



“Neither here and nor there does water quench our thirst”: Duty, Obedience and Identity in Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian Prose Fiction, 1971-2005

Catalina Ribas Segura

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“Neither here and nor there
does water quench our thirst”:
Duty, Obedience and Identity in
Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian
Prose Fiction, 1971-2005

Catalina Ribas Segura

Construcció i Representació d'Identitats Culturals

Universitat de Barcelona

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Note

The quote included in the title comes from Joanna Liakakos' poem "The Immigrants" that I quote from the anthology *Re-Telling the Tale: Poetry and Prose by Greek-Australian Women Writers*, edited by Helen Nickas and Konstandina Dounis in Melbourne by Owl Publishing in 1994.

In loving memory of Vin D'Cruz, who showed me the path to understanding some of the complexities of being human.

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List of abbreviations

AAP: Australian Assistance Plan

AASRN: Asian Australian Studies Research Network

ABC: Australian Broadcasting Corporation

AIMA: Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs

ALP: Australian Liberal Party

ANZUS: Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America

APIC: Australian Population and Immigration Council

AVO: Apprehended Violence Order

CAHS: Chinese Australian Historical Society

CEDT: Certificate Exempting from Dictation Test

CHAA: Chinese Heritage Association of Australia Inc

CHINA Inc: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australian Inc

CIAC: Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council

IOM: International Organisation for Migration

NESB: Non-English Speaking Background

PRC: People's Republic of China

SBS: Special Broadcasting Service

SEATO: South-East Asian Treaty Organization

SELAS: Australasian League of Greek Writers

TIS: Telephone Interpreter Service

1. Introduction

As Aristotle stressed, poetry is “more philosophical” than history. History tells us what has happened one time: but this may not show us anything interesting about our own possibilities, if the event is idiosyncratic. Literary works, by contrast, show us general plausible patterns of action, “things as might happen” in human life. When we grasp the patterns of salience offered by the work, we are also grasping our own possibilities.

Martha Nussbaum. *Upheavals of Thought*. 243.

Historical events have been fictionalized in literature, where characters explore the limits and consequences of specific actions and events. Literature and story-telling, thus, “provide the means for dealing with experiences by discussing them” (Sarup 139). One such experience is migration, which has been a constant in human lives. Throughout millennia, men and women have left territories behind in search of food and better living conditions, sometimes escaping from wars, natural disasters or poverty, and sometimes to trade with and/or conquest other human groups and explore and/or invade territories. Today, the main reasons for international migration are “growing inequalities in wealth between the North and South”, “political, environmental and demographic pressures ... to seek refuge outside their own countries”, “political or ethnic conflict” and “free trade areas” (Castles and Miller 5). According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, approximately 200 million people were international migrants in 2007, that is, about 3% of the world’s population (Castles and Miller 5; Schuerkens 536). Despite the fact that the great majority of people in the world (about 97%) are not international migrants, migration has a deep impact on migrant communities and their way of life around the world as it affects both the home countries and host societies.

As Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009) state, “Immigration has been one of the main factors shaping Australia’s population and society” (121). In 1945 Australia waived its 1901 White Australia immigration policy to allow non-white aliens to settle in the country, and was especially eager to attract families. The motto became “Populate or Perish” and the new immigration program aimed at increasing the population at a 2% annual rate: 1% from natural growth and 1% sourced from immigration, preferably but

not only, British. At the time, the population was approximately 7 million inhabitants, 90% of whom had been born in Australia, and it was overwhelmingly white (98%) (Indigenous Australians were not counted in the census). In the following six decades, the population changed extraordinarily, became multicultural and more than 22 million people inhabited Australia in 2011. In fact, that year’s census reflected that 26% of its population had been born overseas and 20% had at least one overseas-born parent, that is, 46% of the population was first- or second-generation migrant (ABS 2013). Rightly historian Henry Chan (2004) noted that “[a]t the beginning of the twenty-first century, we are a more culturally diverse immigrant nation” (239).

Two relevant migrant groups who moved to Australia in significant numbers after World War II were the Greeks and the Chinese. On the one hand, Greece and Australia signed an assisted migration program in 1952, which specified the numbers of immigrants to be accepted each year, the forms of assistance and the services to be provided upon arrival. Adults were bonded to work for two years before they could go back to Greece, if they so wished. Approximately 220,000 Greeks migrated to Australia under the auspices of this program until 1974; more than 136,000 Greek-born individuals lived in Australia according to the 1991 census (Castles 20); and less than 108,000 in 2011 (ABS 2013)¹. On the other hand, China and Australia reassumed their diplomatic and official relations in 1973 after the People’s Republic of China had broken off international relations with foreign powers –including Australia– between 1950 and 1952. In the 1991 census (Castles 20), there were more than 78,000 Chinese-born people living in Australia, and 319,000 in the 2011 survey (ABS 2013).

Neighbourhoods changed. There were restaurants, cafés, terraces and milk bars. More vegetables and dairy products were introduced into the daily diets of many and olive oil became available as a food product, not just as a medicine. Languages other than English were taught in Saturday Schools, where the children of first-generation migrants learned the language of their parents and of their community. Social relations also changed at work as many industries functioned due to the work done by migrants. Besides, politicians took a different approach towards their electorates: in the 1970s Australian Liberal Party politicians paid attention to the needs of migrants in order to get their votes. Literature also showed the changes and cultural diversity that Australia

¹ The exact information has not been released as of 19 August 2013. Greece is not one of the Top 10 countries of birth for the overseas-born population. The top ten countries are the United Kingdom, New Zealand, the People’s Republic of China, India, Italy, Vietnam, the Philippines, South Africa, Malaysia and Germany.

was experiencing. Ethnic-specific literary associations appeared, such as the Australasian League of Greek Writers (SELAS) (1964), the Greek-Australian Cultural League of Melbourne (1970), the Hellenic Writers’ and Artists’ Association of Australia (1978) or the Multicultural Writers’ Association (1988) (Kanarakis 35; Nickas 21). Chinese migrants founded historical societies rather than literary associations. The Chinese Australian Historical Society (CAHS) (2002), the Chinese Heritage Association of Australia Inc (CHAA) (2002) and the Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc (CHINA Inc)² are just three associations which promote research into the experiences of Chinese migrants and their descendants. These associations also help genealogical researchers and family historians. Chinese authors have published in journals, such as *Otherland* (printed) (edited by Ouyang Yu) and *Peril Magazine* (online) (edited by Alister Air et al); have founded online research networks, such as the Asian Australian Studies Research Network (AASRN) (by Tseen Khoo) and the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA); and have set up blogs, such as The Banana Lounge (by Tseen Khoo). This suggests that genealogy and tracing one’s historical roots in Australia is a priority for many Chinese Australians and that they widely use the internet and new technologies to share their work and disseminate their research.

Two central aspects of interpersonal relations in Greek and Chinese cultures are duty and obedience, which have been constructed over thousands of years. Since the Greek and Chinese cultures have different approaches to these constructs, each culture needs to be tackled in a particular way. The Greek concepts of *hosion*, *sebas* and *philia* have the implications of the Chinese concept of *hsiao*, which means “filial piety”, and involves all the members in a family and in society. Besides these three concepts, Greek families also count on “the circle of our own”, *philotimo* and the figure of the wife, or *nikokyra*, to establish interpersonal relations. These concepts have undergone modifications throughout millennia but they still lie at the core of both cultures and exercise a great influence on first- and second-generation migrants. As Robyn Hartley (1995) explains, culture “encompasses the complex web of meanings which underlie everyday life and behaviour –the understandings and expectations which guide our actions and interactions with others” (2). Certain aspects of culture are taken for granted unless confronted by something different, which is what occurs in migrant societies. Moreover, since “culture is concerned with meaning, there is of course a very close

² Its first conference was held in 2006.

relationship between culture and language, through which kin relationships, obligations and duties are expressed and appropriate behaviour defined” (Hartley 3). This close relationship is at the core of the present study.

The historical context and the reasons for migration affect the acquisition of cultural and social capital in the host country. Possessing more or less of this capital, Bourdieu (1986) argues, signals the level of satisfaction in a migrant’s life. As Umut Erel (2010) explains, migrants do not have a rucksack with their “cultural resources that may or may not fit with the ‘culture’ of the country of residence” (645) and societies do not assess “the cultural value of migrants’ cultural resources neutrally” (646). Migrants use their skills to solve the problems they face, learn other skills and migration-specific cultural capital and ‘bargain’ with institutions and people about the value of their skills (Erel 649). Migrant networks provide support and “some opportunities for people experiencing exclusion from various aspects of majority society” (Cederberg 65). However, migrant groups do not share a homogenous cultural capital, but this capital produces and is the product of “differentiations of gender, ethnicity, and class within the migrant group” (Erel 643). Thus, migrants may wish not to be involved with the ethnic community in the host country in order to avoid being controlled by other members and to avoid reproducing the roles they played in their country of origin. Meanwhile, society also measures migrants’ cultural capital by “policy constructions of national economic interests, and protectionist professional policies” (Erel 646), that is, some countries institutionalize cultural capital by, for example, not recognizing qualifications acquired abroad. Once this institutional cultural capital is validated, migrants “can use it for professional and geographic mobility” (Erel 648). Historical events that led to migration and the circumstances of the host country influence the social and cultural capital of migrants. Thus, studying the historical context of migration becomes relevant in order to understand the changes first- and second-generation migrants experience and how these are reflected in the literature they produce. This is the reason why this thesis includes information on Australian immigration policies and on the significance of the concepts ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ in both Greek and Chinese cultures. Also, I support Edward Said’s (1978) opinion that “Too often literature and culture are presumed to be politically, even historically innocent” (27), although they are not, as “society and literary culture can only be understood and studied together” (27).

1.1. Aims and methodology

This thesis presents original research: it examines the constructs of duty and obedience in post-World War II Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian literature and compares the strategies these first- and second-generation authors use to make their fictional characters deal with these concepts while living in Australia, the problems their characters face and the solutions they encounter.

This thesis analyses ten texts: six written by Greek-Australian authors and four by Chinese Australian writers. It aims to examine how the above-mentioned cultural concepts appear in these texts and influence the behaviour and thoughts of the characters. In doing so, this thesis aims to state and compare the strategies used.

This study looks at texts published in English by first- and second-generation Greek-Australian and first-generation Chinese Australian migrants during the period 1971- 2005. The date 1971 is significant because that year Australia saw the publication of the first English-language book written by a Greek-Australian. It was the poetry collection *A Tree at the Gate*, by Aristides George Paradissis. Also, it was the year when the People’s Republic of China and Australia re-established diplomatic relations twenty years after all ties between the two nations had been suspended. Likewise, the year 2005 is relevant as the racist Cronulla riots took place in December. The riots marked the end of the spirit of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games and of the 2001 centennial celebrations of the Federation of Australia. The riots also showed that racism permeated many social strata and that the widespread support for the government regarding the management of the Tampa crisis (August-September 2001) had not been an exceptional attitude.

This thesis begins with an analysis of the immigration policies in Australia from the British invasion of the country in 1788 until 2011 and an analysis of the policy of multiculturalism. It then looks at the concepts of duty and obedience in Greek culture and in Chinese culture, how these concepts evolved especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and how they affect marriage and divorce, interpersonal and intergenerational relations, patriotism and migration. This historical-cultural section is followed by a theoretical chapter where the concept of ‘identity’ is explored. The final step is to analyse these notions in the literary texts chosen and compare the strategies used by the authors to make the characters confront (or not) certain specific situations.

This thesis makes its contribution to the discipline of Literary Studies with concepts of Postcolonial theory, Cultural Studies and Migration Studies. It uses an interdisciplinary approach because, as Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009) state, migration is “a complex process in which economic, political, social and cultural factors all work together” (25). The methodology applied in the historical-cultural section of this thesis follows an interdisciplinary approach mainly drawing from studies in the areas of History, Migration Studies, Psychology and Sociology. The literary analysis is based on Postcolonial Studies as this thesis relies on the voices of Greek and Chinese migrants, their texts, characters, points of view and their ways of describing behavioural patterns. This thesis does not follow stereotypes; rather, the framework used illustrates both “diversity within and commonalities across communities” and avoids “overgeneralisation” (Hartley 4). Rod Lancashire (2004) argues that “virtually all histories of the overseas Chinese in Australia (at least until recent times) have been written from the perspective of how Europeans have reacted to the Chinese rather than how the Chinese have reacted to living in a very different social and cultural structure of their own” (196-7). Lancashire’s argument recalls Edward Said’s (1978) explanation of ‘Orientalism’: how the Occident created the Orient, made it an object of study and made it ‘Oriental’ as the Occident “knew” how the Orient should be. This thesis is committed to giving voice to Greek and Chinese migrants: this is why the authors and characters studied are first- or second-generation migrants who lived in Australia in the 20th century, most of them during the policy of multiculturalism.

The thesis also draws on Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s theory of the psychocultural continuum (2003). Their theory is particularly pertinent with regards to analysing cultures as well as individuals because it focuses on the fluidity of identities and on the changes a culture or a person can experience in time. It also explains the way fears mould patterns of behaviour and provide the tool to face and overcome them: by accepting the ‘other within’. Consequently, this theory is not based on binaries, is not judgemental and there is no power relation between the two ends of the continuum. Each culture and person has characteristics of both types, although at a given point a culture or person may have more features of one kind than of the other. This theory provides an explanation for interpersonal relations as well as for different ways of reacting to circumstances or events and even for understanding spirituality.

The topic of migration to Australia has been extensively researched within the above-mentioned disciplines, detailed accounts of which can be found in Manuel

Castells (2010), Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009); Gary Freeman and James Jupp (1992); Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker and Jan Gothard (2003); James Jupp (1998, 2002); Andrew Markus, James Jupp and Peter McDonald (2009); Gwenda Tavan (2005); Andrew Theophanous (1995); and David Walker (1999), for example. Some authors whose work focuses specifically on Greek or Chinese migration to Australia include Gillian Bottomley (1979, 1992); Sophie Couchman, John Fitzgerald and Paul Macgregor (2004); Laksiri Jayasuriya and Kee Pookong (1999); Timothy Kendall (2005); Anastasios M. Tamis (2005); and Anastasios M. Tamis and Efrosini Gavaki (2002).

Regarding an analysis of the literature written by migrants in Australia, the texts authored by Sneja Gunew (1994) and Sneja Gunew and Jan Mahyuddin (1988) are a starting-point as Gunew is “arguably the best-known academic in Australian multicultural literary studies” (Khoo 28). Being more specific, there are works on Greek-Australian literature by George Kanarakis (1987), Helen Nickas (1992, 2006) and Helen Nickas and Konstandina Dounis (1994). Also Tseen Khoo (2003), Ouyang Yu (2008) and Shen Yuanfang (2001) have published studies on Chinese Australian literature.

However, no analysis has compared a cultural aspect of two migrant groups in Australia. Comparisons have been established between Asian Australian and Asian Canadian literature (Khoo 2003) and the policy of multiculturalism has been compared in Australia and Canada (Gunew 1988). Moreover, families and cultural diversity in Australia have been studied (Hartley 1995), migration patterns have been compared between Australia and the USA (Freeman and Jupp 1992) and in many countries around the world (Castles and Miller 2009), and the relevance of networks for identity creation has been analysed following examples from all over the world (Castells 2010). Some aspects of Ancient Greece and Ancient China, such as patriarchal society, have been compared (Hamilton 1990), but an analysis of the concepts of *philotimo* and *hsiao* in twentieth century Australia has never been undertaken. Consequently, the original contribution of this thesis lies in the analysis of the contemporary use of these concepts, the influence of these constructions in the literature produced by first- and second-generation Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian migrants and in the comparison of the strategies used by the characters in their texts to face and solve, or to avoid and/or not solve, certain situations.

This thesis is based on the following premises:

- 1- Family relations are still central in Australia for Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian families.
- 2- The constructs of duty and obedience are negotiated by the different generations.
- 3- The circumstances and experiences caused by migration provoke inter-generational clashes which are explored in texts written by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors.
- 4- The alternatives and strategies authors create are similar despite the different circumstances, experiences, cultures, ethnicities, languages and religions.

The questions this thesis aims to answer concern the texts written by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors:

- 1- How do the causes for migration influence the evolution of the constructs of duty and obedience (dis/adaptation to society, dis/trust in institutions, ease/difficulty in learning a new language, definition of the group)?
- 2- What effects do the concepts of duty and obedience have on the characters that represent Greek and Chinese migrants and their children?
- 3- Which strategies do the texts offer?
- 4- Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Greek-Australian authors and by Chinese Australian authors?

In the attempt to answer these questions, this thesis provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of fictional texts (mainly novels, novellas and short stories) written by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian migrant authors. The texts are mainly set in Australia and in the countries of origin of the first-generation migrants, and the time frame of the action in Australia expands from the 1930s until the late twentieth century. Since ethnicity is an identity marker, the characters studied include Greek-, Chinese- and Australian-born men and women who consider themselves or are considered first- or second-generation migrants. As other identity markers are gender, sexuality, age, social class and religion, heterosexual and homosexual characters are explored, as well as adults, children, elderly people and teenagers; factory workers, housewives, liberal professionals and students; believers who practice their religion and traditions, believers who do not practice them and non-believers.

1.2. Suitability of comparison between Greek and Chinese migrants in Australia and the concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’

These two groups are frequently taken as examples when talking about migrant communities in Australia: in academic research (Dunn and Ip 2008, Graham and Connell 2006, Hartley 1995, Karlsen 1996), in literary journals (*Cordite Poetry Review* n° 39) or in publications by public institutions (Immigration Museum; *A Changing People* edited by Raelene Wilding and Farida Tilbury and commissioned by the Office of Multicultural Affairs in Perth). Information about the two groups is included in anthologies such as Mycak and Sarwal’s (eds) *Australian Made: A Multicultural Reader* (2010), Sarwal and Sarwal’s (eds) *Reading Down Under: Australian Literary Studies Reader* (2009) and Whitlock and Carter’s (eds) *Images of Australia: An Introductory Reader in Australian Studies* (1992).

In my opinion there are five historical and cultural reasons why these two communities are fit for comparison with regards to their migration experiences in Australia, despite the obvious geographical, climatic, historical, linguistic, cultural and population differences between them.

First, Greek and Chinese peoples migrated to Australia soon after the British settlement. The first Greek migrants recorded were living in Australia by 1829, “given the documented arrival of Andonis (Antonios) Manolis and Ghikas Boulgaris, with five other Greek convicts –if not earlier, as implied by possible Greek names appearing in colonial registers” (Alexakis and Janiszewski 21). The first documented Chinese migrant is Mak Sai Ying, who arrived in New South Wales in 1818 (Chan 2001: 2). They were followed by many more, especially during the gold rushes (1850-1880s): about 40,000 Chinese migrants worked as gold diggers in 1858 (Hoban 2013), but also hundreds of Greeks arrived in Australia to work in the gold fields, by the “late 1890s, formal Greek Orthodox Communities were established in Melbourne and in Sydney” and “the Greek Orthodox Church was officially founded in Australia” (Alexakis and Janiszewski 21). Although needed, Chinese migrants were hated and feared because of their large numbers and their willingness to work hard. These feelings resulted in the *Immigration Restriction Act* (1901) and the “White Australia Policy” (1901-73), which was adopted to favour migrants with a British background. This Act

restrict[e]d migration to those of British and European descent, and also exclude[d] others such as those suffering from an infectious or contagious

disease, prostitutes or those living on the proceeds of prostitution, contract labourers, and anyone suffering from mental illness or intellectual disability (any ‘idiot or insane person’). (Jayasuriya, Walker and Gothard 202)

It is important to notice that Southern Europeans were considered second-class Europeans, so they were not amongst the preferred migrant groups, as the “‘White Alien’ (Non British) Immigration Policy” made clear:

The term ‘white alien’ was widely used in the period from 1901 to 1939 to describe non-British Europeans and was particularly directed towards Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs and Poles. Before World War I there was no specific legislation which prohibited or restricted European immigrants and the numbers wishing to settle in Australia were comparatively small. Nor were Europeans encouraged. World War I and its aftermath, however, resulted in the limitation and prohibition of specific European nationalities for particular periods. (Langfield 1999)

Therefore, both Chinese and Greek migrants were considered inferior, second-class individuals, and the Anglo-Australian official attitude towards them was one of distrust and contempt.

Second, China and Greece were the two most important empires in Ancient times, Greek culture being the basis of the Roman Empire and China, that of Japan. Both Greece and China were the philosophical, cultural, social, scientific, economic and political cradle of their continents and the bearers of many advances. This fact creates what Shen Yuanfang (2001) has called “the ‘Great China’ syndrome”, which is

characterised by the myth of ‘China’ as a great civilisation with a long history and superior culture ... reinforced by both the communist regime through the dissemination of standardised histories and by the West’s fascination with China as a great, Other civilisation (101).

The same can be said about Greek migrants and Greek language and culture. As Anastasios M. Tamis (2005) explains, “Greek is a second language of socioeconomic and political significance for Australia, and *the modern sequel to the tradition of Hellenic Antiquity*, which is perceived to have particular cultural significance for Australia and the West as a whole” (140)³.

³ My emphasis.

Third, Italy and Japan also became empires at different times in History, just like Greece and China. However, Greece and China were never enemies of Australia, contrary to Italy and Japan, who were during World War II.

Fourth, both Greek and Chinese families are core to the development of interpersonal relations as its members are close and have duties towards each other. This characteristic is not so common in Anglo-Australian families. Besides, Greek, Mandarin and Cantonese alphabets are different to that of the English language. This caused a linguistic barrier as those literate migrants who did not know English were not even able to read the signposts. Other cultural differences concerned traditions, food and religion, which became stereotyped.

Finally, the different waves of Greek and Chinese migrants who arrived in Australia mainly during the 1950s-60s and 1990s, respectively, created a similar reaction from mainstream society: rejection, distrust and a feeling of superiority towards migrants.

Besides these five points of comparison, social organization in Ancient Greece and Ancient China was similar and some traits still exist today in these cultures. On the one hand, Gary G. Hamilton (1990) demonstrates that the word ‘*pater*’ did not mean ‘father’ in Ancient Greece, but it was the name given to the head of the household, who performed the highest functions in religious ceremonies. Therefore, a relationship was established between the cult of the clan and the role of the head of the clan, which could only be taken by a male. The head of the patrilineage ruled over the *oikos*, that is, “great households, usually with lands, extended families, servants, slaves, and various types of property” (Hamilton 80). As a result, patriarchal authority was based on the position of the master, which was defined by tradition, and on the person of the master, who “exercise[d] discretionary power and demand[ed] obedience from subjects based upon their personal loyalty to him” (Hamilton 80). Besides, those subject to patriarchal authority had to be pious towards the tradition and the master. Consequently, obedience was due to the role and the person. The power and authority of the patriarch was absolute: he could adopt children, divorce wives, recognize or deny paternity; he owned all the property, his wife and sons owned nothing; he dispensed justice to each member in his *oikos* and could even kill them if that punishment was deserved according to the laws. Besides, he was the only one to enjoy the rights of a citizen and he was the only one who could seek justice before a public tribunal.

On the other hand, the social organisation in Ancient China was similar. The Chinese family was also patriarchal and patrilineal and the head of the family controlled all the property, ruled over the lives of his wife, sons, unmarried daughters, concubines, daughters-in-law, grandchildren, relatives who lived in his household and were younger than him, servants and slaves. He was also the family priest who performed rituals and ancestral worship. The head of the family could also recognize, deny or exile family members, exert the law and punish anyone living in his household for their offences. Thus, he was obeyed because of his role and his person.

However, Gary G. Hamilton (1990) also points out that, in spite of the similarities between the two systems, some of the differences led to opposite views. One such a view was that in Ancient Greece adoption was permitted, while in Ancient China the law prohibited admitting a stranger into a family. The second main difference involved the changes these systems underwent: while the Greek and then Roman laws were revised, updated and progressively gave rights to women and other men, the Chinese system hardly changed for more than 4,000 years, although it adapted to circumstances in order to adhere to the same concepts, teachings and constructs.

The third main distinction concerned the terms used and the reasons for following the established order. While in Roman law, which evolved from Greek law, the concept used was ‘*patria potestas*’, which focused on the power the *pater* had over the members in his *oikos*, the Chinese ‘*hsiao*’, i.e., filial piety, implied the submission of the son towards the father. Also, the Greek, and later Roman, structure focused on the person, as the *paterfamilias* ruled over his household according to the law and became the link to the ancestors. The Chinese, however, focused their attention on the virtue of *hsiao*, which stated the order of obedience a person should follow according to his/her social and family role: emperor/subject, father/son, husband/wife. This role also limited the acts of power of this person: the head of the family had to obey his emperor, but not his wife or his mother (although he had to show them respect), while a daughter, for example, had to obey her emperor, her father, her brothers, her older relatives, her mother and her older sisters. This set of roles justified the fact that all individuals had to fulfil their roles in order to maintain familial and social harmony: from the emperor, also known as ‘Son of Heaven’, to the child.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide further explanations concerning the construction of these concepts during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and their implications in interpersonal relations, patriotism and migration.

1.3. The narratives of migration, diaspora, transnationalism and return migration

Migration has been defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as

a process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State.

It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants.

(Perruchoud 41)

Thus, migration processes involve individual, national and global factors and migrants “are social actors who are members of national systems that define their life-chances” (Schuerkens 540).

In *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009) outline three main approaches to international migration: neoclassical, historical-institutional and interdisciplinary.

The neoclassical approach includes the ‘Push-Pull’ theories, the Dual or Segmented Labour Market theory and the New Economics of Labour Migration theory. The three assume that potential migrants have detailed knowledge of the host country, such as wage levels and employment opportunities, and that economic motives are the main reason for migration. On the one hand, the ‘push’ factors in the ‘Push-Pull’ theory “include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression” (Castles and Miller 22); while the ‘pull’ factors encompass “the demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms” (Castles and Miller 22). This theory excludes poor people from less developed countries, does not explain why migrants choose one country instead of another and does not take into account that a significant number of migrants are middle class citizens from areas undergoing economic and social change. On the other hand, the Dual or Segmented Labour Market theory explains the relevance of employers and governments in international migration, not only when workers are in demand or there is a significant difference in wages between two countries, but also when the demand diminishes and the difference is reduced. Regarding the New Economics of Labour Migration theory, it claims that families, households and communities, and not migrants alone, make the decisions regarding a member’s migration to another country. This

approach simplifies the reasons for migration and does not take into account the multiple factors leading to this change. Furthermore, the conditions in the sending and receiving countries are constantly changing as they are “linked both to global factors and to the way these interact with local historical and cultural patterns” (Castles and Miller 25-26).

The second approach introduced by Castles and Miller is the historical-institutional, which considers that “the availability of labour was both a legacy of colonialism and the result of war and regional inequalities within Europe” (Castles and Miller 26). Its main theories include the Dependency theory and the World Systems theory. The former explains the dependency of previous colonies on the dominating power during colonisation and the unfair terms of trade with powerful developed economies during the postcolonial period. The latter argues that international labour migration is another form of domination “between the core economies of capitalism and its underdeveloped periphery” (Castles and Miller 26). This strengthens the hegemony of First World countries, with their military power, control of world trade and investment in Third World countries, as the aim is to keep them dependent. Contrary to the neoclassical, the historical-institutional approach emphasizes economic and social structure but it does not pay enough attention to the individual and group motivations for migration.

The third stream in international migration presented by Castles and Miller is the interdisciplinary approach, which encompasses the Migration Systems theory – which is rooted in geography- and the Migration Networks theory –which uses sociology and anthropology-. These two theories suggest that “migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties” (Castles and Miller 27). Their basic principles state that migratory movements are the result of interacting macro-, micro- and meso-structures. Macro-structures include the world market, interstate relationships and immigration policies from the receiving and sending countries. Micro-structures are “the informal *social networks* developed by the migrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement” (Castles and Miller 28)⁴. Family linkages provide for the financial, cultural and social capital for migration and migratory chains are usually begun by an external factor. When the

⁴ Emphasis in the original.

movement is established, migrants continue this chain and are helped by relatives and friends in the new country, who assist with the provision of shelter, work, paperwork and bureaucracy, provide personal support, etc. Once these movements are started, they are mainly self-sustaining and, thus, migration networks “facilitate processes of settlement and community formation in the immigration area” (Castles and Miller 29). Meso-structures are formed by those individuals, groups or institutions who mediate between migrants and political or economic institutions. These mediators can be both “helpers and exploiters of migrants” (Castles and Miller 29).

Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009) defend that there is no one single cause for emigration and immigration. Consequently, the answers to the following questions may help understand the whole process:

1. What economic, social, demographic, environmental or political factors have changed so much that people feel the need to leave their area of origin?
2. What factors provide opportunities for migrants in the destination area?
3. How do social networks and other links develop between two areas, providing prospective migrants with information, means of travel and the possibility of entry?
4. What legal, political, economic and social structures and practices exist or emerge to regulate migration and settlement?
5. How do migrants turn into settlers, and why does this lead to discrimination, conflict and racism in some cases, but to pluralist or multicultural societies in others?
6. What is the effect of settlement on the social structure, culture and national identity of the receiving societies?
7. How do emigration and return migration change the sending area?
8. To what extent do migrations lead to new linkages between sending and receiving societies? (Castles and Miller 30)

The historical context of this thesis, especially the information on Australian immigration policies, multiculturalism, the explanation of cultural-specific concepts and the timeline provided in the annex, attempts to answer some of these questions.

Two concepts related to Migration Studies are ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’. The IOM broadly defines diasporas as “any people or ethnic population that leave their traditional ethnic homelands, being dispersed throughout other parts of the world”

(Perruchoud 19) and as “individuals and members of networks, associations and communities who have left their country of origin, but maintain links with their homelands” (“Migration and Transnationalism” 2). The IOM, on the other hand, considers that transnationalism “creates a greater degree of connection between individuals, communities and societies across borders, bringing about changes in the social, cultural, economic and political landscapes of societies of origin and destination” (“Migration and Transnationalism” 1).

As Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009) state, diaspora “is often used for peoples displaced or dispersed by force” and it has “strong emotional connotations, while the notion of a transnational community is more neutral” (31). Thomas Faist (2010) claims that the main difference between these terms is that ‘diaspora’ “refers to a community or a group” while ‘transnationalism’ refers to “*processes* that transcend international borders” (13)⁵. These can include transnational business communities, or political and cultural communities. Besides, transnationalism can be “from above” or “from below”, that is, activities conducted by multinational corporations and states, or activities started by immigrants and citizens in the home country (Castles and Miller 31).

Faist’s comparison of the terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’ includes two similarities and three differences. The common characteristics of these terms are their elasticity as they refer to continued ties between the regions of origin, destination and residence, and the fact that both “deal with homeland ties and the incorporation of persons living ‘abroad’ into the regions of destination” (20).

Regarding their differences, transnationalism is a broader term than diaspora, as it not only includes religious, ethnic and national groups and communities, but also networks of businesspeople and social movements. Faist also defends that diasporas are transnational communities, but he claims that not all transnational communities are diasporas. King and Christou’s (2011) offer more options by stating that “A migrant can be diasporic without being transnational, or transnational without being diasporic, or both, or neither” (456). In my opinion, the fact that Faist deals with communities and King and Christou talk about individuals is a meaningful difference. While Faist tries to state that those communities with an emotional bond with their ancestral countries (diasporas) tend to establish connections between the countries and become

⁵ Emphasis in the original.

transnational, not all transnational communities (such as businesses) have emotional bonds with the other country. On the other hand, King and Christou point out that migrants can maintain emotional, economic and communication ties with their home countries (diasporic and transnational), or emotional (diasporic) ties, economic and communication ties (transnational) or no ties at all in order to make a new beginning (neither diasporic nor transnational).

The second difference Faist states is that while diaspora approaches focus on aspects of collective identity, transnational approaches focus on cross-border mobility. The third difference is that diaspora formations reach across generations, while transnationalism is centred on recent migrant flows. Castles and Miller (2009) explain that temporary labour migrants or those permanent migrants who have a loose contact with their country of origin are not necessarily examples of transmigrants as, for transmigrants, “transnational activities are a central part of a person’s life” (32).

This thesis uses the terminology related to migration rather than to transnationalism as the characters analysed live in a world before the “accelerated development of communication, transport, trade and information networks through globalization ... [that] strengthened the connections of migrants to two or more places” (“Migration and Transnationalism” 2). More specifically, this thesis deals with international migration, that is, with “relatively permanent moves from one fixed point to another”, which for many migrants “are only part of a biography of movement between places, with some moves being more permanent than others” (Boyle 532).

Regarding the relation between diaspora and Greek-Australian literature, Nikos Papastergiadis (1992) claims that it is not correct to place this literature “within the ‘tradition’ of the diaspora” (151) as “Diaspora connotes an organic sense⁶ of resilience, whereas the traumas of migration... talk of the inorganic condition of identity and history in the time and space of migration” (151). He claims that migration implies a displacement, usually followed by “a radical change [which] has the effect of questioning the social values which sustained both individuals and the community from which they came” (152). Consequently, Greek-Australian literature “signifies a rupture within identity and includes a displacement of the conventional sense of belonging” (149) as it “questions the very possibility of arrival” (150). That is to say, identity is not

⁶ Papastergiadis explains that “Diaspora connotes a mother tree and the scattering of seeds capable of growth on distant soils. Migrants, however, are born from the explosion of the tree (if there ever was one to begin with). The bits of culture that survived did so in the shape of a fragment rather than a seed. And the potential of a fragment is very different from that of a seed.” (151)

static and, as such, it is modified by the processes of departure, transition and arrival. Besides, migration questions the notion of belonging as the migrant experiences a life different from the one she/he would be accustomed to in their home country and from that of the natives in the host country. Papastergiadis also questions the position occupied by migrant writing: given their content and subject matter, should such texts be placed in different genres rather than being grouped according to the author’s ethnicity? Is it necessary to label this literature as “ethnic” or “migrant”? According to George Kanarakis, this is a consequence of the policy of multiculturalism. This topic will be developed in the following subsection.

A final concept related to migration I would like to introduce here is ‘return migration’. Russell King and Anastasia Christou (2011) analyse it within three frameworks: “the mobilities paradigm, the transnational approach and diaspora studies” (451). Many migrants go back to their countries of origin either for repatriation (forced return), holidays, short visits or to stay for a long time or permanently (return migration). The term that covers all these options is ‘return’ for the first-generation and ‘ethnic return’ in the case of second- and subsequent generations. The different options of return mobilities (short visits and/or holidays, relocation, as children, as adults, ‘ancestral’ returns or incomplete returns –that is, going back to the country or region, but not to the family village or home-) prove the vast array of options and the complexity of this area of studies⁷.

The first framework covers human mobility, “transport and communication; the mobility of objects, images, information, systems and networks; as well as social mobility” (King and Christou 453). It states the tension between mobility and “a search for a stable (home)land in which to settle and ‘belong’” (King and Christou 454). Some of the questions it aims to answer are: return to where? to what? to whom? Sometimes the migrants who return to their ancestral country are disappointed because the place and people are different to those expected, imagined or remembered.

The transnational approach focuses on the second-generation migrants who undertake a permanent ethnic return. They become first-generation migrants in the

⁷ For further information on second-generation transnationals and returnees, read Russell King, Anastasia Christou and Janine Teerling’s “‘We took a bath with the chickens’: Memories of childhood visits to the homeland by second-generation Greek and Greek Cypriot ‘returnees’”. *Global Networks* 11.1 (2011): 1-23; Peggy Levitt’s “Roots and Routes: Understanding the Lives of Second Generation Transnationally”. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35.7 (2009): 1225-42; Janine Teerling’s “The Development of New ‘Third-Cultural Spaces of Belonging’: British-Born Cypriot ‘Return’ Migrants in Cyprus”. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37.7 (2011): 1079-99.

country of their ancestors and, although some may cut ties with their country of birth, “more likely, they will retain or develop new transnational links back to their country of birth, which could therefore come to be regarded as a different kind of homeland” (King and Christou 456).

Diaspora studies deal with the aspiration to return to the diasporic homeland. King and Christou (2011) consider that the three main features that define the essence of diaspora are “a ‘scattering’ from an earlier ‘homeland’ territory”, “a sense of boundness which preserves the group’s distinctive ethnic identity in its various exilic locations” and a “strong salience of the homeland, often expressed via a desire for return or for some kind of restoration of the homeland” (457). Consequently, some of the questions it tries to answer are the following:

Is return the quintessential end-point of the diaspora cycle –the realisation of the dream passed down through the generations? Or does the diaspora as such only exist ‘in diaspora’, so that it dissolves upon return? Or is the importance of return and reuniting with the homeland ... overstated? (King and Christou 457-8)

Furthermore, the homelands of some communities do not exist anymore and, thus, cannot be visited, or are under occupation and diasporic migrants are not allowed to return. Then, return or ethnic return is an unattainable dream.

These concepts of ‘return’ or ‘ethnic return’ will be used when appropriate in the analysis of characters in chapters 6 and 7.

1.4. Introduction to Greek-Australian literature

Many Greek migrants in Australia wrote of their experiences over the twentieth century, but their writings did not become the focus of academic study until the 1980s. The literature written by these authors has been considered to be doubly marginalised as it is not intrinsically thought of as part of either the Greek or the Australian canons. Some of the critics who discuss the terminology that refers to those Greek migrants living, writing and publishing in Australia are George Kanarakis, Con Castan and Helen Nickas.

George Kanarakis was born in Greece and considers himself a Greek living in Australia, that is, an Australian Greek. Kanarakis states that the policy of multiculturalism contributed to the marginalisation of those “writers of immigrant

origin who express themselves in English” (Constantinides 7) because prior to multiculturalism those who wrote in English were accepted as part of the mainstream. He defends that language should be the key criterion to identify a work written by a Greek migrant: those works written in Greek “belong to the national body of the Greek literature” (Constantinides 13) while those written in another language belong to that of the host country. Consequently, the works written in Greek by migrants of Greek descent living in Australia should be considered part of the Greek canon, while those written in English should belong to the Australian canon. Kanarakis (2005) opposes the label ‘Greek-Australian literature’ as he considers it proclaims its marginalisation, it is doomed to disappear and it is unheard of in other world literatures. The specification of the ethnicity of the authors marks their position in the periphery as, otherwise, it would not be stated. Furthermore, while the term presupposes Greek-Australian authors, the numbers of Greek migrants in Australia have significantly diminished since the 1990s. Thus, after some generations, the descendants of the first-generation migrants will be considered Australians of Greek origin and, consequently, their texts should be part of Australian literature. Kanarakis argues that a Greek author living in Australia and writing in English should be considered part of Australian literature. Two of the examples he provides are Joseph Conrad and Constantine Cavafy. Conrad was born in Poland, lived in England and wrote in English, and he is considered a British author, not part of Polish-British literature. Likewise, Cavafy was born and lived in Egypt, wrote in Greek and his works are part of Greek literature, he is not thought of as a Greek-Egyptian author.

On the other hand, Con Castan, who was born in Australia of Greek descent, defines himself as a Greek Australian, without a hyphen. In his opinion, this follows three functions: first, it enables

Australians of Greek descent to feel Australian (along with Australians of all other descents); the second is to help them feel Greek; and the third is to give them a sense of their own distinctiveness as a group, different from other Australians and other Greeks. This third one is the precondition for the other two happening in a healthy way (Nickas 1992: 4)

Thus, the works produced by Greek Australians would be known as Greek Australian literature.

Finally, Helen Nickas, who, like Kanarakis, is a first-generation migrant, considers herself a Greek-Australian and argues that the literature written by Greek

migrants in Australia is Greek-Australian literature, hyphenated. This term shows equality between the two components, is more inclusive than the previous two options (Australian Greek and Greek Australian) as it encompasses the diversity of writers, and it is the most well-established term, as it appears in the name of various institutions, such as the Greek-Australian Cultural League of Melbourne. Besides, it “implies that Greek-Australian literature is an integral part of a (multicultural) Australian literature” (Nickas 1992: 5). This is the aim of the Australian Literature Board, some academics, literary magazines and newspapers: to place migrant literature firmly in the centre, as “an equal among equals” (Nickas 1992: 6). Finally, Nickas argues that

most Greek-Australian writers deal implicitly or explicitly with the issues of writing from the margins; being perceived by the mainstream as marginal; and depicting characters who, almost without exception, perceive themselves and are perceived by others as marginal. This is because these writers necessarily view themselves, or their characters as different or inferior, or because they find pleasure in their perceived marginality, but simply because they cannot, and indeed do not want to, avoid an issue which is central to their life and their writing. (Nickas 1992: 6)

Similarly, George Papaellinas and Angelo Loukakis, second-generation migrant authors, explain that their works are distinctively Australian, not Greek. Papaellinas explains that his characters and stories are Australian and that they could not happen in Greece, while Loukakis states that

Australian Literature means –or ought to mean- anything written in English in the way of prose or poetry by any persons who care to call themselves Australian whether they are in residence or expatriated. It does not matter whether they have exotic surnames. Nor does it matter what they choose to write ‘about’ (Kanarakis 2005: 41, Nickas 1992: 6-7).

Personally, and despite the logical arguments provided by Kanarakis and Castan, I follow the terms ‘Greek-Australian’ person/people and ‘Greek-Australian literature’ because this hyphenated term is the most widespread and is used by the community. Also, it designates a type of Australian Literature which has specific characteristics. Furthermore, it is an inclusive term regarding the variety of origins, lives and language preferences of the authors. For example, award-winning poet Dimitris Tsaloumas wrote poetry while in Greece; continued to write poetry in Greek when he migrated to Australia until, more than twenty years later, he started to write in English as this

language “gave [him] the distance or the perspective he needed to write about the past” (Nickas 2005: 61). From 1995 onwards, he started to spend six months in Greece writing poetry in English and six months in Australia writing poetry in Greek. If his works were not considered part of Greek-Australian Literature, they would be either Greek or Australian and, probably, part of no canon.

1.4.1. Phases and genres

Greek-Australian migrants wrote and published texts in Greek from the early twentieth century onwards, with the establishment of the first communities in Melbourne and Sydney. Many authors were part-time writers and most had a preference for poetry. In his anthology *Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama* (1987), George Kanarakis divides the literary production of Greeks in Australia into four periods marked by socio-political events in Australia and/or Greece that had an effect “on the socio-cultural structure of Greek communities in Australia” (1987: 10):

- 1) 1900-1921: from the beginning of the century until the Asia Minor Catastrophe,
- 2) 1922-1939: from the Asia Minor Catastrophe until the beginning of World War II,
- 3) 1940-1951: from World War II and the German Occupation until the year before the Assisted Passage Agreement was signed,
- 4) 1952-1983: from the signature of the Assisted Passage Agreement until the moment he finished his research.

I would change the last period and add two new ones. In my opinion, the fourth period should date from 1952 until 1973, the year when Australia adopted the policy of multiculturalism and the year before Greece became a Republic. A fifth period would be from 1974 to 2005, from the year when multiculturalism and the Hellenic Republic were implemented until the Cronulla riots. A sixth period would begin in 2006, when multiculturalism was constantly questioned and revisited, until present times.

This thesis focuses on the texts written during this fifth period (1974-2005), when many first-generation migrants who had arrived to settle in Australia and look for stability in the 1950s began to publish their works. The social and psychological security provided by the facilities created by the Australian government “alleviate[d] much of the anguish of the past and ... [gave] the people more freedom to write”

(Kanarakis 1987: 35). Literary associations and periodicals were established and texts in English were also published. The Australian Council for the Arts funded activities, publications, research and gave grants, awards and prizes. It was also during this period that second-generation writers, who had been schooled in English, started to publish their texts.

Critics Helen Nickas and Konstandina Dounis (1994) and Hariclea Zengos (2009) indicate that Greek-Australian literature has two main streams: that written in Greek, mainly by first-generation migrants, and that written in English, by authors who tend to be 1.5⁸- or second-generation migrants, that is to say, those who have been raised and/or educated in Australia. Obviously, these two conditions are not mutually exclusive: there are some first-generation migrants who also write in English, such as Yota Krili or Dimitris Tsaloumas, and some second- or third-generation migrants, such as Irimi Pappas, who write in Greek too.

As Kanarakis’ anthology demonstrates, most first-generation Greek-Australian authors were male: fourteen women and seventy-three males appear in his collection. Helen Nickas explains that “Kanarakis is not to blame for favouring men, because there simply were not any more women writers” (1992: 8). The reasons for this unevenness are that more men than women migrated before World War II and that many of these women “were not sufficiently literate, let alone literary, to write” (Nickas 1992: 8). First-generation women worked hard to establish their families. As Konstandina Dounis (2010) points out,

They laboured side by side with their male compatriots in every conceivable job from the most menial and hazardous in the ubiquitous nation-building factories through to the responsibilities of running a plethora of small businesses in urban and rural areas. (75)

Nevertheless, they faced two problems: being a migrant, and being a woman. By being a migrant and writing in Greek, the literature women wrote did not target the vast majority of the Australian population, but only the Greek community. By being women and using female characters, they were able to express their concerns and fight the patriarchal society they were living in –which had continued in Australia–, a topic that most men did not sympathise with. Consequently, some women, such as Dina Amanatides and Vasso Kalamaras, had to find other possibilities. On the one hand,

⁸ As Wenche Ommundsen (2012) points out, the migrant or refugee child who is schooled in the host country is termed “1.5 generation”.

Amanatides thought that “the only way ... to be accepted was to write as a man, using male narrators and/or characters, often adopting a male pseudonym as well, especially if ... submitting a story to a literary competition” (Nickas 1992: 10-11). On the other hand, Kalamaras became the first Greek-Australian migrant woman to publish a book, although it was at her own expense in Athens: it was her collection of four short-stories *Other Earth* (1961). The women depicted in the texts written by first-generation female authors are “strong, capable, witty and... attractive” (Dounis 76), and their views are “much less overtly nostalgic for the lost homeland than that of their male counterparts” (Dounis 84).

The topics explored by the first- and second-generation migrants tend to be different. While first-generation writers often deal with the longing for Greece and life in Australia, second-generation authors focus on their ethnicity, their sense of identity, belonging and place.

Regarding the genres used by Greek-Australian authors, Con Castan (1988) classifies them as writing modernist, postmodernist, realist and naturalist prose, verse and drama as well as poetry in nineteenth-century style and popular verse. The first three styles are the most common ones. This classification is neither static nor closed, as authors, quite naturally, write in various genres.

Castan claims that two modernist writers in Greek-Australian literature are Dimitris Tsaloumas and Antigone Kefala. On the one hand, Dimitris Tsaloumas is the most celebrated modernist writer in Greek-Australian literature because he “does not work in the longer structures and therefore does not confront the question of imitative form” (Castan 21). Furthermore, he was the first migrant writer to receive the National Book Council Award, in 1983 (Nickas 1992: 1), and his work can be compared to that of Constantine Cavafy. On the other hand, Antigone Kefala is another example of the modernist writer as her literature is

characterised by discontinuity, by leaps that have nothing to do with logic.

However, her tone is so quiet, so subdued that her modernism comes as a surprise... Furthermore beneath that quiet surface one knows that there are volcanic forces, but they are never allowed to break through the surface.

(Castan 21)

According to Castan, the late Aristides George Paradissis was an example of a postmodernist writer. In many of his poems, he used what Castan refers to as macaronic verse (22), that is, he employed more than one language, usually English, French, Greek

and/or Spanish. Paradissis translated his own poems to English when these were not originally written in this language and, thus, they became accessible to a wide audience. His fluid use of various languages was also common in his novel and short stories.

Con Castan defines realist prose as “the literary art form that appears most ‘natural’ in our age, which seems to use words transparently, not to draw attention to themselves but to open a window on the ‘real world’” (Castan 23). He considers that some of its exponents are Zeny Giles, Angelo Loukakis and George Papaellinas, who have published extensively. It is worth noting that, according to Castan, Kalamaras follows naturalism, and not realism, as “the emotional distance between the writer and her work is kept as small as possible so that her pain and indignation can enter the work in as undiminished a form as possible” (24). However, Helen Nickas (1992) considers that Kalamaras does distance herself from her characters and includes moral teachings in her writings. As Kalamaras herself explains in an interview,

Writing teaches you, first, to see your fellow humans in a better light. It teaches you to respect them. It teaches you to feel and to cry. It teaches you to know yourself and that’s very important. What else do we need? (Nickas 1992: 224).

1.5. Introduction to Chinese Australian literature

Chinese migrants have been writing about their experiences in Australia since the nineteenth century and their texts have captured some of the social changes in the country. Consequently, the notion of ‘identity’ for these migrants varies over time. Shen Yuanfang (2001) explains that for nineteenth-century Chinese (mainly male) migrants, their identity was clear: they were born in China and, thus, they were Chinese: no matter how long they lived in Australia, they were part of a long cultural history and followed Confucianism. In the early and mid-twentieth century, many Chinese migrants considered themselves *huaqiao*, that is, Chinese living abroad, and they were expected to be nationalists. Finally, at the end of the twentieth century Chinese migrants from the People’s Republic of China “constructed themselves as historical drifters” (153) and most of those from south-east Asian countries were engaged first with the colonial cultures and then with Chinese culture. However, some considered themselves Australian-born Chinese, Chinese Australians or just Australians. Shen Yuanfang claims that “A Chinese-Australian identity became possible only in a multicultural

Australia. Before that, Chinese in Australia and their descendants were only ‘sojourners’, ‘Chinks’ or ‘heathens’” (152).

As Jacqueline Lo (2009) points out, in 1999, the term “Asian-Australian” was hyphenated “to stress the tensile positioning of Asians in Australia who were the targets, along with Aboriginal peoples, of heightened racism in the public sphere” (147). Later, the hyphen was dropped “partly as a reflection of the increasing assurance and sense of purpose of the scholarly community, and also to signal the growing internationalisation of the field” (Lo 147). Consequently, despite the given preferences in the area studied, the terms used throughout this research will not use a hyphen unless its authors do so. That is to say, in this thesis, Chinese Australian is a person of Chinese descent who holds Australian citizenship and Chinese Australian literature is that written by Chinese first- or second-generation migrants in Australia.

Deborah L. Madsen (2009) claims that “Chinese Australian literature constitutes a barely recognized sub-category within the nationalist paradigm of ‘Australian Literature’” (263). This academic area is part of Asian Australian Studies, a discipline which critically analyses “the culture, history and politics of Australians of Asian descent” (Lo 139). This area of studies began in 1999 at the “inaugural Asian-Australian Identities conference in Canberra” (Lo 137), at a moment of “heightened racism and politicisation” (Lo 141). As Asian Australian Studies is not even fifteen years old, the work of academics and artists constitutes the core of its activities: conferences, symposiums, publications and festivals are the main means of spreading knowledge and furthering interests. Unfortunately, there is no undergraduate degree on Asian Australian Studies, but the works of authors are studied in some subjects in the areas of Asian Studies and Australian Studies. Regarding postgraduate level, there exist some Asian Australian-focused courses, as Lo (2009) points out. The work of the pioneers in this field is varied, as it follows their main interests, and sometimes depends on the funding available.

The blooming of Asian Australian studies is contemporary to the expansion of the internet. Therefore, the new technologies and tools are central to the dissemination of information and communication with others. Blogs, online journals, meet-ups and the Asian Australian Studies Research Network (AASRN) facilitate the interaction and the expansion of Asian Australian Studies. According to its website (2013), the AASRN “focuses on research and cultural production in three major clusters”: cultural heritage

and community; film, literature and performance; and visual arts and new media. As far as I know, no association has been created that studies only Asian Australian literature.

Regarding the genres used by Chinese Australian authors, Shen Yuanfang (2001) remembers that Chinese immigrants and their descendants have written “diaries, letters, essays, family history, research papers, poems, children’s literature, novels, drama, memoirs as well as autobiographies” (153). These, together with oral histories, “are supposed or claim to represent the authors’ experiences in Australia” (153). Many of these texts are studied by historical associations and by groups or individuals looking for genealogical information.

According to Shen Yuanfang (2001), the texts written by Chinese migrants in Australia can be categorised into five groups “according to the backgrounds of the authors and the topics [of] their narratives”:

those written by Chinese immigrants who came to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century; those by Chinese who came around the time of World War II; those by Australian-born Chinese; those by immigrants of Chinese descent who came to Australia from south-east Asian countries and regions; and those who came recently from the People’s Republic of China.

(8)

This thesis focuses on texts published between 1971 and 2005 written by one group: first-generation migrants from south-east Asian countries.

Some Chinese Australian authors write both in Chinese and in English. Nevertheless, those who write in Chinese rarely publish their works in Australia as there are no specialised Chinese language publishing houses. As a result, their texts are published in China, Taiwan or Hong Kong, where there is a wider audience and more recognition in the form of prizes and awards. When authors write in English or get their works translated into this language, they are considered for publication in Australia, especially if the texts are in the forms of poetry or prose. Moreover, some authors have received national recognition in the form of awards, such as Brian Castro, Lillian Ng, Hsu-Ming Teo and Ouyang Yu.

