919.)

This historical event needs to be fully understood as it had a direct impact on the life of the case study family in terms of land acquisition and later land dispossession. The supposed "voluntary" population ex-

changes between Greece and Bulgaria in the Conventions of Neuilly and between Turkey and Greece in the Lausanne Convention were adopted in an attempt to achieve ethnic homogeneity in the participating countries and to overcome the "problems of minorities". An official attempt was also made to regulate the liquidation of properties and indemnification of emigrants (Ladas 1932: 720). In September 1920, the League of Nations set up a Commission "to supervise and to facilitate the emigration and the compensation of the estates of the emigrants" (Simovski 1978: 462). However, the property Commission failed dismally, indemnification of properties was inefficient and there were many far reaching problems associated with the procedure as given in the following example of the case study family.

The initial Greco-Bulgarian emigration was not a total success as "more than one third" of the Macedonian population remained in their homeland. Ladas claims that "96,000 of the Bulgarian Minority in Greece emigrated to Bulgaria" (Ladas 1932: 721)¹. Simovski on the other hand outlines the abhorrent conditions these Macedonian refugees suffered upon arrival in Bulgaria where no adequate provision was made for their settlement. "65 per cent of refugees" died in a two year period in the region of Bourgas (from *Internationale de La Croix Rouge*, VII No 83, November 25 in Simovski 1978: 464). Furthermore the Macedonian minority living in Aegean Macedonia were forced to emigrate because they were terrorized and provoked by the Greek authorities (Simovski 1978: 463). Although claimed to be "voluntary in theory" the emigration became "to a greater extent compulsory" (Ladas 1932: 721). The dispossession of land as experienced by the case study family was clearly one of those provocations aimed at expelling Macedonians who did not automatically align themselves with the Greek regime in their homeland.

In relation to the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey, Simovski's statistical analysis shows that initially, as a result of the Convention of Lausanne, 640,000 refugee settlers migrated to Aegean Macedonia with an exit of 300,000 Turks and other Moslems, including some 40,000 Macedonians (Simovski 1978: 462). However, whilst denominationally Christian, the refugees coming into Macedonia from Asia Minor and Thrace (referred to as "prosfigi" by the Macedonian population) spoke the Turkish language of these regions. So even though these refugees are claimed to have been "Greeks" (Ladas 1932), they in fact spoke other languages which meant that they too had to be "Hellenized" if ethnic homogeneity was to be achieved. The settlement of the refugees occurred predominantly in Aegean Macedonia. This is well documented in Simovski's extensive ethnographic examination of Aegean

Macedonia, *The Inhabited Places of Aegean Macedonia* (1978), and is clearly shown in the map extract of an ethnographic map, "annexed to the publication of the League of Nations on the settlement of refugees" in Geneva 1926 (Ladas 1932: 701 - see Appendix 1). Sociolinguistically speaking, Popov and Radin estimate that the Macedonian language as a "langue usuelle" (most commonly used language) "out of a total population of 1,052,227 inhabitants" was spoken by 805,000 Macedonian and non-Macedonian inhabitants prior to 1913. By 1928 however, the effect of the population exchanges and government policy of monoculturalism meant that "1,200,000 persons out of a total population of 1,412,477 used the Greek language which was then the 'langue officielle' " (Popov and Radin 1989: 15).

In the years following these Conventions for population exchanges, there is evidence that the existence of a Macedonian speaking minority in Greece was recognized by the Government. Specific Government attempts were made in the writing of the primer *ABECEDAR* in the Macedonian language. In 1926 the primer, which was compiled by Greek linguists in the Latin script, was published and designed specifically for use in primary schools in Aegean Macedonia. This never eventuated. Whilst copies of the primer existed it was never used in mother-tongue maintenance programs for the Macedonian minority in Greece. The exercise could be interpreted as an attempt "to make a good impression on the members of the League of Nations whose sympathy was needed if Greece was to be awarded an international loan and successfully resettle a large number of refugees from Asia Minor, who entered Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne was signed by Greece and Turkey in 1923" (Andonovski in Popov and Radin 1989: 112).

During the same period other policies for the denationalization of the Macedonian people were aimed specifically at the elimination of Macedonian names and language. This is documented as occurring in late 1926 when a new law was passed to Hellenize all place, village, city, river and mountain names in the Macedonian language (Andonovski 1969: 71). Names were targeted as they are the simplest and most obvious symbol of identity, also "a person's own name in some way establishes the fact of his existence" (Glazer and Moynihan 1981: 50). As well as the forced Hellenization of people's family names, Macedonian inscriptions in churches and graveyards were also removed.

The policies of denationalization continued in the partitioned regions until the end of the Second World War when the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was established within the Socialist Yugoslav Federation. Whilst Macedonians in the Republic now received some scope and

freedom to develop as a nation, Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia were caught up in the Greek Civil War from 1946 to 1949.

During the period of the Second World War Macedonians in Greece had formed anti-fascist fighting battalions and organizations which worked in cooperation with Macedonian forces and battalions across the Greek-Yugoslav border. Some of these organizations included MAO (Macedonian anti-fascist organization) formed in Voden 1942 and NOF (Macedonian Liberation Front) which was formed in 1945. These organizations did not always see eye to eye with the Greek ELAS (Liberation Army) and later Democratic Army, given the problematic Macedonian desire for autonomy, but it cannot be disputed that Macedonians were recruited in particular columns in the aforementioned armies (Andreevski 1989).

During the Greek Civil War 87 Macedonian schools were formed in Aegean Macedonia as well as Macedonian newspapers and organizations. It was hoped that some type of national liberation would be achieved with the help of the Communist party, which recognized Macedonian ethnospecificity to a point.

The Greek Civil War was not "merely the continuation of the struggle for power that had been started by the communists in the resistance movement ... in World War Two" (O'Ballance 1966: 19), but it also exemplified the "spheres of influence" mentality and tactics perpetuated by British and American interference in post World War Two European politics and the onset of the "Cold War" between Russia and the West. In America's desire to assist the Greek National Army to "withstand the communist pressures", the Truman Doctrine in 1947 authorized \$300 million of aid to Greece (O'Ballance 1966: 141) in the form of clothes, rations, agricultural and industrial rehabilitation, as well as "some 74,000 tons of military equipment" in the latter months of the same year (O'Ballance 1966: 153). As the Civil War dragged on and the better equipped and stronger Greek National Army could not defeat the Communist guerillas of the Democratic Army, the most effective counter-measures promoted by the Americans was the "systematic removal of whole sections of the population" (O'Ballance 1966: 214). This tactic had a definite impact on the ethnographic makeup of the region and there was a definite exodus of Macedonians from their homeland, as it was systematically destroyed and their villages razed to the ground. Those villages which had refugee settlers were spared, those with predominantly Macedonian population like D'mbeni and Buf were razed to the ground. It was during this period that the mountain village of the case study family was destroyed. This corresponds with the arrival of the case study

family in Australia.

Before the extensive post World War Two migration, Macedonian men "pechalbari" (itinerant workers) came to Australia as migrant workers in the early part of this century. After the 1920s "a much greater number came from the villages in the mountain area of Bitola, Florina (Lerin) and Kastoria (Kostur)" most settling as market gardeners, small-scale farmers, timber cutters and eucalyptus-burners or as unskilled labourers in the larger cities (Price 1963: 321), thus starting the chain migration from their villages as described in the case study. Price outlines that Macedonians from Yugoslavia and Greece maintained similar settlement patterns once in Australia and these were quite different from the settlement patterns of Greeks from southern and island Greece (Price 1963: 322). This is directly related to their common Macedonian identity and way of life in the homeland.

3. Case Study

The following case study demonstrates on a micro level or personal and familial level the effect of the political division of Macedonia. It demonstrates the effects of the population exchanges on the ordinary Macedonian village, exemplifies Greek assimilationist policies and the way in which political socialization was internalized and reproduced in Australia. It also provides us with some insight as to why and how Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia came to migrate to Australia.

The Research

The research investigates the motivations, experiences and constraints of a Macedonian family from Aegean Macedonia in their pre and post migration experience to Australia focusing on the maintenance of their Macedonian identity, and addresses the following questions. Why the suppression of Macedonians in their homeland? What form did that suppression take? What have been the effects of the assimilation process on the case study family? What have been the consequences for Macedonian ethnic identity?

Purpose of Research

The purpose of the research was to gain some humanistic insight into the effects of political events and deliberate assimilation policies on the individual. To investigate the interplay between the macro political scene

and the micro (individual) internalization of the former. This exercise had the additional purpose of clarifying the complexities and contradictions inherent in a discussion of the Macedonian and his or her public and private identity.

Objectives

1. To undertake one of the first in-depth research projects on the public and private identity of the Macedonian people, concentrating on Macedonians who have been socialized outside the Republic of Macedonia in a non-Macedonian context, in order to clarify the misinformation often presented that Macedonians from those regions are not an ethnospecific group.
2. To provide a basis for further investigation into Macedonians from the other sections of their divided homeland.

Aims

To provide information about the Macedonian people which can be used by educators and government departments. To encourage further research into the importance of understanding and establishing the "defining process" for the Macedonian people. (This in the past has been left in the hands of others.) To inspire Macedonians to embrace the Freirian "conscientization" model and gain the self-confidence to define themselves instead of being constrained by imposed definitions and fear.

Methodology

The information presented in the following case study was collected by interviewing some of the surviving family of two Macedonian brothers, Vane and Mito Spanovski[#]. The case study family is part of an extended family currently living in Melbourne. I interviewed Vane's daughter (aged 59) on numerous occasions and had two sessions with her first cousin and aunt (Mito's family).

Taping the interviews with the first cousin (aged 67) and aunt (aged 88) was ruled out and the interviews were undertaken in a very informal way because of the reluctance of some family members to even talk about their past. I sensed their uneasiness, even when I wanted to take notes. I believe this to be indicative of the fear that they harbour.

The use of written questionnaire type research was inappropriate because the family is functionally illiterate in Macedonian and has only

[#] All personal names and some place names and dates have been changed to protect privacy.

very limited literacy in English and Greek.

Fania, the daughter of the older brother Vane, was more than willing to discuss her childhood and recount her family experiences to me without fear. She was in fact instrumental in helping me gain access to her cousin and aunt. I sensed that the process of recounting her family history actually enabled her to put many issues into perspective and in some ways was very positive for her. It was her pain in handling the split that occurred in her extended family that inspired me to analyze the processes which occur as part of denationalization.

Results of Interviews

The Macedonian family in this case study originated from the mountain village of Rakovo[#] (or Krateron, the Hellenized name) which is said to have always been inhabited by Macedonians. Situated on the Greek Macedonian border it is approximately 1,000 metres above sea level and some 20 kilometres north west of the city of Lerin.

During the mid 1920s after the population exchanges agreed upon in the Lausanne Convention, the family had an opportunity to purchase prime land at the foot of a nearby mountain as a result of the resettlement of the predominantly Muslim Turkish population in and around the village of Gorna Kleshtina. The Muslim villagers of Gorna Kleshtina sold their property to neighbouring Macedonians from the surrounding villages and/ or had their land re-occupied by the incoming refugee population from Asia Minor and Thrace. It is believed that some 384 refugees were settled in that village (Simovski 1987: 113).

The Spanovski Family[#]

Pando (patriarch)	(their children)	Ristana (matriarch)	
Vane	Mito	Marika	Ana
+ Elena	+ Jana*		
(children)	(children)	(children)	(children)
Fania*	Vasil*	Gorjana	Nada
Petre (dec)	Kata	Spase	Ilinka
	Silvana	Jaklina	Ilija
	Angelina	Giorgi	

[#] See footnote page 150. *Interviewed by writer.

The Spanovski family (Ristana and Pando with their children) took the opportunity to resettle in Gorna Kleshtina, as life supported by subsistence agriculture in the fertile valley region was a lot easier than in a mountain village. It is common knowledge that the Turks had settled and owned the most productive and best farming land during the course of the 550 year occupation, whereas the Macedonians often inhabited very mountainous places affording protection and isolation. So it was an opportunity for the Macedonian population to resettle and reclaim some of that land before the influx of the refugees.

The family was able to buy approximately 15 acres from a Turkish family "for a hat full of gold coins". In the early 1900s the patriarch, Pando, had spent 10 years in America as an itinerant work migrant (na pechalba) as well as doing seasonal gang work in Greece and Europe, known as "na bichkija" (logging). It was necessary for men to leave villages in search of seasonal work in order to supplement the family's income. It would seem that those living in mountain villages were more prone to seasonal or itinerant work migration than those living in fertile valley regions. Upon marriage Pando's sons Vane and Mito also carried on this tradition by going na bichkija and na pechalba.

Whilst the family succeeded in purchasing considerable land in and around Gorna Kleshtina as well as near Dolna Kleshtina - they were not able to enjoy the fruits of such a purchase for very long. In the late 1920s (the exact date could not be established) the Spanovski family, whose name was Hellenized to Spaniou, was dispossessed of practically all of their land which was given to several incoming refugee families. The reason for this is not quite clear, however in the course of my research one source claimed that Pando swore at the Greek surveyors when they had come to remark the land. He is said to have had strong views about the current political situation and was not afraid to air them. This is probable, given the length of time Pando had spent in America and as he was a literate and intelligent man. The land, even though paid for in gold, was considered as belonging to the Greek Government as the Turkish titles "senebi" held by the family were invalid.

This led to many a bloody fight between the family, particularly the sons, and the refugees who had taken possession of the land. It also resulted in a court case, which was lost, and alleged bribery. The way in which the Spanovski family had lost their land became common knowledge. However one refugee family who had been allocated Spanovski land on the outskirts of Dolna Kleshtina could not take possession of the land and allowed the family to continue to cultivate the field. There were constant clashes, often bloody, between the sons and

the new settlers. One such incident may well have ended in death, if Vane's wife Elena had not hidden Vane's pistol.

With the best farming land taken, the family had to survive by other means, so they took to goat herding and building a mill on the outlying hills of the village. For the father, who had effectively lost all that he had spent a lifetime working for in America, it was a means of distancing himself from the socio-political reality in the village. He became a recluse, preferring to stay in the mill and seldom going down to the village. (Foreseeing problems under a new Greek regime in earlier days, Pando had pressured his wife Ristana to migrate to America. Because she did not want to leave her way of life and land she had refused such a move, only to migrate to Australia as an old woman after Pando's death and the dispossession of their land.)

The family was close-knit and the brothers lived together with their wives, children and parents. The two sisters were married and moved to other villages. The sons Vane and Mito were conscripted into the Greek Army in 1922 for about four years, after which they went "na pechalba" work migration to Australia and America respectively. Upon marriage, it was expected that Vane and Mito should continue the familial tradition of "pechalba". Mito went to seek his fortune in America whilst Vane came to Australia in 1929, only to return as a result of the depression. (Vane returned to Australia in 1936 for the second time.) The brothers' wives and young families remained in the village in the extended family set-up. During those years the family survived with younger family members (children of brothers) and women attending compulsory Greek language classes and school. They also experienced the official changing of place and people's names as well as restrictions placed on cultural events and the use of the Macedonian language, particularly in religious and cultural celebrations. One particular event was recounted regarding an elderly villager who was taken into custody, severely beaten and given castor oil to drink for speaking Macedonian to his donkey. Of relevance here is the point that everybody had to comply with the ban on the use of Macedonian.

When Vane's daughter Fania was born, the Godfather, as is customary, gave the newborn her name, but in Greek form. The family were disappointed with the Godfather's choice because it was a Greek name. The mother of the child complained because she could not pronounce the name, but the Godfather insisted that the child needed a Greek name so that the priest could christen her. Macedonian names were unacceptable and a Hellenized version would be given in the Greek church services. The family reluctantly accepted this, but called the child Fania and never used the Greek name even though it was presented on official documents.

During later years the significance of the education experience is revealed in one of the interviews with Fania. Her first day at school was recounted as being quite traumatic as she was sent back home for not wearing a blue and white uniform.

"The teacher took a firm hold of my plaited hair and pulled my head back, ridiculing me in front of the class for wearing traditional clothes. I remember Grandma cursing as she tried to find me other clothes, after I had run home in tears."

Her experiences at school include being beaten for speaking Macedonian, which was described as a "Gypsy" language or a "pretend language" by her teacher. Not attending Church every Sunday was also a punishable offence at school, in fact going to the church service was considered a class activity, with students taking turns in reciting parts of the liturgy. This is yet another example where the Greek Orthodox Church played a vital role in the Hellenization process (see also Trudgill and Tzavaras 1983).