Regarding their preferred themes, there are two main streams in Chinese Australian Literature: those who aim at tracing family history and exploring the construct of identity and those who deconstruct the notions of “‘authentic’ Chinese” (Madsen 267) or “‘authentic’ Chinese cultural heritage” (Madsen 268). Simone Lazaroo, Lillian Ng, Hsu-Ming Teo and Ouyang Yu are examples of the first group,

while Tom Cho and Brian Castro belong to the second. Given the scope of this thesis, the authors studied can be categorised as members of the first classification.

1.6. Structure of the study

The structure of this thesis reflects the different disciplines it contributes to: Literary Studies with notions of Postcolonial and Cultural Studies in the approach and theories used in the literary analysis, and Migration Studies in the election of the authors and characters analysed.

Chapter 2 focuses on Australian immigration policies and is divided into two main sections. The first analyses the different immigration policies Australia has implemented since the British invasion until 2011. The second section explores the policy of multiculturalism, first as a broad theoretical framework, and then as understood and applied in Australia.

Chapters 3 and 4 introduce the theoretical concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ in Greek and Chinese cultures, respectively. These constructs are explored from a diachronic and synchronic point of view, but with a focus on the way they affect daily relations, decisions and patterns of behaviour. These chapters consist of six main sections. Chapter 3 begins with an overview of intergenerational relationships during the 19th and 20th centuries and the influence of the concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ in Greek marriage and divorce, interpersonal relationships, religion, patriotism and migration. Chapter 4 follows the same structure and explains the evolution of the constructs of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ in 19th and 20th century China, as well as in Chinese marriage and divorce, the care of the elders, the one-child policy, patriotism and migration.

The following chapter deconstructs the notion of ‘identity’ by studying five aspects: the relation between social class, ethnicity and gender; sexuality; religion; language, and belonging. Then, Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum theory and Manuel Castells’ network society are introduced. Given that D’Cruz and Steele’s theory can be applied to societies as well as to individuals, this subsection provides an analysis of the cultural constructs studied in the previous chapters as well as of the main cultural movements in post-invasion Australia. This allows a practical understanding of all the notions introduced so far.

The two subsequent chapters, 6 and 7, develop the literary analysis of a series of texts written by first- and second-generation Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors, respectively. The novels and short stories selected explore the constructs of ‘duty’, ‘obedience’ and ‘identity’ as deployed in the main characters, including also an analysis of the aspects introduced in chapter 5. Given the focus of some of the Chinese Australian texts, the theory of the Amy Tan-syndrome is also explained and applied, when relevant.

Chapter 8 consists of two main sections presenting the major conclusions of this thesis. The first part summarizes the main findings, answers the questions asked in section 1.1. The second part points out the contributions to the disciplines of Literary Studies, Postcolonial Studies, Cultural Studies and Migration Studies.

Finally, a historical appendix is supplied. It provides a chronology of the main historical events in Greece and China from 1770 to 2011. It includes the principal landmarks in Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian relations. The appendix is, consequently, divided into two subsections, each devoted to one country.

2. An Analysis of Australian Immigration Policies

You can look at immigration two ways –either it is an invasion by dirty foreigners who come here only to make money out of us and put good Australians out of work or it is a strengthening of our national life by visitors who intend to become Australians with the same hopes and loyalties as ourselves.

Dept. of Post-War Reconstruction (c. 1943) (Tavan 34)

This observation appears in a discussion sheet of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction during the debate to change Australia’s immigration policy. This debate was brought about by the fear of invasion from Asian countries after World War II and the threat of communism. The proposed policy aimed at increasing the population twofold or threefold by augmenting birth rates and allowing more immigration, which had been very restricted since the Federation of Australia in 1901. Thus, this approach to migrants as “visitors who intend to become Australians” was significant. The result of the debate was a change in policy and law, an assimilationist attitude towards migrants and the motto “Populate or Perish”.

Immigration policies, like citizenship, are interdisciplinary since they involve political, social, cultural, historical and legal issues. Therefore, discussions about them involve all these disciplines. The following pages provide an overview of the main historical, social, legal and political facts that left a cultural mark on Australian society, be it in the form of discriminatory or inclusive policies, such as the White Australia policy or Multiculturalism, or social crisis based on racist fears, such as the *Afghan* case in 1888⁹, the *Tampa* case in 2001¹⁰ or the Cronulla riots in 2005¹¹.

This introduction is divided into two sections: first, a review of Australian history from the time of the British invasion in 1788 and later colonization of the country until 2011; and, second, an analysis of multiculturalism in Australian society.

⁹ For more information, go to pages 39-40.

¹⁰ For more information, go to page 71.

¹¹ For more information, go to page 72.

2.1. Immigration to Australia

The official history of modern Australia is intrinsically linked to that of Great Britain, which initiated the invasion and colonization of the antipodean continent. Several immigration plans regulated the structure of the population and devised a national identity. Although it can be argued that the idealised Australian was a white, Protestant, middle-class, Australian-born English-speaking man of British ancestry, (Hage 1998; Hage 2003; Whitlock and Carter 1992), the debates on ‘Australian identity’ prove that this concept is constantly revised in order to construct a more inclusive identity that is aware of other inhabitants.

The following sub-sections are organised according to different key circumstances that shaped Australian society: the invasion, settlement and colonization of the country (1788-1850), the gold rush (1850-1900), from the Federation of Australia until World War II (1901-1945), the opening up of the country to non-British migrants (1945-1975), and from multiculturalism until today (1975-2011).

2.1.1. 1788-1850: Invasion, colonization, settlement

Indigenous Australians were the inhabitants of the continent until 1788, when the First Fleet of British convicts and freemen landed in Botany Bay and the invasion and colonization of the country started. From this moment onwards, society was constructed according to the rules of the British crown and followed the guidelines of the British Empire.

In contrast with the recognition North American natives and Maoris received as people able to negotiate treaties, during their first expedition to the east coast of Australia (1768-71), Captain James Cook and scientist Joseph Banks considered Indigenous Australians inferior beings unable to negotiate. Moreover, Cook and Banks did not regard them as the owners of the territory because the land had not been transformed through agriculture or building. As a consequence, Cook declared the land vacant territory belonging to nobody, that is, *terra nullius*, and at Possession Island he claimed the east coast as a British dominion in 1770.

The election of Australia as a new colony was defended in the 1786 “Heads of a Plan” report, which proposed the establishment of a colony in Australia. This document was submitted to the Cabinet in London by Lord Sydney, minister for the Home Office

and responsible for colonial affairs. The decision to establish a colony in the antipodes was motivated by three reasons: convicts, territorial expansion and trade¹². Firstly, the number of convicts in British gaols was unsustainable, the colonies in North America ceased to be an option after their independence and no territory in Africa was considered suitable as a penal colony. Therefore, the idea of such a distant location was well received. Secondly, Botany Bay held a strategic position because it could serve as a base for expansion in the Asia-Pacific region since the north of the coast had been explored before by Chinese, Spaniards, Dutch, French and Portuguese navigators, but the territory had not been claimed by any European or Asian nation. Third, the new colony could also be used as a base for whaling and sealing and for the export of two materials in high demand: timber and flax, which had been found on Norfolk Island during Cook’s second expedition (1772-74).

According to Cathy Dunn and Marion McCreadie, approximately 160,000 convicts arrived in Australia between 1788 and 1850, a period of time in which the colony grew and tried out different forms of development, crops and farming until it reached stability and managed to grow consistently. The first Governor, Arthur Phillip, (1788-1795) was responsible for making the enterprise a success. Phillip managed to make the colony self-sufficient, but failed to create positive relations with Indigenous Australians, as these were based on violence, discrimination and inequality.

In spite of the negative feedback about Indigenous Australians Cook had provided, Phillip valued their “social organisation, settled localities, customary law and property rights” (Macintyre 33). In his aim to establish close relations, Phillip even captured several men (one of them named Bennelong), taught them the English way of life and behaviour and punished those convicts and freemen who molested natives. However, race relations were tense and violent between invaders and invaded. As a result, the population of Indigenous Australians was decimated rapidly due to the many diseases the invaders imported, the widespread massacres and the undermining of the relationship between Indigenous Australians and the land they inhabited through the removal of lands, the transformation of the landscape and the introduction of foreign animal and floral species.

¹² According to the Australian History Research, an ongoing debate has taken place regarding the reasons for the settlement of the colony in Botany Bay. For a review of the debate, read the article “Botany Bay as a Penal Colony” by Cathy Dunn at <<http://www.australianhistoryresearch.info/botany-bay-as-a-penal-colony/>>

Tension was a constant in the colony: in 1790 Phillip was speared, but forbade revenge. Then, Bennelong, who had escaped Phillip’s house where he had been secluded, returned to Sydney to restore relations. However, when Phillip’s hunter was speared by an Indigenous man called Pemulwuy that same year, he ordered revenge: the heads of six Indigenous Australians. Furthermore, in 1795 a military expedition left Sydney to kill and hang natives. In 1802 Pemulwuy attacked Parramatta as part of resistance to the invasion, but he was killed and his head was put on show and then sent to England.

Meanwhile, the arrival of male and female convicts and free individuals from England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland (“Convicts and the British Colonies” 2011) continued and settlers spread throughout the country. By 1800 two-thirds of the colonists in New South Wales were free, most of whom had been convicts. Governors Hunter (1795-1800) and King (1800-1806) introduced some favourable conditions for the convicts:

Those on public labour and public rations worked until the early afternoon, when they were free to work on their own account to pay for their lodgings, since the government did not provide them with accommodation, and to buy drink or tobacco or other solaces. Those who were assigned to a master received food and lodging from him, and again often a further income –the records of storekeepers reveal convict purchases extending to elegant clothes (Macintyre 43).

Furthermore, King introduced the “ticket of leave” for well-behaved convicts, that is, permission to work on their own account. Besides, “female convicts who did not have partners or were not assigned to domestic service performed lighter labour” (Macintyre 43). Regarding punishments, males were usually flogged and females, confined, and there were special penal settlements renowned for their extreme harshness for those who did not follow the rules, such as Port Arthur (Van Diemen’s Land) or Norfolk Island (NSW).

Besides being in charge of Norfolk Island and then being governor of New South Wales, King tried to make the colony as self-sufficient as possible and even profitable. Therefore, in 1804 he planned a Chinese migration scheme to New South Wales and suggested a trade route be opened between the colony and China (Jayasuriya, Walker and Gothard 200 and Shaw 2011), which were declined.

The distinction between freemen and ex-convicts involved all areas of life and having been a convict became a stigma, until they were outnumbered by those born in the colonies, whose attitudes prevailed. This change was stimulated by governor Macquarie (1810-1821), who considered that the aim of the colony was not only to punish convicts but to favour their reformation. Therefore, he defended the idea that “when a man is free, his former state should no longer be remembered, or allowed to act against him” (Macintyre 47). In order to encourage discipline and reformation, Macquarie established a code of conduct which was based on public morality and personal restraint. For example, the governor “prohibited nude bathing and unseemly behaviour in pubs and brothels”, he “refused to sanction cohabitation with convict women”, the new opportunities given to reformed men pushed women “more tightly into marriage and domesticity”, and he also “enforced the Sabbath” (Macintyre 48). Moreover, freedom of faith was acknowledged and Catholics were allowed to practise their religion. Besides, the 1836 *Church Act*, passed during the time of governor Bourke (1831-37), gave funding for the construction of churches and the wages of ministers.

Furthermore, Macquarie also tried to incorporate Indigenous Australians into the settler society under the settlers’ rules and laws, as he was determined “to domesticate and civilise these wild rude people” (Macintyre 49). One of the steps he took was an annual gathering or ‘Congress’ of Aborigines at Parramatta, which began in 1814 in which food and clothing were given. At its third edition in 1816, twelve children from the Native Institution marched with Mrs Macquarie and the missionary’s wife, Mrs Shelley (Macintyre 50; UPRCT 2). By then they were already instructed into the white way of living and torn between the two worlds.

Meanwhile, the interior of the country was explored. Many of the expeditions started in Sydney and, after crossing the Blue Mountains in 1813, expeditions and settlements reached the Murray river in 1830, Adelaide in 1845, Darwin in 1862 and Perth in 1875. The explorers were seen as heroes who were walking those paths for the first time, without taking into account that Indigenous Australians had inhabited those territories for more than 40,000 years. The myths regarding the frontier, the dangerous bush and the inhospitable desert date from this period.

In 1837 there was a decline in the supply of convict labour and, as slavery had been abolished in the British Empire, there was an inquiry into the transportation of convicts, which provided evidence regarding the injustice of the system. Within two decades, convict transportation ended in the country: New South Wales stopped

receiving convicts in 1840; Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania in 1852 while South Australia never received convicts. Western Australia was a particular case, as convict transportation began in 1850 and lasted until 1868. Due to the lack of a substantial free work force, new sources of cheap labour were looked for. First, Indigenous Australians were not even considered. Then, Indians were discarded because it was considered they would constitute a ‘low caste’ who would weaken the nature of the whole colony. Therefore, the option pastoralists in New South Wales took was turning to the “profitable indentured Chinese labour trade [that] had developed from the port of Amoy (Xiamen) in Fujian province in China” (Curthoys 14). Consequently, in 1847 New South Wales passed the *Masters and Servants Act*, which ensured that the contracts signed outside the colony would be considered valid, and could, therefore, be enforced in the colony. This allowed the ‘importation’ of Chinese indentured labour and meant that between 1847 and 1852 approximately 3,500 Chinese could work in the cattle industry (Curthoys 15).

In addition to the Indigenous Australians, the convicts, the ex-convicts and the free settlers, migrants also arrived in Australia escaping from poverty and in search of a fresh start, a better future and opportunities. These migrants came mainly from the British Isles, other European countries and Asia. First, the British government encouraged migration by providing assisted passages, that is, by subsidising the fares. In the 1820s, 8,000 migrants landed in the colony, in the 1830s the number increased to 30,000 and in the 1840s it reached 80,000 new settlers. Second, settlers also arrived from other European nations, such as Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Italy or Greece, many escaping from wars and poverty. In fact, between 1829 and 1900, approximately 1,000 Greeks pioneered to Australia (Tamis 59). Third, the migrants from neighbouring Asian countries were mainly Melanesians and Chinese. The Melanesians, also known as Kanakas, now South Sea Islanders, were a force of indentured labourers who worked in the sugar cane industry in Queensland from the 1860s. The Chinese arrived as indentured labour between 1847 and 1852 and, mainly, as free migrants during the gold rush in the 1850s. They were not considered settlers, but ‘economic migrants’, a difference that regulated their conditions of residence and work. Furthermore, Afghans also participated in the exploration of the country, especially, of the desert regions, and introduced camels in the 1860s.

Regarding politics, in 1842 Great Britain allowed New South Wales to have a partly elected legislative council. When South Australia, Tasmania (former Van

Diemen’s Land) and Victoria separated from New South Wales by 1851, the new colonies were also granted a council (Western Australia achieved state independence in 1890). Between 1855 and 1859 New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia and Queensland had their own constitutions, which had been approved by Great Britain, and started to create their upper and lower chambers: the Assembly and the Council. It can be said that in 1850 the standard of living in the colonies was high as it included elevated “rates of literacy, general familiarity with commodities, productive innovation, and impressive adaptation to the challenge of uprooting and starting anew” (Macintyre 85). The penal settlement had, thus, become a prosperous colony.

2.1.2. 1850-1900: The gold rush

A key event that transformed the settler society and the Australian landscape was the finding of gold in New South Wales and the subsequent gold rush. Despite the fact that authorities knew that there was gold in the area of the Blue Mountains (SHE 1-2; Macintyre 86), the fear of a gold rush was so strong that it was kept a secret. However, in 1851 a man from New South Wales came back from the gold rush in California, was surprised by the similarity in the landscape and started to dig for gold. When he found it, he asked the government for a reward and, after verifying the finding, the strike was validated. The following week “400 people were panning for gold” (SHE 1). An exodus started from Victoria to New South Wales and many businessmen in Melbourne decided to offer a reward for the discovery of a profitable goldfield within 320 km. During the following months gold was found in many different sites but the richest field was in a place Indigenous Australians called ‘Balla arat’. On 21st September 1851 the first gold licences were given and by the end of the month “nearly 10,000 men were digging for gold near Ballarat” (SHE 2). The amount of gold found during this decade represented “more than one-third of the world’s gold output” (Macintyre 87), the number of inhabitants in Australia surpassed one million and more than half of the population lived in Victoria. This prosperity allowed the building of railways, telegraphs and steamships.

Diggers, mainly single men, arrived from many different countries: America, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary and China, for example. The Chinese constituted the largest group with more than 40,000 diggers. Due to their numbers, hard work and diligence, other diggers considered them a threat and the first anti-Chinese

riots soon took place. Discrimination was based on their physical appearance, the moral and sexual threat that they were considered to represent and the use of opium. Quickly, an anxious public debate emerged and in 1855 it caused the Victorian government to pass the *Chinese Immigration Act*, which imposed an entry tax of £10 and a maximum of one Chinese person per 10 tons of a ship’s register.

In New South Wales, the restriction of Chinese migration was debated several times between 1857 and 1861. According to Ann Curthoys (2003), the main six accusations against the Chinese were their numbers; their inferior race with regard to Europeans; their inevitable place as a low caste, which would corrupt the European population; their immorality and lack of Christianity; their inability to assimilate; and the threat to racial purity they posed. These accusations would be repeated for more than fifty years. Some examples are the following comments quoted by Curthoys, where Chinese were described as having the “features as much of the monkey as the man, so that their faces are indexes of minds low, animal-like, and licentious” (21), as “a curse to the country, a beastly immoral lot of liars, thieves, and in several instances murderers, under the most revolting circumstances” (21-22), and as “pig-tailed moonfaced barbarians” (21).

Besides the physical and moral issues against the Chinese, some members of the New South Wales Parliament posed two confronting questions: first, Britain’s forced entry into China through the treaties that ended the Opium Wars (1840, 1856-57, 1860); and, second, the Parliament’s opposition to Chinese migration to a British colony. The final outcome was that “whereas the British took with them into China the virtues of civilisation and improvements such as railroads, telegraphs and Christian religion, the Chinese who came to the colony brought only vice, immorality and loathsome diseases” (Curthoys 24).

Although a minority, there were also supporters for Chinese migration and residence in the colonies. Pastoralists, conservative newspapers, conservative politicians and some Christian churches argued that the presence of the Chinese was positive for the colonial economy, that they were also God’s children and “their presence would not contaminate or degrade society at large” (Curthoys 25).

However, after a second massive riot between miners of European ascendancy and Chinese miners at Lambing Flat on 30th June 1861, a *Chinese Immigration Regulation and Restriction Act* was passed in New South Wales on September 1861, which, like the Victorian bill, imposed an entry tax of £10 and a maximum of one

Chinese person per 10 tons of a ship’s register. Nevertheless, the act was repealed in 1867, when the number of Chinese gold diggers decreased.

When gold was found in Queensland in the 1860s and in the Northern Territory in the 1870s, Chinese diggers moved north. There, “they were unwelcome competitors on the diggings and quickly moved into horticulture, commerce and service industries” (Macintyre 103). In spite of this change in occupation, settlers in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland voiced their opposition to competition from Chinese labour and, as a consequence, colonial authorities reached an agreement that Chinese immigration needed to be halted. When the numbers of Chinese immigrants rose again in New South Wales, a new debate took place. As a consequence, the *Influx of Chinese Restriction Act* was passed in 1881, which imposed an entry tax of £10 and a maximum of one Chinese person per 100 tons of a ship’s register.

Another indication of the widespread racist disposition against the Chinese can be found in the press. On the one hand, the phrase ‘Australia for the White Man’ was published in the Sydney-based magazine *The Bulletin* in 1880, a subtitle that did not disappear until the early 1960s. On the other hand, the phrase ‘White Australia Policy’ appeared for the first time in the Queenslander magazine *Boomerang* in 1888, an expression which would be adopted by the main political parties at the turn of the century.

In April 1888, a ship under the name of *Afghan* arrived in Hobson’s Bay, Victoria, carrying many Chinese, some with legal documents and others with fraudulent ones. The ship was refused entry, even when the ship’s master offered “to pay the Collector of Customs £10 for every immigrant person on the boat, as provided by section 3 of the 1881 Act” (Rubenstein 24). Therefore, the ship was forced to sail to New South Wales and even those with legal documents were denied their rights to land in Victoria. Once in New South Wales, the Premier, Henry Parkes, tried to amend the 1881 Act to protect “his government against legal proceedings ... and raise the tonnage restrictions from 100 to 300 tons and the entry tax from £10 to £100” (Rubenstein 24)¹³. He managed to do so, but not in time to prevent the passengers of the *Afghan* from landing. As Kim Rubenstein (2004) maintains, one of the passengers was Cheung

¹³ According to Julie Stacker and Peri Steward’s research guide *Chinese Immigrants and Chinese-Australians in New South Wales*, the Act was amended in 1887, before the *Afghan* incident (11), but according to Kim Rubenstein’s “Chinese Immigration and Australian Citizenship”, the Act was amended in 1888 as Parkes took advantage of the events with the *Afghan* to promote the change in the bill (24). I follow Rubenstein’s date because she provides a more detailed account of the facts and Stacker and Steward do not even mention the *Afghan* in their guide.

Teong Toy, who went back to Victoria and filed a petition in the Victoria Supreme Court against the Collector of Customs for Victoria who had prevented him from landing. Therefore, this case dealt with citizenship and sovereignty. The Victorian Supreme Court considered Cheung to be right because “the prerogative to exclude aliens did not exist as part of responsible government in Victoria” (Rubenstein 24). However, on appeal to the House of Lords, the Privy Council argued that an individual refused entry could not take action in a British Court to “compel the decision of such matters involving ‘delicate and difficult constitutional questions affecting the respective rights of the Crown and Parliament, and the relations with the self governing territories’” (Rubenstein 24).

The latent sense of ‘nation’ blossomed with an idea promoted by Parkes: federating the colonies. In 1890, a conference was held in Melbourne to discuss the drafting of a federal constitution for a united nation. The following year, 1891, a convention in Sydney prepared the text, but it was rejected by New South Wales. However, the constitution drafted during a second convention in 1897-8 was approved by referendum (Hirst 12).

By the mid 1890s, “popular hostility towards the Chinese had evolved into a broad doctrine of national identity and sovereignty, and a belief that prohibiting all non-European immigration was the only way to prevent Australia being swamped by Asia” (Tavan 9-10). Consequently, in 1898 new acts were passed in New South Wales, Western Australia and Tasmania which included a dictation test, which, contrary to the outright prohibition of nationals from several countries, was considered a “less offensive way of excluding migrants from Asia, Africa and the Polynesia” (Tavan 9). However, during the discussions on the constitution, immigration was not an issue anymore, as all colonies had passed acts limiting its numbers and conditions.

2.1.3. 1901-1945: From Federation to the end of World War II

In 1901 Australia became a Federation. The approximate population was four million and less than 5 % of its population had not been born in Australia or the British Isles (Markus, Jupp and McDonald 54). Alfred Deakin became the Attorney-General and Edmund Barton, the first Prime Minister. The first significant measure the new government passed was the *Immigration Restriction Act*, considered to be “the legislative basis for the White Australia policy” (Hirst 10) and the “affirmation of the

principle of exclusion and the practices done until then” (Tavan 10). The *Immigration Restriction Act*

restricte[d] migration to those of British and European descent, and also exclude[d] others such as those suffering from an infectious or contagious disease, prostitutes or those living on the proceeds of prostitution, contract labourers, and anyone suffering from mental illness or intellectual disability (any ‘idiot or insane person’). (Jayasuriya, Walker and Gothard 202)

Therefore, all non-Europeans were excluded. The dictation test was the measure adopted as the criterion for exclusion and it was clearly aimed at preventing certain immigrants from entering Australia. The process was as follows: an interpreter explained the procedures to the migrant; the customs officer dictated a fifty-word text in a language different from the migrant’s and the migrant usually did not write anything down. The migrant was made to sign the paper and was put into jail until the following day, when she or he was condemned to deportation. Besides, the test could be repeated as many times as authorities desired or be given in a language the authorities knew the migrant was illiterate in. An example of this case was the Czech anti-fascist campaigner Egon Kisch, who visited Australia in 1934 to give a talk at the First Peace Congress of the Movement against War and Fascism. He was denied access, escaped and was taken into custody; the High Court forced his release; the Commonwealth made him sit the dictation test, which was given in Scottish Gaelic because authorities knew he was fluent in many European languages. Finally, the High Court ruled that the test had been unlawful and ordered Kisch to be released (Tavan 27-28).

Given the fact that Chinese migration to the colonies had been successfully limited by 1898, why was it necessary to specify the restriction in the White Australia policy? How did the enmity towards Chinese turn into a discourse of national sovereignty? Furthermore, if the Chinese presence was considered such a problem that even threatened national identity, why were Chinese allowed to participate in the celebrations of the Federation? As John Hirst explains in his article “The Chinese and Federation” (2004), the answer to these questions is more political than social. The colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia federated on 1st January 1901 and elections were held on 29th and 30th of March. The main political concern was pronouncing the country protectionist or in favour of free trade with the rest of the world. Three main parties ran in the elections: the Protectionist Party, led by the temporary Prime Minister Edmund Barton; the

opposition party, George Reid’s Free Trade Party; and the Labour party, which was not a national party yet, but ran as local Labour parties, and remained neutral. Thus, the way the government could gain more popular support, win the elections and remain in power was by getting closer to the Labour party. Therefore, the Protectionist Party decided to fulfil one of the demands of working men and their unions: to rule for a White Australia. Consequently, as Hirst explains, the government had to act as if “it was responding to some real need on the immigration front” (13). Thus, it wanted to know the numbers of Asian migrants that had entered the country since the passing of the last immigration restriction bills: “ten persons had invaded South Australia since 1899; 133 had swarmed into the Northern Territory, but 151 had left; 304 Japanese had descended into Queensland since 1898, but 864 had left” (Hirst 14).

As Gwenda Tavan (2005) mentions, Australian politicians sensed the country’s “strategic vulnerability” (21) in four main areas. First, Australia relied on powerful white English-speaking countries, especially Great Britain, for protection from external aggressors. Second, the population needed natural growth and European immigration “in order to develop the national economy and justify British-Australian sovereignty over the continent” (Tavan 21). Third, its attitude towards Asian countries remained suspicious. Fourth, the country’s defence strategy needed to be based on immigration restriction and control of the national borders. Thus, this sense of vulnerability and fear of invasion became the backbone of Australian immigration policies since Federation.

The desire for ‘racial purity’ was described by Attorney-General Alfred Deakin, who defended the idea of the White Australia policy by stating

No motive power operated more universally on this continent ... than the desire that we should be one people and remain one people without the admixture of other races. It is only necessary to say that they do not and cannot blend with us, that we do not, cannot and ought not to blend with them. (Tavan 9)

What could the government do, then, with Indigenous Australians? The government began a policy of forcible removal of children of mixed descent (white and Indigenous) from their families in order (1) to prevent them from marrying full blood Indigenous Australians, consequently “whitening” the following generations, and (2) to propitiate the eventual disappearance of full blood Indigenous Australians. As a result, miscegenation and the terms ‘full blood’, ‘half caste’, ‘quarteroon’ and ‘octoroon’ became common to refer to Indigenous Australians. The removed children were put into

missions, where they were taught how to become domestic workers (the girls) or to work in the fields (the boys). The children were not allowed to speak their Indigenous languages but only English and they were punished if they tried to escape and go back to their families. On the other hand, their families could not appeal to the government for help when their children were taken away from them as it was a policy enforced by the government, that is, a legal procedure. Furthermore, the lives of Indigenous Australians were controlled by the Chief Protector of Aborigines, who decided every aspect of their lives be it if they could buy a pair of shoes or who they could marry. These children are known as the Stolen Generations. This policy officially ended in the 1970s and the Rudd government offered a national apology on 13th February 2008.

Another group to be avoided was that formed by the ‘Asiatic’ residents living in Australia, mainly Chinese men. What could the government do with them? On the one hand, the Constitution did not define who was a ‘citizen’ of Australia to avoid confrontation with other countries: if ‘citizen’ was defined as ‘British subject’, then Indians and Chinese people from Hong Kong and other parts would be citizens with equal rights, and politicians wanted a country for white people (Rubenstein 23). On the other hand, economically speaking, the presence of a small resident Chinese population was beneficial as long as it did not compete with the white Australian workforce. Therefore, the Chinese presence as traders, market gardeners, restaurant owners and chefs (Markus 52-53) was allowed. Consequently, this sector of the population could live in the country but not become citizens or bring in their families. However, administratively speaking, they posed a problem: they needed to travel abroad more often than the rest of the population. Thus, the administrators of the *Immigration Restriction Act* decided to label them as ‘domiciles’ and the “Customs and Excise Office of each State (and later the Immigration Department) [were required] to issue a ‘Certificate Exempting From Dictation Test’ (CEDT) each time a ‘domicile’ wished to travel” (Williams 37) abroad or return.

The new government passed a series of laws that restricted not only migration but also the rights of those non-whites living in Australia. In 1901 the *Pacific Islanders Labourers Act* forbade Pacific Islanders from entering the Commonwealth of Australia after 31st March 1904 and stated that most of the Islanders living in Australia would be repatriated from 31st December 1906. In 1902 the *Franchise Act (Cwth)* stated that ‘no aboriginal native of Australia, Asia, Africa or the Islands of the Pacific except New Zealand shall be entitled to have his name placed on an electoral roll unless so entitled

under section forty-one of the Constitution¹⁴. In 1903 the *Naturalisation Act (Cwth)* specified that Maoris were not entitled to welfare benefits but were eligible for naturalisation. In 1904 according to Tavan (22) or 1905 according to Williams (42), a special passport agreement with Japan and India, that is, the CEDT, “permitted the temporary settlement of merchants, students, and tourists and their wives” (Tavan 22). In 1905, the dictation test suffered a modification as it could be given in “any prescribed language” instead of in a “European language” (Tavan 22). In 1908 the *Old Age and Invalid Pensions Act* specified that “‘Asiatics’ not born in Australia, and aboriginal natives of Australia, Africa and the Pacific Islands and New Zealand were not qualified for the pensions” (Tavan 8). Then, in 1912, a law giving £5 to white European women on the birth of each live baby was passed. Consequently, all these bills positively discriminated white Australians and migrants of British descent. Furthermore, also in 1912 a CEDT allowed Chinese merchants, visitors and students the same rights as Japanese and Indians (Tavan 22). Moreover, assistants to merchants were allowed entry from the early 1920s (Markus 52) and after 1934 the permission also included those substitutes for the Chinese traders and businessmen who wanted to retire in their homelands and who had established residence before Federation (Markus 52; Williams 37).

But not only were ‘Asiatics’ discriminated against by the White Australia policy: Greeks, Italians, Maltese, Albanians, Yugoslavs and Poles also suffered discrimination, especially after World War I (1914-18). Australia joined Great Britain in the Great War. Australian and New Zealander soldiers formed the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) and during 1915 fought together under British command mainly in the eastern Mediterranean (Suez Canal, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey). The battle of Gallipoli, and its posterior legend, began on 25th April 1915, with the landing of British, French and ANZAC forces on different parts of the peninsula. The legend “dealt with sacred themes: baptism under fire in the pursuit of an unattainable objective, sacrifice, death and redemption through the living legacy of a nation come of age” (Macintyre 160) and it exalted mateship, a key value referred to in the debates on national identity throughout the century. In the following years, ANZAC forces fought in the defence of France and in offensives against Germany. Out of five million

¹⁴ Section 41- Rights of electors of States: No adult person who has or acquires a right to vote at elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of a State shall, while the right continues, be prevented by any law of the Commonwealth from voting at elections for either House of the Parliament of the Commonwealth.

inhabitants, the armed forces in Australia “voluntarily recruited 417,000 men, more than half of those eligible to serve”, “331,000... served abroad” and 60,000 died (Macintyre 165).

In 1914 the government passed the *War Precautions Act*, which allowed the internment of 7,000 ‘enemy aliens’, regardless of their political views. This act affected “respectable German-Australians, migrants from the Balkans who were unwilling subjects of the Hapsburg Empire, even Afghan camel-drivers who had come from well beyond the ambit of the Ottoman Empire” (Macintyre 164). This anti-foreign behaviour had widespread support and it also affected Greeks and Maltese, who were sometimes seen as ‘semi-coloured’ people taking the jobs of the Australian soldiers fighting in the war. Consequently, their entry was prohibited for a period of four years (1916-20) and afterwards strictly limited to a certain maximum per year. In 1920 the *Enemy Aliens Act* prohibited entry for five years of all migrants from countries which had fought against the Allies. This act made special reference to Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Turks. Following the USA migrant quota restrictions, in 1924 and 1925 Australia also made it compulsory for “all ‘alien’ migrants to possess £40 landing money or hold landing permits issued as a result of their maintenance or employment being guaranteed by relatives or friends in Australia” (Langfield 2011). Moreover, in 1925 ‘aliens’ could also be prohibited entry due to “economic, industrial or other conditions in Australia, if they were unsuitable, or unlikely to assimilate and become responsible citizens” (Langfield 2011).

At that moment, the majority of these ‘aliens’ were Italian, whose entry could not be forbidden because Great Britain and Italy had signed the Treaty of Commerce in 1883 which allowed freedom of movement and residence from the territories of one to those of the other. As Australia was part of the British Empire territories, Italians had to be allowed entry into the country. But in 1923 an agreement was reached between the Australian and Italian governments and passports given to live in Australia were limited to those who could support themselves or had guarantors in the country. Four years later, in 1927, only close relatives or those with a contract were allowed entry until this number reached around 3,000 migrants per year.

Furthermore, the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922) caused a mass exodus from mainland Greece. Many decided to migrate to Australia and, consequently, “the number of Greek settlers in Australia drastically increased with new waves of refugees from Asia Minor, Macedonia and the Peloponnese to reach over 15,000 by 1940” (Tamis 35).

Although many migrants came from urban centres, most of them “were scattered over immense distances through the vast continent, compelled to labour in the bush, unprotected and often exploited” (Tamis 35). The difficulties faced by these migrants (different cultural and linguistic environments, linguistic deficiency, lack of consistent employment, hardships in the mining camps, difficulties in surviving in the bush, vastness of the host country and isolation and distance from family) caused them serious health and mental problems, although “most of them were forced to endure the hardships because of their inability to finance the long return journey by sea” (Tamis 35).

After the end of the war and the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Australia held elections and the Nationalists won. However, discomfort grew in the society during the following years and in the 1923 elections, a coalition was formed between Nationalists and Country Party with Stanley Bruce as Prime Minister (Nationalist) and Earle Page as deputy (Country Party). Their protectionist policies included supporting primary producers and increasing public expenditure. As Bruce explained in an Imperial Conference in 1923, “Empire development is dependent upon three things, men, money and market” (Macintyre 170), that is,

Men from Britain were needed, along with women and children to fill up the empty spaces, but most of all men to make the land productive –the British government financed a new wave of more than 200,000 assisted migrants during the decade. Money was required from British investors so the Australian government could undertake the necessary development projects and Australian producers could expand their capacity ... Markets had to be found for the increased primary production – Britain remained the principal customer for Australian wool and wheat, along with shipments of diary produce, meat, fruit and sugar. (Macintyre 170)

Consequently, the family farm became the main working unit of primary industry and rural life.

But the difficulties of rural life and the dissatisfaction of the farmers caused internal migration towards the cities: in 1922 the population of Sydney was more than one million and in 1928 Melbourne reached the same figure; “together they held more than one-third of the country’s inhabitants” (Macintyre 171). This movement caused an increase in investment: houses, roads, hospitals, schools, power lines, water and waste disposals were built, thus, boosting industries in all three sectors (primary, industries

and services). The standard of living increased in the post-war years and, although not many houses had an electric stove or a refrigerator, “most had an electric kettle, iron and vacuum cleaner” (Macintyre 172), which provided more free-time and opportunities for leisure, such as reading and listening to the radio. In time, the American lifestyle and culture became more appealing and glamorous than that of Great Britain, which was perceived as old and weak after the war.

Nonetheless, the country faced continuing problems: ex-soldiers had difficulties in getting a job and were not encouraged to share their war experiences, the main threat became communism, and the country and families had invested without saving. Thus, when Wall Street crashed in October 1929, Australia moved into depression. In fact, strikes had begun in 1928.

The new Labor government took office on the week of the Black Tuesday (29th October 1929). The situation became extremely difficult as the country had a large debt, which needed “more than half the country’s exports ... to meet the payments due on foreign loans” (Macintyre 178). Furthermore, the prices of wool and wheat, the two main export products, fell. At the end of 1929, 13% of the population were unemployed but in 1931 the number reached 28%. Australia paid its debt, but that meant higher taxes, reduced public works and welfare payments and a 25% devaluation of the currency. Labor did not manage to protect the jobs and the jobless and in 1933 the average time of unemployment was two years. About 30,000 jobless joined the Unemployed Workers Movement, formed by the Communist Party in 1930, to channel their frustration and anger in demonstrations, marches and petitions.

The Labor Party lost the following elections and a coalition of the right-wing United Australia Party and the Country Party took office. Their economic policies propitiated recovery: export sales improved, manufacturing recovered and the foreign public debt stabilised. By the late 1930s, 10% of the population were out of work. Female unemployment did not reach such a high level as male unemployment and it recovered sooner. Many young activists found work in “mining, transport, construction and heavy industry, and applied their organisational zeal to the improvement of pay, conditions and job security” (Macintyre 183).

As a consequence of the Depression, the population growth was very slow: the number of births diminished and immigration was not resumed until the end of the 1930s. However, the infant mortality rate decreased and more attention was paid to nutrition and hygiene. Besides, many literary and cultural associations appeared: the

Australian Broadcasting Commission (1932), the Writers League (1934), the Book Censorship Abolition League (1935), the Fellowship of Australian Writers (1938) and the Contemporary Art Society (1938).

Regarding civil rights, women and Indigenous Australians fought to improve their conditions. On the one hand, a child endowment was introduced only in New South Wales in 1927, women demanded equal pay, more participation in public life, equality in the work force and they denounced “the barbarous treatment of Aboriginal women and children” (Macintyre 184). On the other hand, Aboriginal communities had created their own organisations, demanded the abolition of the protection system and sought new ways of advancement. The 150th anniversary of European occupation of the country was celebrated on 26th January 1938 and, while a “re-enactment of Governor Phillip’s landing [took place] to commemorate” it (Macintyre 188), the Aborigine’s Progressive Association held a Day of Mourning to mark the invasion and colonization of the country. The Prime Minister and the Minister for the Interior met these activists a week later. Anthropologists, and not biologists, were consulted and offered differing points of view on Indigenous Australians:

culture was both universal and particular: it was an organising principle of all peoples but distinctive to each one of them. Accordingly, any attempt to assist Aborigines should be based not on the imposition of alien practices but rather on what A. P. Elkin, the professor of anthropology at the University of Sydney and chief adviser to the minister, described as ‘helping them to develop further along their own cultural lines.’ (Macintyre 189)

Elkin drafted a paper for the Minister of the Interior, which became the “New Deal for Aborigines”, released in early 1939. The new policy became assimilation and the official objective became raising the status of Indigenous Australians to that of ordinary citizens which, paradoxically, had to be achieved by “extending the practice of forcible removal of Aboriginal children from their families” (Macintyre 190), thus, causing more Stolen Generations.

World War II began and Australia automatically entered it. The ANZACs defended Egypt and the Suez Canal again, but this time from Italian soldiers. Then, the forces were sent to defend Greece and Crete, but the German front caused many casualties among the ANZACs. The Menzies government “declared the Communist Party illegal for its opposition to the war and denounced the coalminers for striking in 1940” (Macintyre 192), until the USSR joined the Allies in 1941. The government

finally fell in August 1941 and the Labor Party took office with John Curtin as Prime Minister. Four months later, on 7th December 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbour in order to prevent the USA from interfering in its plan to dominate south-east Asia. Australia faced the threat of Japanese invasion. Between 1942 and 1943 Japan bombed the north of Queensland, coastal areas of the Northern Territory and north Western Australia, especially Darwin, Broome and Townsville. Three Japanese midget submarines entered Australian waters and attacked ships in Sydney Harbour. Japan aimed at isolating, not invading, Australia and at occupying the islands of the south-west Pacific. Curtin disagreed with the strategy of Great Britain, especially as he considered the defence of Singapore vital and the removal of Australian troops from Burma in order to defend Australia. When Singapore fell, Australian forces were placed under the command of the USA. In 1942, Australia adopted the Statute of Westminster and, consequently, “consummated its constitutional independence. The Australian Broadcasting Commission stopped playing ‘The British Grenadiers’ before its news bulletin in favour of ‘Advance Australia Fair’” (Macintyre 193). Australian forces defended Papua New Guinea and, after that, were transferred to a supporting role in the Pacific war. The Australian casualties were 37,000 deaths and 30,000 prisoners of war, many of whom died of disease, hunger or execution. Women were not allowed to join the fighting forces but thousands joined clubs and volunteer organizations, the Red Cross, learnt typing and the Morse code and some even held posts in the intelligence service. Furthermore, single and married women were encouraged to take a job, many of which were considered male-jobs. This provided new opportunities, freedom and confidence for many women and caused a profound change in society.

As Gwenda Tavan (2005) informs, despite the fact that World War II finished in 1945, the Department of Post-War Reconstruction was established in 1942 “to implement the transition, and to forge the foundations for a new social and economic order” (31). Its objectives implied specific policies and programs: rural reconstruction, the decentralisation of industry, the implementation of a nationwide housing scheme, the development of both primary and secondary industries and full employment. Education was essential to the improvement and reconstruction of the country and “to change the attitudes of Australians towards issues such as race relations and their country’s place in the world” (Tavan 32). This last point was the new main concern for the Department of External Affairs as minister Evatt thought Australia should

participate fully in the post-war settlement, to give effect to the declared objectives of the United Nations, and to help implement the principles of the Atlantic Charter, with its pledge to create the conditions for a system of international security (Tavan 32).

Therefore, stability in the Asian region was considered crucial to the country’s security because “Australia’s position in South-East Asia and the Pacific is geographically very different from that of Britain. It is in this part of the world that our immediate destiny must be determined” (Evatt in Tavan 33). Consequently, several international agreements were signed, one of the first being the ANZAC pact, between Australia and New Zealand, in 1944.

Besides the new international position Australia fostered, population was another key factor. The approximate number of inhabitants was seven million (DIC 2011) in a continent of more than 7,5 million km² and the number of Australian soldiers who had taken part in World War II was almost one million (NAA 2011). The government considered there had to be an increase in population which should be reached annually by 1% natural growth and 1% immigration. As the White Australia policy was still valid, British migrants were preferred. However, the discriminatory official policy received sharp criticism from other countries, mainly Japan, China and India (Tavan 36-41). Furthermore, Australian church groups, the Communist Party of Australia and the Federated Ironworkers Union and Professor Elkin continued voicing their opposition to the policy respectively arguing that “the policy offended Christian principles of justice and equity” (Tavan 45), that it was against socialist and internationalist ideals, and that it created national and international uneasiness.

In April 1943, however, the Dominions Office in London suggested Australia consider other European and British Commonwealth countries. As a consequence, a Department of Immigration was created in 1945 to control and administer immigration. The events and consequences of World War II forced many Europeans into migration and made Australian politicians change the immigration policy from limiting it to encouraging it.

2.1.4. 1945-1975: The opening up of the country to non-British migrants

After the war, rationing continued, but the government tried to boost the economy, provide work for the soldiers, initiate many building projects, such as a

hydroelectric generation plan, and expanded social security. Furthermore, it aimed at increasing immigration, which became a very controlled and bureaucratic process. ‘Populate or Perish’ became the new motto defended by the Minister of Immigration; Arthur Calwell. The program aimed at increasing the population at a 2% annual rate, 1% from natural growth and 1% sourced from immigration, preferably, but not only, British. Thus, Australia was eager to open its door to multiple cultures rather than to multiple ethnicities. At the time, almost 100% of the population was white (Indigenous Australians were still not counted in the census) and 98% of British descent.

During the 1945 UN Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, Australia was criticised for its White Australia policy and equal national and racial rights were defended by the United Nations. Some Asian countries, such as India, China and Japan, continually condemned the discrimination meted out to their nationals when attempting to migrate to Australia. In fact, India even threatened to leave the Commonwealth of Nations if race discrimination was not halted. However, Australian politicians managed to include the clause “all members shall refrain from intervention in the domestic affairs of other members” (Tavan 44) in the United Nations Charter, which was perceived in Australia as a triumph with regard to the maintenance of the White Australia policy. Due to the pressure exerted by these three Asian countries, in 1947 Calwell allowed non-European immigrants who had been legally admitted for temporary residence and had lived in Australia for more than 15 years to stay in the country without having to periodically apply for extensions of their certificates of exemption. However, the formal citizenship of these migrants was only awarded by the Minister in special circumstances. The main beneficiaries of this regulation were women of ‘Asian’ race born in Australia who had lost their British nationality when marrying a non-Australian.

In order to reach the 1% annual migrant increase, the Displaced Persons Scheme was introduced in 1947. This program allowed approximately 170,000 World War II refugees, mainly from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, the Ukraine and the Baltic states, to settle in Australia between 1947 and 1952 (Freeman and Jupp 5) and provided them with a two-year contract to work in the jobs that Australians would not take and that were needed. That year, the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council (CIAC) was created. The CIAC was formed by “politicians, representatives of the Department of Immigration, peak organisations, including employer organizations

and the trade union movement” (Tavan 49) and its aim was to “advise the government on immigration matters” (Tavan 89).

A second program to increase migration was established: the assisted migration programme. Assisted passages had been offered to British migrants since the 19th century, but after World War II they were also awarded to European migrants. Several agreements were signed between Australia and European countries during the following twenty years. These agreements specified the forms of assistance, numbers and services to be provided upon arrival. The countries in question were Malta in 1948; Italy and The Netherlands in 1951; West Germany, Austria and Greece in 1952; Spain in 1958; Turkey in 1967; and Yugoslavia in 1970 (Freeman and Jupp 5). In the 1950s and 1960s most of these Central and Southern European migrants worked in manufacturing industries in five cities: Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Wollongong and Geelong. As Tamis (2005) recalls, approximately 220,000 Greek migrants moved to Australia under the auspices of this program between 1952 and 1974. Thus, “assisted passages were a form of social engineering designed to keep Australia British, to increase the manual labour force, to redress the gender imbalance and to keep Australia white” (Jupp 2003: 18), that is, the government encouraged long-term migration from those considered to be able to assimilate and to fill in the needs of the country.

Different settlement programmes for refugees and assisted migrants were passed in order to alleviate the material problems of the new settlers, house them and direct them towards suitable employment as determined by the authorities. Moreover, these programmes also aimed to teach them the basic linguistic and cultural skills necessary for their integration into mainstream society, ensure their basic health, equip them with skills and attitudes relevant to surviving as free settlers after the two years of bonded labour and impress on aliens the need to assimilate rapidly into Australian culture. The programs also tried to persuade Australians that aliens would make good ‘New Australians’, arguing that working conditions and housing for Australians would not be adversely affected by immigrants and stressing that refugee migration was a measure which did not challenge the established principle of attracting settlers from Britain (Jupp 131). With this program, the Australian Government sought several goals, including, easing the assimilation process, avoiding the creation of ethnic enclaves and ensuring that immigrants became permanent settlers who would not differ too markedly from mainstream society either culturally or socially. Besides these, other aims were

minimizing public costs, reducing majority anxieties and using migrant labour for projects of national importance (Jupp 131).

The government decided to push for an assimilationist attitude towards migrants, that is, immigrants were expected to “be culturally and socially absorbed and rapidly become indistinguishable from the existing Anglo-Australian population” (Castles 184-185). The government, thus, provided them with initial accommodation, English lessons and helped them to find a job. In order to deal with the refugees, first, the government decided to create camps for those with a non-British background, even for those belonging to the British Commonwealth without relatives or sponsors already settled in Australia. Second, in 1947 the Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP, later on changed to Adult Migrant English Program) aimed at teaching ‘survival’ English to migrants (this program later evolved into a major service for teaching English to adults as a second language). Third, in 1949 the Good Neighbour Movement was created to coordinate charitable and religious organizations to help migrants. However, as most of them did not speak English, migrants chose to organize themselves in trade unions and labour movements. The Good Neighbour Movement was established by the conservatives in agreement with the Liberal and Country parties, and aimed at very quick migrant assimilation but without listening to migrants. Their discourse and attitude were notably paternalistic.

As a consequence of immigration from so many different countries, the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* or *Australian Citizenship Act* was passed in 1948. This act became a meaningful step in defining the rights of citizens by stating who could legally ‘belong’ to the society and who remained an ‘alien’. The idea of Australian citizenship was fundamentally related to and based on British culture, law and traditions, instead of taking the opportunity to create new legislation that also included Indigenous Australians, their cultures, laws and traditions. Despite the fact this Act was based on the British legal system and

Unlike the Australian Constitution Act, and legislation since, the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* did not discriminate against Indigenous people, implicitly including them through the more logical use of the term ‘natural-born’. Aboriginal people finally won the right to vote in Federal elections in 1962, and the success of the referendum in 1967 altered those sections of the Australian Constitution with discriminatory effect. (MAD 2011)

These changes went hand in hand with widespread support to avoid some deportation cases and with a critical attitude towards the government. The two most famous cases included men and women alike and, if they had ended in deportation, they would have torn families apart. The first case involved the deportation of 21 Malayan seamen who were to be sent to Singapore and Malaya despite the fact that they had married or were living with Australian women and their “applications for permanent residence were also defended on the grounds that they were British subjects” (Tavan 51). Furthermore, the government offered help to the Australian wives and children who wanted to leave the country with their husbands, parents and/or partners. The second case involved an Indonesian family, the O’Keefe’s. Mrs Jacob, later O’Keefe, had arrived in Australia with her first husband and eight children as temporary refugees in 1942. Mr Jacob died while working for the Netherlands Indies Forces Intelligence Service in 1944. Mrs Jacob and her children periodically renewed their certificates of exemption. In 1947 she married a family friend, Mr O’Keefe, who was a British subject. Consequently, according to the *Commonwealth Nationality Act 1920*, Mrs O’Keefe and her children were to be automatically considered British subjects. However, the Immigration Department pronounced that they should leave Australia or face deportation. In the end, some families of the 21 Malayan seamen voluntarily left Australia while others and the O’Keefe’s were allowed to stay. However, the Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, introduced the *War-time Refugees Removal Act 1949*, which gave the minister “the discretion to decide whether or not a person was a wartime refugee and the power to deport them” (Tavan 59).

Calwell was against racial mixing and in a speech in parliament remarked that “two Wongs don’t make a white” (Macintyre 204; Tavan 60), although he also coined the term “new Australian” to refer to bilingual or multilingual migrants and encourage their assimilation (Macintyre 204). Many sectors in Australian society were changing: generally speaking, society was less fearful of migrants, defended families and was against a policy that could (1) break Australian families apart, (2) force Australian citizens out of their own country to keep their families together and (3) make Australian women and children live in precarious conditions while the living standard in Australia was high. Thus, the government, bureaucrats and legislators were the target of widespread criticism.

The Menzies government took office in 1949 and it reduced taxation, lifted restrictions on foreign investment, encouraged private enterprise and allowed wage

increases to be implemented. Lifestyle and working conditions also improved, the quarter-acre block became an accessible dream and house ownership reached 70% by 1961. Furthermore, married women continued to work although pay remained unequal: "in 1950 the Arbitration Court increased women's pay to 75 per cent of the male basic wage" (Macintyre 223). Moreover, religious participation increased, Christianity was perceived to be central in the protection of family life and in guarding the morality of youth, the post-war family was considered the basic component of society and a baby-boom took place in the 1950s.

Regarding politics, Menzies made Canberra the centre of politics and the "genuine seat of government" (Macintyre 208). Furthermore, the Cold War and the threat of communism was a consistent worry to the Australian government. The 1945 UN Conference on International Organization in San Francisco had agreed to perceive communism as an international threat that needed to be halted. Moreover, Great Britain and the United States wanted to develop their own atomic weapons, test them in Australia and move their air defence bases to the north. As a consequence, "British intelligence supervised the formation of the Australian Security and Intelligence Organization in early 1949 to safeguard defence secrets and the leader of the Australian Communist Party was gaoled" (Macintyre 211). The creation of the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, led by Mao Zedong, and the Korean War (1950-53) only deepened the fears of communism spreading into neighbouring countries. In order to increase its protection and participation in the region, Australia signed two international treaties: first, a security agreement involving Australia, New Zealand and the United States, known as the ANZUS Treaty (1951); and, second, the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation, known as SEATO (1954), which had been arranged by the USA when France was defeated in Vietnam by communist forces. Furthermore, as Australia did not recognise the PRC, political relations between both countries were frozen and "by 1952, the new regime had virtually cleared China of the barbarians" (Fenby 375).

As regards migration, Menzies supported the 'Populate or perish' motto and the government created and supported some plans to boost immigration, such as the aforementioned assisted European migration plan. Concerning migration from Asian countries, Chinese or Japanese nationals were not assisted between 1945 and 1972 but two plans were devised: one aimed at temporary residents and one at permanent residents.

First, the Colombo plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia -launched in 1951 and still running- provided technical and tertiary training to students in order to co-operate in the economic development among the British Commonwealth countries and improved international relations with neighbouring states. The plan was formulated by the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and was later joined by the United States and Japan (Azaridis 304). Approximately 10,000 students went to Australia and, although some governmental scholarships and grants were available, “between 70 and 75 per cent of all foreign students in the country during much of this period were Chinese from Malaya, Singapore, or Hong Kong –a majority of them private, fee-paying students” (Tavan 72).

Second, permanent residence slightly increased due to the changes caused by the pressure exerted by some groups: Chinese war-time refugees, British subjects from other colonies of ‘mixed-race’ and the non-European wives of Australian soldiers, mainly Japanese, who were finally allowed to enter and live in Australia. A debate on the White Australia policy took place, but popular opinion was still divided and the government was not ready to introduce drastic changes, some of which had been recommended by the CIAC (Tavan 89-103). Furthermore, relations with Japan improved in 1957 when a treaty of commerce was signed by both countries: by 1961, “Japan had become Australia’s second-largest trading partner and would overtake Britain as the country’s primary export market by the end of the decade” (Tavan 113). Moreover, in spite of the lack of diplomatic relations between the countries, China became the main buyer of wheat from Australia in order to diminish the consequences of the famine caused by the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960).

The increase in population was considerable: Sydney surpassed two million inhabitants in the late 1950s, Melbourne in the early 1960s, Adelaide and Brisbane almost reached one million inhabitants and Perth surpassed half a million residents (Macintyre 220). Furthermore, Melbourne hosted the 1956 Olympic Games, an event that boosted inversion in the city centre and the creation of parks, gardens and many buildings in order to offer the world a modern image of the city and the country. In 1945 Australia had approximately seven million inhabitants but in 1961 the population had risen to more than ten million inhabitants.

In 1958 the *Migration Act* was passed in order to clarify the confusing administrative arrangements regulated in the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act*. The new act abandoned the controversial dictation test and the Immigration Department and

the Cabinet could change the quota numbers and the criteria for selection without the support of Parliament and, therefore, as Freeman and Betts (1992) point out, without public discussion or protest. The *1958 Migration Act* became a landmark in Australian politics as it implied a major change since the Federation and an opening towards non-English speaking background (NESB) migrants.

In the early 1960s assimilationism was found to have some deficiencies, as the desired goals were not being achieved: there was both social and labour segregation, migrants were not assimilating into the Anglo-Celtic culture and their children were failing at school. Migrants were moving to industrial suburbs and the inner cities, where they were close to their jobs in heavy industries, infrastructure constructions and other industries. Therefore, ghettos started to appear and most migrants did not have time to study in order to acquire a good level of English. Consequently, between 1965 and 1972 the focus changed from assimilation to integration and some measures were introduced: an Integration Branch was created in the Department of Immigration, immigrant welfare grants were given to community agencies, a Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications was created, English courses were given to adults and children, there were English courses on TV and in the workplace, and the first steps towards the creation of a Telephone Interpreter Service (TIS) were made.

The Menzies government, however, felt challenged by the petitions of the Prasad and Locsin cases. The Prasads asked the government to let their five year-old daughter stay in Australia with her older sister or to be adopted by her, as her living conditions would be better than those in their country of origin. Aurelio Locsin, “a young Filipino with an arts degree and experience in banking” (Tavan 152), demanded the government consider these credentials to be positive aspects on his application for permanent settlement. The government ignored the pressure of national and international media in both cases (Tavan 147-153) arguing that if they relented and accepted these two petitions, the principles of equity and consistency would be compromised.

The campaign for equal rights for Indigenous Australians continued during the 1960s. In 1962 they were allowed to vote in federal elections; in 1965, in state elections and the “Arbitration Court awarded equal pay to Aboriginal pastor workers” (Macintyre 236). In 1967 a referendum regarding whether Indigenous Australians should be counted in the Census was won with 90% of votes in support of the new legislation (Korff 2011). Changes regarding the situations of Indigenous people were still very slow and on Australia Day 1972, a tent embassy was set up in Canberra by Aboriginal

protestors to demand land rights. This event marked a new level in the struggle for Indigenous Australians’ rights: that of a national recognition of being the first inhabitants of Australia, a struggle that the Mabo case resolved in 1982.

As soon as Menzies retired in 1966 and the Holt government took office, a series of changes began to materialise, such as, the signature of an “international convention on the elimination of racial discrimination [and the repeal of] discriminatory provisions against Aborigines in the Commonwealth Constitution” (Macintyre 231). Furthermore, a few well-qualified Asian migrants were admitted under very strict conditions: suitability for integration, skills, knowledge of English, previous temporary residence or ministerial decision (Tavan 158-9). Thus, the White Australia policy was weakened and began to be dismantled.

During the 1960s Australia joined the USA in the Vietnam War. However, the war was perceived as unjust and widespread criticism sent a clear message to the government. As a result, between 1970 and 1972 Australia removed its troops from the country. The number of armed forces who had served in the war was approximately 50,000 with 500 deaths.

As a consequence of the social changes and the mounting social pressure, the idea of ‘integration’ began to be challenged and the idea of ‘multiculturalism’ started to appear. In the early 1970s the Australian Liberal Party (ALP) realized that the NESB migrant community in Australia had special needs and that they represented an important number of voters who could be crucial in the 1972 elections. Gough Whitlam, the leader of the ALP, aimed at modernising his own country and international relations. As opposition leader, he led an expedition to Beijing in July 1971. When Whitlam became Prime Minister of Australia, the recognition of the People’s Republic of China was negotiated and the public perception of the communist country changed from a threat to a friend. Furthermore, Australia wanted to play a mediating role within Asia-Pacific countries and even began conversations with North Korea in 1974.

The ALP tried to obtain the migrant ethnic vote by paying attention to their needs, advertising in their press and providing some migrant candidates. For the first time in 23 years there was a change of government: Whitlam became the Prime Minister. His government dismissed the entry criteria –that is, ended the White Australia policy- and prohibited all forms of discrimination based on race and ethnicity, but it also reduced immigration. Consequently, Whitlam’s government started a reform in social policy: the so-called Australian Assistance Plan (AAP), which emphasized the

disadvantages migrants faced and the aim of which had been considered to be “the provision of an ‘integrated system of welfare services with high levels of grassroots participation, but within the context of a national framework’” (Castles et al in Theophanous 10¹⁵).

The government established a series of Regional Councils of Social Development, which would implement the Plan. As Theophanous explains, “they were also the first formal means by which it was possible for migrants to mobilise politically and express their concerns to decision makers through formal channels” (10-11). Then, Ethnic Communities Councils were established in South Australia and Victoria in 1974 and in New South Wales in 1975. The AAP also established a series of Migrant Task Forces that consulted with migrants on their urgent needs and the best ways to improve them.

Some of the measures the AAP adopted included giving pensions to invalids and widows; giving loans for migrants’ houses and low-interest loans; providing migrants with family health insurance; and creating programmes to take care of children whilst their parents were at work, in which case the person responsible for their children was to have an appropriate ethnic background. Furthermore, some bodies were created, such as the Australian-Greek Welfare Society, the Italian Assistance Council, the Italian Federation of Immigrant Workers and their Families and the Ecumenical Migration Centre. All these led to a migrant rights movement and to the formation of Ethnic Community Councils in all states (Castles 185-186).

In 1973, Al Grassby, the Minister for Immigration, used the idea of the ‘Family of the Nation’ to explain and popularise the concept of multiculturalism praising difference and acceptance:

In a family the overall attachment to the common good need not impose a sameness on the outlook in activity of each member nor need those members, deny their individuality and distinctiveness in order to seek a superficial and unnatural conformity. The important thing is that they are all committed to the good of all (Grassby in Theophanous 9)

¹⁵ In the following pages two authors are extensively quoted from: James Jupp, renowned sociologist who was commissioned to write a national report in 1986, and Andrew Theophanous, former Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister and to the Minister for Human Services and Health. The decision to quote mainly from these two authors is due to their insightful views on the implementation of multiculturalism in Australia.

Thus, the Whitlam government initiated reforms to promote this new concept, such as, abolishing the privileges for British citizens in Australia and the discrimination against the non-Anglo-New Zealanders who wanted to travel between New Zealand and Australia. Moreover, other changes included eliminating the discrimination against Indigenous Australians who wanted to leave Australia, as they had to seek special permission, consequently modifying the *1958 Migration Act*; and the deportation of Australians who had been naturalised if they committed a crime, thus, amending the *Crimes Act*. Besides, the government also ordered the elimination of the annual notification of address, occupation and marital status in the *Aliens Act*; the restriction on the change of names by aliens in the registration policy; and the racially selected sporting teams (Theophanous 10).

In June 1975 the *Racial Discrimination Bill* was passed and it took effect as an *Act* in October that year. Its purpose was to “outlaw all forms of racial discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity, and to pave the way for Australia to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination” (Theophanous 12). As Theophanous claims, the Act “encouraged tolerance and respect for cultural diversity and recognised that all people had a shared responsibility to ensure that everyone has equal access to full participation in the life of the community” (13-14). Consequently, the concept of multiculturalism was supported, developed and means towards it, provided.

However, the economic situation of the country worsened, inflation increased, production stagnated and unemployment surpassed 250,000 individuals. The Whitlam government decided to abolish the Immigration Department and redistribute its functions among the Social Security, Education and Labour departments. Therefore, migration and settlement were to be taken into consideration in each of these areas. However, the administration had not internalised this shift in thinking and was not prepared to include the needs of migrants in their policies. Thus, Jupp considers that “the abolition of the department was premature” (2003: 41-42). These measures did not calm public opinion and, as a consequence of public discontent, the governor-general dismissed the government on 11th November 1975 and commissioned Malcolm Fraser as a caretaker prime minister until elections were held. Fraser won the elections with a landslide majority.

According to Andrew Theophanous, multiculturalism had four main phases, three of which coincided with three different governments. The first one, 1945-1971,

allowed mass post-war immigration and an increasing pressure on the ‘monocultural’ ideal. The second, 1972-1975, initiated the philosophy and policy of ‘multiculturalism’ during the years of the Whitlam government. The third phase, 1976-1983, saw the further refinement of multiculturalism and the inclusion of new policies during the Fraser years. During the fourth one, 1983-1985, there was a strengthening of multiculturalism during the Hawke government. It can be argued that by 1975, Australia had reached a turning-point with the dismantling of the White Australia policy and the introduction of multiculturalism. The final subsection covers the development of multiculturalism, the debates on the ‘Asianisation’ of Australia, some racist riots and crises and the ‘solutions’ implemented to deal with refugees.

2.1.5. 1975-2011: From multiculturalism until nowadays

In spite of the economic difficulties, the Fraser government supported multiculturalism as a policy and philosophy. One of its first actions was reintroducing the Immigration Department, although under a different name: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. This change stressed the focus of the new Department on settlement issues, such as, welfare and education, but not yet as part of mainstream institutions. The new government also created the Australian Population and Immigration Council (APIC), aimed at evaluating “demographic trends and the social and economic impact of migration on Australia” (NSWDET 2010).

The numbers of migrants increased due to a humane approach towards refugees and migrants. On the one hand, “an amnesty for overstayers was implemented between January and April 1976” (Jupp 2003: 43). More than 8500 applications were received for resident status, especially from British, Chinese, Greek and Indonesian migrants. On the other hand, in April 1976 the first refugees escaping from Vietnam by boat arrived near Darwin and the “Vietnamese already in Australia, who were mainly students, were granted refugee status, as were those arriving by sea” (Jupp 2003: 42). Thus, due to the situation in the country of origin, special visa arrangements were made for these migrants. This was extended to refugees and migrants from Lebanon. Besides these groups, Timorese refugees and students from Indochina already in Australia were also granted resident status.

Andrew Theophanous (1995) recalls that, in 1977, the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council established a charter for multiculturalism, which stated the three principles for a

successful multicultural society that would guide the government’s action: social cohesion, cultural identity and equality of opportunity and access.

The following year, Frank Galbally presented his report *The Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants* to the Australian government, which established “a concrete framework for the formulation and implementation of multicultural policies with a long-term focus” (Theophanous 15). The emphasis of the report was on cultural identification, that is, the right of ethnic migrants to retain their culture and cultural expressions and the respect mainstream society should have for cultural diversity. Thus, assimilation into mainstream Australian society was not required and not expected, but it was an invitation to share the migrant’s culture with the rest of society, reinforcing Whitlam’s idea of the ‘family of the nation’. As James Jupp (2003) explains, the Galbally report not only concentrated “on the provision of migrant settlement services by Commonwealth and non-government agencies” (87) but it also developed a multicultural approach.

After the report, the focus of the assistance changed from British migrants to those migrants with little or no understanding of English. The way the administration would help migrants was through “ethnic groups themselves [, who had to] take on the task of advising the government of the needs and priorities of migrants, and ensuring that ethnic cultures [were] fostered and preserved” (Jupp 2003: 88). Therefore, the Immigration Department expanded and migrant resource centres were created. Furthermore, in order for multiculturalism to succeed, educational programs as well as the fostering of cultures and languages were needed. Besides, the Australia Council needed to make a greater effort and cultural agreements with other social groups were to be encouraged.

In 1979 the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) was established through an Act, it was formed by independent experts and most of the staff were of NESB origin. Its responsibilities did not include any area or policy concerning Indigenous Australians, just migrant or ‘ethnic’ matters. As Jupp observes, the four goals of the AIMA were

to develop an awareness of the diverse cultures within the community and an appreciation of the contributions of these cultures; to promote tolerance; to promote a cohesive Australian society; and to promote an environment that affords the members of the different cultural groups and ethnic

communities the opportunity to participate fully in Australian society (2003: 89)

The Galbally report also recommended the creation of an ‘ethnic television’, thus, the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) was introduced. Its aim was “to encourage and promote understanding among non-ethnic Australian people about ethnic communities, as well as to assist ethnic communities in becoming more accustomed to life in Australia” (Theophanous 18).

In 1982 Jerzy Zubrzycki, one of the council members of AIMA, presented the report he had been commissioned to write: *Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nation*. As Andrew Theophanous (1995) recalls, this report defended cultural diversity and supported social cohesion, cultural identity and equality of opportunity and access, but also included “equal responsibility for, commitment to and participation in society” (19). The main idea defended by Zubrzycki was that the help given to migrants should be temporary until their proficiency in English allowed them to use mainstream services, the problems linked to the initial settlement were solved and until there existed appropriate support systems in the general community or ethnic groups able to help their own members. Thus, according to Theophanous, this report failed “to incorporate a social dimension into the concept of multiculturalism” (21) and encouraged “only the minimal levels of funding for specific ethnic groups” (20).

Languages other than English became the topic of a national debate in 1982. A national language policy that would encourage the learning of a second language was suggested by Al Grassby on a *Report on Education*. However, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs opposed the measure, which had the support of the Minister for Education. In the end, the proposal did not succeed, but it raised a matter that would appear on further occasions.

Between 1974-84, Australia and China improved their relations, which also meant more trade agreements and exchanges at educational, scientific, technological and defence levels. Garry Woodward (1997) provides chronological examples of these changes: a trade agreement and parliamentary visit in 1973; student exchanges in 1974; agricultural exchanges and Family Reunion Agreement in 1976; exchange visits of scientists, sport teams and media executives in 1977; the establishment of the Australia-China Council in 1978; the opening of state-to-province relations of the Bank of China between Victoria and Jiangsu and New South Wales and Guangzhou in 1979. In the 1980s, the changes involved an agreement in cooperation in Science and Technology

signed in May 1980; annual bilateral talks between officials and exchange of defence representatives in 1981; the establishment of the China Action Program to assist exports to Australia for a decade, in 1983; and, direct flights between the countries, beginning in 1984. All these exchanges and agreements favoured Australian exports to China, as these "rose from \$62.8 million in 1972/3 ... to \$1056 million in 1984/5" (Woodward 147).

In 1983, Labor Bob Hawke was elected Prime Minister. He understood multiculturalism as

more than a descriptive term to designate a society made up of different ethnic groups. It is also an approach to policy formulation and resource allocation which seeks to provide for equality and access and opportunity. It designates a society which supports a common group of institutions, legal rights and obligations, while leaving individuals free to maintain their religion, language and cultural customs. (Hawke in Theophanous 28)

The following year, 1984, was intense on the international and national fronts. First, during the visit of Prime Minister Hawke to North East Asia, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang took the bilateral relations a step forward and suggested that "Australia and China should become an example of cooperation between countries with different social systems and different degrees of development" (Woodward 148; Hou 345). Therefore, Australia defined its relationship with China as a 'special relationship', focusing on "the pursuit of common interests" instead of on "political and cultural differences" (Hou 345), and China called it a 'model relationship', as it focused on "political friendship and economic complementarities" (Hou 345). The following year, in 1985, a China-Australia Senior Executive Forum was set up to review and coordinate the economic relationship between the two countries.

Secondly, on the national front, a sector of society feared "that somehow multiculturalism would undermine Australian society" (Theophanous 31). Historian Geoffrey Blainey attacked multiculturalism stating that it divided society and damaged social cohesion, that he feared an 'Asianisation of Australia' and that "Asian immigration and multiculturalism were out of touch with the views of average Australians and puzzled or offended large groups of Australians of British or Irish descent" (Blainey in Theophanous 35). Other critics of multiculturalism who supported Blainey's point of view were Professor Leonie Kramer, Professor Lauchlan Chipman or

academic Robert Mane (Theophanous 32-38). The Coalition argued back Blainey’s comments but the first attack on multiculturalism in the media had taken place.

In October 1985, the government launched the Access and Equity Strategy. It was aimed at “removing the barriers of race, culture, language and religion that prevented some groups in the community from accessing government services and programs” (Theophanous 48). Therefore, the social justice dimension began to be included in national policies. That same year, the National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education was established. Its motto was a reminder of the social importance of teachers’ work and their influence on children: the “Implementation of the Process of Education for a Multicultural Society is a Fundamental Responsibility of Every Teacher and Every School” (Theophanous 50).

In 1986, a third major report on multiculturalism was published: *Don’t Settle for Less: Report for the Committee for Stage I of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services* led by James Jupp. It emphasised the social justice dimension, reviewed the existing services, considered their appropriateness, proposed changes and improvements and established a link between multiculturalism and the economic and social rights of people from a NESB. This report served as a guide for the implementation of the Access and Equity Strategy.

However, a few months after the publication of the Jupp Report, the Hawke government announced a series of cuts in the Federal Budget, many of which seemed to go against the multicultural strategy the government had been implementing and contradicted the Jupp Report. These cuts affected the program of English as a second language and grants to the ethnic schools program –which were reduced-, the SBS and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) –which were to merge into one entity- and the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs –which became the Office of Multicultural Affairs. Moreover, the multicultural education program was abolished. Consequently, as Theophanous points out, ethnic communities were disillusioned, there was a threat of widespread action against the measures and the government was accused of having forsaken its commitment to multiculturalism. However, due to the pressure of ethnic groups, Hawke’s government reversed the situation and in 1987 it not only decided to step back on the decision to merge the SBS and the ABC, but gave the SBS “a statutory organisation with its own charter and thereby ... perpetuity” (Theophanous 79), the program involving teaching English as a second language received more

funding, a National Language Policy was introduced and the Office of Multicultural Affairs became part of the Prime Minister’s department.

On 3rd June 1988 a new report titled *Immigration: A Commitment to Australia* was published by Stephen Fitzgerald. In it, Fitzgerald explained that “the definition of multiculturalism used by the government and the popular concept of multiculturalism did not correspond” (Theophanous 89) and it suggested “restricting public benefits to non-citizens as a means of enhancing the value of citizenship” (Theophanous 90). Thus, economy was emphasised, migrants and migrant associations were perceived as getting and demanding more resources and funding than other social groups, and a link was made between citizenship and basic services.

Furthermore, a ‘Second Round of the Asian Immigration Debate’, as Andrew Markus (1988) calls it, took place when Professor Blainey attacked Asian immigrants again at a time when national identity was being reconsidered due to the celebrations of the bicentennial of the British foundation of Sydney (Jayasuriya and Kee 14). This time, the leader of the Opposition, John Howard, “objected to what he regarded as a high level of Asian immigration and proposed, among other things, to cut the family reunion component of the migration program [and] argued for the realisation of a ‘One Australia’” (Jayasuriya and Kee 15). That is, he targeted a migrant group as a problem and considered multiculturalism to be a divisive policy. As a consequence of his declarations, Howard was replaced by Andrew Peacock as leader of the Opposition.

The ‘special’ or ‘model’ relationship between Australia and China changed with the Tiananmen Square massacre (Beijing, 3rd-4th June 1989). As Minyue Hou (2007) reports, on 13th July 1989 Australia decided to join other Western countries and sanction China with the suspension of ministerial visits, important political visits, official contacts at senior levels, high level defence visits and visits by public security and police officials. Moreover, “promptly and emotionally, [Prime Minister Hawke] extended the visa for the Chinese students in Australia so that they could stay longer and apply for permanent residence in later years” (Hou 349). However, the Australian government maintained the aid programme and the cultural, economic and student exchanges. There was a need to penalize the regime, but Australia needed its relationship with China, for both economic and geopolitical reasons. Consequently, relations at a political level were frozen, but not broken. A basic characteristic of their bilateral agreements had been the acceptance of “the principle of non-interference in China’s internal affairs, particularly with respect to human rights, democratisation,

Taiwan, Tibet and China’s social system” (Hou 345). However, the events at the Tiananmen Square and its surroundings changed Australia’s attitude towards China and, hence, human rights became a topic that could not be avoided. In reference to population and immigration, the events of June 1989 had consequences for ELICOS¹⁶ students and divided them into two categories: those who had arrived before 20th June and those who arrived after 20th June. As Timothy Kendall (2005) explains, the first group was allowed to extend their visas for up to four years, but those in the second group were to be deported if they had overstayed them. As a consequence, “[in] November 1993 the 16,000 students who arrived in Australia before 20 June 1989 were given permanent residency. Together with their family members, who immigrated through the family reunion program, they numbered 28,000” (Kendall 190).

The changes in the federal budget, the continuous attacks on multiculturalism by Blainey and others and the Fitzgerald report marked a negative tendency towards the official policy of multiculturalism. But Hawke launched the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia on 29th July 1989. The National Agenda stated the three fundamental principles of multiculturalism: cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency. Multiculturalism was formulated as a policy for all Australians as “it created conditions for greater tolerance of cultural, ethnic and religious diversity and greater quality of opportunity for all Australians” (Theophanous 136). Furthermore, it considered ethnic diversity one of many valid elements in the policy-making process. As a consequence, the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs defended that the National Agenda should fulfil eight goals in order to make a truly multicultural society:

- (1) All Australians should have a commitment to Australia and share responsibility for furthering our national interests.
- (2) All Australians should be able to enjoy the basic right of freedom, race, ethnicity, religion or culture.
- (3) All Australians should enjoy equal life chances and have equitable access to and an equitable share of the resources which governments manage on behalf of the community.
- (4) All Australians should have the opportunity to fully participate in society and in the decisions which directly affect them.

¹⁶ ELICOS was the name given to a program which regulated the courses and accredited schools where English could be studied as a foreign language.

- (5) All Australians should be able to develop and make use of their potential for Australia’s economic and social development.
- (6) All Australians should have the opportunity to acquire and develop proficiency in English and languages other than English, and to develop cross-cultural understanding.
- (7) All Australians should be able to develop and share their cultural heritage.
- (8) Australian institutions should acknowledge, reflect and respond to the cultural diversity of the Australian community. (Theophanous 137)

The National Agenda included the creation of a National Office for Overseas Skills Recognition and of a National Training Board, changes to the *Tradesmen’s Rights and Regulations Act* and interpreters in the courts, for example.

Due to the National Agenda, the Access and Equity Strategy was modified and extended to include all Australians, not just NESB migrants. As Andrew Theophanous explains, the Access and Equity Strategy

was not about providing special services to migrants but about providing equal access to government services for all residents of Australia who faced difficulties arising from race, culture and religion or language, including Aboriginal people and children of parents with non-English speaking backgrounds. It was about the rights and entitlements that all should expect to receive. (Theophanous 140)

The National Agenda also recognized four key areas for attention: women, the ethnic aged, the need for equal treatment under the law and the need for greater access to government decision-making. The population of Australia in 1989 was approximately 17 million inhabitants (ABS 2011), thus, “cultural and ethnic diversity in Australia was a concrete reality and people wanted a plan to manage that diversity” (Theophanous 153).

In July 1991, the Labor Party’s treasurer, Paul Keating, challenged Hawke’s leadership. Hawke managed to remain as Prime Minister but, when he was challenged again in December, Hawke lost support and Keating became the nation’s leader.

On 3rd June 1992, a High Court decision rewrote Australian modern history: the final sentence in the Mabo land rights case which had begun in 1982 specified that Australia was not *terra nullius* and that Indigenous Australians had had “rights to land-rights that existed before colonisation and that [they] still exist[ed]” (Northern Land

Council “Mabo case” 2003). This decision led Land Councils and other Indigenous associations lobbying the federal government “to legislate to protect any native title that had survived 200 years of colonization” (Northern Land Council “Native Title Act” 2003). In December 1993 the *Native Title Act* was passed. The *Act* established a National Native Title Tribunal and set out processes for the determination of native title rights and dealings on native title land. The *Act* was amended in 1998, during the Howard government, and it reduced and hindered the conditions under which Indigenous Australians could claim land.

In 1996, the Liberal John Howard won the elections and became Prime Minister. His discourse had softened since his dismissal in 1988, but Howard and his treasurer, Peter Costello, were critical of multiculturalism. In fact, Howard “rarely used the word [multiculturalism], nor did he reassert the multicultural nature of Australia” (Jupp 1998: 149). Howard considered that

multiculturalism is in effect saying that it is impossible to have an Australian ethos, that it is impossible to have a common culture. So we have to pretend that we are a federation of cultures and that we’ve got a bit from every part of the world. I think that is hopeless. (Jupp 1998: 147)

Moreover, Costello understood multiculturalism as “part of the cultural cringe in that we feel somehow embarrassed about asking migrants in this country to adopt Australian culture” (Jupp 1998: 147). He also thought that multiculturalism was dangerous because it did not encourage migrants to assimilate. Therefore, Howard and Costello were clearly not supportive of the policy of multiculturalism. Logically, Geoffrey Blainey was appointed to the council preparing the events for the centenary of the Federation of Australia.

A fourth person criticised multiculturalism, as well as Aboriginal reconciliation and Asian immigration: Pauline Hanson. She won a seat in Oxley, Queensland. In her maiden speech to parliament on 10th September 1996, she demanded the abolition of multiculturalism because of its weakening of the nation’s unity and high cost, and clearly stated her fear of being “swamped by Asians” (Jupp 1998: 148). In her opinion, ‘Asian’ and ‘Australian’ were “mutually exclusive categories” (Ang 107), especially because Asians maintained their religion and culture, formed ghettos and did not assimilate. However, she did not complain about those Australians of Asian descent who followed an ‘Australian’ way of life because they had assimilated. Besides, as Ien Ang (2001) points out, Hanson recalled the racial discourse that was in force during the

Federation of Australia, which was supposed to have been banished with the introduction of multiculturalism, and also stressed cultural assimilation. However, Hanson did not want to be considered a racist and, as James Jupp explains, she “emphasised that immigrants and Aborigines who were, as she put it, ‘prepared to join the mainstream’, had a positive role to play” (1998: 148). Obviously, the ‘mainstream’ was formed by Australians of British origin, who decided who could be tolerated and who could not. Pauline Hanson created her own party, One Nation Party, and her media “coverage for most of 1996 and into 1997 gave her a prominence [that increased] her support in opinion polls to over 13%” (Jupp 1998: 148). However, by the end of the year, only 3% of the electorate supported her (Jupp 1998: 149).

On 26th May 1997, a Royal Commission report on the Stolen Generations was published: *Bringing Them Home. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*. Sir Ronald Wilson and Mick Dodson had been commissioned two years earlier to undertake the report, which shed light on a topic that had been denied and silenced for generations. The report suggested an official apology, the recording of as many testimonies as possible and the adoption of the guide written by van Boven¹⁷ to prepare ways and means towards reparation. Between 1997 and 2001, all the states and territories of Australia offered an apology, but Prime Minister Howard refused to apologise. It was the following Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, who offered a national apology in 2008.

The information collected in the *Bringing Them Home* report (1997), together with the debates and referendum on whether Australia should become a republic (1999), the Sydney Olympic Games (2000) and the celebrations of the centenary of Federation (2001) propitiated a social debate on what it meant to be “Australian”, “Australian values”, what was “unAustralian” and on Reconciliation. On 28th May 2000, more than 250,000 people marched across the Sydney Harbour Bridge to express their desire to apologise to Indigenous Australians for the terrible pain caused by the Stolen Generations and to promote greater understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. However, Prime Minister Howard did not offer an apology this time either. Some months later, the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games provided an historical vision of Australia to the rest of the world that did not correspond with the

¹⁷ The guide written by Theo van Boven is titled *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, and it can be accessed at <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/remedy.htm>>

day-to-day experiences of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders: the different cultures and languages were acknowledged and respected and Indigenous Australians were made visible. Moreover, athlete Cathy Freeman became a symbol for “the longing of a nation” (Yu 2000).

This spirit faded away in 2001 with the *Tampa* crisis. Feelings of hostility towards migrants, fear of invasion and confrontation seemed to spread throughout the country: a massive “77 per cent of Australians supported their government” (Curthoys 9) and “the 23 per cent who did not support the government’s stand was aghast” (10). On 26th August 2001 the Norwegian cargo *Tampa* rescued 433 Afghans whose boat was sinking close to Christmas Island. The Australian government refused “to allow the Tampa to disembark or even to stand off from Australian territory at Christmas Island, military force was used to remove the stranded passengers and to send them out of Australian waters altogether” (Jupp 2003: 194). As a result of the tension over two days and “after some frantic diplomatic activity, New Zealand and ... Nauru agreed to take refugees ... and to process their claims” (Manne 164). As a consequence, the *Border Protection Act* was “rushed through federal parliament in early September 2001” (Manne 165), which gave the Australian government the legal authority to turn away future boats. Moreover, the ‘Pacific Solution’ was created to solve the situation with the help of other Pacific nations: Australia would help other countries economically in exchange for “those holding camps for all asylum seekers trying to reach Australia” (Manne 164). Therefore, asylum seekers were transported to detention camps on Christmas Island, Manus Island, Papua New Guinea and Nauru to determine their refugee status instead of letting them land on the Australian mainland. As a result, fifteen days after the *Tampa* crisis, “a comprehensive diplomatic, legislative, military and administrative scheme for the deployment of armed force to drive asylum seekers from Australia had been established” (Manne 165).

In December 2005 racist riots took place on Sydney’s Cronulla beach, which led to days of disturbances. According to Andrew Markus, James Jupp and Peter McDonald (2009), Cronulla beach does not have a high concentration of immigrants or of second-generation migrants as it is “an area distinguished by its high Anglo-Australian concentration” (113). However, on 11th December “a mob numbered by some estimates at 5000, mostly aged under 25, [searched] for those of Muslim background” (113). The rioters were mainly “young, uneducated males” (98) and offensive comments and chants were sung against different ethnic groups. Retaliatory attacks between both

groups took place for few days until a “450-strong police task force brought the violence to an end” (113). The use of the mobile phone was considered to have had a significant role in spreading the riots.

The following episode of violence affected Indigenous Australians. The *Little Children Are Sacred* report, commissioned by the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory and written by Rex Wild and Patricia Anderson, was released on 15th June 2007. The report concluded that

rather than engage in a further round of dramatic policy and practice changes, an investment in core child protection skills may provide a better return for governments, agencies, and most importantly children and their families, in the longer term. Such skills would involve risk assessment, inter-agency collaboration, and working effectively with children and families, along with the means to effectively monitor service provision. (Wild and Anderson 280)

However, the central and the Northern Territory governments decided to send 600 soldiers to control the region as part of the Northern Territory National Emergency Response and only two of the ninety-seven recommendations were implemented. These two facts created an intense debate on the ways of tackling the terrible situation in which many children lived.

A few months later, on 24th November 2007, Australia held general elections and the two main leaders were John Howard, for the Liberal/National Coalition, and Kevin Rudd, for Labor. Labor won with 83 seats out of a total of 150 Parliamentary seats. Thus, Rudd became Prime Minister. The approximate population of the country at the time was 20 million inhabitants.

One of his first actions as a Prime Minister was the ratification of the Kyoto protocol, which took place on 3rd December 2007. During his government, Australia withdrew from the war in Iraq, closed the Nauru and Manus Island detention centres, and the country avoided the recession and economic crisis that hit most Western countries.

However, racist attacks took place in Melbourne. Between September and December 2008, “150 racially motivated attacks were reported in two western local government areas of Melbourne” (Markus, Jupp and McDonald 156). Most of the victims were students from India and Sri Lanka. The Indian government demanded an

explanation and a solution to the Australian government: racism and racist attacks would not be tolerated nor ignored.

Besides these attacks, the state of Victoria suffered another tragedy: the worst fires and firestorms¹⁸ recorded. More than 400 bushfires burnt throughout the state on 7th February 2009, causing more than 170 deaths, more than 400 injured, destroying villages and infrastructure. This day is now known as ‘Black Thursday’.

On the other hand, at a national level, two apologies were made in two years. First, on 13th February 2008 Rudd offered a National Apology to the Stolen Generations during the opening ceremony of Parliament. This became a turning point in the recognition of the suffering of many Australian citizens and gave them visibility and dignity in front of the rest of the nation as their pain and suffering had been officially acknowledged. However, no further steps towards same kind of compensation were taken. Second, on 16th November 2009, Australian Prime Minister Rudd and British Prime Minister Brown offered national apologies to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants. This is the name given to the children sent from Great Britain to Australia during World War II, some of whom were separated from their families in the United Kingdom, and who were placed in institutional care and were frequently abused.

However, Rudd lost the support of his party and, on 23rd June 2010 deputy Prime Minister Julia Gillard announced that she would contest his leadership of the Party in a caucus the following day. Before the caucus took place, Rudd stepped down as party leader and Prime Minister and Gillard became the first female Prime Minister. Elections were held on 21st August 2010, the two main leaders being Gillard, for Labor, and Abbot, for the Liberal/National Coalition. Each leader won 72 seats of the 150-seat Parliament. Thus, Gillard negotiated with minority groups, who gave her their support, and she was elected Prime Minister.

Between December 2010 and January 2011 Queensland registered the worst flooding in its recorded history, leading to three quarters of the state being declared a disaster zone. Concerning international relations, Australia continued supporting the war in Afghanistan. With regards to national politics, some topics debated included same sex marriage, a carbon tax and the so-called ‘Malaysia solution’ to deal with refugees and asylum seekers, especially those who arrived by boat.

¹⁸ According to the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, a firestorm is “a fire of great size and intensity that generates and is fed by strong inrushing winds from all sides”.

2.2. Multiculturalism in Australia: a theoretical approach

Australia is a multiethnic country and, as seen in the previous sub-section, different policies have been used to tackle immigration. Its official policy in 2011 is “Multiculturalism”, but its definition has changed throughout the last decades. The following pages provide a theoretical framework to multiculturalism and a brief analysis of its evolution and the current situation in Australia.

2.2.1. Multiculturalism: a theoretical approach

Multiculturalism can be defined as “a political project that attempts to redefine the relationship between ethno-cultural minorities and the state through the adoption of new laws, policies or institutions” (Kymlicka 99). Thus, multiculturalism deals with new forms of empowerment of indigenous peoples, new forms of autonomy and power-sharing for sub-state national groups and new forms of multicultural citizenship for immigrant groups. That is, multiculturalism does not deal only with immigration but with the different ethnic and cultural minorities within a state.

Multiculturalism is better understood as part of a human rights revolution that emerged in three waves. As Kymlicka (2010) explains, these are the struggle for decolonization, concentrated in the period 1948-1965; the struggle against segregation and discrimination, initiated and exemplified by the African-American civil rights movement from 1955 to 1965; and the struggle for multiculturalism and minority rights that emerged from the late 1960s (Kymlicka 100). There has been an international consensus on the rights for self-government and independence from colonial powers and on the need to stop segregation and discrimination, which has led to declarations made by international organisms and which have been signed by a significant number of countries throughout the world, such as the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945), the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) or the *UN Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* (1960). However, there is no consensus regarding what rights pertain to each minority nor as to how they should be defended, as the *International Convention on Protection of Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* (2003) was signed only by 23 states, none of which belongs to the European Union, the United States of America or Australia.

Following Kymlicka’s argument, in order for multicultural citizenship to work, two preconditions are needed. The first one is the desecuritisation of state-minority

relations, that is, the feeling of security about its neighbours a state needs to feel in order to treat its own minorities fairly, as, otherwise, minorities can be viewed as “potential collaborators with neighbouring enemies” (Kymlicka 106). This happens because

[r]elations between states and minorities are seen, not as a matter of normal democratic debate and negotiation, but as a matter of state security in which the state has to limit the democratic process to protect itself. (Kymlicka 106)

The second precondition is human rights protection, that is, the reassurance that the “self-governing minority institutions ... will operate within the constraints of liberal-democratic constitutionalism, which firmly upholds individual rights” (Kymlicka 107). This way, since liberal-democratic values are followed by the state and by the minority ethnic-cultural groups, diversity does not become “a matter of life and death [and, as] a result, dominant groups will not fight to the death to resist minority claims” (Kymlicka 107).

If these two preconditions are given, the different minority groups (Indigenous, sub-state nationals and immigrants) will try to pursue different models of citizenship. As Kymlicka says, the models of citizenship of each group include a combination of several elements.

First, Indigenous peoples will try to (1) get “recognition of land rights and title”; (2) get recognition of the right to self government; (3) uphold “historic treaties and/or sign new treaties”; (4) “get recognition of cultural rights (language, hunting and fishing, sacred sites)”; (5) get “recognition of customary law”; (6) get “guarantees of representation and consultation in the central government”; (7) get “constitutional or legislative affirmation of the distinct status of indigenous peoples”; (8) get “support and ratification for international declarations and conventions on indigenous rights”; and (9) get “affirmative action” (Kymlicka 2010).

Second, sub-state nationals will try to get (1) “federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy”; (2) “official language status, either in the region or nationally”; (3) “guarantees of representation in the central government or on constitutional courts”; (4) “public funding of minority language universities, schools and the media”; (5) “constitutional or parliamentary affirmation of multinationalism”; and (6) “accorded an international personality (that is, allowing the sub-state region to sit on international bodies, or sign treaties, or have their own Olympic team)” (Kymlicka 2010).

Third, immigrants will try to get (1) “constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism at central, regional and municipal levels”; (2) “the adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculums”; (3) “the inclusion of ethnic representation and sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing”; (4) “exemptions from dress codes, Sunday-closing legislation and so on (either by statute or by court cases)”; (5) “permission for holding dual citizenship”; (6) “the funding of ethnic group organisations to support cultural activities”; (7) “the funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction”; (8) “affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups” (Kymlicka 2010).

Following these concepts, multiculturalism combines economic, political, social and cultural dimensions and does not imply the absence of conflict (Borowski 462), but it promotes social cohesion as the participation of citizens is enhanced. As Judith Maxwell explains,

social cohesion involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community (Markus, Jupp and MacDonald 115).

Thus, social cohesion becomes a characteristic of multiculturalism.

2.2.2. Multiculturalism in Australia

In Australia, multiculturalism has been the approach to immigration since the 1970s. As seen in the previous section, several reports analysed the situation and evolution of multiculturalism in Australia: the Galbally report (1978), the Zubrzycki report (1982), the Jupp report (1986) and the Fitzgerald report (1988). All these documents influenced the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989), the implementation and effects of which were analysed in a report written by the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC) in 1995.

The *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* defined the public policy of multiculturalism as the “government measures designed to respond to [the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia]” and as “a policy for managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a

whole” (OMA 1989). That is to say, the Australian government understood multiculturalism in the same terms as Kymlicka¹⁹.

The *National Agenda* “defined the fundamental principles of multiculturalism based on three rights and three obligations” (Koleth 10). It stated the rights to cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency. The obligations involved having “an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia”, accepting “the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes”, and accepting the “right to express one’s own culture and beliefs” as well as “the right of others to express their views and values” (OMA 1). Thus, the *National Agenda* set the boundaries within which it would look after “the interests of the individual and society as a whole”. The *National Agenda* also provided “a legislative basis for the Government’s Access and Equity Strategy” and “addressed issues concerning Indigenous Australians as part of the reconciliation process” (Koleth 11).

The NMAC report, *Multicultural Australia: the next steps: towards and beyond 2000*, evaluated the implementation of the *National Agenda* and made recommendations on the way to proceed, many of which were not implemented due to the change in government in the 1996 elections.

During the 1973 to 1996 period, that is, during the Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and Keating governments, multiculturalism enjoyed bipartisan support. According to Allan Borowski, these governments, through the *National Agenda*, emphasised a series of virtues that encouraged individual opportunities in a diverse society: loyalty, law-abidingness, tolerance and discerning and respecting the rights of others. Furthermore, the Prime Ministers exerted political leadership virtues in policy-making and implementation. These virtues are some of those identified by William Galston as the virtues needed in order “for a liberal society to continue to function successfully” (Borowski 463). Galston identified a series of virtues: courage; loyalty; independence; the work ethic; adaptability; law-abidingness; tolerance and the “capacity to discern, and the restraint to respect, the rights of others” (Borowski 463). Furthermore, he also named specific virtues for leaders: “having the capacity to forge a common purpose in a fragmented society”, “being able to resist the temptation to earn popularity by pandering

¹⁹ See definition on page 74.

to immoderate public demands”, and “having the capacity to narrow the gap between popular preference and wise action” (Borowski 463).

However, during the Howard government (1996-2007), the bipartisan support of multiculturalism was not evident as the Prime Minister hardly used the word ‘multiculturalism’ but focused on citizenship, “abolished key agencies such as the OMA [Office of Multicultural Affairs], and the BIMPR [Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research], restricted access to unemployment benefits and the Adult Migrant English Program to new migrants, and reduced funding and consultation of (sic) ethnic organisations as part of a broader package of public sector reforms” (Koleth 12-13). Furthermore, in 2001 the “Department of Reconciliation and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs was incorporated within the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) as the Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (OATSIA)”, thus creating a ‘ministry of other people’ as James Jupp noted (Koleth 14). In 2006, the DIMIA became the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) and, in 2007, the DIMA “became known as the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC)” (Koleth 16). This was the first time that the word “multiculturalism” was removed “from the departmental title... since 1996” (Koleth 16).

In 1999, another report written by the NMAC, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*, aimed at “ensuring that cultural diversity is a unifying force for Australia” (Koleth 13). Thus, after the recommendations, the government launched a revision of the 1989 *National Agenda: A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*. This document stressed the uniqueness and diversity of the population in Australia, the fact that Australians “are unified by our common citizenship” (*New Agenda* 7), that the policy was for all Australians, that “multicultural policies and programs should be built on the foundation of our democratic system, using the principles of ‘civic duty’..., ‘cultural respect’..., ‘social equity’... and ‘productive diversity’” (*New Agenda* 8). Such an emphasis on the scope of the policy questioned the government’s engagement with multiculturalism because if its actions had been clear cut in the promotion and implementation of multiculturalism, this reiteration would not have been necessary. Although the policy established a Council for Multicultural Australia, “the most important unimplemented recommendations (21, 24 and 30) urged greater funding for multicultural advocacy, increased diversity on public boards and agencies, and the creation of a central co-ordinating agency” (Jupp 2003: 99). As Jupp

points out, “This would have restored the situation as it was under Keating and Hawke, reversing the policy of the Howard government too drastically for this to be acceptable” (2003: 99).

The 1999 *New Agenda* was updated in 2003 with the *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity: Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia: Strategic direction for 2003-2006*. The policy focused on “unity and social cohesion in response to issues arising out of the threat of terrorism” and its principles were “responsibilities of all; respect for each person, fairness for each person, and benefits for all” (Koleth 15). Thus, economic profitability became a core principle of the policy.

Furthermore, in 2006, Howard suggested the idea of a ‘citizenship test’ as a means to evaluate the migrant’s knowledge of the “responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship” (Tate 114). This test included questions on Australian history, culture and traditions, values, national symbols, laws and system of democracy as part of ‘Australian culture’ and ‘the Australian way of life’. Therefore, the idea of Australia being multicultural and its citizens having different lifestyles and values was not present in the test. The test not only analysed the knowledge of “public values and obligations of Australian citizenship” (Tate 114) and “a commitment to abide by these laws and values” -that is, citizenship-, but it also demanded “that new citizens identify with the ‘nation’ at a cultural (i.e. constitutive) level understood in terms of an ‘Australian way of life’” (Tate 115) –that is, their capacity to identify with, and assimilate into, the monocultural identity explained in the documents to prepare for the test. Therefore, the citizenship test “insisted that new citizens identify with both [state and nation]” (Tate 116). The ‘state’ can be defined as “the permanent legal, bureaucratic and administrative complex within which governments operate” (Tate 98) and ‘nation’ as “a psychological phenomenon [by which] belonging occurs at the level of people’s understanding – in particular how they conceive their identity in relation to others” (Tate 99). As part of the debate on the implementation of the test, and the meaning of ‘Australian culture’, ‘Australian values’ and ‘Australian way of life’, the term ‘multiculturalism’ was questioned, some members of the Howard government considered it was outdated and even Howard “advocated a shift away from multiculturalism and back to a focus on integration or assimilation” (Koleth 33-34).

Despite the fact that Labor opposed most of the “key aspects of the Howard legacy ... the Citizenship Test was a significant exception” (Tate 117). On the one hand, while in Opposition, Labor had suggested the establishment of “two new offices

in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet to deal with issues of integration and multiculturalism, as well as citizenship” (Koleth 17) because they affected all citizens, and not just migrants. Once in government, the government created the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC) in 2008, whose first report recommended shifting the strategy by focusing “on issues including the importance of ensuring equal access to services for all Australians, the need to tackle discrimination, prejudice and racism, and the need to provide opportunities to all members of Australia’s population for participation in community life” (Koleth 19). On the other hand, the Rudd government was committed to maintaining the citizenship test, although it “was interested in modifying the Test to ensure greater equity and fairness for all applicants” (Tate 117).

In 2010, the AMAC wrote *The People of Australia: The Australian Multicultural Advisory Council’s statement on cultural diversity and recommendations to government*. The following year the Labor Gillard government launched *The People of Australia: Australia’s Multicultural Policy* and in August it created the Australian Multicultural Council (AMC), following one of the recommendations made by the AMAC. The new policy “embraces four key principles, including celebrating and valuing our diversity; maintaining social cohesion; communicating the benefits of Australia’s diversity; and responding to intolerance and discrimination” (Gillard 2011), thus, updating the policy to tackle current social needs and problems.

As can be seen, the terminology used to refer to and define Australian society has constantly been a source of debate, especially since the breakdown of bipartisan support for multiculturalism. From this moment on, the term ‘multiculturalism’ has been questioned, included and excluded from the titles of ministries, offices and their workers, and assimilation and integration have given a sense of weakness and lack of full support to multiculturalism and the policies and strategies dealing with migrants and ethnic groups. The fact that Howard tried to shift the focus from multiculturalism and highlighted and defended the values that he considered legitimate led to the opposition of many social groups, who felt excluded due to their ethnicity, religion or values. As Johnson (1983) explains,

[Howard’s] emphasis on a unified national identity potentially marginalises those Australians who construct themselves with hybrid ‘hyphenated’ identities. Meanwhile, he downplays the way in which some British values justified colonialism. Howard’s conception of Australia’s identity and

values also potentially marginalises those Anglo-Celts who support a formal government apology to the Stolen Generations, a Republic, more extensive Freedom of Expression; Rights agendas or those who disagree with the ‘values’ of the War in Iraq... Howard’s privileging of Judeo-Christian values is, arguably, not inclusive for people ranging from Muslims to Buddhists, agnostics and atheists. In short, the potentially excluded range from same-sex couples wanting to get married to highly unionised workers, all of whom are potentially constructed as un-Australian. Howard’s view is not a pluralistic conception that allows for multiple versions of Australian identity; it is a version that attempts to shut down debate around the issues that Howard has constructed as divisive. (205)

Consequently, it cannot be said that Howard’s government promoted peaceful co-existence and social cohesion as he did not exercise “political leadership in this policy domain since coming to office in 1996” (Borowski 472). Furthermore, according to Borowski, Howard’s government did not appreciate the comparatively high-level of peaceful coexistence Australians enjoy as, otherwise, he would have supported the way multiculturalism is practiced in Australia.

Ien Ang points out that the policy of multiculturalism “recognizes and confirms cultural diversity, not non-racialism” (104). In order to disentangle multiculturalism from the White Australia policy, the emphasis of the plan changed from that of ‘race’ to ethnicity and cultural diversity. On the one hand, the attackers on multiculturalism focused on ‘race’ and longed for the 98% white British supposedly-homogenous society of Federation. On the other hand, supporters for multiculturalism distanced themselves from the term ‘race’ and avoided it, consequently, becoming oblivious to the power this term had in the Australian cultural imaginary. The cyclical attacks to and debates about the term ‘multiculturalism’ have continued because the supporters for multiculturalism have not been able to counteract “the divisive and conflict-ridden imaginary produced by discourses of racial tension as exemplified by Hanson’s” (Ang 109).

John Stratton (1998, 2011) argues that Australian multiculturalism has a core and a periphery structure, in which the core is the “Anglo-Celtic culture, which is primarily middle class with a large working class component” (2011: 214), while the periphery, mainly working-class, is formed by “those described in terms of ethnic and racial difference but thought of in terms of cultural diversity” (2011: 214). Consequently, he claims that Howard’s retreat from multiculturalism came when

significant numbers of skilled Asian migrants arrived in Australia as middle class workers, thus, sharing the core space with Anglo-Celtic culture.

Although it is still early to evaluate the success or failure of the new policy *The People of Australia*, Gillard government’s approach to multiculturalism seems to be more inclusive than Howard’s, with regard to valuing the diverse population and being ready to combat discrimination and racism. However, the government seems to follow a double discourse: on the one hand, the promotion of ethnicities and social cohesion by means of *The People of Australia*, and, on the other hand, the support afforded to the ‘Malaysia solution’, which encourages the processing of boat people outside Australia. Labor supported the solution and tried to implement it for several months. It even signed a deal with Malaysia on 25th July 2011, two months after the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, had stated that “Australia’s deal to send asylum seekers to Malaysia [was] illegal and would breach international law if Malaysia then violated the Refugee Convention Australia had signed” (Gordon 2011). Finally, on 31st August 2011 the High Court ruled that the ‘Malaysia solution’ was unlawful and, consequently, the claims of asylum seekers “will continue to be processed in Australia for the immediate future” (Mark 2011)²⁰. The heart of the debate does not seem to be concerned with the reasons why asylum seekers reach Australia nor with the numbers of arrivals (less than 70,000 between 1995 and 2001) (UNHCR 2009), but with the fact that asylum seekers try to get into Australia ‘un-invited’, that is, without applying for a visa and working clandestinely. This fact raises the old fear of invasion and the lack of border controls, which led to the vilification of asylum seekers as un-Australian ‘queue jumpers’, a term widely used by Howard (Thompson et al 2011). If Australian politicians and the media stopped the vilification of asylum seekers and talked about them as human beings in distress desperately trying to make a better living, this issue would not be so controversial. Moreover, a way of processing their claims following all the international conventions signed by Australia and which respect human rights could be found. Maybe, leaders should aim at being virtuous, in Galston’s sense²¹, and thus comply with the specific virtues leaders should possess and the individual virtues expected from all citizens.

²⁰ In 2013 the “Pacific solution” was implemented and refugees are currently being processed off-shore.

²¹ See list of virtues on page 78.

Conclusion

The migrants who arrive in Australia in 2011 find a very different country from that found by members of the First Fleet, by gold diggers or by refugees or migrants escaping from the devastation caused by World War II.