These examples contributed to grandmother Ristana's avid hatred for the education system. When the grandchildren would come home from school, she would often throw their Greek books into the fire saying that she did not want them learning the language of the people who had taken everything away from them. A school photo taken in 1945 shows primary aged students dressed in different national costumes - Macedonian, Thracian and Greek. Macedonian students wore the Greek and Thracian costumes and vice versa. The student in the centre is dressed as "mother Greece", thereby promoting a sense of Greek brotherhood through the education system. Whilst this act did acknowledge the reality that these ethnic groups existed, the underlying message was that all these ethnic groups were Greek and unified. Fania wore a Thracian outfit and her Thracian friend Macedonian national dress. This was a particularly sore point for the family who had lost their land to the Thracian refugees. One point worth mentioning about the relationship between the Thracian girls and Fania was that in order to communicate, the Thracian girls, upon arriving in Macedonia, learnt Macedonian and this was the language of communication until the girls reached high school age. Then, the Thracian girls refused to communicate in Macedonian, preferring to use Greek instead and belittling Fania for not speaking Greek. The effect of negative reinforcement was a component of the education and social system and is exemplified in this quote from Fania.

"As a child, almost from the age that I could understand, I was taught that my people were lower class, my language was lower class, everything we did, customs, everything was inferior. I then came to Australia and

again I was the bottom of the heap, again my background was lower class because I did not know English."

(For many Macedonian immigrants, negative reinforcement continued as they faced a process of "double assimilation" both in their homeland and in Australia.)

Towards the end of World War Two, Pando was killed by Germans after being betrayed as a partizan collaborator, given the family's mill in the hills. After the family was betrayed by somebody in the village, the mill was ransacked and razed to the ground with no trace of insurgents found. However, Pando was still taken into custody and was led down to the village on top of a canon draped with the women's woven and embroidered clothes, which had been taken to the mill for safe keeping as were all things of value such as photos, papers etc. The house in the village was spared because of its close proximity to other houses. Pando was imprisoned in Lerin for three days and later executed by firing squad in the autumn of 1944 along with a group of innocent persons from neighbouring villages as retribution for the loss of German troops as a result of a partizan bombing. During this time, Vane was in Australia and could not return because of the war.

Vane

The Macedonian community in Australia was established on the tradition of "pechalbarstvo" or migrant workers. These itinerant migrant workers who laboured in logging camps in Western Australia in the early 1920s started the early chain migration process by bringing out their families. Vane was one of the early pechalbari, coming to Australia first in 1929, working in the remote logging camps in Western Australia, cutting wood for train sleepers. Due to the depression he returned to Macedonia only to come to Australia again in 1938. After the family had been dispossessed of their land, Vane felt restless and decided to go na pechalba again. He refused to participate in a parting ritual which was performed to ensure a safe trip and a speedy return. He was so frustrated with the socio-political situation that he vowed to his mother that he would never return to this land which held nothing for him.

After his father's execution, the hardships the family had suffered, and as a result of impending danger of the Greek Civil War, Vane decided to resettle his family in Australia. It would appear that at this stage, the notion of "na pechalba" work migration was transformed into permanent migration. It was the beginning of the chain migration described by Price. Vane had been in Australia for over ten years and in 1950 managed to

bring his wife Elena and daughter Fania to Australia. Due to the long years Vane was separated from his family, Fania did not recognize or know her father, as he had left for Australia when she was only two years old. Vane settled his family in Werribee in Victoria and later bought a fish and chips shop in Brunswick. In 1956 the family bought a farming property.

Vane helped to bring out his remaining family but once in Australia a definite split occurred between the brothers and their families in terms of their ethnic self-identification. Vane developed his Macedonian identity, as he was literate in Macedonian. He actively attended and became involved in Macedonian community organizations such as St George Church Fitzroy (the first Macedonian church to be built outside of Macedonia). His grandchildren attended the first Macedonian language community school.

Vane was buried by a Macedonian priest in 1985 at the above-mentioned church. The children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of the brothers also promote the sense of transgenerational differentiation. Vane's offspring have a sense of Macedonian identity, continue to become literate in Macedonian, enrol grandchildren and great grandchildren in Macedonian schools and classes in Melbourne.

Vane's family unreservedly displayed their public Macedonian identity and attended the Macedonian church. This issue was very important in terms of familial relations and was clearly not supported by all the family members who refused to attend the funeral of Vane's wife, Elena, in 1965 because the service was held in the Macedonian church and not the Greek church. They were afraid of spies and as a consequence only the women attended the funeral service, with most of the male relatives abstaining. Those who attended did not even console or pay their condolences to the grieving Fania and her family. Not to pray for the soul of the deceased or console the grieving family with the phrase "Bog da go prosti" (translated meaning: may God have mercy on this soul), is considered to be a very open display of hostility. This act signifies the beginning of the differentiation in the family and exemplifies the fear of external pressures by representatives from the Greek authorities in Australia. Members of the extended family wanted "to keep the road clear for bringing relatives overseas, or to preserve them from harsh treatment in Greek Macedonia itself" (Price 1963: 317). But Elena's dying wish was to be buried by a Macedonian priest from the newly opened church so that "she could understand what was being said in the here after, because she was sick of not being able to understand."

Her daughter Fania was ostracized by her kin (ie cousins and their families) for not taking on a Greek identity and for openly showing her

Macedonianness by attending the Macedonian church. She was offered little or no support from her extended family during her bereavement. It was felt that this could bring further damage to the extended family in terms of remaining family in Macedonia and assets. However, Fania and her husband Risto were clearly fed up with the sort of discriminatory treatment they had received in the Greek Church, before the Macedonian church was built, that there was no hesitation in their decision to support the Macedonian church. One incident was a particular turning point regarding this issue. Their second daughter Gordana was christened in the Greek Orthodox Church in 1957 (well before the completion of the Macedonian Church in Melbourne). Considerable hostility erupted at the christening service when the Greek priest refused to christen the child by the chosen name, saying that this name Gordana was not a proper Greek name. When he proceeded to christen the child with a Greek version of the name, the Godfather became very upset and confronted the priest who became very hostile, complaining that he would under no circumstances christen any child with a "Slav" (meaning Macedonian) name. At the end of the service, the parents decided never to attend a Greek Church again. Until the Macedonian Church was built, they even attended the Syrian Orthodox Church in Melbourne.

Mito

Mito and his family came to Australia in 1950 to 1951, settling in Footscray and then later buying a fish and chips shop in Yarraville. There is some controversy as to the way in which Mito was encouraged to leave Greece. Some members of the family allege that he had to denounce his Macedonian heritage and agree never to return in order to leave the country. When Mito's son was questioned on this issue he became clearly evasive and did not want to discuss the matter. Upon coming to Australia, Mito sent money to the village Kleshtina to pay for troughs for the animals. This could be interpreted as an act of support for his village, but also as a demonstration of support for the Greek status quo, so that he could ensure returning to his village. In short, he appeared to be buying acceptance from official and government departments.

Once in Australia, Mito on an external level took on a Greek Macedonian identity, one would assume in order to avoid further loss of remaining family assets. He attended the Greek church and actively assisted "profigi" refugee migrants coming to Australia. (These were the refugee settlers with whom he fought almost to the death when the family's land was taken.) He had nothing to do with the Macedonian

Orthodox community in Melbourne and was afraid of showing any outward signs of support for anything Macedonian, being very conscious and wary of "spies". His daughters married "prosvigi" (refugees) much to his abhorrence and he affirmed his "Greekness" even to the point of having the Hellenized version of his mother's name on her gravestone in the northern suburbs cemetery in Melbourne. Ristana died at the age of 85. This was the same woman who cursed and burnt her grandchildren's Greek books. I believe all these actions can be interpreted as an act of reparation with the Greek government, proving his reliability and "Greekness" in order to return to his homeland for a holiday. Mito's son has the attitude that it is best not to meddle in politics or be seen to overtly air one's political views. A common quote regarding this point is "Oh, we don't like politics. It's best that a man looks after his family and does not get involved in those sorts of things. It isn't worth the risk." This is also in line with the typical "peasant" mentality, to look after one's family and land as being the ultimate aim in life. However, regardless of external display of support, the family (ie cousins and family members) communicate only in the Macedonian language, have only a basic knowledge of spoken Greek and are practically if not totally illiterate in that language. Mito and his brother Vane and their immediate families would often have long private conversations about what their family had suffered. Mito would speak of his hatred of the Greek regime. He also held animosity towards the "prosvigi" who married his daughters. He thought of them as foreigners and they too often called the family, "Vulgaros" or Bulgarians. Mito always referred to his daughters' husbands as prosvigi, never "nashi". This term was only ever used in reference to Macedonians.

Mito's offspring and grandchildren have a strong sense of Greek Macedonian identity and/ or have assumed an Australian identity rejecting the former and all its complexities. In 1987 Mito was proclaimed as a "good Greek" at his funeral service attended by three Greek priests.

This case study has concentrated mainly on the families of the two brothers, but I would just like to briefly mention the other two sisters. Pando and Ristana's daughters, Marika and Ana, married into the neighbouring villages of Kalenik and Kladorabi respectively. Ana died young and did not migrate to Australia, whereas her children migrated to Australia after the brothers were well settled in the later 1950s.

Marika on the other hand came to Australia twice and could not settle here and returned to live in Kalenik with her son Spase until her death. All of Pando's grandchildren and their families live in Australia, bar Spase who remained in the village and Gorjana who lives in Canada.

The extended family is no longer close-knit and has grown apart

during the past forty years. The split occurred, according to my interviewee, when the Macedonian church was built in Melbourne in 1960. Then, people had to decide whether they were going to show their Macedonianness openly or not. Many Macedonian families donated money for the new church but wanted their contribution kept anonymous.

The fear of the Greek regime was further perpetuated by villagers who claimed to know spies, actually threatening Fania and her husband about ever returning to their homeland if they persisted in this type of "anti-Greek" activity. One of the relatives in the extended family was renowned for holding this type of position. The father-in-law of Fania's first cousin Nada, claimed to be a "government official" with a special task to complete in Australia. Price documented this type of activity and the use of paid "village individuals" to assist in the Hellenization process within the extended family situation is also documented in "The Conspiracy Against Macedonia" (Popov and Radin 1989). So we can conclude that there was considerable pressure on people to conform with the status quo even in Australia. This external pressure has continued to affect the choices Macedonians make about their public self-identification even after the first generation have died.

The contradiction in Mito's story is that whilst he portrayed a very strong Greek Macedonian public image, he still retained a very strong private Macedonian sense of identity. It is this contradiction that is most often misunderstood. A culmination of fear, the internalization of a negative self-image and a sense of not wanting harm to come to family and property in the homeland are the main ingredients which contribute to the adoption of dual self-identification in Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia.

4. Case Study Analysis

The following case study analysis will be divided into two sections. The first will be a discussion of the assimilation process in Aegean Macedonia on a macro level, drawing on material presented in the historical overview and the case study. The second will entail a more detailed dialectical analysis of the effect of this process on a personal or micro level.

(a) An Analysis of the Process of Assimilation in Aegean Macedonia and Australia

From the historical overview and the case study we can conclude that

quite comprehensive denationalization schemes in Aegean Macedonia attempted to promote a false ethnic consciousness by banning the use of the Macedonian language, curbing the cultural activities of the Macedonian people, changing the ethnographic makeup of the region with the resettlement of refugees of a different language group, and the dispossession of land and assets. In terms of social psychology what was being done? Clearly, it was a case of social engineering by attempting to bring about a change in the ethnic identity of Macedonians aimed at the assimilation of Macedonians and the refugee population into one homogeneous group. Ethnic diversity in Greece was not encouraged. On the contrary, ethnocentric government policies emphasizing a Greek brotherhood and national unity, especially the notion of a "glorious Hellenic past", have been systematically promoted via the education system, religious and cultural activities.

The assimilation of minority ethnic groups in Greece has been systematic and this has been documented in sociolinguistic studies by Trudgill and Tzavaras (in Giles 1977: 171-183) who undertook a study on the assimilation of Albanian-Greeks and the Arvanitika language which they classify as a "dying language". In their investigation of the social and educational problems faced by the Arvanites, they conclude that the assimilation process is practically complete. Trudgill and Tzavaras state that the erosion of Albanian identity occurred as a result of three main factors. The first was the wave of Hellenization after the War of Independence and the Greek Civil War; secondly, through the Greek Orthodox Church which strove to promote ethnic and religious similarities rather than differences; finally, the demographic change as a result of the population exchanges broke down Albanian homogeneity as "formerly Albanian areas became mixed and Hellenized" (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 173). These factors are also exemplified in the Macedonian case study family and have been documented in the historical section. Indeed the cultural, economic and political dominance of the Greeks had a definite impact in breaking down the identity of both these minority groups.

Regarding the dispossession of land (as experienced by the case study families) as a direct result of the resettlement program, Ladas outlines the procedures undertaken for the liquidation of property. He claims that there was a local Florina (Lerin) Sub-Commission which held "official files for the establishment of property rights" (Ladas 1932: 191). This is most probably the Government organization dealt with by the case study family. Furthermore, there was often difficulty in proof of ownership in the land surveying procedure, as little bits of land were often separated

by other people's property. This was further complicated by the existence of abandoned land and in fact "most of the establishment of property rights and the surveying of land was made on the basis of the testimony of the delegates" (Ladas 1932: 194). This, as we have seen in the case study, was inadequate to say the least and was open to abuse, especially if there was any doubt as to the allegiance of families to Greece. It can be said that this was a process designed to covertly encourage migration from the region.

Apart from forced migration from the region, the resettlement of non-Macedonian speakers highlighted in the former examples attempted to effectively break down the strength of the Macedonian language as well as the languages of other groups like the Arvanites. A situation was created where "the home language was stigmatized or ridiculed, thus creating a sense of inferiority or even self hatred" (Van Den Berghe 1981: 258). This is outlined in the case study in Fania's negative school experiences regarding the Macedonian language and is also supported by the Trudgill and Tzavaras study, "speaking Arvanitika makes you feel embarrassed" (1977: 174). Political socialization via the education system was aimed at creating a sense of unified Greekness or a melting pot for the poly-ethnic makeup of the region. The school photograph mentioned earlier supports this argument. This was directed as much to the newcomers (refugees) as well as the original inhabitants and exemplifies the engineering of a public Greek identity. Ladas (1932) and (Price 1963) make direct reference to this as the aim of the resettlement programs. The very deliberate policies to eradicate the Macedonian language through a systematic monolingual education system demonstrate a systematic approach to ethnic engineering where the superiority of the dominant culture was the agenda. When people aren't given the opportunity to become literate in their mother-tongue, they internalize a sense of inferiority and backwardness about their language and themselves (Clyne 1985, Edwards 1985).

Language teachers involved in minority language maintenance programs are aware that the fundamentals of language teaching methodology should ideally be centered on the total development of the child in terms of family cohesion, where communication between the younger and older generation are maintained. More importantly, in terms of self esteem, Clyne notes that, "children from non English speaking backgrounds often develop the misconception that their family language is a worthless language because it does not play a role in the school domain" (Clyne 1985: 137-8).

If we reverse this ideological and methodological stance on language

maintenance and teaching, one question remains unaddressed. What was the effect of the Greek education system on the children from Macedonian background who were denied a holistic education in terms of their bilingualism and self-esteem? The case study reveals that there were no mother-tongue maintenance programs for Macedonian students. Moreover, kindergartens were established where children were taken at a very young age (pre-school) in order to distance them from the "monoglots" in the extended family situation where the Macedonian language was being passed on. "Subtractive" bilingualism was the aim, that is, the acquisition of the second language slowly overpowering the mother-tongue (Garder and Kalin 1981).

The socio-psychological process of ethnic change and language shift has been described by other scholars as often traumatic, as in the case of the Mexican American experience. In the American education system, for example, when no attempt is made to promote or develop the Mexican child's ethnic self-esteem or to maintain his mother-tongue the following experience has been documented. "The Spanish-speaking child who encounters stern and imposing prohibitions against using his language not only is traumatized by a conflict he does not readily understand but is forced into a position of repudiating his cultural identity or else of perishing within the educational process" (Bouchard Ryan and Carranza in Giles 1977: 60).

Similar parallels are revealed in the case study when the grandchildren are stigmatized and physically punished by the teacher in the primary school for speaking their "Gypsy language" at school. If they were caught speaking the language in the yard, again the use of corporal punishment was the norm. Coupled with this, students were taught that the language they spoke was "not a real language", ie not a literary language. If they spoke Macedonian with their profigi school mates they were ridiculed. The attempt to proscribe the use of Macedonian and undermine the value of the home language has been described by my interviewee as "trying to drive a nail through our tongue."

The situation faced by the grandchildren on the homefront was the total rejection of the Greek language and the education process by their grandmother and mother who would burn the Greek language books and tell the children that they had their own language, thereby nullifying the education process. It also signalled a reinforcement of their individual self-worth as Macedonians and exemplifies the promotion of ethnic self-esteem.