Australia has now approximately 22 million inhabitants, almost 50% of whom are either first- or second-generation migrants while “more than 260 languages” are spoken in the country and its population has “more than 270 ancestries” (Gillard 2011). In spite of the diversity of its population, Australia is “considered to be cohesive [and] peaceful” (Borowski 462) as well as “the most stable, united and self-satisfied society on earth” (Jupp 2003: 117). In order to reach this situation, many policies have regulated immigration and have shaped Australian society: the British “Heads of a Plan” report, which proposed the establishment of a colony in Australia; the regulations dealing with the organisation of convicts, ex-convicts, slaves, free settlers and migrants; the gold rush and the diverse regulations restricting or hindering Chinese immigration; the passing of the *Immigration Restriction Act* and the implementation of the White Australia policy once Australia federated; the opening of the country to non-British migrants after World War II in order to populate and avoid perishing; and the inclusive policy of multiculturalism, with its different approaches.

The policy of multiculturalism has changed over the decades in order to meet the needs of the growing population. This chapter has studied this policy in depth and has analysed the different official documents which have regulated the lives of more than 7 million immigrants and their families. However, as has been explained, multiculturalism is part of a much broader human rights revolution concerning the different ethnic and cultural minorities within a state, not just with migrants.

Over the last sixty years, Australia has changed its geo-political perception from a mainly white British colony to an independent multicultural country in the Asian region. Political and trade relations and international treaties have propitiated the modification of the composition of the population in the country, making Australia the undeniably multicultural country it is today.

3. The concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ in Greek culture

“I know your mother always thinks of her youth as lost, and resents the sacrifices to duty and obedience that she made. Please, try to understand her.”

Duty and obedience. Her mother had taught her those two virtues well. On hearing her father’s defeated murmur, Christina shivered, because it reflected her own forced resignation.

Anastasia Gonis. “The Arrangement.” 45.

This extract exemplifies the relevance the concepts of duty and obedience have for Christina, an eighteen year-old Greek-Australian who wants to choose her own husband. However, her mother wants her to marry a good suitor chosen with the help of a match-maker. Both Christina and her father refer to these constructs in order to accept her mother’s behaviour and decision. What do these concepts imply? How did these concepts become so embedded in Greek culture?

In contrast with Chinese culture where the concept of “*hsiao*”, or “filial piety”, involves all the members in a family and in society and clearly establishes the relationships between its members, the Greek approach to duty and obedience is more diffuse and it involves different words and many concepts defining the various interpersonal relationships. Eugenio Benitez (2003) points out that Ancient Greeks did not have a specific word for filial piety, as the Chinese did and do, although the concept existed and was explored in Plato’s *Euthyphro* (339 BC). Greek had three words to express this construct: *sebas*, *hosion* and *philia*. The first word refers to the attitude of reverence and worship towards the gods and superiors, thus, also towards parents. The second designates the action of performing lawful and righteous behaviour, mostly in relation to the gods. The third describes a type of affection, particularly towards family and kin but also towards fellow citizens. The personification of these qualities in Greek mythology was ‘Eusebia’, the “*daimona* [spirit] of piety, loyalty, duty and filial respect... wife of Nonos (Law)” (Atsma 2012). In contrast with the Chinese concept of *li* (defined by Benitez as “propriety, good manners, politeness, ceremony, worship”

(72)²²) and of the importance of reverence that Confucius stressed (*Analects*, book II, chapter 7)²³, moral appearances were not considered relevant in the Ancient Greek construct. In fact, Socrates and Plato discussed the issue of justice and provided examples of impolite, rude or difficult but just behaviour (for example in Seneca’s *De Beneficiis*, Plato’s *Euthyphro*, Plato’s *Republic*, Plato’s *Laches*).

In Ancient Greece the duty of honouring one’s parents was considered to be universal law, it came second to the duty of honouring gods and before the duty of abiding by common laws. As Joseph William Hewitt (1931) and Tom R. Stevenson (1992) explain, Ancient Greeks understood filial duty not only as gratitude to one’s parents for all the sacrifices made when bringing one up, but it implied a willingness to exceed the repayment of the benefits received by one’s parents. Children received life and the joys of living from parents, and should be grateful to them for the care received and the pain parents went through to raise them. Consequently, children were duty bound to honour their parents and, as Hewitt recalls, unfilial conduct “was viewed by the Greeks with supreme horror” (32). As Hewitt (1931) claims, in Ancient Greece, sons were longed for because they could work on the farm and in the family business as well as carry out funeral and memorial rites²⁴. If a man had no sons, he could even adopt one who would perform the burial rites and take care of the graves. Moreover, being a filial son had social advantages, as filial obedience was considered to bring the son “greatness, dignity and long life” (Hewitt 40).

The family is, thus, the central structure in Hellenic society. As Jill Dubisch (2011), Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) and Janine Mills (2003) explain, the family is at the core of Greek society and it has been transformed by the political changes society has experienced. The territory and population of Greece has been part of four different empires during the last three thousand years: the Greek empire (800BC-146BC), which finished with the Roman victory at the battle of Corinth; the Roman empire (146 BC-330 AD), which ended with the reign of Constantine the Great; the Byzantine empire (330-1453), which was put to an end with the fall of Constantinople;

²² For a definition and discussion of this term, go to page 125.

²³ “Tsze-yu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, ‘The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one’s parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;—without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?’”

²⁴ For an explanation of family life and the importance of the *oikos* during the Homeric Age (ca. 1200BC-800BC), please, read Joseph Bryant’s “Dark Age Greece” in his *Moral Codes and Social Structure in Ancient Greece: A Sociology of Greek Ethics from Homer to the Epicureans and Stoics*. Albany: SUNY, 1996. 15-39.

and the Ottoman empire (1453-1833), which terminated with the independence of Greece and the arrival of King Otto I. Thus, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Greece became a kingdom and a republic, experienced coups d'état, dictatorships, wars, occupation, a civil war and had eleven constitutions²⁵. The strong sense of Hellenism that pervades the individual shapes Greek identity and Greek families. Hellenism is based on language, religion, cultural heritage, tradition and customs. As Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) states

The culture is the source of our essence; our history is the basis of our roots; our language is part of our substance; religion is the core of our existence; our ethics, tradition and customs are the cells of our life. (395)

Family lies at the heart of the formation of the construct of ‘Greekness’, as it is considered the backbone of society. Family, or *oikos*, and the ‘circle of our own people’ enjoy the closest ties. Its members have duties towards each other, a sense of obedience permeates relations within the family and *philotimo*, which means ‘honour’, shapes individual behaviour. These bonds are also created by migrants in their countries of residence and they appear in some of the texts written by first- and second-generation migrants. This section discusses the implications and difficulties of these concepts in relation to marriage and divorce, interpersonal relationships, religion, patriotism and migration. Since society has undergone many changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (from a kingdom to republic, occupation, civil war and dictatorships), the subsequent pages seek to answer the following questions:

- How have the political changes experienced during the 19th and 20th century affected intergenerational relationships?
- How does duty and obedience affect marriage and divorce?
- How does duty and obedience affect interpersonal relationships?
- How do duty and obedience and religion relate?
- How do duty and obedience and patriotism relate?
- How does duty and obedience affect migration?

To sum up, how have the concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ changed interpersonal relationships throughout the twentieth century?

²⁵ Information about political events can be found in the annex “Chronology of historical events in Greece and China including their main bilateral relations with Australia, 1770-2011”, pages 291-311.

3.1. Intergenerational relationships during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

During the nineteenth century, Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire. Its administration was organised into groups called *millet*s based on religious beliefs: the Muslim, the Orthodox, the Gregorian Armenian, the Jewish, the Catholic and the Protestant *millet*s. The Orthodox *millet* had jurisdiction over its Orthodox Albanian, Orthodox Arab, Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, Serbian and Vlach followers regarding ecclesiastical matters, education and civil justice and the patriarch could even raise ecclesiastical taxes. The Greek Orthodox had a major influence on the ecumenical patriarchate, the Holy Synod and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Besides, the Greek *millet* also enjoyed an outstanding relationship with the sultans, who granted them various privileges. The non-Muslim population were of lower status and subject to social limitations, which included paying specific taxes, not being able to provide evidence in the Muslim *qadi* court, and, until the 17th century, being liable to the janissary levy, which forced Christian families to give some of the most intelligent and best-looking children to be raised as Muslims and educated for imperial service in administration or the army. Evdoxios Doxiadis (2007) specifies that Ottoman inhabitants could choose to go to one of the three courts: the *qadi*, which applied the *sharia*; the *kanuns*, issued by the sultans; or the *millet* court, which judged people according to their own customs and legal traditions. Women could go to court, although they could not be part of the jury, and could choose the one that most suited their interests. Thus, women who wanted to get a divorce usually went to the *qadi* court rather than to the *millet* court (Doxiadis 79).

Agriculture, small businesses and trade were the main sources of income, and women were allowed to work outside the home. As Ebeling et al (2008) recall, during the nineteenth century, textile industries increased and many Greek, Armenian and Turkish women worked full-time in the industry. Mills (2003) explains Jane Cowan’s argument that “many couples used to work alongside one another until the introduction of modern machinery, which led to the marginalization of women’s roles” (10) as their work began to be done by machines and they were confined to the household. Regardless of their work outside the house, Greek women used to be in charge of it, both in its daily chores and its finances, although men were the last authority and took the most important decisions. Women had their dowry, which made them “co-owners and co-workers” and ensured “their involvement in economic decisions within the

family unit, including those related to their children’s future and inheritance” (Tsolidis 123). Moreover, women were responsible for the children’s education and the continuity of traditions. They also were the guardians of morality and of family relations. Thus, the household was the centre for social, religious and economic life.

In spite of its internal division into *millets* and the freedom non-assimilation provided, the Greek desire for independence started with the fall of Constantinople and the annexation of Greece to the Ottoman Empire. The French Revolution (1789) influenced the dissident Greeks between 1800 and 1820. The revolt began at the monastery of Aghia Lavra on 25th March 1821. Naturally, when the Constitution was drafted in December 1821, it clearly revealed the influence of the French Revolution. The document was passed in 1822 and clashes between insurgent Greeks and the Ottoman Empire were constant until 1829, when an autonomous, not sovereign, Greek state was proclaimed with the support of Britain, France and Russia, who chose prince Frederick Otto of Wittelsbach, 17 year-old second son of king Ludwig of Bavaria, as future king of Greece.

Catholic king Otto I arrived in Greece in February 1833 and found a country devastated by war, a divided society and a debt of 60 million francs, payable in instalments (Clogg 69). The kingdom was home to only 750,000 Greeks, compared to the more than two million who had lived under Ottoman rule. The fact that so many Greeks lived outside the frontiers of the country marked national and international policies. Interpersonal relationships remained strong: the family was the nucleus of society and relations were determined by each individual’s position within the family group. The situation of women differed according to the area where they lived as in some places they led very secluded lives while in others, such as on the islands, women “were quite involved in the management of the family’s wealth” (Doxiadis 87). Peasant women had a presence in the public sphere as they were needed to plant or harvest crops, tend the livestock, water the fields, etc. Sometimes when men left their homes to work in a different village or go on maritime expeditions, women became the head of the household. But middle class and upper class women were considered to be “precious and vulnerable creatures in need of male protection” (Doxiadis 87), especially those who lived in urban areas, who could be easily secluded. Female servants in urban areas were also secluded and it was their master who arranged their marriages and dowries (Doxiadis 88-89). This seclusion was in opposition to the role many women had played during the struggle for independence: “women had fought for the national

cause, had led men in the battlefield, commanded warships and composed letters appealing to European women to aid the struggle of Greeks for independence” (Doxiadis 90).

In order to counteract the shortage of teachers, training colleges were established and, in theory, primary education was made compulsory for boys and girls. The bourgeoisie could send their daughters to private all-female schools, but poorer families sent boys to school first and, if possible, then the girls. Literacy rates for men and women increased, but inequality remained (Doxiadis 85-86)²⁶. Besides, criminal and civil law codes were introduced, which did not take into account customary law. The *qadi* and *kanun* courts were dismissed and a new legal system based on the German version of the Roman law was established. Some of the changes introduced made the process more complicated as issues were not resolved in accessible and familiar courts in the village. Moreover, women had to be represented by a man (father, husband, brother, son, lawyer or another male representative) and needed their approval to appear in court. The practical difficulties and dangers of travel led to women often being represented “in absentia” by a male relative.

In February 1862, an uprising declared the end of Otto I’s reign. George I was chosen as successor and his reign lasted between 1863 and 1913. The approximate population in the kingdom was 1,100,000 Greek nationals. In 1864 a new constitution was passed which gave vote to men over 21 who possessed some property or had a job. The country enjoyed freedom of press and there existed a significant number of newspapers as well as publications which promoted women’s rights to education and employment, the right to vote and legal rights. In 1890 universities were opened to women, the University of Athens being the first one (Poulos 2008). However, the feminist movement did not reach rural Greece (Kyriazis 268). Between 1880 and 1900, Greece enjoyed a modest progress in infrastructures and reforms in the civil service, but heavy taxation was needed to pay for the loans Greece had been given in 1824, in 1825 and in 1833 as well as the six signed between 1879 and 1890. In 1893, the prime minister was forced to declare bankruptcy. This caused massive emigration and between 1890 and 1914, approximately 350,000 Greeks migrated mainly to the United States of America and Egypt. The remittances migrants sent back to their families were central to

²⁶ For a detailed account on the debate of the suitability of women’s education for their roles as mothers and citizens, read Alexandra Bakalaki’s article “Gender-Related Discourses and Representations of Cultural Specificity in Nineteenth-Century and Twentieth-Century Greece” in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 12.1 (May 1994): 75-106.

their survival, but susceptible to international economies. In 1911, during Eleftherios Venizelos’ premiership, the 1864 constitution was reformed. More than fifty amendments were included, some of which were land and property expropriation, free and compulsory primary education (also for girls, illiterate adults and children with learning difficulties) and a minimum wage for women and children. During these years, the territory of Greece increased by almost 70%, and its population reached 4,800,000 inhabitants. King George I did not see the result, as he was assassinated in March 1913, and a son of his succeeded him as King Constantine I.

World War I divided the opinion of Greek citizens into what was known as the *Ethnikos Dichasmos*, or National Schism: King Constantine I defended Greece’s neutrality and Prime Minister Venizelos wanted to go to war. After Venizelos’ dismissal, the recognition of his government in Salonica by Britain and France and the king’s exile (not abdication), King Alexander I and Venizelos ruled the country. For the first time, purges took place in the civil service, in the judiciary system, in the armed forces and in the Church. Greece entered World War I with the Triple Entente (France, Great Britain and Russia). Between 1917 and 1920, primary and university education underwent some reforms. On the one hand, in primary schools, new attractive text books were published and the primary school was aimed at providing knowledge and attitudes to the population, who would be aware of their role in society and would acquire qualifications for life. On the other hand, universities were also created: the School of Chemistry (1919), the Athens College of Agriculture (1920) and the Athens School of Economics and Business (1920). In 1920, Britain and France formally stopped being Greece’s guarantors, a role assumed in 1832.

A plebiscite in 1924 decided to end the monarchy and begin the Second Hellenic Republic. In 1925 and 1926 a military dictatorship led by General Pangalos was established. Although he was overthrown in August 1926, he managed to pass a decree “forbidding women to raise their skirts more than a specified distance from the ground” (Clogg 124). A new constitution was passed in 1927 which protected science and the arts and extended civil liberties (freedom of press, job security, defence of the family). The financial situation of the country was unstable: there was external debt to pay, more loans had been raised to finance the resettlement of the refugees, the economic crisis of 1929 deeply affected the exports and imports of the country, and the remittances migrants in the USA and other countries sent their families lowered significantly. A

plebiscite on the issue of monarchy or republic resulted in the restoration of monarchy with King George II.

Prime Minister General Metaxas was allowed to dissolve parliament and establish a dictatorship in 1936. His dictatorship had many fascist characteristics, such as the abolition of political parties, rigid press censorship and the persecution of opponents, especially of communists. However, in spite of adopting features of radically right Fascist regimes, Metaxas knew that Greece’s greatest threat came from the Fascist powers. He wanted to create the ‘Third Hellenic Civilization’, the first one being the pagan civilization of Ancient Greece and the second, Christian Byzantium. He had a paternalistic authoritarian style and proclaimed himself ‘First Peasant’ and ‘First Worker’, liked to be known as ‘Leader’ or ‘National Father’. He created the National Youth Organization (EON), with compulsory membership.

During the German occupation of the country during World War II, more than 100,000 Greeks died due to famine and in 1943 most of the country’s Jews were deported to nazi camps in Poland. However, Greek people resisted and many groups were formed. One of them was the EAM (National Liberation Front), under communist control but not exclusively communist, which enjoyed popular widespread support. In contrast with the quarrels among politicians and in spite of the hardships, famine and rampant inflation of the occupation, EAM “improved educational and health facilities, a system of popular justice that was responsive to the needs of a peasant society, improved communications, education, even theatrical performances” (Clogg 150). Moreover, EAM wanted to use “the talents of women who, in an essentially patriarchal society, had hitherto been expected to confine themselves to exclusively domestic concerns” (Clogg 151). What’s more, EAM did not wish to ban the ownership of private property or attack Orthodox Christianity, but to increase the wages of village priests. Thus, EAM enjoyed peasant support.

After the last of the German occupation forces left the north of the country, Prime Minister General Plastiras promised an amnesty for political crimes, but he undertook purges against collaborators in the army and the police and left wingers were systematically persecuted, including women. He also promised to hold a plebiscite on the monarchy followed by elections. The restoration of the monarchy was favoured and King George II arrived in Greece soon after. However, he died in April 1947 and his brother Paul reigned the country between 1947 and 1964. Plastiras was forced out of office in April 1945. Many communists and left wingers fled to the mountains and

guerrilla warfare started again. In the winter of 1946-47 there was open civil war and Greece became a key battleground in the Cold War.

Women were also politically persecuted and oppressed. Throughout the war women had been terrorized, sexually intimidated and abused, tortured and murdered, especially during 1945 and 1947, in what became known as the “white terror”. As Katherine Stefatos (2011) observes, women were denied their roles as partisans and activists but “their bodies were sexually targeted in order to turn them from dissidents into immoral women and, thus, legitimize their brutalization” (261). Civil women were also attacked. Gang rapes, mutilations, forced prostitution, sexual assaults in public spaces or in front of their relatives, having their heads shaved or being stripped naked were some of the terror techniques used by right wing paramilitary forces to prevent them joining the Democratic Army or the Communist Party. Many women decided to join the Democratic Army out of fear of being assaulted, exiled, imprisoned or killed, not just because of their political beliefs. Women were considered to be the reproducers of the nation, but also a possible threat, a potential danger.

Another of the objectives of these sexual assaults was to indoctrinate and re-traditionalise women, that is, breaking their wills and determination and making them go back to their traditional roles in the households, as guardians of the morale, traditions, religion and Hellenism (*patris* or homeland, *thriskeia* or religion and *oikogenia* or family). Thus, political persecution, confinement and psychological and physical torture were used “to ensure a new, Greek, Christian, and moral national body ... attained through the purification of women” (Stefatos 260). The enemy was also any woman accused of being sympathetic, supporter or member of a left or communist party as well as Slav-speakers and ethnic Macedonians of northern and north-western Greece, who were considered traitors and communists²⁷.

After nine years of occupation and war, material destruction was massive, but the civil war added a component of hatred and division among Greeks. The civil war left more than 80,000 deaths, appalling atrocities committed by both sides, some 20,000 Greeks sentenced for offences against the state (5,000 of which received death or life sentences), and 70,000 refugees. Martial law ended in February 1950.

²⁷ For a more detailed account of assaults on female and male bodies during the Greek Civil War and the postwar, read Katherine Stefatos’ article “The Psyche and the Body: Political Persecution and Gender Violence against Women in the Greek Civil War”. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 29.2 (October 2011): 251-277.

The 1952 constitution limited some rights, such as the right to strike by civil servants, but granted women the right to vote and Papagos’ cabinet included Greece’s first female minister: Lina Tsaladari, Minister of Social Affairs (Christensen). During these years a “certificate of healthy social views” was needed for state employment, to get a driver’s licence, a passport or university entrance. These certificates were issued by the police, whose records of wartime collaboration or right wing extremism were questionable. In April 1952 almost all death sentences were commuted, the sentences of more than 20,000 prisoners accused of subversion were pardoned or reduced. An agreement on immigration was signed with Australia in 1952: the Assisted Migration Program, which allowed the settlement of approximately 220,000 inhabitants between 1952 and 1974.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Greece became a consumer society but the roles of men and women remained the same: marriages were mainly arranged, sometimes with the help of a match-maker; the wife received her dowry, with which she contributed to the marriage but remained hers; and the husband was expected to be the head of the household and the main bread winner. Society remained patriarchal and the family continued to be the nucleus of society. Greeks still preferred to invest on land and property rather than on manufacture.

In 1953 and 1954 two serious earthquakes caused a temporary setback. The main earthquake took place on 8th August 1953 and it was a 7.2 in the Richter scale. It destroyed the Ionian islands of Zakynthos and Kefalonia, which was raised 60cm. Most inhabitants abandoned the islands in ruins. The following year, a 7.1 earthquake struck the province of Thessaly on 30th April, causing 31 deaths, more than 700 injured and thousands of buildings destroyed.

In October 1955, King Paul appointed Constantine Karamanlis to form a government. By the early 1960s, the population of Greece was approximately 8,500,000 citizens, out of which two million lived in Athens. Karamanlis’ government achieved many reforms which improved the daily living conditions of citizens, both in urban and rural areas, such as electrification and industrialisation; increasing the water supply, sewerage and urban renewal in Athens and Salonika; increasing the expenditure on health and welfare; or rapid development of tourism.

In March 1964 King Constantine II succeeded his father and the premiership was led by Papandreou. This government implemented many changes in the economy, civil service and education, for example. The three main modifications in education were

compulsory schooling until the age of 15, classics were not to play such an important part in the curriculum and the modern vernacular *demotiki*, and not formal *katharevousa*, was to be the language used at primary school. Besides, he also released most of those who were still imprisoned for offences committed during the civil.

On 21st April 1967 a bloodless military coup imposed martial law, censorship and annulled some of the reforms introduced by Papandreou. This period is known as ‘The Junta’ or ‘The Regime of the Colonels’. At the time of the coup, military disaffection was widespread as many felt left behind in the consumerist progress of the country. Many also believed their mission to be the preservation of “the traditional values of Greek society against alien Western and secular influences” (Clogg 188), and forbade the entrance to the country of male tourists with long hair and female tourists wearing mini-skirts. During this dictatorship, thousands of Greeks who had a record of holding left wings views were exiled in camps on the islands, where they were tortured. On 13th December 1967, King Constantine II tried to launch a counter-coup, but it failed and he, his family and the prime minister flew to Rome.

Concerning the social stability of the country, postwar urban Greek society wanted consumer goods and equalled material deprivation to traditional rural life. As Nikolaos Papadogiannis (2011) explains, popular cinema, rock’n’roll and women’s magazines offered an alternative view of the family based “on the mutual understanding of family members” instead of on the “violent imposition of patriarchy” (223). Popular culture also viewed the dowry system negatively and encouraged “love beyond financial interests” (Papadogiannis 223). Women were encouraged to socialise in commercial malls and streets, and magazines included articles on how to flirt with a man, but they were still expected to get married unless they wanted to live a lonely life. On the other hand, men enjoyed more freedom to have premarital sexual relations, but they were not expected to remain bachelors.

During the dictatorship, many university students held left-wing views but only a few got organised into two clandestine groups²⁸: the pro-Soviet *KNE* (Communist Youth of Greece), and the Euro-communist *RF* (Communist Renewal). These organisations did not promote sexual emancipation, denounced sexual corruption and expected their members to have sex within the boundaries of marriage or at least within stable heterosexual relations leading to marriage.

²⁸ The Communist Party had been outlawed since 1947.

After the *Junta*, Karamanlis won the elections of November 1974. He began to undo the work of the military government, re-established civil liberties and presided over the restoration of democracy. Regarding communist youth group organizations, between 1974 and 1977 the groups tried to regulate the daily life of their members. Being part of the KNE or the RF gave young men and women opportunities to meet and spend time together taking part in many educational and ludic activities, such as excursions to ancient sites or to the beach. This led to a relaxation of interpersonal relations. In fact, sexual intercourse was encouraged as part of marriage but not discouraged regarding stable couples who would like to get married based on “genuine love” (Papadogiannis 230). These couples represented an opposition to the traditions of match-making and the dowry. While the *KNE* considered marriage the “symbol that would signify strong bonds among male and female comrades” (Papadogiannis 234), many high-ranking members in the *RF* did not consider marriage a priority and many married after they were 30 years old, if they ever did. These young people used this option as another tool to differentiate themselves from social norms and from their parents.

However, gender hierarchies existed within the youth organisations. On the one hand, males were expected to show their leadership skills and the fact of being involved in unstable relations with females gave them prestige. On the other, women were expected to be modest, and if they wanted to progress towards higher ranks in the hierarchy, they were expected not to dress provocatively and femininely and not to have unstable relations with males (Papadogiannis 231-2).

In 1975 and 1976 three women’s organisations emerged: the Movement of Democratic Women, the Organization of Greek Women and the Union of Greek Women. These organisations provided women not only with the resources to spread their messages but also with the opportunity of being active participants in social change at a macro-level, while men did not feel threatened because women’s demands were considered to be part of the necessary democratic change after the *Junta*. Nevertheless, when autonomous women’s movements challenged society at the micro-level, that is, gender roles in the family and workplace and denounced the portrayal of this behaviour in the media, violence against women and pornography, “the media often ridiculed or attributed extremist tendencies to those feminists who were preoccupied with them” (Kyriazis 277).

Society continued to show its changes and in 1980 a magazine published a list of bars where men looked for male sexual partners (Papadogiannis 236). Women also demanded control over their bodies and sexuality, the popularization of contraceptive pills and the legalisation of abortion²⁹. In 1978 abortion was liberalised and it was also allowed in the cases of serious foetal abnormalities and of risk to mental health of the mother. In 1980 the minister of Health, Welfare and Social Insurance established family planning centres in major public urban hospitals (Ioannidi-Kapolou 177) and in 1983 a national health service was introduced.

Greece rejoined the NATO on 1980 and on 1st January 1981 it became a member of the European Community (EC, later European Union). As Kyriazis (1995) states, being part of the EC implied improving the status of women; giving women equal pay to men for equal job; having equal access to employment, vocational training, promotion and working conditions; giving women equal treatment to men in matters of social security and occupational social security schemes, in self-employment (including agriculture) and “the protection of self-employed women during pregnancy and motherhood” (Kyriazis 281). As a consequence, many legal changes which affected gender relations took place during the 1980s.

In 1983, the Family Law was revised and it eliminated all gender discrimination: the dowry was abolished, adultery ceased to be considered a crime, divorce with mutual consent was institutionalised and the concept of ‘head of the household’ disappeared and was replaced by the concept of ‘the family’. This meant that the spouses were equally responsible for the decisions affecting the family and for the financial support of the family, depending on each person’s capabilities; children had to be raised without gender discrimination and those out of wedlock had the same rights according to the Law. Moreover, civil marriage was legalised. Regarding employment, women were supposed to be given equal pay to men for equal job, married women were allowed to participate in agricultural cooperatives with the same rights and obligations as men. As for agricultural loans, pensions were extended to women as well as maternity allowances and medical care. Paid maternity leave rose to sixteen weeks in the public sector and fourteen weeks in the private, women could not be fired while on maternity leave and women could interrupt their work to nurse their babies. Besides, both parents

²⁹ Under the Greek penal code of 1950, abortion was only permitted if it were the result of rape or incest, of the seduction of a girl under the age of 15, or if it was meant to save the life of the pregnant woman or to prevent a serious and lasting injury to her health. Between the late 1960s and 1970s, illegal abortions doubled to reach more than 300,000, with the inherent danger for women’s lives.

could enjoy parental leave, they were given the right to take time off from work in order to go to the child’s school or to tend the child if sick, and businesses with more than 300 workers had to provide day care facilities at the work place. In 1986 abortion was further liberalised as it was made legal upon request up to week twelve. Moreover, rape became a statutory offence and sexual harassment, a criminal offence.

The legal bases for a democratic and gender egalitarian society were laid and as youth communist groups began to lose influence, they dissipated by the mid-1980s. Changes at the micro-level took some time to be noticed, but between 1981 and 1989 the amount of women joining the paid labour force increased a 5%, rising from 29.8% to 35.1%, and in 1985 women represented 48% of university students. Thanks to funds and resources from the European Community, economic development and economic prosperity were expected. However, popular enthusiasm declined due to the country’s poor performance and the 1985 restrictive economic policy, which included “economic restraints, currency devaluations, and salary freezes” (Frangiskou and Carouxi 676).

With the collapse of communism in the Balkans and its following crisis, Greece received approximately one million immigrants. The total population in the 1990s surpassed ten million inhabitants. The perception that there were too many immigrants living in Greece increased every year. According to Amalia Frangiskou and Christina Varouxi (2004), this negative attitude represented the views of 29% of the population in 1991, 45% in 1992, 57% in 1992, 64% in 1994 and 71% in 1997 (677).

On 17th August 1999, a 7.6 magnitude earthquake hit Izmit, Turkey, and caused the death of more than 17,000 people and great damage. Some hours later, Greece sent help, rescue teams and aid to the country. Civilians and NGOs also wanted to help the victims and organised blood donations, raised money and sent aid. The following month, on 7th September 1999, a 6.0 magnitude earthquake hit Athens and caused more than 140 casualties. It was the most devastating natural disaster to have hit Greece in 20 years. Turkey immediately offered help and rescue teams were sent within hours. Furthermore, civilians also organised blood donations and offered aid. These events caused what became known as the “Greek-Turkish earthquake diplomacy” and an improvement on bilateral relations.

In 2002, the European coinage “euro” substituted the drachma and in 2004 the Olympic Games were held in Athens. The economy continued to increase at a very high annual rate, 4% or 2%. However, the country was hit by a severe period of recession and economic crisis, which led to violent protests and strikes in 2005 and 2006. During

these years the government changed labour laws, which worsened job security in the public sector and intensified privatisation. In the summer of 2007 more than 3,000 fires broke across Greece and they caused 84 casualties and thousands of houses and buildings destroyed. The fires were caused by heat waves combined with a severe drought, negligence and arson. In August 2009 fires near Athens destroyed homes and buildings, and forced the evacuation of approximately 10,000 people but caused no casualties. International help was accepted during the two catastrophes. During 2008 strikes took place in order to show disagreement with the privatisation, pay ceilings and pension reforms the government was carrying. On 6th December 2008 Alexandros Grigoropoulos, a 15 year-old student, was killed by the police in Athens during the protests. This death caused widespread demonstrations and riots across the country. Solidarity demonstrations also took place in other European and non-European countries, such as Spain, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, Brazil or the United States of America.

In October 2009, PASOK won the elections and George Papandreou became prime minister. In early 2010, it was revealed that successive Greek governments had not provided the correct economic statistics of the country and the deficit was not the announced 6% but at least 12% of the gross domestic product (GDP), and public debt more than 100% of the GDP. As a consequence, Greece was lent several rescue packages in order to face the payments, secure funding and avoid bankruptcy. The government announced several austerity packages, which caused many general strikes and protests. So dire was the situation in the country that some schools provided children with one free meal because their parents could not feed them properly and some civilians even committed suicide. Greek youth could not rely on the strategies their parents’ came up with to face the country’s problems and had to envisage a different future, which, probably, would not have “permanent life-lasting job[s] and a secured pension, the expectation of state support (in terms of health, education, unemployment), the desire for rapid social mobility and social recognition and the anticipated power gained through social networks” (Chalari 2011). As a consequence of this social change, interpersonal relations would suffer modifications.

3.2. Duty, obedience, marriage and divorce

According to Gillian Bottomley (1979) and Georgina Tsolidis (1995), Greek society was, and still is, collectivist because it emphasises the family unit, family resources are communal, and all the members contribute and receive financial and social assistance. Although cohabitation and single parent families exist in Greece (Maratou-Alipranti in Evergeti 2006), the core of the traditional family is formed by the husband, the wife and unmarried children. Parents and children have obligations towards their families of origin, but their priorities focus on the next generation. Thus, parents try to help the establishment and the economic well-being of their children, two facts which had traditionally been made through arranged marriages and dowries.

On the one hand, arranged marriages affected the whole family, not just the future husband and wife, as both families contributed to the new unit with their social and economic status. Family members typically followed a specific marital order: brothers did not usually marry until all their sisters were married in order to contribute to their sisters' dowries before starting their own families. The election of a suitable bride and groom was sometimes done with the help of match-makers, who gave accounts of the honourableness of the suitor and their family and the economic contribution to the new family.

On the other hand, the dowry provided women with the position of being a co-owner and co-worker in the family, that is, with the power to intervene in economic decisions within the family unit, the future of the children and inheritance. The dowry used to be land or a house as well as all the linen and household items a family could need. However, especially after the hardships experienced throughout the twentieth century, the dowry could be given as economic capital, that is, a sum of money, or, following Bourdieu's terminology, as cultural capital, that is, the bride's education and career. The dowry belonged to the wife and a man could not sell it without the woman's permission and her parents' advice. Thus, each generation saw the redistribution of property through equal inheritance and the dowry (Bottomley 82). After the dowry system was abolished in 1983, many parents tried to buy a house (close to theirs) or land for their children in order to help them start their own families. This was considered to be an investment and an improvement of the family's position in society. However, Gillian Bottomley (1992) argues that if the dowry was given in income, the

power a woman might have decreased because it could be spent and its expenditure was harder to trace.

As Georgina Tsolidis (1995) points out, “the traditional Greek family was bilateral in nature” (122). The roles of husband and wife were complementary, not in competition. As Gillian Bottomley (1979) and Nota Kyriazis (1995) explain, the husband was the representative of the family and he enjoyed social prestige and esteem as the main provider, while the wife had economic, social and religious roles: she was co-owner and also co-worker, especially in the villages and islands; managed the house, mediated in family disputes, was the guardian of the family’s cohesiveness; and she was “the parent responsible for the religious education of the children, the care of the family graves and household religious objects and the observance of ritual” (Bottomley 85). Both parents shared the responsibility of child-rearing, although the mother was the main caretaker, and all family members participated in this process. Children, especially young ones, were usually indulged and accompanied their parents to church, meetings and outings. Further, Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) explains that the more children a woman had, the more authority within the family she enjoyed and that a woman remained very close to her family after marriage.

As the family’s social expectations and standing relied on the wife’s fulfilment of her role, known as *nikokyra*, women took pride in their duties, which were represented in the order and cleanliness of the household and garden. Many women migrated from their villages to urban centres between the 1960s and 1980s. When they entered the paid labour force in these urban centres, many were young single women who wanted to save enough for their dowries. Then, when they got married and had children, most of them quit their jobs in order to focus on the care of their families and the household chores (Sutton 1986). Consequently, a woman’s job in the city, which was not usually in the same place as the husband’s, did not threaten the patriarchal traditional roles of husband-provider and wife-*nikokyra*.

Research conducted by Vasiliki Galaní-Moutáfi on the situation of women in the island of Kokkári after the tourist boom explains that women were allowed to run “family-owned hotels, renting rooms in their house and operating other tourist-based businesses such as souvenir shops” (Mills 11) as this work was “considered to be an extension of their traditional duties as housewives” (Mills 11) and not “‘real’ labor” earning high incomes which would threaten the male’s role as breadwinner. Galaní-Moutáfi considers that this change gave women more freedom and power, but Janine

Mills (2003) disagrees, arguing that this opportunity was only enjoyed by women who lived in tourist areas and had a large enough dowry house to allow them to rent rooms. That way, Mills continues, lower class women and those in non-tourist areas did not have this opportunity. Moreover, women were not allowed to work for someone else, which meant that they were given limited chances and needed permission to do what they wanted (Mills 12-13). Furthermore, despite the fact that women could earn more money than their husbands, the males were the ones “who continue[d] to receive the credit for being the household breadwinner” (Mills 14) and, thus, were still considered to be in a dominant position.

Regarding divorce, since the family was such an important social organisation, there were many legal and religious restrictions that prevented couples from ending their marriages. Although women had their dowry, they did not have their own income or job and were dependent on their husbands. Also, the existence of children often acted as a constraint preventing divorce. As Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) points out, since the 1983 Family Law which allowed the dissolution of marriage through a consensual agreement, there was a slight increase in the divorce rate, growing from 0.7/1000 in 1980 to 1.0/1000 inhabitants in 2003 and the marriage rate dropped from 6.5/1000 in 1980 to 5.1/1000 inhabitants in 2003 (408). Although the divorce rate was still one of the lowest in Europe (“Divorces” 2012), this change could be due to the fact that women were financially more independent and that the law was more flexible.

3.3. Duty, obedience and interpersonal relationships

Marriage was a central institution in Greek culture. As such, relations between its members were determined by tradition and respected by society. The relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law could be a tense one, especially as the role of the *nikokyra* could only be performed by one woman. As Christina Vlahoutsikou (1997) recalls, for the mother-in-law the daughter-in-law was “both a prize and a threat” (284). She represented a prize because of her dowry and the (male) children she could bear, but she posed a threat to the *nikokyra*’s position in the family. The mother-in-law was said not to be fond of seeing her daughter-in-law sharing her kitchen³⁰, as a mother

³⁰ For detailed information on interpersonal relationships and space, the internal organisation of houses and the boundaries between the private and public spheres, read Alice V. James and Loukas Kalisperis’ “Use of House and Space: Public and Private Family Interaction in Chios, Greece” *House Life: space*,

would be, because she had two concerns: maximizing her power and making sure that the parents-son bond remained the core of the family unit. Besides, having a daughter-in-law was a reminder that the *nikokyra* “ha[d] reached the pinnacle of her power and authority” (Vlahoutsikou 284). For the daughter-in-law, on the other hand, the mother-in-law was her obstacle to become *nikokyra* herself. Besides, both women wanted the loyalty and protection of the same man: son or husband. Vlahoutsikou (1997) argues that this conflictive behaviour was the path women followed to be seen as active participants in the negotiation of cultural order and it was their means of showing dissent. Each woman had a different way of reaching their goals and while the mother-in-law was the paramount example of tradition, the daughter-in-law represented modernity. One of the aims of the *nikokyra* was to “augment and multiply what [was] passed on from one generation to the next” (Vlahoutsikou 295) and, as such, she defended the interests of her family, and husband and wife acted as one. In a study the author conducted in a village relatively close to Thebes and Athens between August 1985 and April 1986, a daughter-in-law defied her mother-in-law by painting her nails on Saturdays and going with her husband to the tavern to spend some time with their friends. Having time for herself and spending pleasurable quality time with her husband were two ways of defying tradition: she divided her time into three categories, and not just work and housework, and her relation with her husband was a direct one, person to person, and not just a sharing of common goals and difficulties.

The concepts of honour and shame continue to mould intergenerational and interpersonal relationships as the whole family gain or suffer from the successes and misdeeds of one of its members. Thus, the collectivist nature of Greek identity is reinforced. A person’s identity is defined in relation to one’s status and position within membership groups (the family, the clan, the village) and their sense of self-fulfilment is not attained when achieving personal goals which have been defined within their own particular ethical system. As Adamantia Pollis (1965) defends, “self-worth is judged by the person and by others in terms of how well the prescribed obligations and loyalties are fulfilled, and self-fulfilment is attained by performing well the assigned role within membership groups” (33). Consequently, individual behaviour is perceived as part of a group action and individual autonomy is not fostered. The psychological mechanism that imposes sanctions on misbehaviour is guilt, which leads to shame, that is, “the

place and family in Europe. Ed by Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999.

psychological penalty for behaviour inappropriate *vis-à-vis* the group” (Pollis 33) and which discourages deviation from traditional ideals.

A central need individuals have is the accumulation of social capital, that is, “the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition ... which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital” (Bourdieu 248-9). This social capital is, thus, based on interpersonal relationships, and in Greek culture *philotimo* regulates them. *Philotimo* literally means ‘love of honour’, it defines the behaviour of a person towards all others, group and non-group members and has been defined as the value of “experiencing ... oneself as part of a system of group relatedness” (Pollis 34). Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) understands *philotimo* as “an intense and continuous sense of honor, of personal dignity, of self-respect. The agony of insecurity in regard to the future, of disturbed relations, loss of the easy life and the inability to maintain personal pursuits all reduce this self-perception” (403). Gillian Bottomley (1979) affirms that “a man must be honoured first by his own family. Offspring must be deferential, females modest and devoted. The failure of any one member of the family to act honourably results in the “molestation” of the honour of the whole family” (90). As Janine Mills (2003) indicates, men’s honour, and consequently a family’s honour, relies on the reputation of his mother, wife, daughter and sister as chaste and modest. *Philotimo* was considered to be a “man’s most precious possession”, according to Adamantia Pollis (35), which made him face threats and challenges and forced him to be courageous, assertive and prove his manliness or *andrismos*. Thus, shame, or *drope*, discouraged women’s inappropriate behaviour. As women were considered to be weak, sensual and in need of protection against desire, men had to control and protect them. This affected the relationship between siblings as brothers or other male family members chaperoned the girls, if they were allowed to socialise and the time, place and company had been approved of. In cities, a family’s honour was also displayed in the material possessions of their members and their acquisitive power. According to Gillian Bottomley (1979), ties between the members of a family loosened and the father’s control over his wife and children was less tight, especially if they all worked in different places. However, an adequate dowry for a daughter was another demonstration of man’s honour (Mills 3), even if it was not a house but secure employment (Bottomley 87).

Two groups related to the family and which also shared a sense of *philotimo* were kinship and the ‘circle of our own people’. The first was formed by members of

the extended family, while the second included those who had close “personal relationships, mutual dependence and sentimental commitments” with the family (Kaldi-Koulikidou 402). The ‘circle of our own people’ was usually quite large and the group supported and helped the family in daily situations, but also in exceptional ones, such as the death of a family member. Sometimes, *koumbaroi* (*koumbaros* for male, *koumbara* for female), that is, the best man or maid of honour in a wedding or the godfather or godmother of a baptized child in the Orthodox Church, were also members of the ‘circle of our own people’. As Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) explains, being a *koumbaros* or a *koumbara* was a very prestigious distinction. Gillian Bottomley (1979) further informs that the *koumbaroi* was “the institution of spiritual kinship... where a special relationship [was] established with wedding sponsors who subsequently baptize[d] the children of the marriage” (84). Because *koumbaroi* were regarded as members of the family, intermarriage was not permitted up to including second cousins. Some of the duties of *koumbaroi* were event-specific, such as at weddings or baptisms, but others were more general: “not forgetting the displaced people, spending money on someone who is in need, offering a meal to friends to please them” (Kaldi-Koulikidou 404). All these actions constituted different ways of maintaining the honour of the family.

Other integral members of the family were the grandparents, who played “an influential, pedagogical, and binding role in developing the cohesion of the family” (Kaldi-Koulikidou 406). Many grandparents took care of their grandchildren while their parents were at work. This way, grandparents transmitted their values and children grew up in a familiar and friendly environment. Grandmothers were especially respected. However, many grandparents lived on their own in their nearly-deserted villages or city apartments. It was common for grandparents to be supported by the family, but the Greek government established Centres for the Protection of the Elderly (*KAPI*) in the early 1980s, which allowed elderly people to live in their homes, receive care by health and care professionals and socialise with other senior citizens (Bottomley 140, Arsenos et al. 2007). However, it was a source of stigma for a family to put an elderly person in an old people’s home (Kaldi-Koulikidou 407).

Children were at the centre of the family’s efforts and parents helped their children and were proud of their successes. The focus of the parents’ efforts was not grandparents, who were taken care of and respected, but children, the younger generation. That is to say, in Greek culture, children were helped not because they could

provide economic security in their parents’ old age, but in order for the elders’ to enjoy and participate in the glory of their success. Parents tried to provide social and economic security for their children as well as education. As Georgina Tsolidis (1995) explains, “For Greeks education is valuable in its own right, but it is also seen as a means of providing economic security, social status and honour for the individual, his or her family and the community” (124).

A final concept dealing with interpersonal relationships is *philoxenia*, or ‘love of strangers’. It involves the notion of honour and shame: as Gillian Bottomley (1979) mentions, “a guest is honoured by hospitality and a host is himself honoured by his own display and by the number and quality of his guests” (93). Being a good host and a good guest improved the family’s reputation. Especially in the diaspora, *philoxenia* was used by Greek migrants to expect and demand help from fellow Greeks.

3.4. Duty, obedience and religion

Religion also constructed gender relations and influenced the concepts of duty and obedience. The Greek Orthodox Christian Church was, and is, patriarchal and gender marked the behaviour of men and women: traditionally, men sat at the front or on the right of the church and women at the back or on the left, women were not allowed in the church while they were menstruating or for forty days after childbirth and were not allowed to enter the inner sanctum of the church (Dubisch 188). As Jill Dubisch (1983) recalls, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1969) and Sherry Ortner (1974) defended the theory that men and women had been constructed as opposed binaries, in which the male was related to public spaces, to society, to community, to culture and to the pure, while the female had been associated with private spaces, the family, the individual, nature and the dangerous. On the one hand, men were involved in public spaces and society at large, in the community; they were considered more rational and closer to culture as well as pure. On the other hand, women were confined to the domestic space, related mainly to their family and looked after the needs of the individual members and of the family as a whole. Moreover, due to their biological processes of menstruation and childbirth, females were considered to be closer to nature and to be impure.

Jill Dubisch (1983) negates these binaries and argues that interpersonal relationships are more complex than those defined by this system of opposition. She claims that women were essential participants in the Greek Orthodox Christian Church

because they mediated between the specific needs of the family and the universalistic concerns of the Church, between the human and spiritual worlds and the public and private spheres. Besides, they were considered to be the moral guardians of tradition at home as well as of the physical, spiritual and moral well-being of the family members, and had roles as nurturers and caretakers.

Dubisch argues that in her research men were more “concerned with matters of belief, whereas the women tended to be interested in the detail of religious observances” (194). Thus, women went to church more often than men, as it was a socially accepted and approved activity they could do outside the domains of the household. In fact, men mainly went to church on specific dates, such as Easter, and “excessive church-going may even be seen as unmanly” (Dubisch 193). Women tended and decorated the village church and participated in the services and rituals surrounding Easter, saint’s days and other celebrations. They were also responsible for the family icon shrine, or *ikonostasi*, which kept the house alive as a spiritual entity. During mourning, women performed specific functions and, through their clothing, they became symbols of the changed relationship between the members of the deceased’s family and the interrelations between families. Women also attended the graves and, thus, became the nexus between the dead and the living.

Women’s role as carers of the church and rituals was seen as an extension of their household chores and their duties as daughter, sister, wife and mother. They were considered to be the mediators between the interests of the family and the Greek Orthodox Church. On the other hand, men supported their family by providing economic stability and safeguarding their members. The house was considered the centre of the family and, thus, of society. It represented the sanctuary where peace was found, in contrast with the hardships faced in the outside world, and women were the carers of this realm.

However, women lived a paradoxical situation: while they were considered to be the guardians of morale, they were also considered to be a threat, especially because of their sexuality. In religious terms, women could be either Eve, the temptress, or the Virgin, the sacred ideal woman. Jill Dubisch (1983) points out that women were viewed as polluted due to their bodily functions and dangerous because of their sexuality. As their bodies allowed them to have babies, women were considered to be closer to nature and, thus, in need of cultural control. Besides, their sexuality was dangerous even for themselves, which forced men to look after women’s sense of shame and honour: if a

woman had an illegitimate child, the whole structure of the family was at stake. Besides, women were also responsible for the cleanliness of the house and for the avoidance of pollution. Women were the guardians of order and, as such, had to “maintain order by keeping nature in its proper place, in cultural control and within culturally defined boundaries” (Dubisch 198). If the house of a woman was not tidy and clean, this was said to be a reflection of her character.

Religion and family, thus, were and still are intrinsically linked in Greek culture. One example is when celebrating religious festivities, which become occasions for family gatherings. A second example is the establishment of a new community, which has hardly changed over the years and throughout countries. As Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) and Georgina Tsolidis (1995) report, when a new community is built, men usually construct a church, which displays a national Greek flag if it is not located in Greece; they bring a priest and then their wives; and, finally, they build a school or a room next to the church where children are taught the Greek language, history, dances and the Scriptures. Some social organisations also appear, such as the club rooms, women’s groups, welfare organisations, political assemblies and professional groupings, as well press in Greek, theatre groups, day schools and homes for the elderly.

In spite of all the changes in Greek society, religious feelings remain very high in comparison with that in other European countries. In fact, Amalia Frangiskou and Christina Varouxi (2004) specify that in 1989, 85% of Greeks described themselves as “religious” and in 1995 this number had increased to 93%.

3.5. Duty, obedience and patriotism

In Ancient Greece, the state was seen as ‘fatherland’ or *patria* and the analogy of state/parent-citizens/children was used. Following Tom R. Stevenson’s (1992) argument, this was a benefactor-beneficiary relationship because “the produce of land sustains life, the state brings people together as in a family, it affords protection, it is owed loyalty as to a parent, its laws regulate the lives of citizens and guard against civil discord” (429-30). As a consequence, the ruler took care of the citizens as a father took care of his sons. This analogy was especially strong when the ruler had also been responsible for the existence or foundation of the state. Since the family, or *oikos*, was the central unit of the city-state, or *polis*, the state was seen as a “collection of families”

(Stevenson 430). There was no clear split between the public and the private spheres as one’s civic identity mainly derived from one’s *oikos*.

Besides, good kings were the ideal benefactors and they were likened to fathers. A good king abode by the laws and subordinated his interests to the common good, he had the “power to give, sustain and protect life” from no self-interested motives (Stevenson 424) and was not “a selfish, violent, lawless tyrant who treated his subjects like slaves” (Stevenson 433). The ideal beneficiary would sincerely and completely commit himself to the cause of his benefactor because the beneficiary would be concerned about reciprocity. According to Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007), the protection of the family had a relevant position in public law and “ancient Hellenes protected their families by protecting their homeland” (395).

In fact, the term ‘Hellene’ (or ‘Greek’) does not refer to one’s place of birth, but to one’s cultural roots. The duties embedded in this term in Modern Greece include speaking the Greek language, knowing Greek culture, being Greek Orthodox and having a Greek sense of family (Tsolidis 128). This definition shows that tradition, culture, religion and family merge to create a construct which defines interpersonal relationships at all levels, with family members and with strangers, and in the public and private spheres. As Tsolidis further explains, everyone performs their duties in this task: family members, especially grandmothers, teach the language and culture to children and introduce them to Greek Orthodox Christianity and Ancient Greek mythology. Language becomes a necessary tool to communicate with family and friends, and it is especially taught to migrant children so they can relate with their grandparents and other family members. Besides, religious festivities and celebrations, such as Christmas, Easter or name-days, are shared with the *koumbaroi*, extended family and the ‘circle of our own people’.

However, the implications of the term ‘Greek’ also include a sense of shared history, of pride in the shared values and a sense of belonging. These notions are transmitted in communities through “emotional ties and the constant contact and interactions” between their members (Tsolidis 126). As a consequence, communities in the diaspora are bound to Greece, those in Greece to those in the diaspora and those in the diaspora among themselves. These communities are part of the “imagined community” of Hellenism, as defined by Benedict Anderson (1983). The concept of the diaspora is embedded in the Greek collective imaginary and this romantic vision crosses physical and temporal boundaries and homogenises communities (Bottomley 1979 and

1992 and Tsolidis 1995). Despite living in different countries, emigrants are still considered to be Greek, that is, Greeks in the diaspora, and, as such, have some duties to fulfil.

3.6. Duty, obedience and migration

Greece has been witness to many waves of migration. During the twentieth century, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America were four of the main countries which received most of its immigrants. In spite of the different reasons for migration, either voluntary or forced, communities in the diaspora maintain a strong sense of Hellenism, Greek language is taught and Greek Orthodox churches are usually built. Besides, families remain strong units and *philotimo* is still followed.

As Georgina Tsolidis (1995) describes, the family in diaspora represents the spiritual, cultural and linguistic basis which provides warmth, protection and sustenance from the difficulties and ‘othering’ experienced in the host country. The family keeps the bonds with those living in Greece alive, so when its members go “back home”, they can meet the relatives who stayed behind in the traditional village, town or island, or even those who migrated to other places. Sometimes members of the second-generation consider themselves different to their parents and do not understand some of their attitudes and patterns of behaviour. However, when they return from a visit to Greece, they tend to do the same as their parents: nostalgia inundates the accounts of the trip, the photos, memorabilia, etc. Besides, these second-generation members understand “the link between how things are done here and how they are done there [creating] the courage to take pride in one’s ethnographic history and [exploring] the benefits it affords both the individual and Australian nationhood” (133). This way, as Tsolidis says, “family becomes the lifeblood of ethnic identification and ethnic identification becomes the lifeblood of family” (133).