The promotion of the inferiority of the Macedonian language, which implied the inferiority of such ethnic self-identification and the supe-

riority of the Hellenic culture and people, was a psychological lever used in assimilating the Macedonian minority in Greece. This coupled with better life chances within the wider Greek society meant that the younger generation had to conform by becoming bilingual or risk a lower standard of living.

We can draw parallels with the Irish language to a certain extent especially where "The National School System itself established in 1831, excluded Irish, it was called the "murder machine" by Pearse. Also the famine and emigration which it prompted had their greatest effect in rural Irish speaking areas" (Edwards 1985: 54).

Moreover, there developed a negative attitude to the Irish language of "drudgery and backwardness". However, the Irish language was effectively destroyed and attempts to revive it occurred too late (Edwards 1985: 55).

The value of language as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural distinctiveness must not be underestimated. However, if we examine the level of prestige and economic advantage to be had by being educated in the dominant group language (Greek), given that Macedonians were not provided with the opportunity to become literate in their mother-tongue, it is understandable in some cases that Macedonians developed a sense that the Macedonian language and therefore being Macedonian was of an inferior status. This is clearly outlined in Fania's quote about her school experience.

"As a child, almost from the age that I could understand, I was taught that my people were lower class, my language was lower class, everything we did, customs, everything was inferior..."

However, her grandmother's reinforcement of her individual and ethnic self worth as Macedonian by destroying Greek books, refusing to speak Greek at home, maintaining her Macedonian culture and maintaining a very aggressive attitude towards the denationalization, is possibly the reason why Fania has maintained her Macedonian identity. Fania's grandmother was displaying aggressive ethnicity and this is also duplicated by Fania with her own children. On the other hand, individuals experiencing such situations may also react in the opposite way and accept the denationalization process without apparent resistance. In the Arvanitika study, those who suffered discrimination were determined that their children would not suffer in the same way because they would speak Greek (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 174). This is also present in the case study, particularly in reference to the second brother. Mito's family began to self-identify as Greek Macedonian, even though their command of Greek was somewhat limited. The psychological inter-

nalization of inferiority is the reason for this and the implications of this are enormous, especially if we are concerned with the development of the Macedonian language in the future. There is cause for concern in Aegean Macedonia, given that the number of "monoglots" are decreasing and bilingualism in Greek and Macedonian is increasing, especially amongst the younger generation. Future studies will have to be completed regarding language maintenance or shift in this context.

One point needs to be stressed, considerable Greek government resources have gone into promoting the supposed Hellenic background of Macedonians. The Institute of Macedonian Studies in Salonica and the Institute of Balkan Studies have worked tirelessly both in Greece and in countries of migration to define the supposed Hellenic parameters of the Macedonian ethny or "slavophone Greeks" as they call them. Thus continuing the development of an ethnospecific public Macedonian identity was impossible when the Greek state had the power of defining the parameters of the Macedonian "public" ethnicity, which in their definition was Hellenic in character.

The role of the Greek church in the assimilation process must also be mentioned because, historically, it was free to maintain a hold in the Macedonian region unhindered by the Ottomans. From the eighteenth century the powerful Patriarchate from Constantinople "not only robbed the congregations of their material possessions, they strove to deprive them of their most treasured immaterial possession, their racial identity" (West 1984: 642).

In contemporary times its influence is significant as revealed in the case study because it was mandatory for children to go to church on Sunday and this was reinforced through the education system, punishing students who did not go to church. In places of migration, the Greek Church also assumed control over Macedonians, with many Macedonians still to this day being afraid to enter the Macedonian churches for fear of reprisals against their families in their homeland. This was exemplified in the case study when one of the brothers would not be seen at any Macedonian community function or church. Other members of the extended family would not even attend the funeral of a close relative, namely Vane's wife, because the funeral was at the Macedonian church.

Apart from the "fear" element inherent in attending the Macedonian church, let us not underestimate the psychological effect of the internalized negative messages Macedonians have been receiving about their Macedonian background, namely that they had no "real" language, or culture or church, due to the fact that there had been little expression allowed of any positive "public" Macedonian political culture and identity.

Attending the Greek church for these Macedonians was and is also a way of gaining a "proper" or "acceptable" form of culture and identity. In order to gain a sense of self-worth and acceptance by the dominant social group, they continue to compromise their public Macedonian identity even though they now live in Australia. It is crucial to isolate this fact as it has been and is a covert form of socio-psychological pressure which was brought to bear during the Hellenization process. This occurred because these people were never given the opportunity to develop literacy in their mother-tongue and an education which affirmed their worth as Macedonians. During Turkish domination, it was illiteracy which 'saved' Macedonians from the Hellenization process (Friedman 1985), however in the 20th century, when Macedonia became part of the Greek state, the pressure of Hellenic cultural imperialism transcended the Greek church and was evident in all forms of social life. Macedonians were no longer isolated and distinct efforts were made by the authorities to teach the Greek language to everybody including the older generation. Fania's mother, aunt and grandmother all had to attend compulsory Greek classes.

One other point must be raised in reference to Macedonians and Greeks sharing the same Orthodox faith; justification for attending a Greek church is often given by way of claiming that "it is the same faith so the church is not important". The similarities of the faith have been promoted by the Greek Orthodox Church (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 175). In this context, I believe that Macedonians have also internalized and accepted church service in foreign languages because this has been a part of their recent historical past when Greece abolished the use of Old Church Slavonic in Aegean Macedonia under the Metaxas regime. Until then, even though the Macedonian Church had been officially abolished by the Ottomans, the use of Old Church Slavonic as a liturgical language (based on the Macedonian language) was the way in which the Macedonian language and identity were maintained.

Apart from the fear of attending the Macedonian church in Australia because of political ramifications for relatives in Macedonia (Price 1963: 317), some Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia could not come to regard the new Macedonian church as really their own because of the confusion inherent in the false propaganda that the Republic of Macedonia was really Yugoslav or Serbian. There is a confusion about the identity of Macedonians which has been promoted by vast propaganda campaigns that Macedonians living in Greece had always been part of the Greek civilization (Price 1963: 316) and were often called "Slavophone Greeks". This was done to foster or enforce a "split" or

differentiation between Macedonians in Australia. But in actual fact, the autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church was not re-established in the Republic of Macedonia, then part of Yugoslavia, until 1967, well after the building of the first Macedonian church outside of the Republic of Macedonia in 1960. The establishment of this church was not merely to serve the religious needs of the Macedonian community in Melbourne, but it was a symbol of their "conscientization" or national identity as Macedonians. In an internal Greek Government document "The Conspiracy Against Macedonia" dated 16th February, 1982 (Popov and Radin 1989), special recommendations were made to promote pro-Greek sentiment in Aegean Macedonia by holding "special teaching seminars for all state workers and for the clergy who work in the sensitive region of Macedonia". Furthermore, financial support has been given to cultural organizations in Lerin to "stage events, and to publish books, newspapers, magazines etc which would be sent to compatriots abroad who come from this region in order to strengthen nationalist feeling and to arm them against anti-Greek propaganda which is carried out by the Macedonian organizations".

As a result of the extensive denationalization policies, the erosion of ethnic self-affirmation in Macedonians of Aegean Macedonia has occurred because "ethnic self-esteem is susceptible to all kinds of political manipulation" (Roosens 1989: 18). Furthermore, Van den Berghe states that "typically, people do not consciously decide to assimilate or resist assimilation. They simply take a multitude of small daily decisions to behave in certain ways in certain situations" (Van Den Berghe 1981: 257).

The economic factor must never be underestimated in such situations because one of the main reasons in the case study for the extended display of hyperconformity is to secure the family's property and assets, particularly after the bulk of the land was lost by voicing their dissatisfaction with the status quo. In more recent times there is evidence that employment preference is given to Greek speaking personnel. "Workers and support personnel who do not know the local idiom (ie Macedonian) should be employed in state public services and in the schools" (The Conspiracy Against Macedonia, in Popov and Radin 1989).

Given this type of social context in Aegean Macedonia, one phenomenon that has emerged as a result of the assimilation program is the adaptation of a "pseudo-identity" or the suppression of Macedonian identity and the open adaptation of a type of Greek Macedonian identity in particular situations. This change in self-identification is the crux of the problematic in the case study and this was done on a conscious level. The socio-psychological implications of the emergence of such a pseudo

identity need to be addressed, especially if we perceive this phenomenon in terms of survival. If we accept the preservation of "self" as being the basic drive of human nature the adaptation of a pseudo identity in some situations is quite comprehensible. From a very young age the "fear" mechanism is triggered off both on a very overt and conscious level, like one's personal safety, but also on a subconscious level. Induced by the internalization of the negative reinforcement of denationalization policies, the long term effect still burdens Macedonians today and has been transmitted to subsequent generations.