With regards to migration in Australia, Georgina Tsolidis (1995) asserts that Greek-Australian families do not only combine Greek elements and Australian elements in the family, but they question the definitions of what is ‘Greek’ and what is ‘Australian’. This is even more frequent in families in which one of the partners is not Greek. Tsolidis affirms that “often these *xeni* or ‘outsiders’ [are those] who most enthusiastically [embrace] those communitarian aspects of the family associated with

being Greek” (127). The stereotype of the Greek woman is that she does not have agency and is submissive. However, Georgina Tsolidis (1995) defines a Greek-Australian woman as

one which denotes professionalism, activism and an ability to shift boundaries. This is taking what it means to be a Greek woman into the realms of Australian politics, literature, academe, business, feminism and the arts. Within the family it is also propelling women to the forefront in the exercise of negotiating what it means to be Greek in contemporary Australia. (Tsolidis 135)

Regarding marriage and divorce patterns, relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks are accepted, and especially common are those marriages between Greek-Australians and Italian-Australians. Cohabitation prior to marriage is increasingly tolerated and Greek-Australian women are not expected to avoid premarital sexual intercourse, particularly if they are in a long-term relationship. However, Greek men still retain the double standard of expecting virginity and faithfulness of their partners but not of themselves (Tsolidis 137). Finally, divorce rates are increasing although their levels are low in comparison with other groups.

Concerning interpersonal relationships, parents and parents-in-law tend to support their children when rearing their offspring, as well as with housework or financial assistance. As many grandparents are retired and free from the responsibility of making a living, they can now enjoy time rearing their grandchildren and developing a close relationship with them. However, if the grandparents have health problems, then their sons and daughters tend to take care of them. It may be stressful to combine the care of the ageing parents and rearing children, but families prefer taking care of their family members rather than sending them to geriatric homes. Besides, sometimes the expectations that Greek grandparents have and the wishes of their Australian-born (third-generation migrant) grandchildren do not coincide and it is the second-generation who tries to mediate and become a bridge between both. Greek-Australians devise different strategies in order to find their own expression of Hellenism, which reflects the fluidity between ‘Greekness’, ‘Australianness’ and being a local or a foreigner.

The media and new technology provide migrants with strategies to start communities in host countries or maintain relations with their families and friends in Greece. The internet, e-mail and satellite television are three such examples. Anastasia N. Panagakos’ (2003) research among the Greek community in Calgary (Canada) shows

that, on the one hand, the first-generation migrants, who migrated in the 1950s, enjoy mainly satellite television, as their knowledge of new media technology is usually limited. By choosing the channels they want to see, satellite television gives them the opportunity to watch Greek television (mainly Greek soap operas, soccer matches, sports programs and the news), which makes them feel closer to Greece and strengthens their feeling of Hellenism. On the other hand, the second generation uses the internet, e-mail and social networks to learn about current affairs in Greece, look for Greek music and get to know other Greeks in the diaspora. Some magazines, journals and blogs have a diasporic target audience, a fact that also helps bond communities from all over the world. One such example is the English-language bimonthly magazine *Odyssey: The World of Greece*. Founded in 1993, it has more than 60,000 subscribers around the world and its articles provide a global perspective on Hellenism, deal with politics that affect Greeks everywhere and offer a means to learn about other Greeks in the diaspora (Panagakos 212).

Similar to the description provided by Theodora Kaldi-Koulikidou (2007) and Georgina Tsolidis (1995), the Greek community in Calgary started in the late 1950s and developed over a period of thirty years, during which men and women built a church, a school, a library and established a newspaper (Panagakos 203). Many new migrants bought homes and opened businesses in the surrounding neighbourhoods, thus, strengthening their feelings of Hellenism and creating bonds between members of the community. Many immigrant women were housewives, whose social life revolved around their husbands and children, visiting Greek friends and participating in the community. Consequently, their fluency in English did not develop and remained limited even thirty years later. Their children spent most of their free time taking part in activities organised by the community. They went to school and most of them to college, where they had Greek and non-Greek friends, succeeded in their businesses and became middle-class. In 2001, 37% of the members in the community were first-generation migrants and 59% were Canadian-born.

Traditional communities used to be in charge of the public image the migrant community offered the host society and other ethnic communities, especially regarding Greek cultural festivals. The first Greek Festival in Calgary was held in June 1999 and it became one of the main sources of income for the community. While the Greekness of the first-generation migrants was never questioned, Greek-Canadians had to “prove their ethnicity by actively promoting it” (Panagakos 206). However, the image projected

by the community was one of homogeneity which avoided uncomfortable topics, such as the Turkish invasion of Cyprus or the effect of the Balkan war in Greece. The community wanted to promote a reputation for good behaviour and success, as well as loyalty, three nuances of *philotimo*. Thus, its members were not supposed to air the difficulties of the *oikos*, but to guard its honour.

However, media and new technologies broke the supremacy of those who decided the kind of image they wanted to project: members of the community had direct access to technology, a fact that changed the structural organisation of ethnic communities. New roles and bonds were established between community members, but also among these members and other communities, both in Greece or in other countries.

Another study conducted by Anastasia N. Panagakos (2004) shows how the second-generation Greek-Canadian women who took part in her project had been raised following the concept of *philotimo*. They were Greek Orthodox Christian, young adults, born in the 1960s or 1970s, active members in their community in Calgary, who spoke fluent Greek and had gone to school. They were caught between the expectations of their families given their positions as “marriageable age [women] whose sexuality [had to] be regulated by male kin” and their “increased power and decision-making abilities imparted by a college education and more liberal Canadian social system” (Panagakos 300). For many, spending a summer in Greece with their grandparents and other family members who lived there became a rite of passage that took place when they finished their high school or university studies. This trip was meaningful for both parents and their children. On the one hand, parents showed their communities in Greece that their lives in the diaspora had been successful because they had fulfilled their expectations, had achieved economic security and could afford luxuries. On the other, teenagers or young adults were rewarded for their efforts and enjoyed some freedom away from their parents but within the limits of the family. Once in Greece, these young women stayed in contact with their parents, and one decided to stay and get married, a second one decided to stay, work there and also got married and a third one stayed because she had fallen in love but the romance did not lead to marriage.

Two common features of these three personal stories are the facts that these young women had their parents’ support despite the fact that they did not want their daughters to remain in Greece, and that the (future) mothers-in-law did not consider these women to be good enough for their sons because they could eventually “be taken” back to Canada. The first relationship ended in divorce, the second with the couple

living in Canada with her parents and the third one did not even get married, and all the young women moved back to Canada. The expectations of *philotimo* were different: while the Greek families expected honour, personal dignity and respect towards them, the young women exercised *philotimo* and filial piety towards their biological Greek-Canadian families. These women listened to their parents’ advice and turned to them for support, but they made their own decisions. The three families opposed the women’s decisions to stay in Greece but continued to support their daughters financially and emotionally, especially when their parents-in-laws tried to enforce their opinions and the daughters defended their parents’ and their own points of view. Despite the fact that these women were raised in Greek families according to Greek cultural expectations, they also valued their individuality. Trying to begin transnational families between Greek-Canadian wives and Greek husbands proved to be too challenging as expectations and gender roles were different.

Venetia Evergeti (2006) analyses the difficulties confronting a Greek woman who migrated to England regarding fulfilling her filial duties towards her parents, who live in Greece, her duties as mother and her relation with the Greek community in England so as to maintain her Greek identity. Distance represents one of her main problems. She is married to an Englishman, has four children, has been living in England for forty years and has her base in England although her *patrida* is Greece and she wants to perform her filial obligations. She feels torn between her duties as a daughter and a mother, and although she knows that her husband will take care of the children, she cannot help feeling guilty about leaving them behind. A way to overcome the distance is by daily phone communication, frequent trips to Greece and by the network of neighbours in her ancestral village in Greece, who provide a system of reciprocal support. These older generation women look after each other and share “strong community values of supporting and caring for each other” (Evergeti 360). In England, she does not have a network of Greek friends when her children are young, but she gradually establishes one at the Greek Orthodox Church she attends, which is two hours away from where she lives. The time she spends there is a means to reconnect with her roots and Hellenism, as it becomes “an ethnic meeting point that women utilize in their continuous formulation of their ethnic identities” (Evergeti 360). Despite the fact that distance is one of the main handicaps this woman experiences in her daily life in order to fulfil her familial and individual obligations, she can rely on the support of her husband, the Greek Orthodox Church community and the social network in her

parents’ village in Greece. That is to say, family, extended family, the circle of one’s own people and the community maintain their central role in migration.

More studies have been conducted in order to explain caregiving practices in Greek migrant families. Georgina Tsolidis (1995) follows Alcorso and Schofield’s (1991) claim that women from southern Europe were in better health when they arrived in Australia than Australian-born women or those born in English-speaking countries. However, Greek women have “higher rates of work-related illness and injuries and a greater incidence of conditions associated with poor mental and emotional health” (Tsolidis 134). The causes are the working conditions in Australia and the changes and pressures resulting from migration: their duties as wives and mothers, missing their families and social networks and the alienation from society. As this generation of migrants who arrived after World War II grow old, the second-generation is taking care of their parents. Greek-Australians are not likely to use institutional care as the women in the family tend to support the aged.

Carol A. Morse and Voula Messimeri-Kianidis (2002), for example, analysed caregiving practices in Greek-Australian families living in Melbourne with a corpus of 150 caregivers and 150 caretakers. The results showed that “when a family dutifully takes care of its disabled member(s), the caregiver is likely to be left alone to shoulder and manage the burdens for as long as it takes” (Morse and Messimeri-Kianidis 313) and that the community and extended family do not provide support. Caregivers, 81% of whom were women, put the needs of the caretaker before their physical, emotional and psychological needs and were often left exhausted. Female caregivers tended to provide care for those with cardio-vascular disabilities, while male caregivers often took care of those with neurological disorders, mainly their wives who had had a stroke (Morse and Messimeri-Kianidis 309-310). If the caretaker was a developmentally delayed child, the main caregiver was the mother, although the father may have participated in the care of the child. Besides, the mean age of caregivers was around 58 years, which led to them being known as ‘sandwich generation’ because they took care of their children, perhaps grandchildren, and also of their spouses, parents and in-laws.

Lee-Fay Low et al (2011) conducted a study on the caretakers’ acceptance of help for Chinese, Greek or Italian migrants with dementia in Australia. The survey aimed to find out whether and from whom the participants (first-, second- or third-generation Chinese, Greek or Italian migrants) would seek help for a family member with Alzheimer’s disease. The results show that Chinese were more likely to seek help

from family, friends and hospitals rather than from a GP, community organisation, government body, books, the internet or nursing homes; Greeks were more prone to seek help from friends or a government body; and Italians from a GP or family. A second question was to analyse the acceptance of aged care services, such as, day activities at a community centre, community nursing, bus outings or home help with housework and caring. Other services included carer's support groups; nursing home care if the elder person got worse, could no longer remember the carer's name and was incontinent; a one-week stay in a nursing home for the carer to have a break; and, home delivered cooked meals (Low et al 402). Most of the participants, between 80% and 98% of the sample, informed that they would use the community services listed, except the home delivered cooked meals. However, residential respite was the second least likely service to be used. Thus, services which provide daily help were better accepted than those which took over the responsibility. Finally, participants who were reluctant to use the services were keener on the idea if these were provided by their own community. As a consequence, it can be concluded that the care of a family member is considered a family duty by Chinese, Greek or Italian first-, second- and third-generation migrants in Australia.

Besides the difficulties first- and second-generation migrants face regarding fulfilling their duties at an interpersonal level, the religious sentiment of second-generation migrants such as Greek Orthodox Christians has also been studied. James A. Athanasou (1993) analyses the answers provided by 254 pupils of eighteen senior catechetical Sunday schools in metropolitan Sydney. All these schools have a "uniform curriculum focusing on personal religious development, rather than the acquisition of knowledge" (Athanasou 51-52). Students voluntarily attend these free schools, although they may be influenced by their parents, family members or other peers. The conclusions of the study show that pupils considered themselves moderately religious and most of them considered that their ethnic identity was an important component of their background. The study also asked them about how often they took Communion, went to confession, fasted, read the Bible and prayed. The students' most common activities were taking Communion, fasting and praying. It would have been interesting to differentiate the answers provided by female and male students in order to broaden the study. Dubisch's study, published in 1983, found that men were more "concerned with matters of belief, whereas the women tended to be interested in the detail of religious observances" (194).

The Greek collectivist approach to family and solidarity between its members in Australia has also been researched. Between 1979 and 1981 Jerzy Jaroslaw Smolicz and Jacek Piesiewicz aimed to examine the mutual interaction of Greek family values and British virtues of individualism and independence on Greek- and Anglo-Australian students aged 15-17 (Smolicz 1985). A questionnaire was given to 318 students in Adelaide to examine the attitude of Greek- and Anglo-Australian teenagers towards collectivism/ individualism in various family situations as well as the attitude adolescents thought that each group had regarding the other. The questions provided were presented as statements and students had to agree or disagree on a five-point scale and state four opinions: their own attitude and what they thought their parents, Greek-Australians and Anglo-Australians could think about each situation. The statements questioned if students should become independent as soon as possible, if they should pay board for staying home if they were earning some money, and if they should not live with their mothers in the same house once they were married, even if their mothers were widowed, as an old people's home was the best place for them so they could be with people of their own age. A landslide majority of Greek-Australians considered they should not become independent as soon as possible, should not pay board to stay at home even if they were earning money and would live with their widowed mothers and would not encourage them to live in an old people's home. They also thought that their parents and communities would share their opinions. Most Anglo-Australians also thought that they should not become independent as soon as possible and that they would live with their widowed mothers and would not encourage them to live in an old people's home. Anglo-Australian students also considered that these opinions were shared by their parents and communities. However, a blatant majority considered they should pay board to stay at home if they were earning money and that it was expected by their parents and communities because it was a way of showing that they were prepared for independent life as an adult. Regarding each groups' perceptions of the other, Greek-Australians considered Anglo-Australians more individualist than they really were and Anglo-Australians did not perceive Greek-Australians as collectivist as they identified themselves. To sum up, the answers showed that Greek-Australians perceived themselves, their parents and communities as being more collectivist than Anglo-Australians. Accordingly, Anglo-Australians saw themselves, their parents and their communities as more individualist than Greek-Australians. However, both groups considered each other to be more collectivist or individualist than they really were.

Conclusion

The Greek concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ are embedded within three words: *sebas*, *hosion* and *philia*, and are addressed to gods and superiors, gods or family and kin and fellow citizens, respectively. *Philotimo* is the construct that mainly regulates interpersonal relationships within the family, friends, acquaintances and strangers as well as in the public and private spheres. As Amalia Frangiskou and Christina Varouxi (2004) define it, *philotimo* implies the attitudes of self-respect, pride, dignity, integrity, high public regard, reputation for good behaviour and loyalty. Thus, it encourages *andrismos* in men and *droke* in women. *Philotimo* is inextricably linked to the concept of family, which is not limited to its nuclear members, but includes kinship and those close non-blood-related people who care about the family and are made part of it by being included in ‘the circle of our own people’.

Interpersonal relationships have followed these norms for centuries, in spite of all the political upheavals and types of government Greece has experienced. Duty, obedience, filial piety, *philotimo*, *droke* and *andrismos*, family, kin and ‘the circle of our own people’ have regulated the daily lives and expectations of Greeks for generations, especially in relation to marriage, relatives and migration. The Greek Orthodox Christian Church and the construct of ‘Hellenism’ have strengthened these concepts, which remain pivotal points in the construction of one’s identity.

The 19th and 20th centuries have seen some modifications in interpersonal relationships and the freedom of citizens. For example, during the Ottoman Empire a woman could go to court, choose the one that best suited her objectives and defend her case. With the 1st Hellenic Republic, a woman needed to be represented by a man in order to be heard in court. As a consequence, most women did not defend their cases but had to allow men to represent them.

Regarding marriage and relations with relatives, the main changes were implemented by the 1983 Family Law, which eliminated all gender discrimination, abolished the dowry, legalised civil marriage and more cases for abortion, facilitated consensual divorce and changed the patriarchal approach to marriage by making it more inclusive.

In addition, interpersonal relationships and *philotimo* are modified by migrant families as parents negotiate more individualistic patterns of behaviour. Nevertheless, parents try to pass on Greek culture (including language, traditions, food and religion) and the importance of strong family bonds (respect and care of elders, family unity, rearing of children, frequent communication). Finally, holding on to cultural roots gives migrants the flexibility to adapt to different social norms and realities.

Despite all the social, political, economic and spatial changes, family relationships and *philotimo* remain central to Greek culture and Greeks in the diaspora. A reason for this may be the understanding of family as the main organizational unit in society.

4. The concepts of ‘duty’ and ‘obedience’ in Chinese culture

[Confucius explained to his disciple Tseng Ts’an:] “Hence the first duty of a son is to pay a careful attention to every want of his parents. The next is to serve his government loyally; and the last to establish a good name for himself.”

Hsiao Ching (The Book of Filial Duty). Chapter 1³¹.

The concept of ‘filial piety’ is a core value in the teachings of Confucius and a cornerstone that shapes the patterns of behaviour and beliefs in many Asian societies. As Heying Jenny Zhan and Rhonda Montgomery (2003) explain, filial piety or *hsiao* is a Confucian concept that encompasses a broad range of behaviours, including children’s respect, obedience, loyalty, material provision, and physical care to parents. It applies even after the death of a child’s parents, mandating that the children sacrifice for parents and not change the ways of their parents. (210-211)

According to Eli Lieber, Kazuo Nihira and Iris Tan Mink (2004), the concept of filial piety is related to the concepts of *ren*, that is, “benevolence, compassion, magnanimity, goodness, love, human heartedness, charity, perfect virtue and man-to-manness” (326); *yi*, or righteousness; *li*, “a code of ritual or norm of social conduct” (326); and *ti*, or fraternal love. They describe filial piety as having six aspects: caring, achievement and excellence, work ethic, responsibility, obedience and respect, which affect intergenerational and interpersonal relations. Being such an inclusive but broad concept, it shapes the patterns of behaviour and education of many Asians in their countries of origin and abroad.³²

‘Obedience’ is a second key concept in Confucianism. Superiors, especially parents, may be criticised, but always obeyed. The *Li Chi*, “by far the most important early source on ritual practice” (Bellah 88), stipulates

³¹ *The Book of Filial Piety* and the *Analects* are not organised into chapters and pages, but into books and chapters. Their division is similar to that of the Bible, which includes chapters and verses.

³² For an explanation of the evolution of the term ‘*hsiao*’ from AD 25 to 420, see Michael Nyland’s article “Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China” in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 16.1 (Jan-Mar 1996): 1-27. For the inclusion of ‘*hsiao*’ in Chinese Buddhism, see Kenneth Ch’en’s article “Filial Piety in Chinese Buddhism” in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 81-97.

If a parent have a fault, (the son) should with bated breath, and bland aspect, and gentle voice, admonish him. If the admonition do not take effect he will be the more reverential and the more filial; and when the father seems pleased, he will repeat the admonition. If he should be displeased with this, rather than allow him to commit an offence against any one in the neighbourhood or countryside, (the son) should strongly remonstrate. If the father be angry and (more) displeased, and beat him till the blood flows, he should not presume to be angry and resentful, but be (still) more reverential and more filial. (Bellah 94)

Thus, Bellah explains that, according to Confucianism, a filial son can only silently reproach his father, but not disobey him.

Lieber, Nihira and Mink's research reveals that the concept of filial piety affects migrants' experiences, as they need to reconcile their daily lives and expectations with the construct of filial piety. As a consequence, filial piety, encompassing duty and obedience, can appear in some of the texts first- and second-generation migrants produce. This section discusses the implications and problematics of these concepts in relation to marriage and divorce, taking care of the elders, the one-child policy, patriotism and migration. Since the social construct of filial piety has undergone many changes during the twentieth century (from imperial times to the opening up of the People's Republic of China to the rest of the world), the subsequent pages seek to answer the following questions:

- How have the political changes experienced during the 20th century affected intergenerational relations?
- How does filial piety affect marriage and divorce?
- How does filial piety affect taking care of elders?
- How does the one child policy affect filial piety?
- How do filial piety and patriotism relate?
- How does filial piety affect migration?

To sum up, how has the concept of filial piety changed interpersonal relations throughout the twentieth century?

4.1. Intergenerational relationships during the twentieth century

During the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), China was organized into two main regions: outer China and inner China. Outer China was the territory of the Manchurians, the Mongols, the Muslims and the Tibetans, while inner China was populated by the Han. Inner China was a vast territory with important geographic and climatologic differences. The north grew wheat, had more migrant workers, also more natural disasters followed by crop failures and suffered more violence. The south enjoyed a warmer climate, produced rice, and the economy relied on intensive labour. The east had the coastal ports while the west (Sichuan and Yunnan) was the land of wild mountains. Inner China was organised into eight very different regions, and each province, region and city claimed some special virtue. Moreover, most regions were self-sufficient and citizens were loyal to their locality, although all of them obeyed the ruler: the emperor. The differences also included the value of coins, linguistic groups or religious beliefs, which were tolerated as long as they did not challenge the existing order. Society was organised following the patriarchal system, in which the head of the state ruled over the citizens, the father over the son and the husband over the wife. Families formed the core of society and the head of a family, always a male, had the power to exercise justice over those living in his household. Women were totally subjugated to and dependent on men, who had total control over their lives. Moreover, as Camille Cook (1986) explains, once a woman got married, she had no rights in her husband's household and she could be mistreated by her husband or in-laws alike. Besides, she was expected to be totally submissive, produce heirs, not interfere in non-domestic topics and to know that her role in the world was inferior to that of a man. The customs and beliefs strengthened this inferior position and, as Cook exemplifies, "a woman's clothes could not be hung on the second floor of the house because then they would be over the man's head, reversing the natural order of things" (66).

The nineteenth century was a particularly difficult period for imperial China. The humiliating defeats and consequences of the Opium wars (1840, 1856-57 and 1860) and especially their defeat in the 1894-95 Korean war, made young emperor Guangxu analyse the situation of his country and introduce massive changes. As a result, in the summer of 1898, the emperor tried to modernise the country by (1) introducing changes in agriculture, army, bureaucracy, education, industry, national cash currency and university; (2) eliminating foot-binding; (3) allowing newspapers to debate politics in

order to teach different ideas and points of view to officers and those in influential positions; and (4) banning “the deeply-rooted system of inertness and a clinging to obsolete customs” (Fenby 67). However, as he did not have the support and influence needed in court to maintain his power, Dowager Empress Cixi resumed her regency.

During the Boxer rebellion (1898-1901), some women found a way to break up patriarchy. As Jonathan Fenby (2009) recalls, the female section of the Boxers, the Red Lantern Shining, provided women with the occasion to challenge and break the boundaries of their lives marked by patriarchy and engage in “mysterious and ... exciting activities” with other women outside the household (85). As Dowager Empress Cixi did not persecute the Boxers, Britain, France, Russia, the United States of America, Germany, Italy, Austria and Japan besieged the city of Beijing for fifty-five days in 1901. For this reason, Dowager Empress Cixi decided to outlaw the Boxers and negotiate the end of the war, thus, suppressing the members of the Red Lantern Shining.

As a result of this new defeat, she understood the need to modernize the country and promoted substantial reforms in many areas. An edict declared

‘Unless we cultivate talents, we cannot expect to exist. Unless we promote education, we cannot cultivate talent. Unless we reform civil and military examinations, we cannot promote education. Unless we study abroad, we cannot make up deficiencies in education’ (Fenby 96).

In 1907 government schools for girls and a school curriculum for female teachers were created by means of two regulations: the *Women’s Primary Education Regulation by Ministry of Education: Memorialized and Decided Upon* and the *Women’s Normal Education Regulation by Ministry of Education: Memorialized and Decided Upon*, respectively (Liu 107)³³. Moreover, opium smoking and foot-binding were discouraged, Manchus and Han were allowed to intermarry, women’s societies and clubs appeared, and novels -including sentimental and political novels- were encouraged. As these changes were perceived to be a consequence of foreign pressure, revolts continued. However, some of the changes introduced by Dowager Empress Cixi continued even after her death in 1911 and the collapse of the Qing dynasty.

The First Republic of China was established in 1912 with Sun Yat-sen as president and Yuan Shikai as Prime Minister. Yuan Shikai started a series of reforms in

³³ For further information on women’s schooling in China from 1840 to 1911, read Xiaoyi Liu’s “The Rise of Women’s Modern Schooling in Late Qing China (1840-1911)” in the *Education Journal* 37. 1-2 (summer-winter 2009): 89-117.

education, health care, sanitation and law, which continued modifying interpersonal and intergenerational relations. Land reforms began, local industries were encouraged, more campaigns against gambling and opium-smoking were launched, kowtowing stopped and Western clothes were accepted. Regarding women’s rights, as Fenby (2009) elucidates, women’s associations boomed, they could elect ten female members of the provincial assembly, foot-binding was penalised and a weekly newspaper was launched with the aim to encourage morality and guard the rights and privileges of womanhood.

Furthermore, a social movement spread among educated urban youth: the New Culture Movement (1915-23), which claimed that the individual was more important than the collective. As a consequence, a debate began regarding opening up the country to the rest of the world, family relations, modern marriage, the status of women and the importance of science and rational thought and of democracy. As Susan Glosser (2003) observes, the members of this movement demanded the free election of spouses and a limitation on family interference in economic matters.

During the following political change known as the Authoritarian Republic of China, or the Nanjin Decade, (1927-37), the nationalist general Chiang Kai-shek ruled the country. He opposed the New Culture Movement and tried to revive Confucian teachings, especially filial piety, duty and obedience. As a counterpoint to the New Culture Movement, the New Life Movement was established. This new movement promoted “order, cleanliness, simplicity, diligence, promptness and precision” based on “*Li* (‘propriety’), *I* (‘right conduct’), *Lien* (‘honesty’) and *Chih* (‘integrity’, ‘honour’)” (Fenby 212). Furthermore, a New Family Law was passed in 1931. According to Dawen Yang (2000), this law introduced certain changes regarding the feudal structure of the family and marriage and it is considered to have constituted the change from imperial to modern times, although these changes did not last long due to the instability of the country.

After the civil war between nationalists and communists, the Japanese invasion of the country, World War II and the resuming of the civil war, the People’s Republic of China was established in 1949 with Mao Zedong as President. As Susan Glosser (2003) notes, the 1950 Marriage Law allowed for freedom of choice in choosing partners, but it was not fully implemented until 1953. The Chinese Communist Party imposed this change in order to reduce familial control over the young members of the family and to increase the state’s influence over individuals. The Party stressed the individual’s participation in the creation of the state, encouraged both husband and wife to have jobs

in the *danwei*³⁴ and to have children only with the state authorisation in order for births to be profitable to the country. As a consequence, women were expected to participate and have a place in the public sphere. In 1965 a Birth Control Office was created which promoted late marriage and two children per couple, but it was not particularly successful.

The Cultural Revolution (1966-69) shook interpersonal and intergenerational relations to the core. As Fenby (2009) points out, the aim of “the greatest revolutionary transformation of society, unprecedented in the history of mankind” was to delete the “‘four olds’—old thoughts, old culture, old customs, old habits” (440). Many students became Red Guards and were allowed to attack those they considered to be in authority. The targets of their fury and terror were not only teachers, parents and politicians, but also former landowners, culture (literature, film, music, etc), nature (“encircle the lakes”, “destroy the pastureland”, “get grain from rocks” (Fenby 459)) and foreign missions and delegates. The Red Guards spread terror, savagery, anarchy, mass killings, individual punishments, induced suicides, humiliations and trials across the state. Thus, the values of filial piety, obedience towards one’s superiors, *ren*, *yi*, *li* and *ti*³⁵ were dismissed.

As a consequence of the terror of the Cultural Revolution, interpersonal relations were changed and the term ‘comrades’ substituted ‘friend’. Thomas Gold recalls Ezra F. Vogel’s explanation stating that ‘friends’ trust each other, can confide, turn for help to each other and “enjoy bonds of personal commitment” (657), while ‘comrades’ are equal under the state, are civil, have a general concern for others, and fight for goals and values bigger than individuals. As a consequence of the fear spread by the Chinese Communist Party with accusations based on private conversations, individuals gathered information about others and refrained from sharing personal information in order to protect both themselves and their friends from possible retaliation in case of turmoil. Besides, as Gold mentions, *danwei* hosted former “colleagues and family members who had betrayed and assaulted one another” (669) and which provided no possibility for outward mobility beyond the confines of the *danwei* itself. Thus, tension was often rife within the *danwei*.

³⁴ The work unit was the main method of organisation and of implementing party policy. Workers were bound to their unit for life, and each *danwei* had its own housing, canteens, clinics, schools, shops, etc. Workers were organised in living quarters and food was consumed in canteens. The life of the workers was monitored and controlled and they needed permission to travel, marry and have a child, for example.

³⁵ See definitions on page 125.

In addition, the effects of the Cultural Revolution on interpersonal relations involved more strategies and feelings than just fear. Gold argues that *guanxi* was still in use and, as a result, relations among friends, acquaintances and relatives became tense. *Guanxi* is defined as “an informal, unofficial relationship utilized to get things done, from simple tasks to major life choices” (Gold 661) and “a power relationship as one’s control over a valued good or access to it gives power over others” (Gold 660). This type of relationship was used as a survival technique for the oppressed. On the one hand, cadres, who were often uneducated peasants, exercised power over others and, as there was constant tension regarding the standards cadres used to evaluate people, those controlled by cadres kept up appearances. On the other hand, young people did not share the same figures of authority as their parents, because Red Guards had stripped parents and teachers, amongst others, of all authority. Thus, young people realised that *guanxi* was an effective way to reach their goals and, in consequence, their relationships with others became a commodity.

The changes introduced by the following leader, Deng Xiaoping (1976-89), which involved modernising agriculture, industry, education and defence between 1978 and 1989, also affected family relationships. These processes improved the economy of the country, raised wages and increased the number of consumer goods. Thus, a consumerist ideology was propagated, which set the “moral bases for the commoditization of relations, something the socialist transformation of the 1950s aimed to eradicate” (Gold 670). Furthermore, Deng Xiaoping continued modifying traditional marriage through the 1980 Marriage Law, which made the free election of one’s partner, monogamy and equal rights for the sexes compulsory, and the 1981 one-child policy. These two laws broke the last ties to tradition with regard to marriage. As a consequence, parents tried to bring up a perfect child who would fulfil all their expectations.

Under Deng Xiaoping’s, Jiang Zemin’s (1989-2002) and Hu Jintao’s (2002-2012) leadership, consumerism became accepted, promoted and considered patriotic. In fact, the People’s Republic of China strengthened its international relations with neighbouring and Western countries and opened the country up to exchange, and trade, boosting its financial system and becoming one of the strongest economies in the world. As Fenby (2009) indicates, in 1994 farmers were allowed thirty-year leases on their land, which increased investment. In addition, in 1998 private housing was permitted, which facilitated the construction of 30 million homes in ten years. Regarding family

relations, two generations of singletons have now been raised. Many of those who live in urban areas are known as ‘the little emperor/empress’ and ‘precious snowflake’, as these children are accused of being overprotected and of not conforming to the traditional concept of filial piety.

4.2. Filial piety, marriage and divorce

In late imperial China, marriage was a fundamental family strategy in order for the family line to perpetuate itself. As such, the election of the bride and groom was made by the older generation, who exercised its power over the husband- and wife-to-be and decided when, how and who to marry, the brideprice, dowry and the financing of the wedding, where the young couple would live and how the new family would earn a living. As Whyte explains,

[w]hich individuals sons and daughters marry may have important consequences for the future prospects not only of those sons and daughters, but also of the larger families in which they grew up. Which partners are chosen and how the wedding is celebrated may affect the social status and links to useful patrons and allies of those involved. And whether particular marriages result in an expansion of an existing family ... or the setting up of an independent household ... may influence the opportunities Chinese have to succeed in the world that confronts them. (Whyte 189)

Thus, for many, marriage was arranged, brides and grooms were not even consulted and, in many cases, they met at the wedding ceremony. The role of the bride was clearly defined: she became part of her husband’s family, she was to stop taking care of her parents to tend to her in-laws, to obey them and to worship her husband’s ancestors. Consequently, daughters were considered less valuable than sons and, sometimes, poor families sold “a daughter into servitude or arranged a daughter’s marriage in order to obtain a dowry, so that they could pay the bride price in an arrangement of marriage for a son” (Engel 956). One must also remember that child betrothal and female infanticide existed and foot-binding was compulsory, especially in northern and central China. Also, women could not divorce nor remarry if they became widows, however, not only could men do quite the opposite, upper class men were allowed to have concubines if they could support them and their children. Hence, gender inequality was customary and women were kept “subjugated, subservient, and dependent” (Engel 959).

During the First Republic of China, the New Culture Movement began a debate regarding family relations, modern marriage, the status of women and the right to choose one’s wife or husband. In 1931 a New Family Law was passed and, as Michael Palmer (1995) observes, two of the novelties introduced were the registration of marriages if they were to be considered valid and the establishment of grounds on which women could seek divorce. Moreover, due to the high number of unregistered couples, *de facto* cohabitation became accepted as another form of valid marriage in 1934.

When the People’s Republic of China was proclaimed in 1949, the revolution aimed at creating “a classless socialist society” (Engel 955). As a consequence, interpersonal relations were bound to change and one of the first laws to modify family behaviour was the 1950 Marriage Law, which established the free election of partners. This alteration became a turning-point as the terms of the former central family strategy were invalidated: not only did youngsters choose their partners and parents lose their control over property and over the decision-making process regarding the jobs their children should take up but the assets of the possible bride and groom were related to their *danwei* instead of their class, family and kinship. On the one hand, the free election of partners and the lack of control over property and jobs diminished the power fathers and elders had and increased the control of the Chinese Communist Party over the individual. On the other hand, as Martin King Whyte (1993) observes, the new main positive features for the bride and groom became the type of *danwei* the candidate lived in; his or her position and rank, whether this position and rank allowed the control or access to resources and opportunities; and the social networks and possible use to solve individual and family needs. As a result, the influence of elders in marriage decisions was severely limited and that of the Chinese Communist Party became exponential as “some of the freedom gained from parents was lost to the bureaucratic gatekeepers of the state (in schools, factories, etc.), individuals who were decidedly not indifferent to when and how young people married” (Whyte 195). In addition, the traditional ceremony was also changed. A certificate was issued as a proof of marriage and many couples who married between the 1950s and 1970s in urban China held “a simple celebration with close friends and work-mates in the work unit, with tea and candy distributed to participants” (Whyte 197).

Besides these changes, as Camille Cook (1986) and John Engel (1984) have pointed out, the 1950 Marriage Law made concubinage and child betrothal illegal and

forbade marriages between immediate family and when one of the parties was “sexually impotent or ... suffered from venereal disease, mental disorder, or leprosy” (Engel 958). It also established a minimum age for the bride (18 years old) and the groom (20 years old) and gave women the right to divorce on two premises: both parties were required to seek it, and, before it was granted, the couple should go through a mediating process. With the 1950 Marriage Law, the feudal marriage system was effectively abolished.

In 1980 a new marriage law was passed. As Cook (1986) and Engel (1984) inform, this law made the free election of partners, monogamy and equal rights for the sexes compulsory. Moreover, a marriage certificate was issued when the following requirements were met: the age limit of the bride and groom was, at least, 20 and 22, respectively; the bride and the groom registered in person in the registration office; they were not blood relatives within the third degree; and they had not been considered unfit for marriage. Engel also notes that, although dowries and bride prices were forbidden, bride prices in rural areas and gifts to the bride’s family in urban areas were still common in 1984.

Although being married implied the obligation to support one another, each partner could manage his or her own affairs. Other changes tried to redress the inequality between men and women and, as a result, women were allowed to remarry, husbands were given the possibility of becoming part of the wife’s family, children had the option of adopting the mother’s surname and husbands, wives, parents, sons and daughters were given the right to inherit property (Cook 70). According to Michael Palmer (1995), in reference to unregistered cohabitation, it was still recognised if the partners and local people considered their bond to be a marriage. Also, the court could recognise a *de facto* relationship as a marriage if its evaluation of the couple was positive. The partners had to prove that they had been together, had a child, were able to fulfil their obligations, some kind of traditional ritual had taken place and they were physically and mentally fit to be married. This recognition was particularly relevant if the couple ever wanted to break up.

Regarding divorce in the 1980 Marriage Law, Cook (1986) shows that in order for the parties to be granted divorce, husband and wife needed to seek it and go through a mediation process. If conciliation failed, the couple had to agree on the payment of debts, the distribution of the property and child custody and support, as the relation between parents and children should not be altered and both parents maintained their obligation of rearing and educating their offspring. However, a petition was not

considered if the husband demanded divorce from his pregnant wife or if she had had a child in the past year, although a woman could seek divorce under these circumstances (Cook 78). Nevertheless, as Michael Palmer (1995) reports, a divorce could be granted if the marriage had been arranged or by purchase, if there had been deception, or if one of the spouses failed to fulfil their obligations, had a mental illness or an illness that would not have allowed the marriage to take place.

Regarding the relation between filial piety and marriage after the economic reforms started by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s, state enterprises remained central in providing most urban population with their basic needs. However, as consumerism and the display of wealth were encouraged, the way a wedding should be celebrated also suffered changes. As Whyte (1993) argues, in order to meet expectations young couples relied not only on their families and kin but also on their social network, which included former classmates, neighbours, friends, co-workers and acquaintances. This change did not diminish the relevance of the dispersed family and kinship. On the contrary, it strengthened the bonds within family members as it provided them with alternatives to confront bureaucracy. As a result, it can be argued that family ties and intergenerational collaboration continued to be pivotal in this period of changes and reforms.

4.3. Filial piety and taking care of the elders

Taking care of one's parents was considered to be a key form of expression of filial piety. As Charlotte Ikels (1993) reveals, this construct affected not only a sense of individuality but also of collectiveness, the private and public spheres and past and future generations. The main reasons to fulfill one's duties towards parents were "a sense of obligation for all that parents had already done for one" (Ikels 308), affection towards them, family reputation, to please ancestors and, consequently, avoid illness or misfortune from happening to the family, and to set a good example for their own children in order to inspire filial piety in them and thus ensure being taken good care of in old age. This last appreciation was stressed by Confucius, who taught: "What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men" (Book 5, chapter 11). As a consequence, filial piety was constructed to seem a natural pattern of behaviour between

children and their parents³⁶. As Cook (1986) and Ikels (1993) mention, while still under imperial rule, sons and daughters-in-law were the members of the family who took care of the parents because, once daughters got married, they were not expected to look after their own family or relatives. Moreover, care of the elderly did not undergo many changes during the first seven decades of the 20th century. However, Deng Xiaoping’s reforms had direct consequences with regard to families.

During the reforms, many women and men were forced to retire in order to give their jobs to young people: both the school-leavers and the ‘sent-down’ youth³⁷ who had returned to urban areas from the countryside. This measure also prevented resistance to the liberalizing policies promoted by Deng Xiaoping from elders, who had lived the creation of the People’s Republic of China. However, as Ikels affirms, many retirees had to continue working in order to supplement their pensions. Sometimes, old people had to choose between living on their own in their neighbourhoods and communities, or moving to new housing with one of their sons, housing which was usually far from medical facilities, shops and markets. These causes, and the fact that sometimes they did not have any pension, made the elderly even more dependent on their sons and daughters-in-law. Furthermore, Zhan and Montgomery (2003) show that the economic reforms had more negative effects on women than on men, both in urban and rural areas. On the one hand, they refer to studies on female elders living in urban areas (Johnson 1983, Stacey 1983 and Wolf 1985) to demonstrate that women tended to work “in temporary jobs or jobs that offered no benefits” (Zhan and Montgomery 212). On the other hand, other studies on female population in rural areas quoted by Zhan and Montgomery (Parish and Busse 2000; Sun 1993 and Xu 1992) expressed that women had worked on less stable jobs than men or without health care benefits.

The 1980 Marriage Law encouraged gender equality and one of its provisions was allowing husbands to become part of the bride’s family. As Cook (1986) and Engel (1984) maintain, this way daughters could give their parents a son who would help and support them in old age. A study conducted by Heying Jenny Zhan and Rhonda J. V. Montgomery between 1997 and 1998 on gender and elder care in China conclude that women spent more time than men providing for elderly care and that daughters and

³⁶ For a discussion on other social constructs concerning moral duty or lack of moral duty in taking care of parents, see Chenyang Li’s article “Shifting Perspectives: Filial Morality Revisited” in *Philosophy East and West* 47.2 (April 1997): 211-232.

³⁷ ‘Sent-down’ youth was the name given to young urbanites sent to mountain or rural areas for re-education during the Cultural Revolution.

daughters-in-law spent almost the same amount of time, that is, daughters now played a larger role in caring for their own elderly parents and relatives. Thus, it can be said that one of the purposes of the 1980 Marriage Law was a success and that it helped to modify the social construct of filial piety. A second finding of this study was that the concept of filial piety remained relevant to the caregivers, who felt the pressure to fulfil *hsiao* from two sources: internal and external. On the one hand, carers felt pressure emanating from internal norms, such as patrilocal norms, which required them to provide financial assistance for parents regardless of the financial resources or difficulties the family may have. On the other hand, caregivers felt the strain to follow external norms, such as social pressure, in having to live up to expectations demanded of children. However, sometimes this responsibility was shared among many siblings, a fact that allowed the main carer to have more free time. Finally, daughter's families and sons tended to provide the same financial assistance.

However, this situation will probably change in the near future for the generation of parents who only had one son or daughter due to the one-child policy. As Zhang Yuanting and Franklin W. Goza (2006) specify, a married couple –especially if they are single children- will be responsible for the care of both sets of parents (and grandparents, if alive) and their own child, that is, of both the older and younger generations. This situation has been labelled the '4:2:1 generation' (Wang and Fong 1139) or 'sandwich generation' (Zhang and Goza 151). As Zhang and Goza remember, life expectancy has increased from 41 years in 1950 to 71 years in 2003 and, if the pattern of population growth continues, the number of Chinese older than 60 in 2040 will be about 400 million. Moreover, the Chinese constitution and the Chinese government clearly state that care of the elders is a family responsibility. Having these concerns in mind, Zhang and Goza conducted a study in 2000 on the problematic of taking care of the elders regarding the 4:2:1 generation. Their conclusions indicate that mostly parents living in urban areas accepted the fact that their child would not be able to take care for two parents and four grandparents. As a consequence, those who were financially able and who mainly resided in urban areas were planning non-traditional strategies to be taken care of in the future. However, for those living in rural areas, old age insurance –which was made available in some areas only in 1991- remained too expensive which forced parents to rely on their offspring to care for them when old. As a result, the financial and physical needs of many elders, living either in urban or rural

areas, may not be met, although the cultural norm of filial piety may continue to influence children with regard to taking care of their elders.

4.4. Filial piety and the one-child policy

The 1980 Marriage Law and the Constitution enhance family planning and couples having only one baby. This one-child policy affects the Han population, not ethnic minorities, and is supported by the government, who provides free contraceptives as well as free sterilization and free abortions. As Cook (1986) explains, the couples who promise to have only one child are rewarded with salary increases and school, health and housing benefits. However, if a couple breaks the promise and has a second child, "the family loses all the benefits", husband and wife have to repay all the benefits and rewards received, are penalised with salary reductions, will not be eligible for work promotion nor subsidies, and will suffer the consequences of social pressure at breaking up external norms. Besides, Ying Wang and Vanessa Fong (2009) and Therese Hesketh, Li Lu and Zhu Wei Xing (2005) state that the policy includes some exceptions when couples are allowed to have a second child without being penalised: when the first child dies or has a disability, when both parents work in high-risk occupations or when they are an only child. Nevertheless, the law is not as effective in rural areas as in cities, because female infanticide reappeared in the countryside. There, as Wang and Fong (2009) and Zhang and Goza (2006) show, couples are allowed to have a second child if they wait for four years between pregnancies and the firstborn is a daughter.

The 1980 Marriage Law and the Constitution also established the duty of parents to educate sons and daughters and of the offspring to take care of their parents. As Cook (1986) and Palmer (1995) denote, the Law also protects illegitimate children, adopted children and step-children and explains the duties and relationships between parents and their children. Legally speaking, fathers of illegitimate children are required to support the child until he or she is self-sufficient, and those of adopted and step-children are to treat them as natural offspring. In addition, Palmer stresses the fact that children and women cannot be kidnapped, abducted, sold or abandoned as these offences are punishable ones carrying a gaol sentence under the 1979 Criminal Law. Also, in the case of the parents' death, grandparents and grandchildren share the duty of taking care of each other, when able, and elder siblings have to take care of their younger brothers

and sisters. As a result, the family structure is reinforced and the state does not assume this “costly burden of caring for dependent family members” (Cook 75).

Unexpectedly, an outcome of the one-child policy has been the overprotection parents and grandparents have given these children. Being an only child, results in parents and grandparents pampering them to such an extent that, according to Moore (2012), the first two generations have received the names of ‘the little emperor/empress’ (as they are considered to be over-pampered) and ‘precious snowflake’ (as they are thought to be over-protected). The ‘little emperor’ syndrome has been described by Jiang Xueqing (2011) as a consequence of the dreadful poverty experienced during the Cultural Revolution by today’s parents, the social phenomena ascribed to the policy and the widespread spiritual crisis. In addition, Wang and Fong (2009) suggest that media reports have stressed “the prevalence of depression and anxiety among Chinese singletons who could not cope with the pressure of being their family’s ‘only hope,’ and crumbled under the daily pressure to succeed” (1139). They also claim that previous studies tried to relate being an only child with undesirable behavioural characteristics, maybe as a consequence of the poor popular acceptance of singletons. However, Wang and Fong mention that studies carried out between 1988 and 1998 (Tseng et al. 1988, Falbo et al. 1989, Yang et al. 1995 and Tao 1998) revealed different findings: singletons reached higher levels of achievement and had less depression, anxiety and fear than those children with brothers or sisters.

A second consequence of the one-child policy is the sex imbalance and the shortage of women it has caused. Mencius stressed the importance of a son’s having his own family by stating that “There are three ways of being unfilial. The worst is to have no heir” (Mencius 4A: 26). As a consequence of the external pressure and the shortage of women, some men have succumbed to the pressure of being unable to marry and have shown socially unaccepted behaviour and mental health problems. As Hesketh, Lu and Xing (2005) show, some men have broken the law and have married women who have been kidnapped and bartered for marriage.

4.5. Filial piety and patriotism

The construct of filial piety is also related to patriotism since serving one’s emperor, king or superior was considered to be a generalization of serving one’s parents. Although this relation predates Confucius, his *Analects* and the text *Hsiao Ching (Book of Filial Piety)*, attributed to Confucius and other Confucian sages, provide

many examples of the relation between filial piety and being obedient to one’s superiors. For example, the second chapter in the first book of the *Analects* says

1. The philosopher Yu said, ‘They are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion. 2. The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission!— are they not the root of all benevolent actions?’

(*Analects*. Book 1. Chapter 2)

Thus, from the beginning of the *Analects*, filial piety is related to people beyond the family sphere. As a consequence of this relation, a virtual identity was constructed “between devotion to parents and loyalty to the emperor” (Nylan 4) and the virtue of filial piety became a prerequisite for noble public office.

As Donald Holzman indicates, the *Hsiao Ching* is divided into eighteen short chapters devoted to the virtue of filial piety: within the family and in society. The book is structured into two halves. Chapters 1 to 9 include an introduction, a description of filial piety as it should be observed by the emperor, feudal princes, high officers, the literary class and common people together with a description of filial piety as “the basis for cosmic human activity” (Holzman 192). Chapters 10 to 18 deal in greater detail with the ideas and behaviour described in the first half of the book. Chapter 9 is the longest chapter and comments on how parents received filial piety from their sons when alive, but also when deceased, as they were worshipped together with other ancestors. Regarding piety in society, chapter 1 relates piety in the family to piety in society: “the first duty of a son is to pay a careful attention to every want of his parents. The next is to serve his government loyally; and the last to establish a good name for himself”. Thus, being filial became a requirement to grow up to be a good bureaucrat, because if a son did not love or respect his parents, he was rebelling against virtue and, consequently, he would not be a good example for the public. In chapter 9, Confucius adds: “We must treat our parents with the same reverence as is shown to our sovereign, because we receive boundless kindness from them and are under a natural obligation to do so”. Thus, the relation between devotion to one’s parents, loyalty to one’s emperor and obedience to one’s rulers was clearly defined.

The *Hsiao Ching* argues that there were at least three reasons for the natural translation of filial piety “into faithful service to one’s lord”. On the one hand, if all

individuals were filial, citizens would follow the same patterns, so “the personal becomes the political”, the norm. On the other hand, filial piety helped individuals to distinguish between right and wrong, thus, individuals would not do wrong deeds and there would be no offences nor crimes. Finally, filial piety was an example of the disposition and actions of a man, which could be extrapolated to his behaviour as ruler of a state.

Besides the *Hsiao Ching*, other books, such as the *Han-shih wai-chuan* (fl³⁸. 150 B.C) or the *Li chi* (200 B.C.), discussed devotion to family and to the state. As Michael Nylan (1996) reasons, during the period comprised between 206 B.C. and A.D. 9 (mid-Western Han times), the relation between filial piety and political loyalty had been effectively constructed. Confucianism was adopted as the state ideology in 136 B.C. and candidates for public office were expected to prove their possession of the virtues of *hsiao* and of *jang*, that is, “‘courteous deference’ in a purely social situation, the ‘renunciation’ of certain benefits within the family or village circle, or even the ‘abdication’ of the throne” (Nylan 5). Besides being considered filial, candidates aspiring to be part of the public service should have memorised the *Hsiao Ching*. On top of that, in order to encourage respect towards the elderly and promote *hsiao* and *jang*, awards were given to the aged and to young men who stood out because of these virtues. As Holzman (1998) indicates, during Eastern Han times (A.D. 25-220), public memorial shrines to honour deceased parents became profuse. In 134 B.C., the government conceived a title which would allow a man of humble origins to enter the ruling class: ‘Filial and Honest’. Similarly, sons whose filial behaviour made them exceptional also received presents for themselves or for their aged parents from the emperor. The construct of filial piety also appeared in stories and anecdotes of later times, such as the *Hou Hanshu*, which is thought to have been written during the third century. This text includes many examples of filial piety to fathers, mothers, parents-in-law, brothers and husbands, and rewards given to people for their actions, thus, intensifying patriotism and loyalty to the rulers. From the above, we can see that the relation between filial piety and patriotism has effectively been constructed over a period of more than eighteen centuries.

³⁸ This book received widespread attention in the year 150 B.C.

4.6. Filial piety and migration

According to Confucius, emigrating and leaving one’s parents behind was not filial because it created parental anxiety as they worried about the safety and health of their child. In the *Analects*, Confucius said: “While his parents are alive, the son may not go abroad to a distance. If he goes abroad, he must have a fixed place to which he goes” (Book IV, chapter 19). Sung Kyu-Taik observes (1995) that sons were expected to fulfil the wishes of their father, continue the culture of the family, provide an heir and improve the future of the family. In that way, a son’s obligations lasted all his life and involved past, present and future members of his family.

The last two centuries, however, have seen an “unprecedented number of Han Chinese [leave] their homes and [emigrate] to other lands” (Liu et al. 213). As a consequence, the construct of filial piety has had to adapt to new circumstances, but how has the concept been modified?

According to James H. Liu, Sik Hung Ng, Ann Weatherall and Cynthia Loong (2000), three types of Confucianism exist: spiritual, politicized and popular. The first involves the study of the principles and morals of Confucianism. The second concerns the ideology and power relations implicit in Confucianism. The third type consists of the popular understanding of Confucianism, that is, the traditional patterns of behaviour attributed to it. Therefore, the type of Confucianism that more frequently emerges in a study of a Chinese emigrant community is the third type.

Sung develops the idea that filial piety has two dimensions: one implying the behaviour of the son and daughter, and the other, their emotions. On the one hand, behaviourally-oriented filial piety is measured by “sacrifice, responsibility, and repayment”, while, on the other, emotionally-oriented filial piety is assessed by “harmony, love and affection, and respect” (Sung 245). This way, the concept Confucius preached, involving the care of one’s parents and the attitude of reverence towards them, is achieved. To quote from the *Analects* again, the Master said: “The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one’s parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support; without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?” (Book II, chapter 7). Obviously, when migrants leave their parents behind, they cannot fulfil all the demands imposed on them so other procedures are followed.

A study of college students and senior high school students in Taiwan in 2003 examined whether the ideology of filial piety was beneficial or harmful to personal development. The researchers, Kuang-Hui Yeh and Olwen Bedford, focused on two aspects: reciprocity and authoritarianism. Reciprocal filial piety was related to the gratitude a child felt towards one’s parents for their efforts in having raised them and implied the care of their needs when old and their worship when dead. Authoritarian filial piety focused on the repression of one’s wishes, feelings and ideas in order to obey and fulfil one’s parent’s wishes, to produce an heir, to maintain the family’s reputation and to comply with the requirements of their role in the family and among their kin. The study concluded that authoritarian filial piety was losing its relevance in modern Chinese societies and that reciprocal filial piety continued to be supported. An explanation for this outcome may be that reciprocal filial piety promotes good family relations and does not conflict with egalitarianism and democracy, while authoritarian filial piety clashes with both. Thus, some of the changes that migrant families incorporate into the construct of filial piety may also appear in non-migrant families.