This "fear complex", namely fear of losing property, denial of entry to Greece and reprisals against relatives, is still blatantly obvious today if one samples Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia living in Australia. The writer has witnessed Macedonians from Aegean Macedonian villages donating money to the Macedonian Human Rights Organization, but wanting their identity kept secret. The case study reveals the conflicts and problems the "fear complex" caused in this particular family leading to the split or differentiation. Even after years of settlement in Australia, "the power of the past" still has a psychological hold on some Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia.

It is not surprising that the source of agony and anxiety in the Macedonian homeland also can burden the immigrant in the new country in the form of a deliberate well-oiled machine which continued the Hellenization process of Macedonians abroad in the following forms. It effectively nurtured ethnic change and the development of the pseudo identity or mask that Macedonians adopt in order to survive on a social and psychological sense.

The Hellenization of Macedonians in Australia continued as follows:

(a) The establishment of the Pan Macedonian Association was meant as an umbrella organization for all mushrooming village organizations in Melbourne in the 1960-70s. It was the Greek version of "brotherhood" between Pontians, Thracians, Macedonians, Vlachs, Albanians and Greeks. Similar activities have been outlined in the Greek lobby in America where a "sense of common identity" was forged (Stack ed. 1981: 51). This was followed by the establishment of the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies in 1987, which has been an anti-Macedonian lobby, promoting the Greekness of Macedonia in conferences held in Australia as well as lobbying against the teaching of the Macedonian language in Australia.

(b) The Greek print media publish specific material promoting the Greek identity amongst Macedonians in Australia which are still being circulated to village organizations and even the State education system

in Victoria. Such publications like *Makedoniki Zoi* (Macedonian Life) and others promote such ideas as the Greekness of Macedonia and promote false allegations about the Macedonian language, culture, ethnospecificity and the Republic of Macedonia. The misleading information presented in these publications centres on the Macedonian language being "an idiom, without syntax, grammatical components and spelling." Linguistic facts and arguments by DeBray (1980) and Friedman (1975, 1985) which outline the lack of logic and linguistic fact in such assertions are ignored in the attempt to prove that "Macedonians are Greeks" and that a "pseudo title" Macedonian Nation does not exist. In fact they hold that the name "Republic of Macedonia has been misappropriated by those in Skopje" (*Makedoniki Zoi* No. 60 1971).

(c) As outlined in the case study, spies (members of the extended family) report the activities of the emigre community back to the homeland. Furthermore the use of influential village individuals to promote pro-Greek sentiment both in the homeland and in Australia is also documented in "The Conspiracy Against Macedonia".

"In each village individuals should be designated who, because of their family ties and their personality, have influence on a wider circle of their co-villagers; they should be approached by any means (including monetary compensation) to become advocates leading the battle against the use of the idiom (ie Macedonian) in their circles" (in Popov and Radin: 1989).

(d) In countries of migration there is a history of anti-Macedonian activity perpetuated at Government level dating back to World War One when war allies Greece and Serbia applied pressure to the Canadian and United States governments to classify Macedonians as enemy aliens. This occurred after the Bulgarian alliance with Germany (Vasiliadis in Gold 1984: 65). For "so simple an action as speaking Macedonian" people were "fined or arrested for not registering as enemy aliens" (Vasiliadis in Gold 1984: 66). In Australia, the anti-Macedonian lobby has been active in sending letters and lobbying the Australian government, even to the extent of letters addressed to the Prime Minister and various government departments reprimanding Australian initiatives regarding the recognition and teaching of the Macedonian language, and in recent times lobbying against the recognition of a sovereign Macedonia.

(e) The role of the Greek priests in promoting the Hellenization process in Australia centred on church activities like christening children with Greek names even against the wishes of Macedonian parents, as exemplified in the case study where Fania tried to christen her second daughter Gordana but the Greek priest refused. Also in church the priests

reinforce the negative attitude to the use of the Macedonian language. The Greek church has assumed covert control over Macedonians, with many Macedonians still to this day being afraid to enter the Macedonian churches for fear of reprisals against their families in their homeland. Price documents Macedonians deliberately joining Greek organizations, particularly church and village organizations, to counter this fear as was exemplified in the case study when one of the brothers assisted the *profigi* migrants to Australia.

In the case study, the same brother is buried as a "good Greek" in order to accommodate the "fear complex". However, while he was giving a very public display of this Greekness, he still had a very firm conceptual understanding of who were Greeks, *profigi*, and Macedonians. This was only ever aired privately but along with the use and maintenance of the Macedonian language shows that he most certainly retained his private Macedonian identity as well. We come now to the crux of the problematic analysis regarding the way in which these Macedonian brothers self-identified. The contradiction inherent in this case study can systematically be defined with the use of dialectics.

(b) Understanding the Dialectic Process

In order to develop an objective critique about identity and to understand the contradictions of relationships, the complexities, problems and causes of the apparent ethnicity change/ crisis as outlined in the case study, we must apply the analytical to the concrete. It is in this way that I propose to investigate the case study. Truth is subjective and rather than falling into subjectivism, we need to separate the fundamentals in this problem to enable a deeper understanding of social phenomenon such as identity. In this case, the contradiction in the case study exemplifies the dialectics of identity. After examining a phenomenon in such a way, it is possible to work towards a synthesis. For Marx the separation of subject and object "provides the solution to the problem of the split between subjectivity and objectivity, idealism and materialism, mind and body" (Bologh 1978: 8). It also uncovers the active relation of subject and object which in turn should reveal the internal relationships of subject and object. So, in order to understand the split or the internal relationship between Macedonians and their identity, we must first separate Macedonians and their identity and look at each as separate components. If we look at Macedonians as the subject and their identity as the object we have in fact started the first stage of examination as shown in diagram 1.

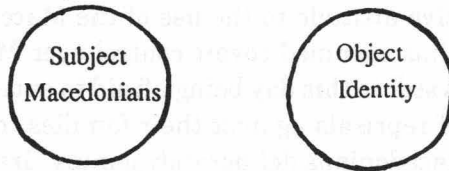


Diagram 1

Conversely, if we examine Macedonians as the objects of "external abstractions" namely denationalization or assimilationist policies, we see that this leads to a divided subject identity as in diagram 2 because of the internalization of the assimilation process.

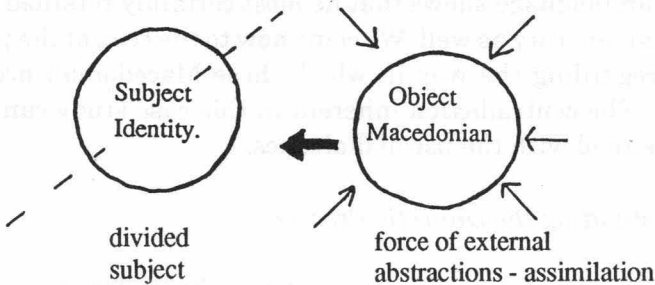


Diagram 2

The examination of the "ongoing subject-object" gives us a clue as to how this phenomenon is reproduced. The subsequent internalization of the assimilation policies manifested as a split subject are transferred as a divided object or apparent dual identity in diagram 3. We may interpret this as "divided subjectivity (re)presents itself as internal conflict" (Bologh 1979: 8). The contradiction is evident when internal struggle brings about change which manifests itself as the use of externally appropriate Greek Macedonian labelling.

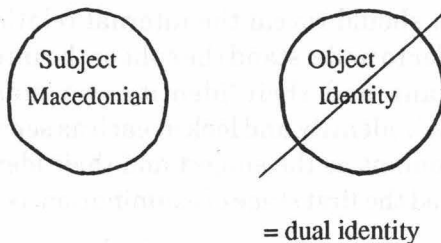
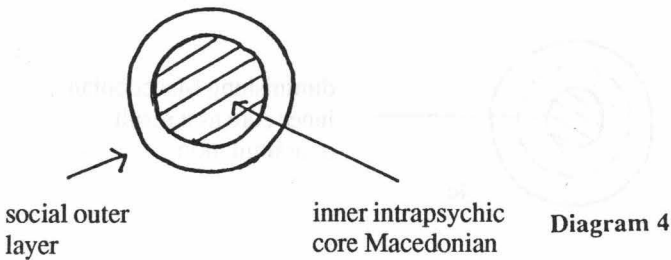


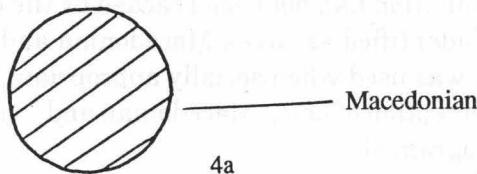
Diagram 3

In this case the externalized abstractions become an internalized reality in the way the subject perceives the object, that is the Macedonian and his or her identity. This is in line with Bologh's interpretation that "treating social human-made phenomena as given, makes them reified and hence oppressive" (Bologh 1979: 273).

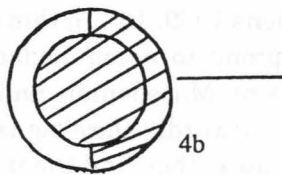
On a micro level let us further examine the above dialectic object of identity using Roosens' anthropological viewpoint which explores the concept of creating ethnicity or ethnogenesis. He outlines the core or the internal "intrapsychic" dimension of ethnicity as well as the "social" dimension in referring to others (Roosens 1989: 15). In this case study it is the social "outer" core which is prone to accommodatory change. However, the intrapsychic core remains Macedonian and intact. See diagram 4. Whilst some Macedonians outwardly show signs of assimilation in order to survive in the social context they find themselves in, the inner core is not so manipulable. The Macedonian intrapsychic core remains Macedonian, in that he sees himself as nash (one of us). This is obvious in the way he refers to his kin or members of his community, the way he maintains his culture, traditions and language and is perplexed at the idea of his children marrying other nationalities, as occurred in the case study. If there were significant changes to the intrapsychic component, all the above-mentioned criteria would not be Macedonian but something else, illustrating the much deeper effect of assimilation.



If we make diagrammatic representation of Macedonian identity based on the Roosens model it would look something like this.

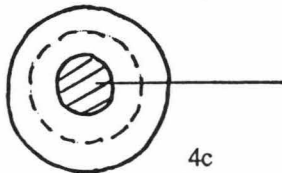


This represents Macedonian identity both social and intrapsychic which has not been affected by assimilation. Vane's family would be represented by this model because they possessed a very strong sense of ethnic self-esteem and self-identify as Macedonians in the social context and nashi in an intrapsychic sense. There is no duality of self-identification or inner conflict which produces a split between the social and intrapsychic component.



split between inner and outer = duality in social (public) self-identification

Figure 4b represents Macedonian identity with a split between the social and intrapsychic level as a result of the internalization of the assimilation process. However, the duality of self-identification, ie Greek Macedonian can also be represented as a "double split" on the social level because the Macedonian identity is also used in the appropriate social context. Note there is no split in the intrapsychic level.



diminishing Macedonian inner core as a result of assimilation

As the assimilation process increases, the intrapsychic qualities begin to change as well as the social. As a result, language, traditions, and the concept of being Macedonian changes to a self-perception of being Greek and not wanting to identify as being Macedonian even on a personal level. This stage of assimilation had not been reached by the case study family who in public self-identified as Greek Macedonian and whose duality of self-identification was used when socially appropriate but who still had a very firm self-perception of being Macedonian and "one of us". They are represented by diagram 4b.

Clearly, the dialectic or contradiction in Macedonian identity is

centred on the social dimension which is more prone to change while the inner core remains the same. Because the outer core is manipulable, supposed ethnic change occurs on a superficial level, much as a chameleon changes its skin colour to blend into the surrounding social environment. Having internalized and accepted that their people may be culturally, linguistically, socially and economically inferior, some Macedonians attempt to convey the image that they are more Greek than the Greeks in an attempt to earn recognition and acceptance as equals. It is an interesting phenomenon that this process actually continues in Australia (Price 1963). Yeboah (1988) in his disquieting expose of ideology and racism of black people by western civilization outlines similar social behavior. For Macedonians the use of another external ethnic identity should be looked upon as a survival technique and this has been mentioned in contemporary Macedonian novels. For example, Petre Andreevski's *Nebeska Timjanovna* where a Macedonian would call him/herself Greek, Bulgarian or Serb in the course of one day because they were starving and absolutely destitute as a result of a continuation of wars and simultaneous oppression by different groups. This phenomenon, if not understood and placed in context, may be easily misinterpreted and thus have inaccurate conclusions drawn in terms of understanding the identity of this individual.

The dialectic put quite simply is this: regardless of how the outer shell or the external identity of Macedonians may change due to the internalization of denationalization processes, the inner or intrapsychic dimension remains Macedonian and "one of us". The dialectical complexity and contradiction most often misunderstood is that even though one must be born into an ethnic group, in social terms one's ethnicity is sometimes fluid. The findings of Gardner and Kalin in *Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations* concludes that "ethnic identity is not fixed and certain, ethnic identity can change although not easily and an individual can also at the same time and over a period of time identify with more than one ethnic group depending on the situation he finds himself in" (Gardner and Kalin ed. 1981: 17).

This is most certainly the case with the younger brother in the case study who has a dual ethnic identity, but what can be said of the brother who maintained his Macedonian identity and those who have continued to identify as Macedonians regardless of negative assimilatory practices. Roosens states "those who identify with an ethnic category network or group can find psychological security in this identification, a feeling of belonging, a certainty that one knows one's origin, that one can live on in the younger generations of one's people who will carry on the struggle.

One can commit oneself to "a cause", fulfil oneself, realize oneself to be unique, original, irreplaceable as a member of an ethnic group" (Roosens 1989: 16).

I believe that this reflects a very real element of Freire's "conscientization". Macedonians who maintain and develop their identity have arrived at this stage of awareness or "svest" which is simply an awareness and positive acceptance of one's Macedonian self. The fundamental key to understanding the dialectic of apparent duality in Macedonian identity and relationships Macedonians have with others and themselves is tied to the process of assimilation and/ or differentiation. Those who take on the externally appropriate hyperconformative alternative "pseudo" ethnic identity and call themselves Greek or Greek Macedonians are deliberately compromising socially and displaying signs of some assimilation, albeit on an outward level. However, on an inner private level, the Macedonian language is still spoken and customs are still observed and the family identifies as Macedonian. The reasons for this are varied as we have seen. Those who remain Macedonian and resist all pressure to change their ethnic identity do so because they have more "ethnic self esteem" and can repel or resist the denationalization forces. This type of situation leads to differentiation or the split which is evident in our present communities in Australia and many families around the world and which has also been documented in Price's 1963 study.

Furthermore, those who adopt the alternative ethnic identity, which is simply the internalization and reproduction of assimilation policies, are further disadvantaged because they lack the relevant education (knowledge about themselves) and literacy in their mother-tongue to be able to competently develop their own "intrapsychic" ethnic identity and esteem. They do not have the self confidence in their public Macedonian ethnic identity because they have never been given the opportunity via the education and social system to explore the dimensions of such development.

Therefore the above analytical theorizing is vital in the process of liberation. It clarifies the fact that human-made phenomena are merely "ongoing social accomplishment and subject to human intervention" (Bologh 179: 273). Dialectics shows us the way in which this takes place; how human-made forms of ethnic engineering are internalized and accepted as the truth by forthcoming generations. It is not sufficient to accept the subjective nature of such phenomena without further analysis because in doing so we fail to understand the true parameters of the situation Macedonians have endured. Dialectics shows the interplay of the relationships Macedonians have with their surrounding social en-

vironments. Freire gives us some insight into the process of assimilation in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. "The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom, they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized" (Freire 1970: 32).

Sally Weaver's (1984) analysis of Aboriginal ethnicity both in Australia and Canada makes special reference to the concept and development of public and private ethnicity. Unlike the indigenous populations of Australia and Canada, Macedonians did not inhabit the Balkan Peninsula entirely by themselves until the socio-political domination of their homeland by different nations. In the recent past, Aboriginal minorities have been more actively involved in their defining process or the development of their public identity, which was primarily in the hands of the nations where they exist as minorities.

Moving towards a synthesis in the case of the Macedonians, who exist as a "multi-statal" nation, this process of ethnic definition on a public level or the affirmation of public ethnicity is further complicated because they fall under four sets of defining processes within four separate nations. This in effect means that each nation defines their Macedonian minority as something different. What we can effectively summarize about the Macedonians is that their private ethnicity is very well developed and practised to the point that the situational qualities of that ethnicity have also been rationalized. For the Macedonians, the defining process of their public ethnicity as part of the political culture of their nation state is the area which has been suppressed and lacks development, hence the contradictions and juxtapositions frequently presented about Macedonians not being an ethnospecific group.