Chinese emigrants need to reconcile the cultural differences between their country of origin and their adopted country and filial piety is one of the key constructs to be questioned and solved, as it is the main code of behaviour and the basis of interpersonal relations. As Lieber et al (2000) observes, in the discipline of psychology, two main terms are used when analysing an immigrant’s adaptation, which focus on their personal perception with regard to his or her reference group: acculturation and ethnic identity. The first concept focuses on the process of adaptation to the new sociocultural context, during which the migrant does not reflect much on his or her identity and it can be described as the changes an individual undergoes “as a result of contact and interaction with another distinct culture” (Lieber et al. 248). Ethnic identity implies a reflection on the concept of self and is defined as “the degree to which one views himself or herself as a socioemotional member of one’s country of origin” (Lieber et al. 248). Additionally, Lieber et al develop two differing arguments concerning the use of the terms. On the one hand, one view, followed by Gargi Roysircar-Sodowsky and Michael Maestas (2000), contend that first-generation migrants face the challenges of acculturation while the second- and successive generations those of constructing an ethnic identity. On the other hand, another view, defended by John Berry (1989), Jane Phinney 1990 and D. W. Sue et al. (1998), understands acculturation as a move towards the mainstream culture and ethnic identity

as a move towards one's ethnic heritage. That is, the first view relates acculturation and ethnic identity to first- and second-generations of migrants, respectively, while the second view does not relate these terms to any generation of migrants, but defines them as a person's relation with a second culture.

According to Berry et al. (1987 and 1989), there are four forms of acculturation: bicultural or integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized. The first term applies to individuals who are both highly acculturated and have a strong ethnic identity. The second involves those who have acculturated into the mainstream culture but at the expense of their ethnic identity. The third concerns those individuals who preserve a strong ethnic identity and who do not acculturate. Finally, the fourth form relates to those who have not acculturated and who do not have a strong ethnic identity.

These terms appear in a number of studies on the relationship between filial piety and migrants' lives in the host country. The outcomes of five studies (Mak and Chan 1995, Martin 1997, Liu et al. 2000, Lieber et al. 2001 and Lieber, Nihira and Mink 2004) reveal that the construct of filial piety is relevant for Chinese migrants in their adopted countries, that filial piety helps migrants adapt and overcome the vicissitudes they face, that filial piety strengthens intergenerational relations and that filial piety is not a static concept but the way parents tackle it and enforce it depend on the sociocultural context they live in.

The first study was conducted by Anita Mak and Helen Chan, who investigated whether family values were maintained by migrants of Chinese ancestry in Australia in 1995. Their study focused on families from Hong-Kong who had been living in the country for less than 15 years. Their work included questions regarding family structure and the maintenance of traditional values.

They concluded that the family structure had been adapted to Australia while maintaining some of the trends of urban Chinese societies: although grandparents used to live with their sons or daughters in the same house, adult siblings with offspring lived in different houses. Moreover, as the one-child policy was not in force in Australia, many families had more than one child, or had babies until they had a son. However, for financial reasons, sometimes one or both parents worked in Hong Kong or Taiwan while the rest of the family lived in Australia. Regarding traditional values, a study of 237 Chinese senior students in Melbourne conducted by Chan in 1987 found that 79% of the students felt that filial piety was either important or very important to them. Moreover, interviews with 14 Chinese Australian families from Hong Kong living in

Melbourne concluded that parents perceived they had to negotiate with their offspring and change some basic Chinese principles although “the values of filial piety, respect for authority, harmony within the family and achieving security and prosperity were important” (Mak and Chan 88). The parents interviewed expected love, respect, emotional support and care from their children when old, but not financial or material support.

The second study, conducted in Melbourne by Jennifer Martin in 1997, aimed to understand the experiences of Chinese migrants in Australia and how Chinese culture influenced their daily lives. The participants were migrants and refugees from Cambodia, Hong Kong, Malaysia and the People’s Republic of China. Although the analysis does not organise the responses according to the level of acculturation and ethnic identity, the answers provided by the participants denote high or low levels of acculturation and strong or weak ethnic identities. Despite the fact that this was exploratory research, a further and deeper analysis of the data collected would have been valuable to assess the acculturation of Chinese migrants and the role of the construct of filial piety in their adaptation.

One of the aspects of this study was the practices of Chinese culture in Australia. All groups spoke a Chinese language at home, ate Chinese food, mixed socially with other Chinese people, sent their children to Chinese schools, married within the Chinese community and followed Chinese festivals, celebrations and entertainment, including media and music. Regarding their quality of life in Australia, migrants from Cambodia, Hong Kong and Malaysia considered that their quality of life had improved. But most Chinese respondents considered life in Australia harder than in China because their qualifications had not been recognised (although they had been considered valid for visa purposes) and they were unable to find suitable work. As a consequence, they were working as labourers, which meant reduced income, living standards and social status. Intergenerational relations were also considered and family relations and respect for elders were especially relevant for all four groups. Moreover, the older generation followed more traditional practices and beliefs than young people. For example, low obedience professed to elders was raised by a person from Hong Kong as a problem, who claimed that children stated their own opinion.

This exploratory research emphasised the heterogeneity within Chinese communities in Melbourne and revealed some of the difficulties they encountered, their perception of their lives in Australia and the importance of filial piety for them.

James H. Liu, Sik Hung Ng, Ann Weatherall and Cynthia Loong (Liu et al. 2000) looked into the connection between filial piety and acculturation in New Zealand. They focused on households with one or two middle-aged parents (aged between 35-55) and one or more children (between 10-25 years old). The participants had been born in Hong Kong, Malaysia, New Zealand, the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan or somewhere else. One of the outcomes of the study confirmed that the young felt more pressure than their parents from the elderly family members with regard to following the construct of filial piety. Another analysis of the data related the four types of acculturation and filial piety and concluded that assimilated and separated individuals shared the same feelings towards the construct of filial piety; but bicultural individuals felt this construct in a different way to assimilated, separated or marginalised individuals. A third result showed that the obligation to respect and maintain contact with the elderly members of the family was more related to a New Zealand identity, while financial assistance to and pleasing the elders was more related to a Chinese identity.

This study concluded that the concept of filial piety enjoyed widespread support among New Zealand Chinese. Moreover, the expectations for filial piety from elderly Chinese correlated with the feeling of obligation felt by participants, both parents and children. In addition, the construct of filial piety was present in first- and second-generation Chinese migrants in New Zealand, and it strengthened both Chinese and New Zealand identities and supported “positive intergenerational conversational experiences” (Liu et al. 222).

Another study conducted by Eli Lieber, Dorothy Chin, Kazuo Nihira and Iris Tan Mink (Lieber et al. 2001) aimed at analysing Chinese identity and acculturation in the USA and the quality of life perceived by the migrants. Their results proved that bicultural individuals perceived migration as a positive new opportunity for personal growth. Moreover, assimilated individuals expressed some detachment from their native culture and a straightforward and understanding approach to the challenges of migration, which they considered manageable. Additionally, separated individuals felt difficulties in adjusting to the new lifestyle and culture, but used compartmentalization as a strategy. Likewise, marginalized individuals appeared to articulate their inability or unwillingness to reconcile themselves to the cultural differences but they also expressed negative emotions and a feeling of futility.

This study concluded that, when analysing the adaptation of Chinese migrants, both the maintenance of Chinese identity (philosophy, religion, values and family roots, for example) and acculturation to the new country were relevant in the migrants' perception of quality of life. This is why the researchers advocated for immigrant parents to maintain their ethnic identity and help their children to do so as this would enable them to face the problems related to acculturation. They also considered that "those in the helping professions should be familiar with and cognizant of acculturation issues to support the development of biculturalism" (Lieber et al. 259). Then, it can be said that the construct of filial piety can help migrants in their adaptation process.

In 2004, Lieber, Nihira and Mink examined the perceptions "Chinese immigrant parents had of filial piety in the USA. This study, built on the findings of their previous research (Lieber et al. 2001), aimed to "identify and understand the frustrations parents experience and the expectations and hopes they have for themselves as parents and for their children's socialization with regard to filial values" (Lieber, Nihira and Mink 328). The authors analysed the six aspects of filial piety: caring, achievement and excellence, work ethic, responsibility, obedience and respect.

Regarding caring for others, many parents were concerned with the self-centredness, individualism and self-promotion of their children and considered them to show lower levels of taking responsibility for and capability of caring for others than those they expected. Despite the fact that parents considered that many of these problems were caused by the influence of American education and culture, parents believed that they were themselves responsible for teaching and instilling this pattern of behaviour and attitude into their children.

Concerning achievement and excellence, work ethic and responsibility, parents were often disappointed and frustrated with the low level of motivation, ambition and determination of their children as they were seen as taking the easy way out of challenges instead of trying to excel. Moreover, parents were concerned by their children's expectations of being provided for without thinking of providing for their parents when old.

With regards to obedience, parents faced a marked difference between the upbringing of their children and their own, because their children demanded explanations and negotiation before obeying them. Parents considered this was caused by the influence American culture had on their children and felt that "U.S. children were more independent, individualistic, and self-centered and, thus, more resistant to parental

guidance” (Lieber, Nihira and Mink 338). Parents participated in discussions, provided explanations, tried not to pressure for complete obedience and to negotiate positions, although they insisted on being obeyed “when it came to certain important circumstances and principles of life” (Lieber, Nihira and Mink 338).

With reference to respect for elders and authority, parents noted that their children seemed to understand the concept and the patterns of behaviour it implied, although their offspring did not always act as they expected. Moreover, fathers and mothers “faced the dilemma of teaching children to respect elders and authorities (e.g. teachers) even though these elders and authorities did not work to guide the children in ways consistent with parents’ expectations and goals” (Lieber, Nihira and Mink 340).

This study showed that filial piety was considered central to the interaction between parents and their children and that parents adapted this construct to their migrant context in order to help their children develop their identities. Thus, the construct of filial piety, with its six aspects of caring, achievement and excellence, work ethic, responsibility, obedience and respect, helps migrants in their adaptation process, although this construct is by no means static but rather in constant evolution.

Conclusion

Filial piety, or *hsiao*, is a broad construct encompassing interpersonal and intergenerational relations. One of the Five Classics, pillars of Chinese culture, is devoted to this concept: the *Hsiao Ching*, or *Book of Filial Piety*. The other four classics are the *Shu Ching* (*Book of Historical Records*), the *Shih Ching* (*Book of Odes*), the *I Ching* (*Book of Changes*) and the *Li Ki* (*Book of Rites*). Besides these books, the Confucian canon is also central to Chinese culture. This canon is formed by *The Analects*, Mencius’ teachings, *Ta Hsueh* (*The Great Learning*) and *Chung Yung* (*The Doctrine of the Mean*). All these books explain the patterns of behaviour a person should follow and, in particular, the behaviour and attitude towards their parents (dead or alive), their ancestors and their rulers.

The concept of filial piety implies sacrifice, responsibility, love, affection, respect, obedience, taking care of one’s parents, living up to parents expectations and doing everything possible to repay one’s parents for the gift of life and for having reared one. As Sung explains, “a filial child upholds his responsibility to his family,

harmonizes relations between generations, carries out the wishes of his father, worships ancestors, and visits the rural home for an extended family gathering” (Sung 246) in order to create harmony. Filial piety has ruled the lives and expectations of thousands of generations of Chinese men and women, especially in relation to marriage, care of the elders, raising children, migration and obedience to superiors. However, the turbulent 20th century modified some aspects of this construct.

Regarding marriage, the care of elders and raising children, the changes were implemented by the Constitution, the 1950 Marriage Law and the 1980 Marriage Law. These regulations enforced equality between sexes and the one-child policy causing changes that altered the society not only in the People’s Republic of China, but also among those who emigrated. In fact, as the study by Mak and Chan has shown, Chinese migrants take the opportunity to have more than one child when they live abroad, as this regulation is not considered valid for *huaqiao*, or overseas Chinese³⁹. In addition, the construct of filial piety is modified by migrant families as, generally, parents negotiate rules and patterns of behaviour with their children and accept their independence and opinion, although they try to pass on Chinese culture (including language, food and traditions) together with the central aspects of filial piety (caring, achievement and excellence, work ethic, responsibility, obedience and respect). Besides, holding to their cultural roots is a technique used by many migrants during their process of acculturation and the development of their ethnic identities.

In spite of all the social changes experienced during the 20th century, the construct of filial piety remains pivotal to Chinese culture in China and abroad. Why have certain traditional patterns of behaviour survived all the changes? Thomas Gold gives three reasons:

First, the Communist regime has yet to sustain one consistent set of values and exemplars to replace those handed down over the centuries. Second, it has not provided a material base to support the socialist values it touts. Third, the extreme and sustained breakdown in social order from the [Cultural Revolution] recreated the conditions that gave birth to many of

³⁹ For further understanding regarding different terms used to refer to Chinese migrants (*huaqiao*, *huashang*, *huagong*, *huayi*, *loudi shengen*) or a redefinition of their identity as hybrid, go to Wang Gungwu’s *China and the Chinese Overseas*. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1991, Wang Gungwu’s “The Origins of Hua-ch’iao” in *Community and Nation: China, Southeast Asia and Australia*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992, Wang Ling-chi’s “Roots and Changing Identity of the Chinese in the US” in *Daedalus* 120.4: 181-206, and Ien Ang’s *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West*, London: Routledge, 2001.

China’s fundamental behavioural norms back in the days of Confucius, and that have recurred frequently since. The old patterns, never eradicated, re-emerge strongly under such chaotic conditions and prove how functional they are for muddling through unless mobilized towards a particular goal. As long as nothing viable has appeared to supplant them, they will not go away. (Gold 674)

That is, the Confucian set of values is so embedded in the culture that it may change some aspects and adapt to circumstances, but filial piety will remain fundamental to the construct of ‘Chineseness’⁴⁰ unless a philosophy as developed as Confucianism supplants it.

⁴⁰ ‘Chineseness’, as well as ‘Greekness’, refers to the question of ethnicity bound to nationality. This term is widely used in discussions dealing with ethnic identity and migration. For more information on the construct of Chinese identity related to migration, read, for example, Ien Ang, Sharon Chalmers, Lisa Law and Mandy Thomas’ (eds) *Alter/Asians. Asian-Australian identities in art, media and popular culture*. Annandale: Pluto Press, 2000; Ien Ang’s *On Not Speaking Chinese: living between Asia and the West*, London: Routledge, 2001; or, Robyn Hartley’s (ed) *Families and cultural diversity in Australia*, St Leonards: Allen&Unwin in association with the Australian Institute of Family Studies, 1995, which includes information on Chinese and Greek families in Australia.

5. Identity, migration and intercultural relations in Australia

I am not me
the lithe daughter
the pampered daughter
who left her mother's embrace
adored a thousand times over.

Maria Leonti-Atsikbasi. "I am not Me." 30.

You have walked for a long time in the territory of the heart
hovering around the edge and dreaming of the freedom on the other shore
your reality is iron bars
the shadows of the sun ten thousand miles away perhaps not joined
(...)
wherever you go it comes back to you
you are yourself and the loss of you

Ouyang Yu "The Wanderer." 22.

A person's identity is not static and that of a migrant may undergo even more changes than that of someone who lives in their home country all their lives. George Lamming says that "to be an exile is to be alive" (12), one of its implications being that the exiled person has to go through a process of understanding and learning the way the new country functions (its social relations, maybe its language, its political, educational, economic, social and cultural systems, the expected rights and duties, etc). The process of migration can be both exhausting and exhilarating, depending on many personal and contextual circumstances. The learning process forces the exiled not to take anything for granted and, thus, to feel alive, curious about, interested in and critical of their new life and country. If the exiled person left the home country because of the difficulties to survive (famine, drought or flood, war, persecution, poverty, etc), the host country is meant to offer security and the fulfilment of basic needs, such as housing, work, and health. Consequently, being an exile is a reminder of the possibilities of being alive.

In her poem "I am not Me", Greek-Australian author Maria Leonti-Atsikbasi recalls her mother's embrace and the connotations of intimacy, love, safety, care and

warmth embedded both in the embrace and at home, where she was taken care of and pampered. In the new country, however, the persona has many battles to fight on a daily basis and she does not have her mother’s reassurance as they are living apart. These past memories cause nostalgia and the persona compares her past life to that she is leading now. The differences between the two are so vast that she does not recognise her present self in her former one.

The personal and contextual conditions have also affected the persona in the second poem, authored by Chinese Australian academic and poet Ouyang Yu. The persona is living a life between two worlds; consequently, s/he is not fully living in either of them. Due to this circumstance, some characteristics of her/his personality are highlighted in each culture and the persona feels this dichotomy as “yourself and the loss of you” as s/he seems to be a different person in each place. The persona can be either someone considering migrating or a migrant recalling her/his home country. On the one hand, the words “dreaming of the freedom on the other shore” can be understood as the freedom implicit when starting a new life and pursuing one’s dreams. On the other, they can refer to the freedom of belonging, of feeling at ‘home’, that is, as von Herder says, where “people [understand] what you say without having to embark on explanations, that your gestures, words, all that enters into communications, is grasped, without mediation by members of your society” (qtd. in D’Cruz and Steele 174). “You and the loss of you” and “I am not me” are two examples expressing some blurred feelings and thoughts on the personas’ identities which have been affected by migration.

Some of the fundamental factors that constitute a person’s identity are gender, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, religion/spirituality, age, language/s spoken and belonging. As these aspects are explored in Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian literature and will be analysed in the corpus included in following chapters, this section introduces a theoretical approach to identity. This chapter is divided into five sections: social class, ethnicity and gender; sexuality; religion; language/s spoken; belonging and the ethics of location; and identity. This last subsection explores the construct of identity using different theories (Madan Sarup’s identity theory, Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum and Manuel Castells’ network society) and includes an analysis of Greek, Chinese and Australian cultures according to D’Cruz and Steele’s theory.

5.1. Class, ethnicity and gender

Social class, ethnicity and gender are three decisive factors shaping a person's identity, and even more so a migrant's life. The job that a migrant is allowed to do determines the social class this person will be part of. The generalisation that migrants from a specific ethnicity are part of the same social class is inaccurate, as there are different social classes amongst members of the same ethnicity. As Gillian Bottomley (1992) says, "class, gender and ethnicity are always culturally and socially constructed within specific contexts" (131).

The Greek migrants who lived in Australia before World War II were mainly traders and business owners, while most Chinese were gold-diggers, cooks or traders. They had these jobs due to the difficulties they faced: they were non-Anglophone, with a different religion, food and traditions and did not participate in unions.

In the case of Greek migration, the social marginalisation they suffered caused the strengthening of their internal social and cultural bonds. This provoked the continuity of "patriarchal dominance allowing for the control and exploitation of women's labour, the extended nature of family relationships, and the mechanics of chain migration-each of which ensured for Greek shopowners a plentiful supply of compliant labour" (Kakakios and van der Velden 147).

Regarding Chinese migration, due to the travel restrictions and the difficulty involved in bringing out relatives, many married outside the community and had difficulties in maintaining their language and culture. Also, Chinese media nearly disappeared and for many the links with China were almost non-existent. As they were legally or socially excluded from some jobs, Chinese mainly worked in catering, storekeeping or, for some decades, in the banana trade. However, as James Jupp (1998) recalls, by 1947 "Chinese clubs still existed" and "there were still small Chinatowns in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth and many individual Chinese families in provincial areas running shops or cafés"(78).

When Australia increased migration from countries other than Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, migrants were encouraged to work in blue-collar jobs. In fact, those migrants who arrived through assisted migration programs were bound to work for the government for two years. Consequently, many worked in engineering projects, such as the Snowy Mountain Hydro-Electric Scheme, which employed more than 100,000 workers –mainly migrant men- between 1949 and 1974. Also, most migrants of

Chinese origin who entered Australia between the 1970s and early 1980s were boat people seeking asylum and got working class jobs (Stratton 221).

Nevertheless, those Chinese migrants who entered Australia after 1989 held middle class positions, as they were mainly business people or skilled workers. In the case of international students, once their studies were finished, many tried to find a job in skilled professions, but meanwhile, some had to work in unskilled jobs in order to pay for their studies or their living expenses.

It can be argued that after World War II there are two defined periods which shape the social class most Greek and Chinese migrants are part of. From 1945 to 1972, most Greek migrants get working class jobs and, for political reasons⁴¹, there is hardly any Chinese migration to Australia. From 1972 to nowadays there is limited Greek migration to Australia and most Chinese migrants work in middle class or ruling class jobs, except for the refugees and asylum seekers, who perform working class jobs, when allowed to work. The subsequent pages develop these two periods. Following Val Colic-Peisker (2009) naming of migrants who work in middle class jobs from the 1970s as the “multicultural middle class”⁴², it is pertinent to call migrants who worked in working class jobs during the first period “multicultural working class”. As argued before, not all migrants of a specific ethnicity belong to the same social class. Thus, these two names refer to two trends experienced by the majority of migrants.

5.1.1. Multicultural working class

After World War II, Australia decided to relax its White Australia policy and open the country to migrants in order to increase its population of 7 million inhabitants and be able to defend itself in case of need, but also to “provide adequate labour reserves for the expansion of Australian capitalism” (Collins 5). In fact, between 1947 and 1961, migrants took over 80% and 50% of the new jobs designed for male and female workers, respectively (Collins 5).

Consequently, social classes in Australia underwent changes. Collins (1984) argues that there are four social classes: the ruling class, the ‘old’ middle class, the

⁴¹ For more information on these reasons, please read pages 51 to 59 and the annex.

⁴² Colic-Peisker differentiates between “multicultural middle class” and Jakubowicz’s term “ethnic middle class”. The latter makes reference to the leadership that appeared in ethnic communities and which was fundamental “in forming ethnic cultural, welfare and lobby organisations... that gathered around cultural or business interests and sought ethno-specific funding from the government” (Colic-Peisker 13).

‘new’ middle class and the working class. The ruling class “comprises those in the private and public sectors who either own or control the means of production and who thereby have a relationship of dominance over the labour of those who are employed by them” (Collins 9), that is, owners, senior executives, managers of corporate capital and small entrepreneurs on the periphery. The ‘old’ middle class or petite bourgeoisie includes those who are “self-employed and do not employ wage labour” (Collins 9). The ‘new’ middle class “control[s] and direct[s] the labour of others but are themselves controlled and directed from above, that is from the ruling class in the public and/or private sectors” (Collins 9), such as teachers, social workers, nurses, supervisors, foremen, etc. The fourth group is the working class, formed by “those workers who, in white-collar or blue-collar work, neither own nor control the means of production but who work under the direction of those who do –or under their appointed representatives in the workplace” (Collins 9).

Despite the fact that non-British migrants represented only 3% of the population in 1947 (Collins 15, Jupp 1998: 192), “these settlers ... were disproportionately [a] ruling class” (Collins 15). According to the census data from 1947 to 1976, “*all* foreign-born groups formerly *had* a greater representation in this category than did the Australian born” (Collins 15)⁴³. In 1947, more than half of the Greeks and Chinese living in Australia were either employers or self-employed, that is, they belonged either to the ruling or the ‘old’ middle class. This provided a stability that allowed Greeks to settle permanently in the country. However, by 1976, the number of Greek employers and self-employed had been reduced to approximately 15%, as most recent Greek migrants worked in factories. Nevertheless, the number of Australian-born self-employed still did not reach 10%.

In the 1971 census, the ‘new’ middle class was mainly formed by Australian-born women, followed by Australian-born men, and then Anglophone or Northern Europeans. Greek migrants represented only 0.9% of the female and 1.1% of the male workforce (Collins 20). This may be due to the fact that often the qualifications of the migrants were not recognised or they had to work in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs until their qualifications were considered valid.

Regarding the working class, this was the largest group. Collins (1984) argues that its members were clearly differentiated into four subclasses due to gender and

⁴³ Emphasis in the original.

country of origin. This created the following hierarchy: on top, Australian-born and Anglophone male migrants, who worked in the best positions, with higher wages, better prospects for promotion and career opportunities. They were followed by non-Anglophone migrant males, who worked in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in the manufacturing, building and construction sectors, with lower salaries and fewer promotion and career opportunities. In the third place, there were the Australian-born and Anglophone women, who tended to work in the tertiary sector in what were considered to be "women's jobs" (Collins 12). Their working conditions were more comfortable and cleaner than those of non-Anglophone migrant women, who formed the fourth group. The salaries of Australian-born and Anglophone women were higher than those of non-Anglophone migrant women but inferior to those of male workers. Women in the fourth group worked in the most repetitive tasks, often in the clothing, footwear and textile industries. They had few promotion possibilities and their salaries were the lowest of the four segments. The fact that Anglophone and non-Anglophone female and male workers occupied different positions in the working class and usually had different jobs, working conditions and salaries were a consequence of post-war immigration and, as there was little interaction between groups, these divisions remained (Collins 13). Conflicts among members of these four groups were not frequent as they rarely worked together.

The position of women in the labour force has been explored by authors, such as Gillian Bottomley (1981) and Jeannie Martin (1984). Martin claims that most post-World War II non-English speaking migrant women arrived in Australia as dependents of a male migrant, that is, mainly as a wife or daughter, sometimes as sister, mother or cousin. This meant that women "were to provide the emotional anchorage for settler migration schemes, by marrying their male compatriots and bearing their children, thereby securing appropriate nuclear family units for consumption and labour force reproduction" (Martin 1984: 112). Before World War II, most of the migrant population was male and the local population was not having as many children as the government desired. Consequently, women, and also families with children, were encouraged to migrate to Australia.

By 1961 almost 40% of migrant women were working, by 1970 the figure increased to 50% and by 1980 it reached 85%. Married migrant women also needed to work. In 1966 the number of married migrant women was 30% and in 1973 it reached 44% (Martin 1984: 112). They tended to work in factories, that is, in jobs with low

status and low salaries. In fact, by 1976, 40% of women working in blue-collar jobs were from countries such as Greece, Spain, Italy, Malta, the Middle East, Latin America and South East Asia (Martin 1984: 113).

Combining parenthood and working was never easy, even less if parents happen to be migrants and do not have much support. In fact, some migrant women were made to feel that they were not good mothers because they had to work and could not spend all their time with their children. There were some writers, such as Alan Stoller (1966), who even defended that "some immigrant mothers need education to stay with their children of younger age ... working immigrant mothers should be encouraged, to stay with young children as far as possible" (Stoller 1966: 6-7 in Martin 1984: 114). This was a very paternalistic and patriarchal attitude, which made the nuclear family with the bread-winner father as the ideal family to aspire towards. Stoller and those who defended this view did not consider that some families could not do without another salary, that some women wanted to have a job as a means to socialise or even, as Martin (1984) says, that many "non English-speaking women in Australia [came] from countries where the wife was expected to make a contribution to the domestic economy through some form of paid work" (116). They were made to feel inadequate as they could not be either the 'perfect' wife or mother or the 'perfect' worker, because they were not indispensable in their jobs.

Also, many women lacked community and union support and the idea of leaving the children in surrogate care was seen as negative and selfish. Those families who were keen on bringing kin members to Australia were confronted by certain difficulties as assisted migration was given only to immediate dependents, and other relatives and sponsored migrants needed a document called "Assurance of Support" (Martin 1984: 117). As a consequence, many women did not enjoy the family network and support they would have had in their home countries. Thus, they had to rely on the support of community centres, where other migrants and/or women could help them.

The stress and fatigue caused by the exhausting jobs, the family duties, the demanding expectations of other social groups on them, the lack of kin support and the sometimes limited level of English caused anxiety in many migrant women. As Martin (1984) recalls, many felt that they were forced to choose between two forms of sexual oppression: the 'Australian' family as the ideal to be reached, or the idealization of family organization and family relations in their country of origin.

5.1.2. Multicultural middle class

As years went by and the second-generation migrants finished school, many achieved tertiary education and secured jobs in professions considered to be middle class. Hence the appearance of a "multicultural middle class", as Val Colic-Peisker (2009) claims. As a result, diversity within ethnic communities continues to increase because of class mobility, and also because of marriages outside the ethnic group, which in 2007 represented 30% of all marriages in Australia (ABS 2008). Besides second-generation migrants, the multicultural middle class is formed by first-generation migrants who arrive as skilled migrants or as students of higher education. In fact, due to the upward mobility of second-class migrants and the arrival of skilled migrants, in 1996, 34% of Chinese migrants and 29% of Greek migrants in Australia had high status occupations (managers and administrators, professionals or associate professionals), which means that they belonged to the ruling or the middle class (Jayasuriya and Kee 60).

During the 1970s, approximately 7000 multinational corporate executives entered Australia every year "either as permanent settlers or on temporary visas" (Collins 17). In November 1976, the Fraser government introduced the Business Migration Programme, which is still active and it aims to facilitate the entry of migrants who will become part of the internationalized Australian ruling class. Some of the targeted migrants are immigrants from Asian backgrounds: "Indian, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, Singaporean, Malaysian, Hong Kong, and to a lesser extent Filipino, Korean, Taiwanese and mainland Chinese", who, in many cases, "have higher educational qualifications than the Australian average and higher incomes" (Jupp 2003: 35).

In 1996, the 457 visa was established as a means to attract skilled labour to Australia. This type of visa allows the employer to find a suitable employee to work in a specialised job for a period of four years, renewable, and while there is demand. The visa holder can work for different employers and, thus, live in Australia for many years. However, the 457 visa does not provide right to health care (only to those from countries with a reciprocal arrangement), to welfare benefits and social security nor to apply for citizenship. As a result, these skilled migrants are not the responsibility of the state and if there is an economic crisis or restructuring of jobs, these migrants have to leave the country (Stratton 147). Also, the worker has 28 days to get another 457 visa

when it expires (Stratton 201). Furthermore, in contrast with the limited number of general skilled migration visas issued per year, there is no restriction to the 457 visa holders. In 2001-2002, more than 15,000 457 visas were granted as well as approximately 53,000 skilled migration visas (Stratton 132 and 200). In the 2007-2008 period, the number of 457 visas rose to approximately 58,000, and the concession of skilled migrant visas to more than 108,000 units (Stratton 201). These figures prove that the 457 visas are popular among employers and international workers, and, as Stratton (2011) suggests, maybe also among the Australian government, who may have been favouring the 457 visa application as this category does not offer permanent residency (Stratton 201).

The multicultural middle class is also formed by international students of higher education. Although the Colombo plan started in 1951 and it has attracted approximately 10,000 students⁴⁴, it was not until 1989 when tertiary education became part of the economic market. In fact, in 2005 education had become “Australia’s third-largest export earner behind only the primary industries of coal and iron ore” (Stratton 202), as it includes tuition fees, living expenses, services related to living in Australia and tourism. International students are not entitled to Medicare and they are allowed to work part-time up to a maximum of 20 hours per week during the teaching period. The rise in numbers of overseas students has been exponential: from 30,000 students in 1985 to 375,000 in 2005. One of the reasons for such an increase is the possibility of acquiring permanent residency, since Australian qualifications, the level of English language, work experience, working in a high demand occupation are some of the factors recognised in the points-test the migrant needs to apply for a Skilled Migration Program Visa, which can be applied for while the person is in Australia (Stratton 203). The quality of tertiary education and the possibility of permanent residency are attractive to many international students, including more than 100,000 Chinese and more than 63,000 Indians in 2007 (Stratton 204), who may try to find a job once they finish their degrees.

These workers are considered to be ‘honorary whites’, as they can easily adapt to life in Australia, they speak English and they can adopt “Australian values” (Stratton 221). Overseas students who accept these values “form an invisible model minority in

⁴⁴ For further information, read page 56.

the hegemonic white middle class” (Stratton 221) and are, thus, considered part of the multicultural middle class.

5.2. Sexuality and ethnicity

Sexuality is another factor which determines a person’s identity. The construction of femininity, masculinity, heterosexuality and homosexuality is shaped by the ‘sexual citizenship’ and ‘sexual rights’ of a country. These rights can have different implications, as Diane Richardson (1999) and Baden Offord (2001, 2003) argue. They can be understood as the laws governing the age of consent in sexual relationships, which can be earlier for boys than for girls and for heterosexual relations than for homosexual relations. But they can also imply the legal, civil, social and political restrictions caused by a person’s sexuality, such as the right of recognition, of association, of marriage, of adoption or of fostering children. A third implication of the concepts ‘sexual citizenship’ and ‘sexual rights’ refers to the questioning of institutionalised heterosexuality.

Womanhood is constructed according to the nationalist project of a country. In the introduction to his book *Nation by Rights: National Cultures, Sexual Identity Politics and the Discourse of Rights*, Carl F. Stychin (1998) explains the three main aspects of the relationship between gender relations and nationalism presented by Nira Yuval-Davies (1997). She claims that “women have been constructed as the biological reproducers of the nation”, that “specific national codes define and constitute appropriate gender roles” and that the discourse of citizenship constructs both the public and private spheres and an active and passive citizenship, as male and female respectively (Stychin 8). As a consequence, lesbianism is not just silenced but obliterated: since female sexuality is made passive, “and as two women must both be passive, lesbian sexuality is erased” (Morgan 18).

Regarding masculinities, the patriarchal construct of the male as the breadwinner is still dominant when constructing a national identity in Western countries. Thus, homosexuality has historically “symbolised the confusion of the sexes and a sexual excess, which also was other to the nation’s self-constitution” (Stychin 9). In fact, nation-states tend to sexualise other nations which are perceived as threats. Accordingly, “same sex sexuality is deployed as the alien other, linked to conspiracy, recruitment, opposition to the nation, and ultimately a threat to civilization” (Stychin 9,

see also Richardson 88) and a threat to national identity. In the 21st century, the patriarchal construction of manhood as a dominant-maybe-aggressive-male-family-provider-to-be-obeyed, named “hegemonic masculinity”, is not the only valid option. As Paco Abril (2011) explains, R.W. Connell (1995) coined three types of masculinities other than the hegemonic masculinity. The first one is named “subordinated masculinities”, which posit the relation of dominion and subordination between men, usually between heterosexual and homosexual men. The second type of masculinity is called “complicit masculinities”, which refers to men who are not comfortable with the idea of hegemonic masculinity but take advantage of the benefits it gives them, while they also reach compromises with their partners regarding decision-making, household chores, parenthood, etc. The third one is labelled “marginalized masculinities”, which includes those men who do not fit into the social class or ethnicity of hegemonic masculinities, that is, those men who are not white, middle- or upper-class. These three other masculinities are not homogenous and there exist relations of domination and subordination among men in the subordinated, complicit and marginalized masculinities.

Since the construction of the ultimate Australian is represented by a heterosexual, Protestant, white, English-speaking, Australian-born male of British ancestry, both male and female same-sex relations were secreted and, thus, not displayed in public. It was in the late 1960s when the Australian gay liberation movement began: different subcommittees in Victoria, New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory worked to reform homosexual laws and question together individual and community identities. Debates about the labelling of identities, such as gay, homosexual, lesbian, lesbian feminist and queer, started in the 1970s. The goals of male and female homosexuals were different: while the gay liberation movement aimed to convince heterosexuals that “gay men and lesbians are in fact the “same as” and therefore equal to their heterosexual counterparts” (Morgan 27), lesbian feminism aimed to put male supremacy to an end and not just have the same rights as heterosexuals. In the late 1990s, Sydney was considered “one of the major LGBT-visible cities in the world” with an estimated lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender population of 300,000-400,000 individuals (Offord 2001: 162). The support and infrastructures found in urban areas, however, contrasted with those in rural areas.

In addition, the relation between gender, sexuality and ethnicity was not explored in the first gay and lesbian groups and movements. Wayne Morgan (1995)

points out that in the 1980s “non-white, non-middle-class women also began criticising the class and race bias within the [lesbian feminist] movement, pointing out that the unitary definitions of the category “lesbian” did not reflect their experience” (27). In her article “‘A Rainbow in my Heart’: Negotiating Sexuality and Ethnicity”, Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli (1995) explains that the negotiation of ethnicity, gender and sexuality seems to have more obstacles for non-English speaking background lesbian and bisexual migrant women than for heterosexual ones. She introduces Ruth Baetz’s list of “society’s most deadly weapons” for lesbian and bisexual women, a list also applicable to gay and bisexual men of non-English speaking background. These weapons are silence, lies, isolation, intimidation and physical violence. Besides, Baetz also explains four difficult situations, which she calls “cross-roads”: coming out to parents and siblings, religion, culture and therapy. Some of the items in these lists make reference to media distortions, to the lack of role models and of ethnic literature, to the difficulties in creating a community or in sharing one’s feelings because of the fear of ostracism, physical and verbal abuse by/to one’s family and to one self. These cross-roads shape the life of many migrants, some of whom decide not to tell their parents about their gayness, lesbianism or bisexuality in order to avoid hurting and disappointing them after all the sacrifices made for their beloved children.

Pallotta-Chiarolli (1995) explains in her “‘Mestizis’: The Multiple Marginalities of Living In/Between Social Groups” that belonging to a minority group “can provide security and support, and a location to plan and implement strategies of resistance to mainstream power” (79). As a consequence, in order to create a common front, identities within minority communities tend to be rigid and uniform, with their own systems of censorship and limitations of acceptable differences. Thus, a person may feel that the labels given by the wider society and by the minority group do not include all the desired personal aspects, and may choose one above the other depending on the situation. Pallotta-Chiarolli’s research with Italian-Australian lesbians shows that some women tend to “negate their lesbianism in order to participate in their ethnic communities, or negate their ethnicity in order to participate in their lesbian communities” (“Mestizis” 83). Besides, they may feel that both their ethnicity and their lesbianism categorize them as outsiders within mainstream society.

Additionally, marriage is a central question for second-generation migrants, as it not only implies choosing a suitable life partner for oneself, but ideally the partner must also suit one’s parents and community. As Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli and Zlatko Skrbis

(1995) claim, "Ethnic honor is often determined by sexual and marital regulation and control" (95). Thus, parental rules, gossiping and societal laws influence second-generation migrants. Pallotta-Chiarolli and Zkrbis coin "five themes that incorporate the concepts of authority, reception of parental messages, compliance and rebellion". These themes are the parental voices, the echoes, the voices of 'normality', the voices of acceptance and the voices of resistance (97). The parental voices are the messages given by parents, either as directions or suggestions. The echoes make reference to the reception of these messages by second-generation children. The voices of 'normality' are "the established socio-cultural and sexual codes of the ethnic community and the wider host society" (97). The voices of acceptance indicate the recognition as one's own of parental messages and socio-cultural codes after a process of coercion or of internal negotiation. Finally, the voices of resistance reveal the opposition or rebellion to parental messages and socio-cultural codes by second-generation children, which leads to a cultural conflict or to a cultural synthesis between personal and socio-cultural codes (Pallotta-Chiarolli and Zkrbis 97-98). As reputation and honour have such a notable value in Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian communities, lesbians and homosexuals may choose to keep their sexuality hidden from their families and communities in order to remain part of them.

Another group who may feel ostracised is that formed by bisexual men and women. Since bisexuality is fluid, it is not dual or exclusive, bisexuals may feel excluded by the heterosexual and the homosexual communities, as both perceive them as not fully "pledg[ing] allegiance to one of the politically legitimate categories" (Pallotta-Chiarolli "Mestizis" 85). Finally, as Pallotta-Chiarolli explores in her article "'Mestizis': The Multiple Marginalities of Living In/Between Social Groups", non-monogamous relations also face the consequences of institutionalised heterosexuality in Australia, as polygamy is not customary and multipartner relationships are not socially accepted.

Since the early 1980s, educational material and policies in Australia have followed the premise that identities are negotiated and that they are constructed by several categories, such as ethnicity, gender and class. However, sexuality, homophobia and heterosexism are considered "unsafe-to-challenge" or "inappropriate-to-challenge" as part of the inclusive education schools should provide. "Educational institutions", claims Pallotta-Chiarolli (1999), "are major cultural and social systems that police and regulate the living out of multicultural and multisexual queer identities, yet which also

provide sites for anti-discriminatory responses to the marginalization of these multiple, hybrid identities” (187-8). In her article “‘Multicultural does not mean Multisexual’: Social Justice and the Interweaving of Ethnicity and Sexuality in Australian Schooling”, Pallotta-Chiarolli (1998) exposes three approaches to face (or not) sexuality, homophobia and heterosexism in schools. Some schools decide to deliberately exclude these topics from their curriculums, such as the 1995 *Equity in Schooling* policy from the Department of Education and the Arts in Tasmania (Pallotta-Chiarolli 1998: 286). Other schools follow “indirect incorporation”, that is, the policy is written in such a way that it can be interpreted to include the study of homosexuality, homophobia and heterosexism in the curriculum, but it is not expressed clearly. Thus, schools can decide whether or not to incorporate these topics. An example of this is the 1992 *Gender and Equity Policy* from the South Australian Catholic Commission for Catholic Schools (Pallotta-Chiarolli 1998: 287). A third approach is the direct and specific incorporation of homophobia, homosexuality and heterosexism as issues to be addressed in schools, such as the 1996 *Gender and Equity: A Framework for Australian Schools* from the Ministerial Council for Employment, Education, Training and Young Affairs or the *Girls and Boys at School: Gender Equity Strategy (1996-2001)* by the New South Wales Department of School Education (Pallotta-Chiarolli 1998: 287).

In her educational sessions for teachers, Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli faced and solved some of the difficulties teachers envisaged in order to introduce the study of ethnicity, gender and sexuality in their classes. Some of the difficulties emerged from the personal fears of teachers and/or administrators, or the stereotype that ethnic migrants are homophobic (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1999: 186-7), or from the lack of knowledge about the existence and visualization of ethnic lesbians or homosexuals or their stereotyping and the lack of resources and/or of teaching strategies.

It is pertinent to say that Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli is a pioneer in the study of the interweaving of ethnicity, gender and sexuality in Australia. She has also solved many of the doubts teachers had about material, has pointed out solutions and has helped many of them to overcome their fears. However, her activism has also been aimed at students, as she helped some of them in their struggle to end sexual harassment in schools and took part in the implementation of anti-homophobic policies and programmes. Two such cases are those of Christopher Tsakalos and ‘Luciano’. In 1997 Christopher Tsakalos, a 14-year-old Greek-Australian homosexual student, was harassed, assaulted and received death threats at school because of his sexuality. Since

the school did not implement any measures to stop and prevent further attacks, Mrs Tsakalos took legal action against her son’s school for failure to protect him and claimed that this discrimination was similar to the one she suffered as a child because of her ethnicity. Mrs. Tsakalos won the case and established “a precedent for school liability for gay students who are vilified under their care” (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1998: 296). The second case Pallotta-Chiarolli participated in also took place in 1997 and it involved ‘Luciano’, a 16-year-old Italian-Australian homosexual student who began a campaign to eradicate homophobia. He demanded the implementation of anti-homophobic policies in Catholic and state Victorian schools. He had the support of his parents, of a gay and lesbian teachers’ group and of other parents.

Despite the fact that homosexuality, lesbianism, bisexuality and transgenderism are far more visibilised, little teenage literature deals with ethnic homosexual or lesbian characters. In fact, it was in 1995 when the first novel written by an ethnic Australian involved a bisexual character: it was Greek-Australian Christos Tsiolkas’ *Loaded*, a novel I analysed in depth in my unpublished minor thesis titled “‘We, who were born here are quite another’: Greek Migrant Writing in Australia, 1977-1995” (2005).

5.3. Religion

Religion and spirituality also affect a person’s identity. Although Australia has no official religion, Christianity has been the faith related to rulers and whiteness since the invasion and colonisation of the territory as most convicts and colonialists were Anglicans. At present, Australia’s holidays coincide with Anglican festivities, such as Christmas and Easter, and Sunday is the day of Christian worship and rest. Although people from many different faiths have lived in Australia since its colonization, non-Christian festivities have not become part of the national holidays. Thus, believers of different faiths have to reach personal agreements with their bosses and co-workers to celebrate specific festivities.

As Jon Stratton (2011) recalls, “Up to the 1970s the key division in white Australian society was between Anglicans and Catholics” (7). An unofficial hierarchy of faiths related to the perception of whiteness was established with Protestantism at the top, followed by Catholicism, Orthodox Catholicism, non-Christian religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and other religions, and, finally, Islam. As a consequence of this relation between whiteness and Christianity, Protestants were

perceived as whites. Irish convicts, though Catholic, were not considered “whites”⁴⁵, the same as Italians. Greeks and Russians were Orthodox Catholics, which made them acceptable as Christians, but not to be considered whites. Believers of other faiths were not considered whites either, regardless of their ethnicity, although if the non-Caucasian person be Christian, this person may be considered an “honorary white”, that is, more acceptable because the values professed would be “Australian” values and the person would be able to assimilate. As Stratton (2011) explains, “those who are identified as non-white have that identification reinforced if they also profess a faith other than Christianity. Conversely, a person identified as non-white will be given a degree of honorary whiteness if they are Christian” (9).

In the 2006 census (ABS 2007), 63.9% of almost 20 million inhabitants considered themselves Christians, 5.6% non-Christians, 18.7% of the population stated they followed no religion and 11.2% of the population did not state which religion, if any, they followed. Regarding Christians, 25.8% of the population declared they were Catholics, 18.7% Anglican and 3% Eastern Orthodox and other Christian denominations made up the other 16%. The percentage of population who declared themselves Buddhists were 2.1%, while 1.7 followed Islam, 0.7% Hinduism, 0.4% Judaism and 0.5% other non-Christian faiths. The religious practices of Indigenous Australians who follow the Dreaming did not receive any specific name in the census, thus, they may appear under the “Other Non-Christian” or “Inadequately described” labels.

As seen in the previous chapters, Greek migrants in Australia not only maintain their religious sentiment but they also built churches when communities were established. Besides, communities were deeply involved in the management of the church. In fact, in 1959 the power relation between the church and some community

⁴⁵ Some Irish were named “Black Irish”, a term which has six different meanings. This expression was used to designate the descendants of the English and Scottish colonists who moved to the Plantation of Ulster in the 17th century and who had “dark intentions” because they did not want to assimilate. The term could have also been used by Catholics in Ulster to describe Protestant Planters. A third sense, though unlikely, makes reference to the descendants of Spanish traders, of Spanish sailors who got lost during the 1588 war, in which the Spanish Armada was defeated, or to the ancient Irish legend by which Milesians “settled in Ireland [after] having travelled from Spain” (“Black Irish”). A fourth meaning refers to those who escaped from the Great Famine of 1845-1849: potatoes turned black and year 1847 became known as “black 47”. Those Irish who migrated could have been called “black Irish” in reference to the famine, the black potatoes and this new black death. A fifth referent was the class system within some Irish migrants in the USA, who called those Irish migrants they considered inferior “black”. Finally, the term “Black Irish” could also be used to designate the descendants of Irish emigrants who settled in the West Indies. For more detailed information, see the article on “Black Irish” at <http://www.ireland-information.com/articles/blackirish.htm>

organisations led to significant disagreements which resulted in a schism between the new Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, whose head was Archbishop Ezekiel, and the formally established Greek Communities⁴⁶.

Regarding Chinese migrants in Australia, most did not have a religious affiliation in China due to their socialist upbringing and political situation. However, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Christianity are the main faiths practiced when Chinese peoples migrate to Australia. In fact, many Chinese become Christian and go to church as an opportunity to socialise and openly express their beliefs (Xiumei 135).

5.4. Language

The language a speaker uses shapes the way this person perceives and deals with him/herself, others, abstract notions and the world. As Mary Besemeres and Anna Wierzbicka (2007) recall, “most people in the world are bilingual” (xiii). In the case of Australia, it is one of the most multilingual countries in the world with more than 200 languages spoken. However, bilingualism is not enhanced, English is the official language and a “monolingual perspective on the world dominates the country’s public discourse” (Besemeres and Wierzbicka xiv). This is the reason why author Eva Sallis (2007) considers Australia “a linguistic Third World, a land in which languages are threats and too often stamped out and forgotten” (151).

Most migrants in Australia arrived from non-English speaking countries and, consequently, English is, at least, their second language. In the case of the second-generation migrants, most of them are bilingual as they understand and/or speak their parents’ language/s as well as English because it is learnt in school. Speaking one’s mother tongue is important for many Greek and Chinese migrants in Australia, as the Greek and Chinese newspapers, teaching language at Sunday schools and keeping tight community bonds demonstrate.

Françoise Král (2009) explains that bilingual subjects can have a different relation towards the languages spoken and that, for those who live in a country where their mother tongue is not the most used or the official language, the relation towards the second language can be distant, similar to that of a step-mother, rather than one of

⁴⁶ For more detailed information on the events, see Effy Alexakis and Leonard Janiszewski’s *In their Own Image: Greek Australians* (1998: 15-16), Gillian Bottomley’s *After the Odyssey* (1979: 52-76) and Anastasios Myrodis Tamis’ *The Greeks in Australia* (2005: 111-114).

domination, analogous to that of a father in a patriarchal society⁴⁷. In the case of Greek and Chinese migrants to Australia, speaking English can be a liberating experience as the language feels more distant and less embedded with cultural expectations on roles and patterns of behaviour. For many, speaking English represents a new beginning, a new chapter in life which they embrace in order to leave bad memories behind and/or to explore the opportunities Australia offers. On the other hand, English can also represent a barrier that limits a migrant’s ability to communicate with those who do not speak their mother tongue and, consequently, makes this person dependant on other people’s will and time to help and translate. This frequently is a source of frustration and disempowerment as adults are made to feel inadequate and many turn to children or grandchildren for help in their daily lives. Some of the texts children translate include a wide spectrum of registers from school notes, to visits to the doctor, or bureaucratic information.

The relation between migration and translation is studied by Fiona Allon (2002). Allon defends that “Migration is directly and inevitably a process of cross-cultural translation, a passage of movement between different languages, cultures and worlds” (107). However, this translation is not only a change of words with the same meaning, but also “a dynamic articulation of in-betweenness” (Allon 107). The nuances of words may not be grasped by the speakers, either children or adults, and they may make the speaker feel out of place, and sometimes an observer rather than a participant. Occasionally, as Irene Ulman (2007) indicates, there can be a moment of uncertainty when using a colloquial expression in the language which is not one’s mother tongue because the speaker may not sound ‘authentic’.

Also, as Gillian Bottomley (1992) recalls, community languages may be considered to have an academically inferior status to that of English, as French, Latin and German are the traditional foreign languages studied at school and community languages are mainly studied in Saturday classes at state schools.

Nevertheless, migrants can also play with their community language and use it as a marker of ethnic pride. Second-generation migrants in Australia are proficient in English as it was learnt at school. As Jane Warren (1999) develops, their relationship with their parents’ culture and language usually varies and, during adolescence, young

⁴⁷ According to her terminology, a mother tongue is the language of fondness, a father tongue is the language of domination and cognitive development (Král 131, 142) and a step-mother tongue is more distant and less threatening than a father tongue (Král 133).

adults tend to have one of three attitudes: either total absorption into their parents’ language, or total absorption into English, or reconciliation between both languages and cultures. The fact that these adolescents can choose between the two languages allows them to “shape and transform the English language to create a new linguistic and social space of its own” (Warren 87). Thus, they can use the strategy of changing accents and speech patterns depending on the situation, such as marking a rising intonation on phrase-final syllables, changing “th” into [d] or not pronouncing “th” in “them” (Warren 93). This strategy of using ‘standard Australian English’ or ‘ethnic Australian English’ is called “wogspeak” and it is used by second-generation migrants to differentiate themselves from their parents or their host culture. Thus, depending on the circumstances, they can choose to speak English with either accent and mark their close or distant relationship with English and what it represents. Regarding their role as translators for their parents and elders, speaking English “can lead [second-generation migrants to develop] an ability to act as bridges between parents and the wider society, or to a deep understanding of the position of the outsider” (Bottomley 1992: 133). Consequently, second-generation migrants may see and understand language as a tool of domination and speaking English as a dominant cultural capital needed to succeed in Australia.

5.5. Belonging and the ethics of location

A significant part of one’s identity derives from the feeling of belonging. If somebody is a first-generation migrant, the feelings of belonging and loyalty may be questioned and divided between the country of birth and the country of residence. In the case of the second-generation, the dichotomy lies between the country of birth and residence and the country of birth of one’s parents.