The development of the Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav Federation after World War 2 was a crucial step in the defining process in terms of public ethnicity and political culture. This historical evolution was not totally complete as it was done within the framework and context of the Yugoslav brotherhood, which was not entirely relevant to Macedonians living outside the Republic in the other divided sections. Needless to say, it reflected in part the political culture of the Yugoslav nation and an emerging Yugoslav ethnic identity, as opposed to the development of the separate and complete Macedonian nation that was independent of the Federation.

The emergence of the Macedonian Republic has been a definite fillip to the defining process and the structures for defining the parameters of

a public Macedonian ethnic identity have been put into place. The growth of an education system, the recognition of the Macedonian literary language and increasing literacy in the Macedonian language have been major achievements in the past fifty years. The democratization of socialist countries has had ramifications for the Macedonian people who for the first time in their national development have a democratically elected Parliament. Macedonian public identity is emerging alongside a definite and separate political culture. The "ethnic self-confidence" or the process of conscientization that is encapsulated in the political culture of public ethnicity and definition is the vital component which given the partition is insufficiently developed in some areas of the Macedonian nation. The question one must ask based on this theoretical assumption is as follows: can the public ethnicity of a people be developed even if all areas of the nation don't develop simultaneously as in the case of the Macedonian homeland?

It would appear from the case study that one brother uses the migration experience to Australia and the distance from his troubled homeland to more fully develop and maintain his private identity, by practising his traditions and culture, becoming literate in his mother tongue and identifying as Macedonian. On a public level he also becomes involved in emerging Macedonian community organizations in Melbourne. Indeed, the development of autonomous Macedonian community and church organizations, as distinct from village organizations, reflects the strong state of the public ethnicity outside the divided nation in a neutral social setting that encourages ethnic diversity.

The opposite occurred with the second brother who retains his private ethnicity but does not develop it to the same extent as his brother. He develops the public ethnicity of the dominant socio-political group in his homeland, ie Greek. There were venues for this type of development in the Australian social context as well. The benefits of such ethnic duality are clear in terms of economic gain but also in psychological terms where acceptance is being sought from the dominant social group. This may be interpreted as the Kleinian concept of reparation or mending the relationship with the dominant group in his homeland which often ostracized and mistreated the family.

The power equation, particularly in reference to minority groups and national governments, is tied directly to the "defining game". The accurate definition and promotion of a distinct and honest Macedonian past and present, and especially of a public Macedonian ethnicity and political culture, has not been to the economic and social advantage of countries such as Greece and Bulgaria where ethnic pluralism and diversity are

suppressed. If we understand that frequent misinformation is presented about the definition of Macedonians, the dialectics of the Macedonian identity crisis as a result of assimilatory practises becomes very comprehensible.

The new Greek Macedonian identity which has been promoted by the Greek Government, particularly in immigrant countries such as Australia, has been a way of utilizing the internalized duality of an oppressed people. This idea supports the notion that Macedonian is synonymous with the idea of Greekness. This has been nurtured and supports the apparent duality, both social and public, which has been internalized and reproduced as the assimilatory process began to work.

The concept of private and public ethnicity is the fundamental thread in understanding the dialectic of the identity crisis revealed in the case study, resultant from deliberate assimilation policies in the Macedonian homeland. The parallels with Weaver's analysis of Australian and Canadian Aborigines are evident because of the colonization experience. Public ethnicity and the process of defining the parameters of national culture can only develop in a social environment where the individual and group have freedom of speech and the right to demand change. The freedom of expression, language, culture and religion without fear of overt or covert persecution is an essential ingredient for the development of "national consciousness" and "ethnic self esteem"; thereby facilitating the development of group self-identification in the public political arena.

If we accept Devos' idea that "ethnicity in its deepest psychological level is a sense of survival" (Devos et al 1975: 25) in terms of acquiring a sense of self, Macedonians have had to contend with the internalization of a negative self image or negative social identity which further complicates the individual's ability and disposition to develop his/ her public Macedonian ethnicity. This is in line with Mead's idea that "in acquiring a sense of self, one internalizes a generalized other", therefore it is quite conceivable that individuals in lower status minority groups "cannot resist some internalization of a negative self image" (Devos 1975: 31).

The case study gives us a concrete insight into the assimilation process and its inherent intrapsychic complexities. It shows a closeknit Macedonian extended family who had a clear self-identification as being Macedonian, as distinct from the other groups in their homeland. They were a family with hostile and bitter experiences of the incoming refugee population and Greek regional authorities before coming to Australia. The brothers, instead of developing a clear sense of their Macedonian self along similar lines, as a result of their past experiences, develop apart. When responding to racist culture "defensive responses of psychological

differentiation" (Giles 1977: 234) are quite evident in the split between the brothers' families.

The brother who was in Australia for longer on work migration had not internalized such a negative self image and developed a very clear social and intrapsychic sense of his Macedonianness in the form of both public and private identity. The brother who had remained in his homeland for longer had internalized the oppression and negativity inherent in the degradation of the Macedonian minority by the more powerful social force as he and his family were subject to the socio-psychological pressures of Hellenization. Whilst he has a very clear sense of his private Macedonian identity, he takes on a new outer public identity when situationally appropriate. However, he does have a very strong sense of injustice in terms of what the family experienced in the homeland, but a resignation to the fact that the family must accept the Greek line if they don't want to lose any more. He had surrendered.

Conclusion

The main thrust of this work has been the isolation of the dialectic of public and private identity in Macedonians. The next scholarly task must be the development of a synthesis or a solution to help Macedonians develop a positive self-image and heal their collective Macedonian psyche to offset generations of racism and oppression, so as to facilitate the further development of this nation into the 21st century. I believe this synthesis can only be written from within this oppressed culture and that process in itself will be liberating. I believe that this task lies with the scholars, but should then be transformed into a socially palatable form of community development or community education. The development of a public political culture which is fundamental in this process is well on the way as a result of the democratization of former socialist countries. More succinctly, the recent declaration of Macedonian sovereignty, which has been termed by Macedonians as their third Ilinden, reflects and exemplifies the modern Macedonian national consciousness that has taken a century to affirm to the world.

At the turn of the century when Macedonian revolutionary activity was at its height, Goce Delchev (revolutionary leader of the Macedonian nation) was often quoted as referring to the revolution for Macedonian autonomy as extending beyond the physical and bloody fighting with the Ottoman empire and other powers. It was in fact described as the "spiritual revolution of an enslaved people".

"... the moral revolution - the revolution of the mind, heart and soul of

an enslaved people is our greatest task" (Letter, March 1901).

"... the Internal Organization is not only involved in arming the people, but also in developing their enslaved soul" (7 April, 1901 Congress Sofia - translated by the writer from Andonov-Poljanski 1985: 206-208).

This type of revolution was aimed at the development of a positive self and national image and a public political culture.

Taken from an Englishwoman's journal at the turn of the century, Lady E Thompson outlines relief work undertaken by the Macedonian Relief Fund established by the Balkan Committee after the Ilinden Insurrection of August, 1903. She outlines the following observations about the devastating state of oppression the Macedonians found themselves in, making Delchev's statements comprehensible.

"There is too, an illness, more or less serious, and sometimes fatal, peculiar to Macedonia, openly avowed by the sufferers and recognized by name by the doctors - *straf* (fear). How many women, and men too, did we not see this winter literally bent to the ground, unable to lift up their heads, unable to work, unable to speak and yet organically sound and uninjured" (Ilieva 1977: 144).

Fear was the "constant and characteristic disease" which continued to afflict the Macedonian people even after the end of Ottoman rule and the subsequent division. The following Macedonian proverb crystalizes the psychological effects of oppression and fear as internalized by the Macedonian people and gives us a glimpse of their psyche:

"Navedena glava, ni sabja ne ja seche."

Translated literally it means "a sword will not behead a head that is bent down". The figurative meaning is also present in the word 'navedena' or to bend down, meaning that if one surrenders to one's fate and accepts enslavement, one will be spared from death by the oppressor. Submission as opposed to action. Accepting a pseudo identity may be interpreted as one of those acts where the Macedonian hangs his head or compromises in order to survive. This is only one of the dimensions of oppression culture inherent in the Macedonian psyche which has been outlined in this paper and is fundamental to a better understanding of the Macedonian people.

Appendix I



From (Ladas 1932: 701)

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