In the case of Australia, the question of belonging is affected by its status as a postcolonial and postcolonizing country, as Aileen Moreton-Robison (2003) observes. On the one hand, Australia is considered to be a postcolonial country because it is a sovereign state which was part of the British Empire and a significant number of its inhabitants are descendants from the forced and unforced migration of that time⁴⁸. However, Moreton-Robinson (2003) argues that Australia is also a postcolonizing

⁴⁸ It should be borne in mind that Australia federated in 1901 but until 1948 Australians were British subjects. The *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* implemented the concept of ‘Australian citizenship’.

country because Indigenous Australians still suffer two consequences: they are still dispossessed of their territories and sacred sites, and their “ontological relationship to land is one that the nation state has sought to diminish through its social, legal and cultural practices” (35). Thus, the Federation of Australia exercises a colonial power over Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Ethnicity, Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2003) and Ghassan Hage (1998) claim, is a fundamental factor that facilitates or hinders the entitlement to belong to a territory. Hage defends that Indigenous Australians are only allowed a “functional and passive belonging” (57) because they are black, and Moreton-Robinson argues that “whiteness is the invisible measure of who can hold possession” (26).

Denying, ignoring, unacknowledging and imposing are some of the verbs defining the power relation between settlers and colonised in Australia. For more than two hundred years British and Australian laws denied the humanity of Indigenous Australians, unacknowledged and ignored their laws and customs, cultures and traditions and imposed their life styles, language, beliefs and rules on them⁴⁹. Massacres and the Stolen Generations are just two of the injustices wielded against them. It was only in 1967 when a referendum to include Indigenous Australians in the census and to allow the Commonwealth government to make laws for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples was approved. In 1972 a group of Indigenous Australians established the Aboriginal Embassy in Canberra in order to demand land rights. Calling their construction (first a beach umbrella, then tents) an “embassy” emphasised the dispossession of their lands in their own country. Also, using tents as an embassy was a reminder of the poverty experienced by most Indigenous Australians and a contrast “with the idea of an embassy that has the power to represent a group to another government” (“Postscript” 2008).

The question of belonging was at stake when celebrating the bicentenary of Captain Cook’s landing in Australia. In 1985 the appropriateness of the future celebrations began to be questioned and debates on television took place. In the debate “Is there anything to celebrate in 1988?”, Pat Dodson, coordinator of the National Federation of Land Councils, participated through a video recording. In it he explained that Indigenous Australians’ relation to the land was one of integration into it and that

⁴⁹ For a detailed account of the evolution of the scholar approach to Indigenous Australian histories in the 1990s and 2000s, read Lorenzo Veracini’s “Of a ‘contested ground’ and an ‘indelible stain’: a difficult reconciliation between Australia and its Aboriginal history during the 1990s and 2000s” in *Aboriginal History* 27 (2003): 224-239.

when Indigenous people were asked who they were, they stated the area of the land they came from and then their kinship relationships to other people, that is, they did not say their name and surname as people from other cultures did. In regards to other inhabitants of Australia, Dodson said:

We [Indigenous Australians] can understand people who come from Europe as refugees who began to set up a new home here, we can understand the need for a certain level of retaining their culture and their society and that’s understood. In the same way the Aboriginal people are asking that our culture, our society and our rights to our religious practices and spiritual beliefs should be protected and maintained. It’s the only spiritual reality that we have. If that is taken away from us we end up becoming shells living on a foreign land, we become displaced refugees in our own country. (Dodson 1985) (my transcript)

Dodson defended the acknowledgement of the different cultures that live in Australia, the respect that should be due among them and the special position that Indigenous cultures have as traditional owners of the land. Belonging does not mean just living in a territory, or having been given permission to inhabit a territory, it is a feeling based on origins, relation to the land and being entitled to these feelings.

The etymology of the names of the cities in Australia follows the logic of settlement at that time. Françoise Král (2009) recalls Terry Goldie (1989) when explaining two linguistic techniques used by settlers with the aim to appropriate the territory. The first procedure was changing indigenous place names to European ones, such as names of cities in the United Kingdom (Albury in Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire and in Surrey, England; Exeter in Devon, England; Perth in Scotland, etc) or to names of English personalities (Charles Darwin, Lord Melbourne, Lord Sydney, etc). The second practice was maintaining indigenous names as a means to “symbolically [become] heir to the cultural heritage of the first nation” (Král 139), such as Ballarat (Balla arat), Mullumbimby or Yarra. Also, Rob Garbutt (2006) claims that the Australian language of settlement is representative of the settler past projected into the present and the future. In fact, as he recalls, from the 1870s to the 1930s, the term ‘native’ referred to white colonialists born in Australia and the term ‘Aboriginal native’ to Indigenous Australians, thus, making white colonialists the norm and Indigenous Australians a group which needed to be made specific with the help of an adjective.

This difference perpetuated the myth of *terra nullius* and named colonialists who had been ‘born and bred’ in Australia as the indigenous of the land.

This concept of being ‘born and bred’ is fundamental to understanding race relations in Australia. Following Garbutt’s argument, a person is connected to a “particular genetic and racialised lineage” (182) by birth and a person’s character is shaped by the place where that person was raised. This settler philosophy is also shaped by the concepts of ownership and possession of land and territory, of owning private spaces and belonging to public ones. As a consequence, “the new settler Australian character and culture that emerges born and bred from the soil is protected within a spatio-temporal enclave – no longer a product of multiple connections to sites but peculiar to this bounded place called home” (183-4). That is to say, the settler is not a migrant and does not have a “sense of being part of a diaspora” (Garbutt 184). Therefore, this sense of being autochthonous follows three main purposes. First, the violence and difficulties experienced by convicts and first settlers is forgotten and the emphasis lies on “putting down roots and settling in” (Garbutt 185). Second, being autochthonous means that there was no previous owner, that is, no struggle, war or dispossession. Third, being autochthonous makes one a citizen and differentiates the individual from the “resident non-citizen and foreigner” (Garbutt 185). Consequently, belonging is organised in a hierarchy, in which the native/settler is at the top; Indigenous Australians belong to a “separate place and time, to wild enclaves within the nation and to prehistory” (Garbutt 186); and migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are “by degrees devalued or, in the case of asylum seekers, reluctantly –if ever- conceded” (Garbutt 186).

This settler mentality is, according to Ghassan Hage (1998), part of the Australian aristocracy, which is formed by white people who have nationalist attitudes towards the land and others and who not only inhabit a national space, but feel they own it and, thus, with the right to govern it. This aristocracy would like to go back to a perfect and unreal past which does not include those who bother them: those they do not regard as white. Hage (1998) argues that in Australia

when the White people who embrace the White nation fantasy look at a migrant, what they differentiate between are not those who are NESB [non-English-speaking background migrants] and those who are not, or those who are European and those who are not, but those who are Third World-looking and those who are not (18-19).

The Third-World looking people are their utmost opposite and, consequently, the aristocracy do not want them. Clearly, they feel entitled to govern others and treat them like objects. However, as the ‘other’ is an agent who threatens the aristocratic fantasy of a white nation, the ‘other’ needs to be regularly reminded that it does not belong, a goal fulfilled through “nationalist practice[s] of exclusion” (Hage 70). The construct of ‘whiteness’ is formed by different characteristics besides skin colour, such as looks, language, accent, religion, behaviour, citizenship and nationality. Following Bourdieu (1986), Hage explains that cultural capital “represents the sum of valued knowledge, styles, social and physical (bodily) characteristics and practical behavioural dispositions within a given field” (53). This capital is not cumulative, each characteristic has a different fluctuating value and a non-mainstream person will never get the total capital. By trying to master as much cultural capital as possible, migrants aim to accumulate national capital because it leads them to being “recognised as legitimately national by the dominant culture” (Hage 53) and, thus, to national belonging. However, the fact that a person acquires cultural and national capital devalues the capital itself: because the migrant was not born with it, and does not have the ‘essence’ that the national aristocracy possesses (Hage 62). Consequently, whites maintain their hegemony and superiority.

Those with a settler mentality feel that relations amongst the different groups they want excluded should be prevented: if each group represents a threat to the homogeneity of the nation, together these groups pose even a greater one. This feeling appeared before Federation and was highlighted during the White Australia policy when the relations between Indigenous Australians and migrants, especially Chinese in the northern territories in Australia⁵⁰, were considered “to contest White dominion and counter government anti-miscegenation policy” (Ramsay 2001) and, consequently, had to be prevented, or at least, controlled.

Besides having the cultural capital of being born and bred in Australia, the settler understands belonging as being based on boundaries and limits, rather than on “a

⁵⁰ For more detailed information on this topic, read Guy Ramsay’s “Contentious Connections: Removals, Legislation and Indigenous-Chinese Contacts” in *M/C Journal* 4.1 (2001); Christine Choo’s “Chinese-Indigenous Australian Connections in Regional Western Australia”. *A Changing People: Diverse Contributions to the State of Western Australia*. Ed by Raelene Wilding and Farida Tilbury. Perth: Dept of the Premier and the Cabinet, Office of Multicultural Interests, 2004; Penny Edwards and Yuanfang Shen’s (eds) *Lost in Whitewash: Aboriginal-Chinese Encounters from Federation to Reconciliation*. Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, ANU, 2003; and Peta Stephenson’s “‘Where are you from?’: New Imaginings of Identity in Chinese-Australian Writing”. *Culture, Identity, Commodity. Diasporic Chinese Literatures in English*. Ed by Tseen Khoo and Kam Louie. Hong Kong: HKUP, 2005.

sense of place that arises from its *relations* with other places, from interconnections beyond the bounds” (Garbutt 186). Accordingly, almost half of the current population is disempowered and excluded as the relationship towards the land and territory of 2% of Indigenous Australians and the 46% of first- or second-generation Australian is not taken into account. An example of this is the events that happened during the Cronulla riots and, especially, concerning the messages used to attack second-generation Australians of Middle-Eastern appearance and Muslims, such as “100% Aussie pride”, “Love it or leave it” or “We grew here, you flew here”⁵¹.

Rob Garbutt presents his idea of an ethics of location in which settlers “think in terms of *connections with*, rather than *belonging to*, place” (188)⁵² and in which settlers recognise and value the multiple connections between the place of birth, place of living, places visited, places of importance for one’s ancestors, etc. As a result, settlers will realize that they are “a product of invasion with much to learn from the autochthonous Australians we settlers have cleared from our imaginations” (Garbutt 188). As a consequence, settlers will become more humble and will stop considering whiteness as a cultural capital.

5.6. Identity

As explained in the introduction⁵³, identity is a social construct built on different aspects, such as social class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, religion, language/s spoken and belonging. Most of these concepts have been explored in the subsections above. This part will develop the construct of ‘identity’ and three approaches to it. First of all, it is worth noting that there exists a difference between a person’s concept of self and a person’s relation with others. Indian-born British social scientist Madan Sarup names the former ‘private’ identity, and the latter ‘public’ identity. In his *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World* (1996), Sarup defines identity as “the story we tell of ourselves and which is also the story that others tell of us” (3). Identities evolve and the processes of identity construction last a lifetime because identity is ever-changing. Sarup argues that identities are “not free-floating; they are limited by borders and boundaries” (3), which differentiate friends from enemies and from strangers. A friend,

⁵¹ For more information, read page 72.

⁵² Emphasis in the original.

⁵³ For more information, read pages 20 and 25.

he argues, "is associated with cooperation" and is the subject and positive term in the dichotomy friend-enemy (Sarup 1996: 10). An enemy, on the other hand, is what a friend is not: someone "associated with struggle", an object and the negative term in the pair (Sarup 1996: 10). Following Sarup (1996), a stranger is placed in the in-between as he or she is "neither friend nor enemy" (10), is "not 'one of them'" (7) and is the "eternal wanderer, homeless always and everywhere" (11). The identity of a migrant cannot be clearly defined within only one category of friend, enemy or stranger. Migrants are included and excluded in different ways: sometimes they are welcomed and sometimes received with hostility. Nevertheless, first-generation migrants come from other nation-states and, as foreigners, they are 'the other'. Identity, Sarup goes on, is "contradictory and fractured" and is "always related to what one is not –the Other... only conceivable in and through difference" (1996: 47). This difference is outside oneself, that is, in 'the other', but also inside oneself, or 'the other within'.

Some philosophers, such as Freud, Foucault and Derrida, have discussed this difference: Freud through his concepts of projection and introjection, Foucault mainly in his *Madness and Civilization* (1964) and Derrida in his critique of Foucault's ideas of madness and reason. Sarup recalls Laplanche and Pontalis' explanation of projection as "the operation whereby qualities, feelings, wishes or even 'objects' which the subject refuses to recognise or rejects in himself [or herself] are expelled from the self and located in another person or things" (1996: 33). Thus, what one does not like or accept in oneself is repressed and, as a defence, it is projected onto the other. If one considers the accusations made by a racist person, one will see that the faults and unacknowledged inclinations of the speaker are projected onto the group s/he hates and that these accusations are not rational, but follow personal, usually repressed, fears.

Regarding Foucault and Derrida, Sarup summons up that Derrida criticised Foucault for writing about madness as 'the other'. Derrida argued that if reason makes madness be 'the other', as part of the binary, madness is contained in and depends upon reason. As a result, Foucault rethought his argument and reached the conclusion that "the histories of the Other and of the Same are necessarily implicated within each other" (Sarup 1996: 71) and that 'the other' is inside oneself. One's identity can be based on exclusion, that is, who/what one is not, and exclusion depends on power: they who exclude decide what, how and why something or someone is excluded.

5.6.1. The psychocultural continuum

In their *Australia’s Ambivalence towards Asia: Politics, Neo/Post-colonialism and fact/fiction* (2003), Vin D’Cruz and William Steele also explain the concept of ‘the other within’ as part of the psychocultural continuum theory developed by D’Cruz. This theory is based on the social-relational framework of Martin Buber, which argues that there exist multiple modes of being, but when individuals present themselves to the world, they do so in one of these two modes of existence: the dialogical ‘I-Thou’ and the monological ‘I-It’.

As Sarah Scott (2010) indicates, in an ‘I-Thou’ relation both participants are in the poles of the relation and their centre is “in the between”, while in an ‘I-It’ relation, one perceives the other as a “classified and hence predictable and manipulable object that exists only as a part of one’s own experiences” (Scott 2010). Regarding the ‘I’ in each mode of existence, they are different. In the ‘I-Thou’ relation the ‘I’ is called “person” and it refers to “a whole, focused, single-person... that knows *itself* a subject” and “can develop as a whole being” (Scott 2010)⁵⁴. However, the ‘I’ in the ‘I-It’ relation, named “ego”, is “a self-enclosed, solitary individual... that takes itself as the *subject of experience*” (Scott 2010)⁵⁵. As Buber explains in his *I and Thou* (1923), while the person says “I am” and, by “know thyself”, the person means “know yourself as being”, the ego says “That is how I am” and understands “know your being-that-way” (113-114). Buber also affirms that “No human being is pure person, and none is pure ego; none is entirely actual, none entirely lacking in actuality. Each lives in a twofold I... Between these and those true history takes place” (Buber 114-115).

Vin D’Cruz (1978) understands that Buber claims that humans can relate to other humans in a spontaneous way, in which the ‘Thou’ is “not exploited in any way, and totally accepted” (178), or in a calculated and instrumental mode, in which the other is an ‘It’, “relegated to the sphere of experience, to be studied, analysed and classified” (178). As a consequence, D’Cruz indicates Buber’s claim that the ‘I-Thou’ relation generates subjective knowledge while the ‘I-It’ attitude creates objective knowledge, and that both types are necessary. For example, in education “knowledge grows out of social relations (in the *I-Thou* relation) which is then elaborated and objectified (in the *I-It* relation) and returns to strengthen the relations themselves and the understandings that proceed from relation” (D’Cruz 183).

⁵⁴ Emphasis in the original.

⁵⁵ Emphasis in the original.

In his psychocultural continuum theory, D’Cruz claims that cultures, and individuals, are part of a continuum, whose poles are two metaphors: ‘concreteness’ and ‘abstraction’. Accordingly, cultures and individuals can be towards the more concrete or towards the more abstract because there are no pure types, that is, no purely concrete or purely abstract cultures and individuals. The notion of the continuum avoids the organisation of cultures following binary concepts and generalisations such as “‘group-oriented’ Afro-Asian cultures against ‘individualistic’ Western cultures” (D’Cruz and Steele 181). Further, as D’Cruz and Steele explain, “Like points on a continuum, all societies as well as individuals operate with mixes of the concrete and the abstract and with varying degrees of success” (185). That is to say, both parts are in individuals and in societies: humans are both concrete and abstract, but the levels are different. This is why one’s position on the continuum is not permanently fixed at birth, and it can change depending on time, place and circumstance, and also why one can access the other within oneself, and then reach the other in others, because individuals have concrete and abstract characteristics in themselves. Consequently, individuals as well as societies can go on two journeys: first, to acknowledge the suppressed self, and second, to use that knowledge to approach the other. The first journey is the hardest and it involves facing fears and taboos.

What are the main features of ‘concreteness’ and ‘abstraction’? In a culture located towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum, the group is privileged over the individual and there is a hierarchical social form and ethics rather than an egalitarian one; kinship and blood relationships are of utter importance, together with the key values of reciprocity, respect for wisdom out of experience and group loyalty. In consequence, group privacy is more important than individual privacy and, when there is a problem, it tends to be solved face-to-face but also relying on the interpretation of the unsaid. Besides, there is a preference for the near and tangible in all areas of life, which includes an inclination towards gift-giving and doing favours rather than taxation, commerce by barter and not with money, and the maintenance and creation of social relations with neighbours instead of with networks of contacts who live faraway. Also, a culture positioned towards the more concrete end enhances a partnership with the natural world -which is not subjugated- and gods and goddesses, “each with their own sphere of influence” (D’Cruz and Steele 174), are unavoidable, unchosen parts of the daily lives of the devotees, who feel close to and familiar with them. Members of a group in a more concrete culture share a strong sense of belonging,

“a basic human need, just as strong as the needs for eating, drinking, warmth and security” (von Herder qtd. in Jahanbegloo 142-143).

On the other hand, in a culture sited towards the more abstract, individuality is emphasised and valued, “even if it means that individuals must stand against the state and their own community” (D’Cruz and Steele 175). As a result, autonomy, disengaged rationality, all-embracing love, professionalism and direct communication styles are valued. Consequently, strangers come together in different groups according to their common preferences and create social networks, such as “government and non-government civic organisations, inter-cultural, environmental, literary and religious groups” (D’Cruz and Steele 175). Regarding problems, these are solved either by mediated relationships, often without face-to-face contact, or through direct communication. Furthermore, money and intangible things such as shares and stocks are preferred to gift-giving or barter. Regarding religion and spirituality, God is chosen, it is general, august, pure and distant, removed from all evil and negotiation.

Since “every culture, every individual, contains something of both [the more concrete and the more abstract]” (D’Cruz and Steele 194), this psychocultural continuum theory provides a suitable approach to understand the relation between different cultures and to analyse migrants’ identity formation. As seen in the previous two chapters, the Greek concept of *philotimo* and the Chinese notion of *hsiao* are two examples of interpersonal relations in two societies placed towards the more concrete part of the continuum. Besides Greek and Chinese cultures, this thesis studies Australian society. As a result, the following pages analyse the above-mentioned cultural concepts and main trends in post-invasion Australian culture using the psychocultural continuum theory.

5.6.1.1. Analysis of *philotimo* and *hsiao*

In Greek culture, the family and the group play a central role in interpersonal relations as kinship and blood relationships are strong bonds which, for centuries, were reinforced by match-makers, arranged marriages and the dowry. The family’s honour and position in society is modified by the decisions, deeds and misdeeds of its members. As a consequence, the group is privileged over the individual and *philotimo* (‘love of honour’) remains a strong pattern in which to analyse one’s behaviour. At the same time, the common goal of the group is the well-being of its members because the

successes of one are extrapolated to those of the group. Consequently, honour is the main bond between family and kinship as well as between members of the ‘circle of our own people’. Thus, the concepts of reciprocity, group loyalty, respect for wisdom out of experience and face-to-face problem solving enhance group cohesion and are a constant reinforcement of bonds among its members. Accordingly, constituents of these groups enjoy some privileges that differentiate them from non-members, such as gift-giving, doing favours and bartering, rather than taxation and money exchange.

In a marriage, the division of roles into complementary responsibilities highlights the interdependence of its members and it aims to maintain the hierarchical social model. Besides, the role of the *nikokyra* strengthens this hierarchy within the private sphere of the household. An individual can rely on members of their family, kinship, ‘circle of their own people’ or even neighbours to fulfil their family obligations if circumstances prevent the person from performing them. Venetia Evergeti (2006) provided an example of the difficulties a Greek woman living in England had in order to fulfil her filial duties towards her parents, who were living in Greece⁵⁶. The sense of belonging within the group is marked by blood relations and by behaviour and, as a consequence, the place within the group is also clearly defined. Regarding the relation with gods and goddesses, Christian Orthodoxy allows a close relationship with the saints, the Virgin and the icons. Besides, religious traditions and the *ikonostasi* are mainly maintained and looked after by women.

During the Qin dynasty (1644-1911), Chinese culture is situated towards the more concrete. The group is the centre of society and one’s relation to others is given by their position within the kinship. In fact, blood relations and one’s position determines the life a person will live: the group has such power over individuals that the head of the family can also implement justice on those who live in his household. Hierarchical relations dominate all levels of private and public life and the ladder of obedience is determined by one’s gender, age, position in the family and fulfilment of *hsiao*. As the interests of the group are more important than those of the individuals, the older generation of a family not only match-makes couples, arranges their marriages and agrees on the dowry, but also decides the way the new family will earn a living and the place where they will live. Group loyalty and respect for wisdom are expected and demanded and ancestors are venerated in the household but also in temples.

⁵⁶ For more information, go to pages 114 and 115.

However, during the 20th century, especially during its second half, both the Greek and the Chinese cultures move towards the more abstract. From 1975 onwards, Greek laws eliminate gender discrimination in legal texts: the dowry, that is, the system by which brides are given the position of co-owner and co-worker in the new family and by which fathers show their honour, is abolished; adultery, that is, a breach of family honour, ceases to be a crime; divorce, or the dissolution of the main social unit, is allowed; and the hierarchical concept of the ‘head of the family’ is changed for the more inclusive concept of ‘the family’.

In China, during the First Republic, the New Culture Movement (1915-1923) exemplifies the way a culture can change towards abstraction. This movement vindicates the relevance of individual wishes and starts a debate on family relations, marriage, the status of women, science, rational thought and democracy. However, the changes introduced by the Authoritarian Republic of China (1927-1937), especially through the New Life Movement, show a slight leaning towards the more concrete end of the continuum again. Although the concept of *hsiao* is reinforced, the changes introduced into the feudal structure of society and marriage remain.

During the first years of the People’s Republic of China, the group continues to be more important than the individual, and the loyalty and love towards the Party is more important than that towards one’s parents and one’s family. The family laws introduced in 1950 and 1980 show a movement towards the more abstract end of the continuum. Regarding marriage, individuals are more influenced by the Chinese Communist Party than by the wishes of their elders regarding who they want to marry, their household and their job. However, meaningful changes are introduced. Not only can they now choose their partner but the dowry and bride prices are also forbidden. What is more, the relation between husband and wife is one of mutual support, with the freedom of being allowed to manage one’s own affairs. Besides, problem solving is mediated and face-to-face. In order for a couple to be granted divorce, both parties have to seek it and they have to go through a mediating process to try to overcome the difficulties of the marriage. If conciliation fails, the couple has to reach agreements on how to fulfil their duties. With regards to the network of contacts, family and kin members remain pivotal social networks but non-family members, such as, classmates, co-workers or friends, also hold a relevant position in individuals’ lives.

5.6.1.2. Analysis of post-invasion Australian main cultural movements

The British laws that legislated the pioneer society show an inclination towards the more abstract end of the continuum. Captain Cook and Joseph Banks’ attitude towards Indigenous Australians is one of disengaged rationality and professionalism, especially when not considering Indigenous Australians owners of the territory. Cook and Banks follow the rationale they learnt and are not open to other ways of relating to nature. Clearly Indigenous Australians’ partnership with the natural world lies towards the more concrete end of the continuum, while the relation of the colonizers towards the land is based on productivity, ownership, transformation of the landscape and even the introduction of foreign species, thus, inclined toward the more abstract end of the psychocultural continuum.

During the gold rush and the Federation of Australia, the stereotyping of ‘the other’, especially of Indigenous Australians and Chinese peoples, reaches a high momentum with many restrictive and discriminating laws being passed in several batches. Apparently, the two cultures are towards opposite ends of the continuum, and ‘the other within’ is heavily suppressed by laws and discourses. The White Australia policy is an example of the repression of the other within and the power of stereotyping. Indigenous Australians have been living on the continent for more than 40,000 years, yet the authorities felt that they needed the figure of a Chief Protector of Aborigines to guide and govern their lives.

The stereotyping and othering of Australians with a non-British ancestry started to diminish during World War II. The need to populate the country caused a change in the application of immigration laws and gave rise to the creation of immigration assistance plans to attract immigrants to Australia. Also, popular pressure against some governmental decisions on forcing the exit of Australian families of mixed origins, such as the cases of the 21 Malayan seamen and the O’Keefes⁵⁷, show a social movement towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum: the group, the family, blood relations and the rights of Australian-born individuals were privileged over the laws which demanded the deportation of these individuals. The sense of belonging and empathy was palpable in the reaction many Australian citizens had in these cases. Two decades later, the feelings of unity, being part of a group and the importance of the family rose again with the Prasad and the Locsin cases and the campaign for equal

⁵⁷ For more references, read page 54.

rights for Indigenous Australians⁵⁸. Consequently, the position of many Australian civilians continued towards the more concrete end of the continuum. The dismantling of the White Australia policy, the opening of the country in favour of Asian migrants and the recognition of the People’s Republic of China show early stages in the facing of ‘the other within’ in the Australian national psyche. In 1973, Al Grassby’s discourse on the Family of the Nation⁵⁹ exemplified social and legal changes that positioned society a bit more towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum: the use of the family as a metaphor and the commitment of its members to the good of all are two of its characteristics. However, the abstraction is still present in this metaphor, as the individuality and distinctiveness of its members is emphasised.

Nevertheless, the fear of the ‘Asianisation of Australia’ and the recurring debates on this topic prove the fear that part of society had towards cultures positioned towards the other end of the continuum. The 18th century stereotypes were used again together with the fear of invasion, exacerbated after the attacks suffered by the country during World War II.

More steps were taken to recognise and respect the rights of Indigenous Australians and, consequently, to face ‘the other within’. In 1992 the High Court declared that Australia had not been *terra nullius* when invaded, thus, accepting Indigenous Australians rights to land. Between 1997 and 2001 representatives of all territories and states offered an apology for the Stolen Generations, but it was not until 2008 that a national apology was given by a Prime Minister. A social debate on the meaning of being Australian, together with the spirit of the Sydney Olympic Games (2001) and of the celebrations of the centenary of Federation (2001) seemed to strengthen a reflexive attitude and a continued attempt to contemplate ‘the other within’, thus, becoming more understanding with cultures placed towards different ends of the psychocultural continuum. However, the crisis of the *Tampa* (2001), the Cronulla riots (2005), the intervention in the Northern Territory (beginning in 2007) and the attacks on Indian and Sri Lankan students (mainly in 2008)⁶⁰ show that part of the population, government included, is not embracing other cultures as part of their continuum, on equal terms, neither are they accepting their suppressed selves. Fortunately, some Australian TV programs, such as *Go Back To Where You Come From* (2011) and

⁵⁸ For more information, read pages 57 and 58.

⁵⁹ For a more detailed account, read page 60.

⁶⁰ For more information on these events, read pages 71 to 73.

Dumb, Drunk and Racist (2012), are trying to help participants and viewers face their fears and begin or continue their journeys to acknowledge their suppressed selves and to approach ‘the other’ and ‘their other within’.

5.6.2. The Network Society

Regarding collective identity, Manuel Castells’ identity theory explains three forms and origins of identity construction: legitimizing, resistance and project identity. In his *The Power of Identity. The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture* (2010), the second volume of his trilogy, Castells defines legitimizing identity as the one “introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination *vis à vis* social actors” (8). This identity can be considered mainstream or normative, as it follows the processes imposed by the nation-state and it produces a civil society.

The second type is resistance identity, which is “generated by those actors who are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus, building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society” (Castells 8). Consequently, this type of identity resists mainstream organisations and tries to organise its members in alternative communities, which may also resist other alternative communities. This type of identity implies “the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded” (Castells 9).

The third form is project identity, which takes place “when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure” (Castells 8). This third type is not a synthesis of the previous two categories, but it aims at “the transformation of society as the prolongation of this project of identity” (Castells 10), consequently, converting “its symbolic content into a communicable form” (Valtanen 6) and negotiating meanings and ways of reaching its goals. Resistance identity does not aim to change society by negotiation, but to create a society on its own terms and, if possible, imposing itself onto others. Project identity, on the other hand, aims to create a new society by negotiating its terms with others. Thus, Castells concludes that “new *project identities* do not seem to emerge from former

identities of civil society of the industrial era, but from a development of current *resistance identities*” (422)⁶¹.

For Castells, identity is “the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning” (6). He differentiates between identities and roles. The former organize meaning, while the latter categorize functions, such as being a mother, a worker, an environmentalist, etc. He claims that roles “are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organizations of society” (6), while identities are “stronger sources of meaning than roles because of the process of self-construction and individuation that they involve” (7).

Migrants sometimes feel excluded and otherised. Thus, they may become examples of resistance identity if they create communities. In the case of Australia, the immigration policies of assimilation and integration tried to make migrants become part of the legitimizing identity type and the Good Neighbour Movement was created to speed the assimilation of migrants, but in a very paternalistic way. In the following decades, migrants continued to organize themselves and in the 1972 elections they played a central role in changing the ruling party not only by voting but also by becoming candidates standing for different parties. In my opinion, post-World War II first- and second-generation Greek and Chinese migrants in Australia could have any of the three types of identity. Some tried to have a legitimizing identity by acting and being considered members of the mainstream society as much as they were allowed to and followed the ruling institutions. Others decided to exclude those who excluded them and tried to live apart from the excluders, in their communities, thus, creating resistance identities. Yet others had project identities as they tried to change the society they lived in through negotiation with other communities and mainstream institutions. As a consequence, this seems to be a pertinent theory to use in the analysis of the literary texts that will be studied in the next chapter.

⁶¹ Emphasis in the original.

Conclusion

Identity is fluid and it can be contradictory and fractured, individual and collective. Identity evolves, it changes with time and it is constructed according to individual and social circumstances. Gender, social class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, language/s spoken and belonging influence the perception of events, social relations, and even life expectations. The way a person perceives oneself is related to what one is not, that is, to the 'other', and external determinations can influence a person's identity. As Madan Sarup explains, "identity is only conceivable in and through difference" (1996: 47). The construct of womanhood and manhood affects an individual's life expectations and their behaviour. Ethnicity and social class also mark a person as mainstream or marginalised, the same as their sexuality, religion and mother tongue. Consequently, the expectations imposed on individuals follow some stereotypes, which are problematic because, although they may be correct for some, they are incomplete because they do not include everyone, but become the main way of perceiving something or someone.

However, as, according to Madan Sarup (1996), identity is the story one tells of oneself, this story may not coincide with the stereotypes and the individual will have to decide whether or not one wants to break up these stereotypes and become an activist, that is, an active fighter against them. The difference may be in relation to one's family and friends, one's ethnic and/or religious community, colleagues, and even other social groups. When faced with this situation, Manuel Castells names three different approaches to dealing with the difference: legitimizing, resistance or project identity. However, in order to face the difference in others, one needs to face the difference in oneself, that way, understanding can happen between two people or two communities. As Vin D'Cruz and William Steele explain, behaviour can be categorised into two main groups in a continuum, but not into binaries, as these groups are not mutually exclusive and one term does not have positive connotations while the other has negative ones. According to D'Cruz and Steele, the two major groups are towards the more concrete and towards the more abstract of the psycho-cultural continuum. In my opinion, Castells identity theory is embedded in D'Cruz and Steele's, and the legitimizing, resistance and project identities can be understood as phases in the development of a person's identity. Migrants, for example, may try to be liked and reach the expectations imposed on them

(legitimizing identity). When rejected, migrants may in turn reject mainstream identity and focus on the safety net of their ethnic community (resistance identity). However, migrants may try to reconcile the expectations imposed on them and what they really want in a unique way and may want to change society as a whole (project identity). Through this process, migrants are trying to find their own place in the continuum, moving from one end to the other (towards the more abstract or towards the more concrete), facing their fears, their 'other within' and coming to terms with a construction that suits them, which may change in the future. As writer and community worker Rose Nakad (1998) says,

I feel lucky sometimes. I feel pretty good. I know I've handled it all right. So I have problems when people talk about second generation migrants as somehow traumatised between two worlds. We're creating a new world. We've created a new language, the way we speak is different. We've created a new way of thinking. We're not necessarily caught between two worlds. (234)

6. Duty, Obedience and Identity in Greek-Australian Prose Fiction

I’ve thought of the children too. I know they’ll be born with two cultures but they will learn to live with it just as I did. And I ask you: What is my identity? Here they call me a wog and when I went to Greece they called me ‘the Australian’. I learned to deal with it though and to be proud of it. My kids will be proud of what they are in the same way. So what’s the difference, Mum, what’s the difference?

Koula Teo. *A Pair of Cultures*. 163.

These lines are the reply that Andréas, the Australian-born son, gives his mother, Glikeria, a Greek migrant, when he announces that he wants to marry a non-Greek woman. His mother is not upset with him, as he expected, but she is worried about him having made a good decision. As a consequence, she gives him some food for thought to consider with his girlfriend. Glikeria shares her worries with him: “You’re trying to make a match out of two different cultures, that basically do not have many common features between them” (Teo 163), so she questions him about how they are going to raise their children. These features can be the different landscape, weather conditions or language, but they can also be related to values and the way people relate to each other. As seen in chapter 5⁶², the main cultures developed in Greece and in post-invasion Australia are sited towards different poles in the psychocultural continuum described by Vin D’Cruz and William Steele (2003). Andréas wants his mother’s approval and he replies with the above-mentioned quote suggesting that they do not have all the answers, but that they will face the coming challenges, just as he confronted the idea and questioning over a defined identity. As Madan Sarup (1996) defined, identity is “the story we tell of ourselves and which is also the story that others tell of us” (3). Consequently, the difference in discourse caused a conflict in the narrator, as he was considered to be a stranger in Greece and in Australia, by being defined and stereotyped by his other country. As a second-generation migrant, Andréas has been raised with two cultures: that of his country of birth and residence (Australia) and that of his parents and ancestors (Greece).

⁶² For more information, see pages 175 to 179.

Filial piety and belonging in Greek culture, explored in chapter 3, are key constructs which have been tackled by Greek writers in the Republic of Greece but also by those in the diaspora. The construction of Greekness or Hellenism is based on language, religion, cultural heritage, tradition and customs rather than on territory. This means that the feeling of Greekness can be inculcated in people living in the diaspora and their offspring. As Anastasios Tamis (2005) informs, the Greek history “of two thousand years under foreign dominion portrays the sufferings of a nation... Yet, all those years have not erased their national character and culture, including their language, nor reduced their national ambitions” (1). The Greeks in Australia can be considered part of the ‘Hellenic Diaspora’, as this term “characterizes those Greeks, who despite their temporary or permanent expatriation to foreign lands for any reason, continue to maintain cultural, political, economic or social relations with their country of ancestry and descent” (Tamis 7). In the case of the Greeks in Australia and their children,

they do not claim a distinct socio-political or sovereign allegiance to Greece, but intellectual, linguistic, cultural and sentimental loyalty to the Hellenic civilisation. Most of them consider themselves fundamentally different from the Grecians Greeks both in attitude and perception and see themselves as a coherent part of Australian society. As Australian Greeks their children take pride in Greek culture. It is this culture that their community leaders wish to preserve and develop, and they have both the centuries-old experience of survival in the Diaspora and the financial resources. (Tamis 163)

The Greek community in Australia is prominently active. The biggest migration waves took place after World War II and the aspirations of the migrants were related to fulfilling basic human needs. Abraham Maslow (1970) specified these as physiological needs; safety; love, affection and belonging; esteem; and the need for self-actualization. Maslow’s organization has been widely accepted as a hierarchy which contemplates the integral needs of human beings in the form of health, food, shelter, clothing as well as personal and financial security. These needs also include belonging to a group (family, friends, colleagues, co-workers, community, clubs, etc) and having self-esteem, being respected and valued by others while showing respect to and valuing others. When these needs are fulfilled, one can focus on reaching one’s potential, becoming what one really

is. Anastasios Tamis (2005) notes the needs Greek migrants wanted to meet, and he summarises their aims as follows:

to establish their families, socially and politically, in a stable environment, to win Australian public approval through citizenship and the cooperation of influential segments of the society, to maintain a vigorous stand on issues affecting the mother country, and to substantially contribute to the welfare and development of their new country, the future of their children being their main concern (196).

Part of being Greek is following filial piety and the relevance of maintaining interpersonal relations and a tight community. The family does not only involve relatives but also the members of the ‘circle of our own people’, who are core to the daily duties and struggles. Given the fact that most migrants left their families in Greece, the roles of the *koumabaroï* were fulfilled by either close or influential members of the community.

Migration, exile, filial piety, interpersonal relations and identity are some of the topics explored by Greek-Australian authors in a variety of genres: poetry, prose, drama, scripts, fiction, documentary, biography, children’s, young adults’ and adults’ literature. The authors studied in this thesis are Eugenia Tsoulis, George Papaellinas, John Charalambous and the late Aristides George Paradissis, as their works provide exceptional insights into the questions of filial piety, belonging and identity. Tsoulis and Paradissis were first-generation migrants while Papaellinas and Charalambous are second-generation migrants. All of them can be considered part of the Australian ‘new’ middle class: they pursued tertiary education and held/hold liberal professions, as they taught/teach in schools and universities, and also became writers.

The novels and short stories studied, originally written in English, analyse a variety of characters and situations and have different settings and time frames. Nevertheless, they share certain features. All the main characters have Greek parents and they are either first- or second-generation migrants. The experience of migration is central to the development of their identities. Some of the novels explore intergenerational conflicts and all of them are open-ended, which stresses the idea of the fluidity of identities. All the texts explore family relations and the reader is not expected to have previous knowledge regarding Greek customs and traditions.

The analysis of these texts aims to partially answer the questions raised in the introduction of the thesis:

- 1- How do the causes for migration influence the evolution of the constructs of duty and obedience (dis/adaptation to society, dis/trust in institutions, ease/difficulty in learning a new language, definition of the group)?
- 2- What effects do the concepts of duty and obedience have on the characters that represent Greek migrants and their children?
- 3- Which strategies do these texts offer?
- 4- Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Greek-Australian authors?

Each subsection begins with a short biographical note on the author, followed by an analysis of a text, which is divided into two sections: first, an analysis of the main character/s and, then, an analysis of the identity of the main character/s using the theories of Vin D’Cruz and William Steele and of Manuel Castells. Regarding the order of the authors and texts studied, first-generation Eugenia Tsoulis is studied first, followed by second-generation George Papaellinas and John Charalambous, who are second and third as Papaellinas’ novel was published before that of Charalambous’. Despite being a first-generation migrant in Australia, the fact that Aristides George Paradissis was born and raised in China influenced his texts and I think his works provide a timely bridge between Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian literature. As far as I know, Paradissis is the only Greek-Australian author to have been raised in China while there is no Chinese Australian writer brought up and educated in Greece. Consequently, his insight into these three cultures is quite unique.

6.1. Eugenia Tsoulis

Eugenia Tsoulis was born in Varvassena (Greece) in 1945. As a child she lived with her grandmother because her father was a member of the Greek resistance during World War II. She migrated to Australia with her family when she was eight, that is, in 1953 or 1954. As AusLit (2013) details, Eugenia Tsoulis, the eldest of six sisters, studied Law at the University of Adelaide (1960s), obtained a psychiatric nursing certificate from Glenside Hospital (1967-70), a Diploma in Secondary Teaching at the University of South Australia (1977), a Bachelor of Education at the University of South Australia (1978) and a Masters of Arts at Flinders University (1995). Between 1970 and 1986, she worked at Enfield Hospital, at Findon High School and at Thebarton High School. In 1986-87 Tsoulis began to work at tertiary institutions as she

was a consultant in Multicultural Curriculum Development to the combined South Australian Universities, and researched and co-wrote the Nursing Awards texts for the Underdale College of Advanced Education and the South Australian Institute of Technology. She was also involved in many multicultural programmes in South Australia and New South Wales. Between 1991 and 1995 she was director of the Migrant Workers Centre and, from 1997, executive director of the Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia. As part of her jobs, she often published her research (AusLit 2013).

In 1994 Eugenia Tsoulis was awarded the Order of Australia for services to Multiculturalism and the Arts and in 2007 the ZONTA Woman of the Year Award (“Ms Eugenia Tsoulis” 2013) as she follows the objectives of the group: “to help advance the status of women ... through service and advocacy” (“ZONTA” 2013).

Regarding her writing, she published her novel *Between the Ceiling and the Sky* in 1998, which was republished in 2000. She also participated in Helen Nickas’ *Mothers from the Edge: An Anthology* (2006).

6.1.1. *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*

Between the Ceiling and the Sky^{63 64} (1998) introduces a novel point of view in the depiction of its characters. The protagonists are Greek-born Antigone Barbatis and her Australian-born daughter Diana. The originality of the plot is that Antigone was placed in a mental institution when Diana was a baby, and mother and daughter never saw each other again. Diana is a doctor and is doing a research project to give voice to the inmates of the mental hospital and, when reading Antigone’s file, she realises Antigone is her biological mother and that the person who raised her and she has always considered her mother was in fact her stepmother. She also comes to realise that all the inhabitants of her home, not only her father and stepmother, but also her godparents and family friends knew about the facts and always kept them from her. Diana cannot ask her parents for more information about Antigone because both of them are dead: her stepmother died years ago and her father, in the course of her research. At his funeral, a

⁶³ Hereafter, the novel *Between the Ceiling and the Sky* will be referred to as “BCS” when quoting from it.

⁶⁴ For more information on the topics of memory, myth and history in this novel, read my article “Did it really happen? Memory, history and myth in Eugenia Tsoulis’ *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*.” *Coolabah* 3 (2009): 10-16. Web. 17 July 2013.

woman named Sia approaches her and asks Diana to contact her if she wants more information about her past.

The novel, which is not linear, focuses on Antigone’s life in Crete, her husband’s house in Australia, the mental hospital, and when she is old living in Crete again. *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*’s second main character is Diana, who gives her biological mother a place in history and does not allow her story to be forgotten. These two will be the characters analysed in the following sections.

6.1.1.1. Analysis of the main characters

Antigone Barbatis was born in a rural village not far from the sea and lives with her mother and her sister. There is no reference to her having any brothers and her father had been executed with other village men during the war. Antigone recounts the courage of her female ancestors and she feels compelled to continue that saga regardless of the challenging circumstances she lives through. As she mentions:

women of the Barbatis family didn’t show their fear; she had been taught their long history of staring danger in the face; riding in the dark through enemy fire to take provisions to their men hiding in the caves; standing up to the threats and bashings of the occupiers looking for information; burying and reburying the bones of their dead; keeping alive the village and those who had gone to the mountains.

She was a Barbatis. She would never break the line of courage of those women whose stories encircled her all through childhood. Their emblem was on her mother’s face, and on the faces of the women in her family who had taught her determination. She was well practised at wearing the face of the family who had led in the resistance against the foreign enemy, and who had later fought the enemy within, which had divided the enemy and the country. (BCS 16-17)

During World War II -with the German and Italian occupations of Greece- and the civil war, Antigone helps the men in the mountains. In fact, she takes food and clothing to these men, among whom there is a fellow villager who will become her lover. They want to get married in the summer, but he is killed before this can happen. Antigone finds his body soon after he has been shot, when they are to meet because she is bringing provisions to him. She remains with him, hugging his body trying to keep him

warm, until their mothers find them. At the funeral, Antigone does not shed a tear and she puts on a brave face so other villagers will not know about her feelings, but she is heart-broken. Antigone’s mother realises she is pregnant and forces her to have an abortion: having a child out of wedlock would bring shame to the whole family and neither she nor her sister would ever get married. Antigone pleads to keep the child and suggests going to live in Athens with her uncle in order to avoid bringing shame on the family, and her uncle proposes raising the child as his own. Nevertheless, her mother is determined to protect her daughters’ and her family’s honour and Antigone has an abortion.

Years later, when she is 25, her sister’s husband, Thanasi, finds a husband for her: Petro, a rich Greek man who lives in Australia. Thanasi lets the villagers know that they have no need to send Antigone to Australia, as they own land and have no shortage of food, but the honourable thing to do for his family and children is for Antigone to marry. Thanasi is particularly proud to have found her a suitable husband, as that increases his social prestige in the village. His idea of husband is the following:

She needed a man like that [older than her], like him, someone to reign her in, someone who wouldn’t put up with her high-flying ideas! Someone who would keep her stomach bloated with children, keep her satisfied, keep her mind on the important things –not that he could ever say that out loud. And he was tired of the responsibility; it was time for someone else to take over.

(BCS 39)

It is clear from this description that the role of a woman is exclusively linked to marriage and motherhood and that her wishes and ideas are not deemed relevant if they can undermine the family’s honour and the continuity of the family, which is the main collective attribute to be upheld.

In Australia Petro is a significant member of the Greek community as he is middle class –although his job is never mentioned-, he owns his house and rents rooms to other fellow Greek migrants. As Petro’s income is enough for him to support a family, he does not want his wife to work outside the house, get tired and not to take care of herself. Petro wants his wife to

have all the time she wanted to amuse herself at home –grow a vegetable garden, write letters to her mother, visit the department stores, maybe cook the evening meal to help the other women out. And she would be with child. She had a mind of her own, she would know what she wanted. Maybe she

would learn English... But she was educated as a man. They could discuss politics together. (BCS 68-69)

When Petro meets Antigone, he is mesmerised by her beauty and he tries to amuse her and make her feel comfortable, although his behaviour is patronizing. He is a practical man who wants serenity and a family to take care of. However, their marriage does not turn out as he expected because Antigone is still coming to terms with the death of her lover, her forced abortion and the homesickness and longing for her mother. Antigone tries to adapt to her new life and she can count on Vangelia and Stathi, her *koumbaroi* at her wedding, who help her as if they were her own family. Vangelia cares about her like a mother, trying to soothe her pain and help her in her new life away from home, and Stathi is always gentle and supportive. However, when she is about to have her baby, all the housemates are at work so Antigone goes to hospital on her own. This and her lack of English make it a terrifying experience and she constantly remembers the abortion inflicted on her. When Petro arrives, Antigone is assured that their child has not been taken away from her but that their daughter is healthy and will soon be brought to her.

Vangelia is in hospital and when Antigone goes home no one can help her with her child as they all need to work. Antigone continues mourning her past and one night she thinks her husband is a soldier who wants to harm her. He wants to have sex with her and she resists. Then, “As she tried to pull away, she saw all the soldiers coming towards her, and the guns and the women screaming, trying to hide, and she would not take this, and she spat on him with the strength that she could muster” (BCS 165). She manages to pull herself free and tries to pick up her baby from the cradle and leave, but Petro threatens to kill her if she touches “his child again” (BCS 165) and tosses her into the corridor. His masculinity, then, is hegemonic, as he is dominant, the provider in the family and he may use violence to get what he wants. Petro does not negotiate his parenting skills with his wife, and it is clear from his attitude that women are those in charge of the children and the house, chores that she does to his satisfaction: “her mother must have trained her well, because she could cook and clean a house, her swollen hands were testament to that” (BCS 166). But women must be supportive and listen to the whingeing of those living in the household. As he says,

But that’s not all one needed a woman for. She hadn’t cared to listen to their complaints of tiredness, or any news they might have had to relay. She didn’t even care for the news the men got in their letters from the old

country and wanted to share; and, if she received letters from home herself, no one was aware, not even he, her husband. (BCS 166)

His wife also needed to fulfil her marital obligations and, if she were not to do it, he would find out other means: “he had been patient through the last months of pregnancy, had been patient up to now. But a man needs a woman however much he loves his wife” (BCS 167). He wanted to satisfy her and he had cared about her on the wedding night: “Petro unleashed all that he had held for her that past month, and then slept soundly, knowing her body had responded, and her soul had whimpered as he took her. He knew that he had pleased her. He had waited a long time for that wedding night” (BCS 122).

Petro is a patriarchal individual with a clear idea of the roles husband and wife should fulfil. He does not know about Antigone’s suffering and communication is only superficial. After the argument and having tossed her into the corridor, he seems frustrated with her but, “God knew, he would even be ready to woo her one more time” (BCS 168).

Antigone leaves the house running and screaming. She walks in the rain dressed only in her petticoat while crying and singing

for her baby, for herself, for the soldiers who had killed, for the men who had died in the ditches and the caves, for the causes that had been fought and lost, for the women who had mourned, for her husband who had wanted her, for Vangelia in hospital, for Elli who was far away, for the orange petals that were crushed under her body in that orchard, for the stars that didn’t shine here, for the horizon all distorted where no sea ever met the sky. (BCS 161)

Antigone is found by the police and taken to the mental hospital, where she spends ten years. Petro is contacted by the police, but when he sees that she does not recognise him, he decides to convince the priest who married them to let him divorce her so he can marry another woman who will raise his daughter and become the wife he needs. When the priest visits Antigone, she does not answer any of his questions, and the priest agrees to grant Petro a divorce. Petro marries again and Antigone is left in the hospital.

Vangelia is in and out of hospital for a decade, until she dies and Stathi decides to go back to Greece and stay with their children. However, he cannot leave the country without finding out exactly what had happened to Antigone. When they meet, he realises she has unjustly been living in the mental hospital and he promises her to do his

best so she can leave the institution. He contacts Sia, whom Antigone had met on the ship that took them to Australia, and she manages to obtain Antigone’s release. The doctor Sia contacts is also a migrant, and he understands the pain Antigone has gone through. When he asks her why she was singing that night, Antigone replies, “I was singing to my mother... I was calling her out loud to come and save me!... I was singing out loudly to the gods so they could hear me!... send a messenger!” (BCS 294). Antigone’s sense of self is deeply shaped by her culture, by her family and by her traditions. Despite her suffering, she persists in holding onto them, as she says, “And see, doctor, they [the gods] listened, it took a long time, but you came! Did you know my father had the same name as you... we pronounce it differently... Yanni... but it’s the same?” (BCS 294).

When Antigone finally leaves the mental hospital, she spends some time with Sia and her family before finally moving back to Greece. During her time in hospital, Antigone started to write a diary, and she continues to note down her thoughts for her daughter to read one day.

Diana is the second main character in this novel, although the reader is not given much information about her identity or her life. As a child, Diana has an Anglo-Australian friend, Jeanette. Diana realises that Jeanette’s world is substantially different from hers: not only are the objects different (the cutlery, the bedcovers, the abundance of clothes, the car they drove) but also the way they behave among themselves and with others (they invited her for tea, to play tennis). Diana even goes to Sunday school in Jeanette’s church. She does not like that church much, but “no one in her house took her to church, except on those occasions when there was a wedding or a baptism” (BCS 4). Jeanette and Diana’s friendship breaks down because Diana can never invite Jeanette for tea or dinner, as Diana thinks that Jeanette will feel uncomfortable in her world, with so many people around and the distinctive food provided. One day, Jeanette and Diana are supposed to play in a finals tennis match, but Diana cannot participate because she is a bridesmaid at a wedding and celebrations last all day long. Diana does not know how to explain the celebrations, the expectations and implications to Jeanette, so she does not turn up and distances herself from her friend. The feeling of living between two worlds does not affect her perception of Greece –rather than Australia- as home. As she explains, “home, on the other side of the world... She knew where home was –far away at the centre of the world, at the centre of all things” (7). Diana considers herself Greek

because all the adults in the house are first-generation Greek migrants and the differences between Jeanette's household and hers only emphasise such a feeling.

Although it is not specified, it is clear that Diana speaks Greek at home, as the adults have difficulties speaking English, and that she learns English at school. Religion is not enforced onto her but some Greek traditions are kept, such as reading coffee cups, the celebrations of weddings, baptisms or burials.

When she was born, she was given the name of her paternal grandmother, so the reader assumes it is "Diana". However, when the girl was in grade six, her favourite teacher "had told her she would call her Diana, much better than that long name that no one could pronounce. It would take up less space in her exercise book; and besides, it was the closest translation she could find" (BCS 139). She taught her parents, friends and those she related to to call her Diana and to pronounce her name correctly, that is, the way her teacher did. This situation is inconsistent: Diana accepted this anglicised name the year she stopped being friends with Jeanette because her friend would not be able to understand her Greek culture and upbringing. Nevertheless, as an adult, she tried to "regain the meaning of the name she had been given at her baptism" (BCS 139), although there is no reference to the name in question. Her quest for her identity is exemplified in this change, even though all the references to her when she is an adult are under the name "Diana". This seems to pose an oxymoron: she never refers to herself by her baptismal name, but throughout the whole novel she is referred to by the name given to her by her grade six teacher.

As an adult, Diana is estranged from traditions as she feels "a stranger" (BCS 138) at her father's funeral because she is constantly corrected. For example, she is told not to wear trousers or makeup. She also does what she is told to do: "washing and rewashing the coffee cups and liquor glasses, serving endless cups of coffee, as each group came and sat and commiserated with her, admired his garden, and blessed his name" (BCS 138). She is also reminded that she "had been so long away from them" and that "there had been no wedding they could have been invited to" (BCS 138), thus, making her feel like an outsider. At the funeral, Sia sees Diana for the first time, but she does not introduce herself. The day after the funeral, Sia gets in touch with her and asks if they could see each other. When they do, Sia urges her to contact Stathi "as soon as you can" (BCS 154) and gives her their contact details in case she wants to talk to her later.

Diana is a doctor and decides to carry out research on the inmates in the mental hospital. As she explains, "She had been coaxed to become the storyteller unfolding each new tale, twisting them all together, till she could see them in her mind as thick as rope, visible to the eye, rough to the touch" (BCS 177). A year after her father's funeral, Diana decides to write a letter to Stathi and to contact Sia. Some days before meeting her, Diana finds the file of Antigone Barbatis and she realises this was her biological mother. As a consequence, she questions her identity and she feels that

everyone in that house had kept their guard. They had acted as sentinels barring not only a past but those recollections of it that haunted them in the night. Denying the reality that had been, they had eliminated that part of their children's inheritance. (BCS 235)

She is not angry because "There was no one to be furious with. The dead had no need to listen to the living" (BCS 236). However, she decides to go ahead with her visit to Sia and then travels to Greece to meet Stathi. There she stays on her own at Antigone's house and reads the notebooks she left for her. As Diana thinks,

She had wanted to be alone... to hold the box and the key as tightly as she watched the red envelop the sky... to open the box and cry at the fraying picture of the child sitting on the woman's lap... to read slowly... to decipher the story the woman had left behind... to know more than she had been told when she had first met the woman, when she had untied the strings of those files in that abandoned room. (BCS 303)

Diana appears to be a middle class, educated, independent woman, whose feelings of belonging and closeness to traditions have shifted over the years. Nevertheless, she is interested in the construct of identity and in letting the voice of others be heard. Her identity is questioned during this project as she finds out that her "mother" was not her biological mother. The novel has an open-ending, which allows the reader to suppose that Diana has just started to face her origins and that, consequently, she will change.

6.1.1.2. Analysis of identities

As introduced in chapter 5, Vin D'Cruz and William Steele's psychocultural continuum can be used to approach identities. This theory is characterised because it is not based on binaries, but identities are set on a continuum. This means that individuals have characteristics of the two ends, named 'concreteness' and 'abstractness', but pure

poles do not exist. One of these types will predominate in an individual’s identity, but this person will have to face his or her suppressed self before being able to approach the ‘other’.

The main features of ‘concreteness’ and ‘abstractness’ are summarized in the table below:

<u>...ABSTRACTNESS</u>	<u>CONCRETENESS...</u>
-Individual freedom: standing for one’s rights against the state and their own community.	-Group privileged: kinship, blood relations. Deep feeling of group belonging.
-Autonomy, disengaged rationality, all-encompassing love and professionalism, relation with others based on personal preferences.	-Reciprocity, respect for wisdom out of experience and group loyalty are key values.
-Problems solved through direct communication styles, also by mediated relationships, often without face-to-face contact.	-Problems solved face-to-face and by interpreting the unsaid.
-Importance of money and equities.	-Preference for the near and tangible in all areas of life.
-God: chosen, general, august, pure and distant, removed from all evil and negotiation.	Preference for bartering.
	Partnership with the natural world, not subjugated.
	-Gods and goddesses: unchosen, unavoidable, close to individuals, part of every day lives.

Table 6.1. Outline of the characteristics of ‘concreteness’ and ‘abstractness’ in Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum theory

In *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*, Antigone is a clear example of an identity inclined towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum, while Diana seems to be positioned in between the more concrete and more abstract ends of the continuum.

Antigone believes in the relevance of belonging to a group, in group loyalty, kinship and blood relations. She understands life is organized according to a social hierarchy and wisdom and elders are to be respected. Her social relations in Greece and in Australia are with her neighbours. She also expects reciprocity and favours from the other members in the group, as it is a sign of the loyalty among them. Antigone often relies on the unsaid to solve problems, but sometimes also on face-to-face discussions. Coming from a rural village, she feels close to nature, needs the sun, enjoys plants and flowers and seeing, feeling and smelling the sea gives her the strength to continue waiting for a solution to her internment in the hospital. Regarding her religious beliefs, these are a mixture of Christian and classical Greek, as she believes in the Virgin Mary and goes on a pilgrimage, but she also calls on the gods to help her, not to forsake her, and follows traditions to avoid the evil eye. As a result, deities are close to her, part of her every day life, they are unchosen and unavoidable.

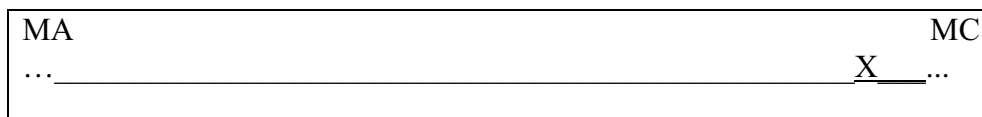


Figure 6.1. Analysis of Antigone's identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

As a child, Diana prioritizes group belonging, group loyalty, kinship and blood relations to having friends from a different cultural background. She respects her elders, both in her family, those of her friend Jeanette and her teachers. All these are characteristics of 'concreteness'. However, she is unable to be sincere with her friend and talk about her perception of a clash between cultures and traditions, and she solves that situation avoiding any direct contact, a characteristic of 'abstractness'. Her relation with religion also shows features of 'abstractness' as she knows she can choose her god: that of her family or that of her friend's. Yet, Diana does not seem to have a strong religious feeling.

As an adult, Diana seems to be closer towards the more abstract end of the psychocultural continuum. She favours individualism, autonomy, disengaged rationality, professionalism and direct communication. She seems to have distanced herself from her parent's friends and culture, as proven by her behaviour at her father's funeral. Diana solves situations through direct communication; she visits Sia and travels

to Greece. There are no references regarding her attitude to money, tangible things, favours or bartering, nor to her religious beliefs. Given the fact that the ending is open, the reader does not know whether the trip to Greece will mark a turning point in her life and she will acknowledge and face her other within by giving more importance to group loyalty and kinship.

As a child		As an adult	
MA	MC	MA	MC
... <u>X</u> <u>X</u>

Figure 6.2. Analysis of Diana’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

A second theory that can be used to analyse these characters is Manuel Castells’ identity theory. Castells explains that identity is “people’s source of meaning and experience” (6) and that identities are stronger than the roles a person may play as identities imply “a process of self-construction and individuation” (7). In the cases of Antigone and Diana, neither of them tries to create a new community (project identity). As a child, Diana excluded her friend, but not because Jeanette excluded her, rather because she found it too difficult to explain her culture and traditions to her friend. This means that she does not have a resistance identity. The same happens to Antigone: she was placed in a mental hospital, but she did not exclude the workers nor Stathi and Sia when they tried to help her and, when she left it, it is understood that Antigone moved back to Greece and lived a quiet life. Consequently, it can be reasoned that neither Diana nor Antigone are examples of resistance identities.

Thus, it can be argued that the two main characters in *Between the Ceiling and the Sky* have a legitimizing identity: Diana and Antigone live in a civil society and follow the norms, organizations and institutions. They are part of the mainstream society, even when Antigone’s freedom is restricted during her years in the mental hospital.

6.2. George Papaellinas

George Papaellinas was born in Sydney in 1954. His parents migrated from the Greek part of Cyprus to Australia after World War II. He studied Classical Greek at the University of Sydney and completed his BA in Communication at the NSW Institute of Technology (currently, UTS). He has worked as a lecturer in Creative Writing at Melbourne University and has edited several anthologies, such as *Homeland, Harbour: Stories by Australian writers* and *More Beautiful Lies*, and journals, such as *RePublica*. He published a collection of short stories titled *Ikons* in 1985 and two novels: *No* published in 1995 and *The Trip: An Odyssey (Anomaly)* in 2008. Also in 2004 he co-edited *Mumma’s Kitchen: Recipes and Stories* with Helen Addison-Smith.

Papaellinas has received six awards so far: the Young Writer’s Fellowship in 1979, given by the Literature Board of the Australia Council; the Marten Bequest for a prose writer in 1981; three grants for established writers given by the Literature Board in 1984, 1987 and 1990; and a grant for developing writers, also given by the Literature Board in 2005.

6.2.1. *No*

The novel titled *No*⁶⁵ (1995), written in broken English, introduces the character of Lakis, a young Greek-Australian man in his early 20s who lives in Sydney in the 1990s. From his prison cell, he recounts some of his life experiences which lead him to explore his understanding of society and of his own identity. The main decision Lakis, known as “Lucky”, makes in his life is not to speak, even when he is being beaten or when he is angry. However, on the last page of this 493-page novel, his sister encourages him to go home with his family once he leaves prison and he decides to say one word after so many years: the monosyllabic “No”. The reader deduces that this may be a turning-point and that he starts speaking again or, at least, using other means of communication.

6.2.1.1. Analysis of the main characters

Lucky is obsessive and he harms himself. As a child, he usually inflicts little cuts on his skin and, when older, he learns to tattoo himself and covers most of his body and face. He also learns to tattoo others and decorates the skin of his best friend, Indigenous

⁶⁵ Hereafter the novel *No* will be referred to as “NO” when quoting from it.

Australian Redfern-born Larpa, and of his girlfriend, Anglo-Australian Cindy. Larpa and Lucky become friends when they are between 14 and 16, and later on they meet Cindy, three years younger than them. The three friends live together and Larpa and Lucky become thieves, pick-pockets, burglars, assault people and smash places up if necessary, while Cindy works as a prostitute. They do not want to work for the system and they are loyal to each other.

Lucky considers himself a "wog", not a Greek like his parents, but is aware of his Hellenic identity. One of his tattoos is a customized Australian flag: the Southern Cross with the Hellenic flag on the corner instead of the British flag. As an adolescent, he is part of a gang similar to skinheads known as the "Hellboys", a pun made of "Hellas Boy", that is, Greek boys. Lucky's sense of belonging to Australia is based on the exclusion he feels from Anglo-Australians and his attachment to his parents' country of birth. However, Lucky's feeling of Greekness is different from theirs, as he has never been to the country, but it still defines some of his attitudes, such as the election and loyalty to some of his friends. As he explains: "Well, call me a wog, I know what that means, cos I am a wog, that's what I am. Cos fuck it, I'm no bloody greek. I'm not playing no greek, not for no-one" (NO 93).

In spite of Lucky's life outside the system, his parents are working class Greek migrants. His father was born in a village in the north of Greece and he lived through the German occupation and the civil war. He managed to escape, save a friend and organize for both of them to get to Australia on board a cargo ship. Once in Australia, he started to work in a factory and joined the Labor Party. He became a referent in the Greek community as he helped as many members as he could.

On the other hand, the text does not make any reference to Lucky's mother's life before her marriage. The reader learns that she used to sew at home so she could take care of their daughter, Angie, and, later on, of their son, Lucky, who was a difficult child to raise, not only because of his obsessive behaviour but also because he tried to get attention, even if it meant feigning he had a disability.

When Lucky was a child, a fellow Greek opened a factory and Lucky's mother became the manageress. Once, after one of the workers fainted because of the intense heat in the factory, she went on strike to exert pressure on the boss to finally get the necessary required. The owner was a friend of Lucky's father as they were both interested in politics. In fact, Lucky's father supported his candidature for the local council and the factory strike took place on the day he was being introduced to the

neighbourhood. Lucky's father felt outraged at the defiance of his wife, as she had broken the family's honour not only by not supporting his candidate in public but by showing up the owner's attitude towards his factory workers. He took all his frustration out on his wife and beat her on the street. Angie witnessed it all and she helped her mother go home. They packed their belongings leaving father and son alone together. Lucky lived with his father for some time until he left and then met Larpa and lived with him.

Given the difference in age between Lucky and Angie, she bore the brunt of their father's efforts to become a politician. She went to meetings and learnt to speak in public and defend ideas and values. As an adult, Angie constantly praises the efforts made by her mother to raise them, to work hard, to keep the family together, that is to say, to fulfil her roles as mother, worker and wife/*nikokyra*, until the day she was beaten by her husband. Lucky's sister is deeply affected by her condition as the daughter of migrants and, consequently, as a second-generation migrant. This is the reason why she works for the workers union securing their rights: because she is proud of her parents and this is a way of honouring and defending them from any aggressions suffered.

Later Angie is apologetic to Lucky, trying to explain her behaviour and that of her mother, the reasons why they left him with their father instead of taking him with them. Lucky is rather upset and surprised to see her, as he wonders: "Where has Angie been all this time? Where was she all of them years that I had to spend with daddy boy? And the big bloody ever since?" (NO 372). Angie lets him know that she has been looking for him and explains what has happened in her life and how their parents are getting on better: their father is living in a cottage in the garden of the house where Angie and their mother live. Lucky patiently listens to her, but his sister sometimes reacts defensively: "If you don't want to listen to why I'm here, just say. You know what I mean. Just nod. Okay? I don't have to be here, Luck, I don't have to stay... Just tell me, and I'll go" (NO 375). Angie is clearly anxious about past events in her life and she tries to explain herself:

'She didn't mean it, what mum did,' she says. 'She's really sure of that now. She was just trying to get away. Cos enough is enough, I suppose.
'Yeah, you came late. You came really late. I'm not saying too late, cos we really, really loved you a lot. I'm not saying you weren't wanted...

‘It’s too late now for doing much about that. I’m just trying to tell you why what’s happened has happened, that’s all. Though you got to figure that out for yourself a bit, as well.’ (NO 377)

Lucky cares about Angie and, as he is listening to her story, he thinks that he will have to take care of her when he leaves prison: “Look. I’ll be getting out soon, and I was gonna have to be looking after Angie as well. Even I could be seeing that now. The look on her face. She was something sick” (NO 414).

There is no reference to religious ideas, beliefs or traditions. However, Cindy, Larpa and Lucky find a boy who has been savagely abused and they take care of him until he dies. They organise a funeral for him and burn his body on a pyre. Their friends join them to give them their condolences as the child is considered to be one of them and they mourn for him.

The type of masculinity Lucky displays is not hegemonic (Connell 1995) as he is not domineering towards his girlfriend, Cindy. He seems to take advantage of his position in society as a man as well as of his physical strength, although he reaches agreements with Cindy regarding what to do and what to expect from each other. That is to say, Lucky seems to be an example of complicit masculinity. Also, as he is a second-generation migrant and not considered to be white but a “wog”, his masculinity can also be marginalised, as he does not fit into the stereotype set by mainstream society.

6.2.1.2. Analysis of identities

According to Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s theory of the psychocultural continuum, Lucky seems to have an even amount of traits of ‘concreteness’ and ‘abstractness’, while Angie’s identity seems to have more characteristics of ‘concreteness’, as Lucky values group loyalty but also individuality, and Angie’s behaviour is moulded by blood and kinship ties.

The character of Lucky in *No* stands out as equidistant from both poles as he has found a personal balance in this position. He values being part of a group and he is extremely loyal to Larpa and Cindy, two characteristics of concreteness. However, they are not blood relatives, but chosen friends based on common interests, a trait of abstractness. Also, Lucky shows respect for wisdom in his friends but rationality in his understanding of life and of the way social institutions expand their domination tools,

again revealing a feature of each pole of the continuum. Lucky prefers favours, gift-giving and commerce by barter and he knows that society is organized by hierarchies—attributes of concreteness—, but he tries to live in an egalitarian society where the wishes of individuals are respected —qualities of abstractness—, such as his decision of not speaking.

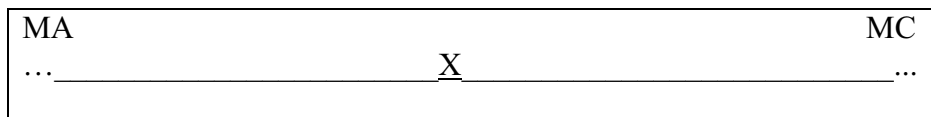


Figure 6.3. Analysis of Lucky's identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Lucky's sister, Angie, is an example of an identity closer to the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum: she believes in group loyalty and the importance of kinship and blood relations, she assumes there is a social hierarchy and she solves problems face-to-face and through understanding of the unsaid. Also, her social relations are with neighbours and members of her community, rather than with other people who share her same interests. However, she also believes in individual rights and in professionalism and prefers money to gifts and favours, as she learnt the difficulties of a tight economy.

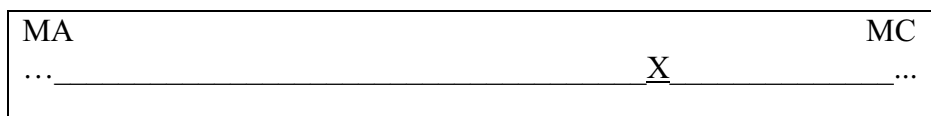


Figure 6.4. Analysis of Angie's identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

As explained in chapter 5, Manuel Castells (2003) defined three main types of identities: legitimizing, resistance and project, depending on the relation of the individual towards the rest of society. Lucky is a clear example of project identity while Angie illustrates a resistance identity.

Not only does Lucky rebel against civil institutions and excludes those who exclude him (resistance identity), but he lives in an alternative social order based on loyalty and on dispossessing the rich and prosperous from their possessions so he, Larpa

and Cindy can meet their basic needs. Lucky would like to change mainstream society, not just rebel and stand against the norm. Consequently, he represents an example of project identity.

The information provided about Angie is that she forms part of a community which shows “collective resistance against otherwise unbearable oppression, usually on the basis of identities that [are], apparently, clearly defined by history, geography, or biology, making it easier to essentialize the boundaries of resistance” (Castells 9). That is to say, Lucky’s sister has built a defensive identity which reverses “the value judgement while reinforcing the boundary” (Castells 9): she excludes those who exclude her, she has a resistance identity. This type of identity is a previous step to project identity, as the community resistance individuals create is based on exclusion and not on the overall change of society.

6.3. John Charalambous

John Charalambous was born in Melbourne in 1956. His father was Greek Cypriot and his mother, Anglo-Australian. He has a younger brother and a younger sister. The siblings never learnt or spoke Greek at home because their father never taught them, learning a language other than English was not encouraged and they felt alienated from their father. After his parents’ separation, when he was in his twenties, John Charalambous travelled to Cyprus and Greece and, although he began to understand his father’s past, he never developed emotional ties with Hellenic ways.

Charalambous obtained a Teaching degree in Fine Arts at Victoria College in 1978. While teaching in secondary schools, he began to write fiction and went on to study Literature and Creative Writing at Melbourne University. In 1984 he began teaching at Wedderburn, a town in central Victoria. In 1996 he resigned and moved to Glenrowan, where he ran a small horticultural business with his wife. At this stage of his life, he combined his job with writing. In 2007 the Charalambouses moved to Bendigo, where he finished his degree in Literature and Creative Writing. He is furthering his studies by pursuing a PhD on “the relationship between experience, writing and reception” (Charalambous “Biography” 2013).

Regarding publications, his writing is clearly divided into two periods: the first when he published some of his short stories in *Scripsi*, *Tamba* and the *Bulletin Literary Supplement*, and the second when he became a professional writer. During this stage, he

published three novels: *Furies* (2004), which was shortlisted for the Commonwealth Writer’s Prize Best First Book; *Silent Parts* (2006), longlisted for the Miles Franklin Award in 2007; and *Two Greeks* (2011). His first and third novels are set in Australia and include characters which explore Greek or Greek-Australian identities. Although none of these texts is biographical, these two novels draw from his life experiences: *Furies* from his time in rural Victoria and *Two Greeks* from the clash between a ‘mother-culture’ and a ‘father-culture’, his childhood and the change in gender relations experienced in Australia in the 1970s. Given the fact that this PhD thesis is limited to the period between 1971 and 2005 and that Charalambous’ last novel was published in 2011, this text is not included in this thesis.

6.3.1. *Furies*

The main character in *Furies*⁶⁶(2004) is Nicoletta (Nicky) Flogas, a second-generation Greek-Australian Visual Arts teacher in Rushburn, a fictional rural town in Victoria. She is the tutor of Imogen, the 15 year-old daughter of two friends with whom she has been living since she was born. Imogen’s mother committed suicide when she was a baby and her father takes no interest in her. The novel is not linear and present and past memories intertwine. It introduces a non-stereotypical family: a divorced woman who takes care of the daughter of some friends and whose way of raising the child is based on respect, dialogue, negotiation and coherence between one’s behaviour and the household norms. Nicky is not a biological mother and she often questions her aptitudes and Imogen’s expectations of her as a mother and that of a community which questions her ability to raise the child on her own. Also, Imogen grows up without a father figure, as he is absent, hardly contacts her and when he does, he does not keep his promises. The novel states the ethnicity of some of its characters: Nicky is Greek-Australian, Nicky’s ex-husband, Bala, is Singaporean and Imogen’s mother, Delores, has an Italian surname. Given that this research focuses on Greek-Australian roles, the following analysis will concentrate on the main character of Nicky.

⁶⁶ Hereafter the novel *Furies* will be referred to as “FS” when quoting from it.

6.3.1.1. Analysis of the main characters

Nicky Flogas is the youngest daughter of two Greek migrants. In his village in Greece, Nicky's father was a shepherd, but in Australia the family business is a fishmonger's, where Nicky's mother serves customers and her father manages the shop and deals with suppliers, representatives and the accountancy. This organization suits the roles of husband and wife in Greek culture: they are complementary and not in competition, and the husband enjoys social prestige while the wife manages the house and the shop, which can be seen as an extension of the house and of her traditional role as housewife.

The Flogas are part of an established Greek community and they send Nicky and her two older sisters to Greek school on Saturday mornings in order to learn Greek language, culture, mythology, patriotism and duty:

There she [Nicky] learnt that the Greeks had always travelled far, and that she and her friends were little ambassadors, heirs of Odysseus, heirs of Jason. "Remember where you come from," said Papa Stellios, "remember Greece, remember your parents. If you do this you'll always feel strong." He didn't need to mention God. (FS 49)

Her Greek identity is enhanced by the films she watches with her father's uncle and sisters and her speaking Greek until she goes to school. On her first day, her teacher sits her next to another Greek girl, thinking that they will support and help each other. However, her classmate wants to fit in with the Australian students and speaks English all the time. After the first upsetting day, she is sent to English lessons and helped by her mother and sisters. At the end of the week, her father teaches her the relevance of interpersonal relations and to differentiate between family and others, regardless of their ethnicity:

'Eh, my Nicoletta,' her father began, 'say tomorrow you were squashed under a car –who'd care?'...

'You'd care,' she said.

'Of course, I'd care. I'm your father. Who else?'

'Mana.'

'Naturally. You're a part of her. Your mother and I would be in pieces. And your sisters too.'

Having got the idea, she cited all the Mildura relatives.

‘Family,’ her father concluded.

‘And Papa Stellios,’ she said tentatively.

He gave her a sceptical look. ‘Papa Stellios? Would he bang his head and pull his hair? Would he be in pieces? Or would he say “Shame about that Nicoletta Flogas getting squashed flat like a pancake. Still, there are plenty of other girls!”’

‘Not Papa Stellios,’ she admitted...

‘But Soula Hadjiantoniou is supposed to be a Greek!,’ she erupted.

‘What’s that got to do with it? The Greeks are the biggest bunch of crooks in the world.’...‘Niki-Niki-Niki,’ he crooned, ‘only family can make you cry.’ (FS 57-58)

Regarding family ties in Greece, Nicky’s father has no family left there. His only remaining relative is an uncle who also lives in Australia, in Mildura. Therefore, there is no reason for him to go back to Greece. However, Nicky’s mother does have her parents and other family members in Greece and she wants to visit them. As a result, Nicky’s father promises his wife that they will all travel to their country of birth. When Nicky is 12, he announces he is travelling to Greece alone. In spite of all the arguments and pleas from his wife, he does not relent and goes to Greece on his own. He assures them that it is a business trip, though his purpose is to take care of his parents’ remains. During his stay, he gets toothache which turns into a severe blood infection and has to have all his teeth removed. When he returns to Australia, Nicky’s mother finally realises that her dreams of going back to Greece will not come true.

Until the trip, Nicky’s father was caring towards his daughters and sometimes violent towards his wife. However, the trip also changes his behaviour: he becomes “snappish and unreasonable, interfering in their established routines in the house and shop” (FS 59). The Flogas do not want their daughters to further their studies when compulsory education finishes, but to work full-time in the shop and to get married to a suitable groom of their election. Nicky’s older sister, Eleni, is to get married some months after her father’s trip to Greece, but the preparations cause numerous arguments among the family members, mainly between her father and his uncle. When Alex, the second sister, turns 15, she is instructed to leave school and work full-time in the shop and to get married. Nevertheless, the suitability of the chosen groom causes bitter disagreements between her father and his uncle, who “soon saw that the match was unsuitable” (FS 59). However, as her father feels that his prestige is questioned, he

encourages her to get married by stating that she has “to be patient [as] love [takes] time” (FS 59).

When Nicky is 14, her parents start telling her the plans they have for her future. However, Nicky is adamant and ready to fight: she is an outstanding student and takes every chance to study and do her homework, even when she is working at the shop. Her parents throw her uniform away in a bid to force her give up school. However, her Cypriot Greek Visual Arts teacher and the deputy principal pay a visit to her parents to explain what a brilliant student Nicky is and that she should be allowed to further her studies. Only Nicky's mother is home and, aware of the importance of her family's reputation in the Greek community and of the Greek understanding of the concepts of honour and shame, she is a hospitable host. However, when her father learns about the visit, he considers that Nicky had “brought educated people to his house to shame and castigate him” (FS 65) and he canes her. Nicky's father is aware of education and social class differences. On the one hand, unlike the teachers, he is not educated. On the other hand, even though in Australia he is a businessman, that is, a member of the 'old' middle class or *petite bourgeoisie*, and teachers are members of the 'new' middle class, he considers himself a peasant and teachers are authoritative figures. Consequently, he feels insulted and humiliated. As Nicky recalls, her father “regarded her eagerness to stay on at school as amusing and annoying [but by] the time she turned fifteen it was betrayal” (FS 54). Nicky also feels she does not live up to her father's expectations because she is a girl and given that “A son is a Greek man's right hand” (FS 54), Nicky doesn't know “what part of his anatomy she represented” (FS 54).

When Nicky goes back to school the following academic year, she is 15. Given that her father's uncle assured her he could not support her desire to continue her studies because it was her father's duty, Nicky's defiance is contested by her father: he threatens to throw her out of the house if she does not obey her mother, that is, if she does not obey him, stops studying, begins to work in the shop and then gets married to whomever they choose. In an unprecedented decision in her family, Nicky packs her belongings and leaves the house that night. That is to say, Nicky breaks the expected obedience towards her parents' decisions and stops being an obedient and dutiful daughter. As she lives with state wards, is “assigned a social worker and a child advocate and she complete[s] the school year” (FS 69), Nicky subverts the role of the family as main carer and provider: she knows the state can take care of her while

allowing her to continue her studies. As a consequence, she exercises her rights as an Australian citizen.

A mediating process exists between Nicky's parents and her. The Flogas say Nicky can go back home, but when her advocate insists on having a written document with the negotiations and the assurances, the conversations come to standstill. Some weeks later, Nicky observes that her parents' shop is closed and she learns that her family has moved to Mildura. Once she is in long-term foster care in Bendigo, Nicky receives the news that her father is in jail for trafficking with raw tobacco.

Nicky manages to study at the Teachers' College and specializes in Visual Arts. Nevertheless, her feelings when studying are not those she expected:

Under her parents' roof books had smelt of private exultation, of alternatives. Finally of escape. Here [at college] they weren't even called books. They were texts, and texts, she discovered in a flash of unpleasant insight, smelt of loneliness. (FS 85)

She lives in a room in a shared house close to the university. One of the housemates is Bala, a Singaporean young man who recommends the house to her and who lives there just between jobs. After 18 months sharing the house, they start going out together and Nicky decides to trust him:

Ordinarily she was happy to be misread. Other people's misconceptions were a blind behind which she could exist in safety. Something about this man –his brotherly manner? His foreignness? The muted beauty of his almond eyes?- made her want to break cover. For just a moment, swaying beside him on the tram, she bristled with raw assertiveness. He should know the misery she had endured! The loneliness! Then came anger, a sudden reflux of the fury she continued to feel towards her parents. It left her flushed and incapable of speech. (FS 104)

After finishing her degree, Bala and Nicky decide to go north to pick fruit. On their way, they stop at Rushburn and fall in love with a plot of land. Two friends of theirs, Karl and Delores Antonelli, join them and they decide to settle there, so Bala reaches an agreement with the owner of the land and Nicky buys it. They start building a community and more friends join them, one of whom is Willie. Karl and Willie do not get on well and Nicky and Delores often have to separate them because Karl constantly fights with Willie, who only wants to help. Nicky gets a job as a Visual Arts teacher at the secondary school in Rushburn and hers is the only steady income. Bala and the

former owner of the land become close friends and when he is hospitalised some time later, Bala is devastated and leaves for “nine months out of twelve” (FS 210). Karl and Delores have a daughter, Imogen, but they do not raise her. Delores commits suicide and Karl spends little time in the community. Therefore, both Willie and Nicky take care of the baby. Willie sees to her physical needs (feeding her, changing her nappies, bathing her and putting her to sleep) and Nicky entertains her. Bala, now working in Melbourne, decides to enrol in a fine-arts course and never visits Rushburn. Willie continues to take care of Imogen and Nicky is happy with the arrangement:

Sometimes she quite liked to hold her, quite enjoyed bathing and dressing her if Willie did the dirty work. But then she handed her back and didn't think of her during all the hours she was away at school. Never felt guilty. Particularly as Willie seemed to possess all the right instincts –he had to have *some* talents! She regarded him as a wry challenge to the milky mothers. See, there is more than one way! (FS 249)⁶⁷

This new family of hers is another subversion of the traditional family. The relation between Nicky and Bala is not typical as, although they eventually marry, each goes their own way. Delores and Karl's parenting leaves much to be desired and instead of taking care of their child with the support of others, they often ask Nicky to take care of Imogen so they can go away for several days. Also, Willie is well able to take care of Imogen and he seems to know what to do and how to do it, he cares about her well-being and her development. Before taking care of Imogen, he is described as not having many talents other than being kind-hearted. Nicky, on the other hand, treats Imogen as if she were a doll she can play with. Willie and Nicky take on reversed roles as parents: Willie behaves like a caring mother and Nicky like a provider father. Masculinity and femininity are, thus, also challenged. According to R.W. Connell's types of masculinities (1995), Willie is an example of a non-hegemonic type, as he is neither domineering nor aggressive, does not consider women should be obedient to him and does not see himself as the main provider (hegemonic masculinity). Willie displays a subordinated masculinity with other men, as he is described as weak and sensitive: “He was almost crying at the injustice” (FS 302) or “he wasn't the bad guy your father says, just weak” (FS 302). But he is also an example of complicit marginality in the way he takes care of Imogen and the compromises he reaches with Nicky regarding parenthood:

⁶⁷ Emphasis in the original.

for example, he insists Imogen should be vaccinated and Nicky points out Karl's objections. Nevertheless, Willie insists and, as Nicky says:

with her he had the fire of righteousness, and perhaps of love –for the kid, love for the quiet domesticity he'd done nothing to earn- and swore that Karl would shit bricks if little Immy got polio or TB or something terrible.
(FS 302)

The changes in her new family unit, mainly Delores' suicide and her separation from Bala, deeply affect Nicky, so she goes to Mildura to see her parents given that eight years have passed and they are on speaking terms. There she learns that her father's uncle has died. Her mother takes the chance to show her the shop she wants to buy to create a business but she needs money. Nicky decides to do her duty as a daughter, extend her mortgage and give her mother the money she needs. However, Nicky's mother dies two months after the opening. When six months later she asks her father for the money which has not been used, he does not want to give it back and she drops the subject.

On the night Nicky arrives home after her mother's burial, she does not find either Willie with Imogen or a note about their whereabouts. She panics and calls the police thinking that Willie has left with the baby. When Willie gets back home with Imogen two days later, he is completely unaware of the worry caused and of the ongoing police search. Nicky takes Imogen from him and threatens Willie with a knife. Heartbroken, he leaves the place. When Karl finds out about the search, and in spite of Nicky explaining Willie's ignorance of the consequences of his acts, Karl beats him up. From that moment on, Nicky is the person to raise Imogen. Nicky is aware that she hurt Willie's feelings, but she recognizes "there was no solidarity at the time. We were indifferent to one another's wounds" (FS 303).

After her father's death, Nicky's oldest sister, Eleni, decides to maintain the bonds among the sisters. Eleni and Nicky phone each other some times but every year they send a Christmas card with the main news and their best wishes. The relation with Alex, the second sister, is more distant. Even though Alex tries to behave as if nothing had happened, and Nicky has told her they are adults and there was nothing to forgive, their relationship is not as diplomatic as that with Eleni and their contact is less frequent.

6.3.1.2. Analysis of identity

Throughout the novel, Nicky's character develops during different stages of her life: first, as a child; then, when she decides to leave her parents and when she lives with Bala and others; a third phase is when she is Imogen's tutor, which includes the novel's open ending, as her house is destroyed by a bushfire and her new job in Melbourne also implies a new beginning, but without objects to remind her of past times. As a consequence, I will begin by using Vin D'Cruz and William Steele's psychocultural continuum theory to understand her development, and then analyse her identity and roles with Manuel Castells' identity theory.

As explained in chapter 5, D'Cruz and Steele define two poles on a continuum: 'concreteness' and 'abstractness', which are not pure concepts. Therefore, a person (or a character) will be inclined towards the more concrete or towards the more abstract ends, but will always have characteristics of both.

When Nicky is a child, she was taught to prioritize the group, kinship and blood relations, to follow and respect social hierarchy and show group loyalty and privacy, that is to say, she was more inclined towards the more concrete end of the continuum.

However, when she was 14 and 15, she defended her individual wishes, her autonomy and rationality using social networks to achieve what she wanted. Also, she used mediation and direct communication to solve problematic situations as well as professionals to help her. She believed in an egalitarian society and fought to construct one. Consequently, her identity had most of the traits of 'abstractness'.

Nevertheless, when she lives in the community, first with Bala, Delores, Karl, Willie and Imogen, and then only with Imogen, Nicky shows a more mixed identity as she has concrete and abstract characteristics. On the one hand, she believes in group loyalty, does what is best for the group, does favours, expects reciprocity and has a clear partnership with the natural world, as Nicky and her friends build as ecological a community as they possibly can. That is, she follows many features of 'concreteness'. On the other hand, she defends her individuality and an egalitarian society, her community is based on common preferences, not on blood relations, she is rational, professional and autonomous, all characteristics of 'abstractness'. In her new life in Melbourne, one would expect her to maintain the balance she has achieved as an adult.

As a child	As an adolescent	As an adult
MA MC	MA MC	MA MC
... _____ <u>X</u> _____ _____ <u>X</u> _____ _____ <u>X</u> _____ ...

Figure 6.5. Analysis of Nicky’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

With regards to Manuel Castells’ theory, one can argue that Nicky is aware of the difference between her roles and her identity. When Imogen is 15, Nicky decides that they should go to live in Melbourne as Imogen will have more opportunities in a big city than in a rural town. Nicky applies for and gets a job as a Visual Arts teacher in Melbourne. This is a meaningful change in their lives as it implies being evaluated for a position, facing her past and dreaming about a future. When reflecting on her life, Nicky considers herself ”A tough nut... Resilient, resourceful, equal to the challenge [, a person who had] come through the narrow straits. Excelled” (FS 130). After her job interview, she can even sense that her interviewers recognise in her “competence and strength, even a degree of deference” (FS 131) in her abilities as a professional. And, when wondering about what her fellow villagers will say regarding her decision, Nicky reflects that “now that she chooses to leave, in her own good time, and without regrets, no one can say she’s running away” (FS 79). Nicky has been an active member of the community and she is proud of her accomplishments and of her main roles:

an educated woman with a job, a ratepayer, a school councillor, a netballer, a tennis-club secretary, a person who [helped] raise money to send exchange students to America and [gave] up her weekends to clean rubbish from the creek. (FS 78-79)

Nicky is an example of project identity, that is to say, as a child she lives with her family, follows traditions and obeys her parents, but when she is pressured to leave her studies, she rebels and abandons her parents’ house. She decides to live in an alternative community, that of state houses, until she creates her own community. She buys the plot of land where she and her friends build the house –considered a shack by other villagers-, annexes and garden they want and dream of, which are never finished. In this community, the relations among its members subvert the established idea of the

patriarchal family, of the roles of men and women, and of masculinity and femininity. Even though Nicky does not try to change the overall society, she is consistent with her beliefs and raises Imogen to be a mature and coherent young woman, thus, she changes the world by means of leading by example.

6.4. Aristides George Paradissis

Aristides George Paradissis was born in Chefoo (now Yantai, China) in 1923. His parents were from Greek upper-middle-class families: his father, Mr George Paradissis, was born in Smyrna (Greece, now Izmir in Turkey) and his mother, Adamantia Cosmatos, in Egypt to Cephalonian parents. Paradissis studied Law at the Université L’Aurore (Shanghai) and worked as a teacher in the English language school where he had studied: St Francis Xavier. Paradissis, his mother and brother migrated to Australia in 1949, after having spent two years living in the Greek community in Egypt to escape from the consequences of World War II in China. Once in Australia, he worked as a teacher of English and French in secondary schools and then at La Trobe University (Melbourne). He obtained a BA and an MA in Spanish Studies and a PhD in French Studies at La Trobe University, where he taught World Literature, French Language and Literature and Spanish Language and Literature.

As an author of works of fiction, Aristides George Paradissis published six books of poetry: *A Tree at the Gate*, 1971; *The City of the Tree*, 1981; *The Enchanted Mirror* (bilingual Spanish-English), 1994; *The Whispering Leaves* (bilingual Greek-English), 1995; *The Echoing Harp* (bilingual French-English), 1995; and *Pale Shadow on the Road*, 1996. He also published one novel, *Dragonsleep*, 1995, and two books of short stories: *The Balzac Stories. From Paris to Parramatta and Other Tales*, 1996, and *The Shanghai Chronicles and Other Stories*, 1998. In 1999, Paradissis’ poem “Old Known Friends” was awarded third prize by the International Library of Poetry, Queensland, and was later published in the anthology *An Endless Place* (1999). He died in Melbourne in 2005.

Given the fact that some of the works by Aristides George Paradissis are deeply influenced by his biographical experience of being a Greek in the diaspora, the following pages include an analysis of two of his prose texts: his novel *Dragonsleep* (1995) and the collection of short stories *The Shanghai Chronicles: The Day After Pearl Harbor and Other Stories* (1998). In these texts, Paradissis creates first- or second-

generation Greek migrants characters who live in China or in Australia, are upper-middle class, educated, healthy, multilingual and who are interested in world affairs.

6.4.1. *Dragonsleep*

Paradissis’ only novel, *Dragonsleep*⁶⁸(1995), is a combination of mystery and science fiction situated in Chefoo (China) in 1931, the year of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. The main character is American Commander Peter McLead, who has been appointed by the Chinese government and the US Navy to locate six deserters who are suspect of opium trafficking. The novel also includes a strange paranormal journey which involves a contemporary American warship which travels through a time warp to find itself in Chefoo in 1931. One of the officers on board is Lieutenant Andrew McLead, Commander Peter McLead’s grandson.

In his undercover mission, Peter McLead sets up a silk trade business and two of the workers he hires are Mr Chu, a Chinese compradore or agent who would deal with Chinese producers, sellers or customers, and Miss Clio Panatos, a Greek secretary. For the sake of this investigation, this analysis will only focus on the Greek characters.

6.4.1.1. Analysis of the main characters

Miss Panatos has “been educated in a British school, and [is] living with her parents” (DS 15). She is “fluent in English and French” (DS 16) as well as efficient, tall and sturdy. Furthermore, although she is 25 years old, she is a widow and has a five year-old son. Miss Panatos and her two brothers and two sisters were born and raised in China because her father is a silk exporter. The family lives comfortably and they have many Chinese servants. Both the father and the mother enjoy the Arts: the father is a skilled dancer and the mother sings Greek operettas. Consequently, they want their offspring to appreciate cultures and artistic representations and also to be fluent in many languages. In fact, all the family members speak Greek, Mandarin, English and French, and the 5 year-old grandson speaks three languages, including Greek and Mandarin. The brothers are studying at the Université l’Aurore and at St. Francis Xavier’s College in Shanghai, respectively, while the sisters are boarders at the China Inland Mission School, in Chefoo. Mr and Mrs Panatos clearly expect all their offspring to have a good education and they are expected to go to high school and then pursue university studies, if they want.

⁶⁸ Hereafter the novel *Dragonsleep* will be referred to as “DS” when quoting from it.

As seen in chapter 3, when Greeks migrate, individuals tend to live close to each other, help their neighbours and build a church, a school and establish a newspaper. In the novel written by Paradissis, the Panatos are the only Greek characters and they are part of the international community of Europeans and Americans living in Chefoo. This family is portrayed as lovable, generous, kind and polite but they reveal certain stereotypes: the mother is sensitive and the father, more rational; some information regarding Mr McLead’s secret assignment is temporarily hidden from the mother so she does not worry, while the father knows his plans and supports him. Also, the mother has a closer relation to religion than the father, as she prays when their grandson is kidnapped, whereas her husband takes an active approach and tries to help with the investigation. The roles of husband and wife are clearly defined according to the patriarchal tradition: the mother is in charge of the home, the servants and the well-being of the family members, she takes care of the children and she goes to the beach with her sons, two younger daughters and her grandson when they are on holidays. Meanwhile, her husband works outside the house and, without her knowing, he helps with the investigations and goes with Mr McLead, Clio and others on the covert mission to trap some of the deserters.

It is worth noting that Clio’s mother’s first name is never revealed: she is referred to as “Mrs. Panatos” or “Mother”, that is to say, she is identified through her roles as wife and mother. As the family’s *nikokyra*, she organizes food and dinner for all her guests, which can be seen as an example of her *philoxenia* or ‘love of strangers’. Her excellent performances can be understood as a proof of her understanding of the Greek notions of honour and shame and the importance of honouring guests as a way of maintaining and improving the reputation of the family. Furthermore, being the only Greeks in the international community, she also represents Greek hospitality. However, the Panatos do not follow all the expectations and lifestyle they would have if they were in Greece. For example, there is no mention of the family’s *ikonostasi*, or family icon shrine, nor of their following Orthodox Christian festivities and name days.

The second-generation members of this Greek family also follow a liberal approach to gender roles. This is highlighted in the character of Clio. She is a widow, but she was about to divorce her English husband, Harry Stokes, in 1929. They got married and had a son, but as their marriage was failing, they decided to divorce, which is the reason why she does not use her husband’s surname. However, he drowned in an accident before they could sign the papers and, thus, she became a widow. According to

Greek tradition, Clio should wear black, but not only is she not dressed in this colour, but her clothes are modern and flatter her fit body. Also, she is open-minded about further relationships with men, although she is not actively looking for them. Furthermore, Clio takes an active control of her public life: she has a job and is an efficient professional who takes the initiative and, in her leisure time, she is keen on sports, competitive and demanding every time she bowls and plays tennis, for example. Likewise, she enjoys risky hobbies, for example, she knows how to shoot because her father had taught her. In addition, her understanding of marriage implies sharing everything in the private and public spheres of life, as she says: "The only proof of your love is to take me with you. The true sign of love is facing danger together" (DS 104).

Paradissis explores the notion of patriotism in Clio. She considers herself Greek, as she confesses: "We Hellenes are nothing if not a practical people, despite our unfortunate tendency to turn so many of life's foreordained incidents into drama, even high drama" (DS 77-78). However, at the end of the novel, she questions her feelings towards China and accepts her love for this land:

I knew these Shantung people; their love for their country and their native province was deep, sincere... I had been born in China. Was I not Chinese too, in my way? I had lived among these people for so long that I could not but share their sentiments. My heart shouted my defiance to the imperialists who were pointing their guns at the wounded country once more. (DS 120-121)

Despite the fact that she considers herself different from Chinese peoples, she accepts that her identity is unlike that of a Greek person born in Greece as she was born and raised in China and understands and appreciates Chinese cultures. Clio distinctly states her duality, as both Greek and Chinese and, consequently, she expands her identity as a second-generation Greek migrant in the diaspora to include that of a first-generation Greek-Chinese native, that is to say, to accept the relevance of China in her upbringing and personal experiences, which differentiates her from other Greeks in the diaspora, but also from other Chinese peoples as she is part of a Greek family. Colonel Chen's patriotic speech before the mission makes her realise that she considers herself not only Greek but also Chinese.

Her identity as a migrant does not pose a problem as she is part of the upper-middle class, economically powerful, international community and there is no reference to her having been bullied.

6.4.1.2. Analysis of identities

Following Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum theory, individuals behave in a certain way while they do not accept, or have difficulties in accepting, certain patterns of behaviour in others. This is why a person’s identity tends to be towards one of the ends of the continuum: ‘concreteness’ and ‘abstractness’. As no pure concrete or abstract types exist, a person has characteristics of both in them, some of which are readily noticeable to other individuals, while other features are suppressed by the person in question. This is known as “the other within”.

In Paradissis’ *Dragonsleep*, Clio is situated between the abstract and the concrete ends of the continuum. On the one hand, she believes in professionalism, disengaged rationality and autonomy, her social network is based on her preferences and she uses direct communication to solve problems. All these characteristics are symptomatic of the more abstract end of the continuum. On the other hand, Clio cherishes kinship, respect for wisdom, reciprocity and group loyalty, which prove she also follows characteristics typical of the more concrete end of the continuum. There is no reference to her religious beliefs or to her relation with the natural world. Given the fact that the novel only explores a period of several weeks in her life, we do not witness any evolution in her character.

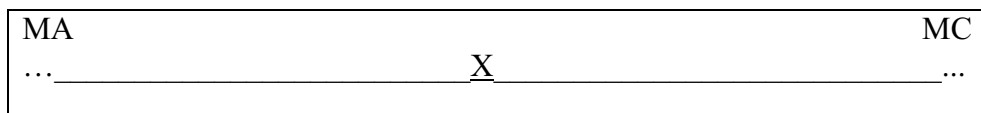


Figure 6.6. Analysis of Clio’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Manuel Castells’ identity theory classifies identity into three main types: legitimizing, resistance or project identity. This organization is based on the relation of the individual with the community, whether she or he accepts the social norms –it does not mean that the person agrees with these norms- (legitimizing identity), or whether the individual feels excluded and she or he then excludes others (resistance identity), or whether this person tries to “build a new identity that redefines their position in society” (Castells 8) and, consequently, tries to change the overall society (project identity).

If the character of Clio is analysed using this classification, it can be argued that she is an example of legitimizing identity because she follows the established rules and

does not question the dominant institutions, that is, she does not feel excluded and does not exclude anyone (resistance identity), and she does not change so much that she tries to create a new society (project identity).

6.4.2. *The Shanghai Chronicles: The Day After Pearl Harbor and Other Stories*

Aristides George Paradissis’ last publication is *The Shanghai Chronicles: The Day After Pearl Harbor and Other Stories* (1998), a collection of ten stories in which Australia, China and Greece intermingle in the characters, settings and languages used. Seven of these stories had been published in different numbers of the magazine *Mattoid* (n° 33.1, 38.3, 41.4, 44.3 and 49.summer issue) and, consequently, were not new works. Given the fact that not all the stories will be analysed, the following lines offer a quantitative analysis of this publication.

The stories share certain characteristics, mainly some of the characters, locations, time frames described, the languages used and the allusion to cultural references. To begin with, Alexander is the protagonist in the first five stories, the sixth has a female character and the last four stories have unconnected male ones. The other characters that appear in *The Shanghai Chronicles* are Greek-Australian, Anglo-Australian, Chinese, French, Greek, Greek-Egyptian and from other European nationalities.

With regards to the location of the stories, they take place in China and in Australia. In fact, four stories develop in one setting and the other six, in two. Shanghai appears in seven stories, Chefoo in one, Melbourne in five, Hobart in one and Truetown (Tasmania) in two.

The time frame of the stories is also different, as five of them take place over a single period of time, either before or during World War II, while the other five use flashbacks and, therefore, two temporal settings, separated by a minimum span of 15 years.

With reference to the languages that appear in the stories, a common characteristic is the use of, at least, one language besides English: Mandarin or Shanghainese appears in five stories, French in nine, Greek in four and Spanish in one. The use of different languages is related to the plot and to the mention of cultures, literatures and artists.

Concerning the topics explored, the most recurrent is the examination of love and heterosexual relations, which appears in seven stories, four of which include extramarital affairs and two characters who see themselves as Don Juans. Moreover,

friendship, growing up and meeting old friends is explored in three stories. Also, the Japanese occupation is part of six stories and the University L’Auroré is mentioned in four. Cultural references to literature, plays, music, singers and film stars abound in seven of the stories, such as comments on Balzac, Camus, Flaubert, García Márquez, Milton, Rousseau, Saint Exúpery, Sartre, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Bing Crosby or Errol Flynn.

The stories that I will analyse are “The European Eleven” and “Another Happy Day in Hobart”. Their main character is Alexander, who was born in the north of China. His parents are Greek and his is a middle-class family in which the Arts, culture and politics are encouraged interests. Alexander is proficient in Greek, Mandarin, English, French and Shanghainese.

6.4.2.1. Analysis of the main characters

The first story, “The European Eleven”⁶⁹ is set in June 1936, when Alexander is twelve years-old and lives in Shanghai with his father, his mother, his younger sister, her amah and cook Lao Liu. Alexander’s family seems to follow the traditional Greek structure in which the roles of husband and wife are complementary: the husband is the main provider and the wife the major caretaker. Alexander says that his father uses “his head-of-the-family voice” (EE 11) to warn him to be home early the following day as the family has a guest. Alexander is a respectful boy whose interest in Greek culture and politics is cultivated by his parents, for example, in “the visit to Shanghai –and our home- of the well-known Athenian journalist and writer, Mr N.” (EE 11). In spite of living in China, the ties with Greece are not severed and the family makes every effort to keep up-to-date with Greek affairs.

Alexander’s education is multilingual: he studies at the international College Saint Denis, in the French concession, where subjects are taught either in English or in French. He is a mediocre student but he likes sports and, as he has a cricket bat, he is chosen to play a match against the team of the Far Eastern Grammar School. Alexander’s team is formed by students of diverse European nationalities, while the opponents are English students. He plays the best match of his life and he helps his team to win. When he and his team captain go to his home to explain what happened, Alexander notices that “According to the Greek and Chinese custom all of them, from father down, shared in what was considered a family triumph” (EE 18). At the match,

⁶⁹ Hereafter, the short story “The European Eleven” will be referred to as “EE” when quoting from it.

Alexander is the representative of the family and, consequently, his triumph also increases the honourableness and reputation of the whole family.

Alexander is an obedient and responsible child who does what he is told, even when he would prefer to do something else. For example, four days before the cricket match, he is ordered to play the piano for an hour as soon as he gets home. He has been yearning to go home in order to put oil on his cricket bat. However, he dutifully obeys his mother and he manages to oil his bat the following morning.

In “Another Happy Day in Hobart”⁷⁰, Alexander lives in Hobart (Tasmania, Australia) with his mother and sister. The story is set between 1947 and 1949, “in the latter part of Mr Chifley’s Prime Ministership” (AHDH 50). He teaches English and French at the high school in the capital. There is a Greek community in Hobart and some Greek-owned shops, cafés and restaurants, although there is no Greek Orthodox church. He becomes friends with Stavros, who works in one of these shops, and often goes to the café *Blue Sea*, owned by Greek Harry Prothimos and whose cook is another Greek, Christos. In Hobart there is a Chinese laundryman, Wang Loh, to whom Alexander takes his laundry.

He is also friends with local people, such as teacher Bob Budger, from whom Alexander learns “a lot about Australian idiomatic speech” (AHDH 53). One weekend Bob and Alexander are invited for tea by Felicity Willowes, a colleague. When they get to her parents’ house, they find Mr and Mrs Willowes, Felicity and Bob’s father, who is a friend of Mr Willowes. As this is the first time that Alexander meets the parents of Bob and Felicity, Mr Willowes interrogates him and asks about his life in China. Alexander explains aspects of

Chinese traditions and customs elaborating on the family, weddings and funerals, respect for older people and ancestors, the celebration of New Year and other festivals, the formalities of public behaviour, footbinding, pigtails, the national language, dialects and minorities, and the people’s suffering first during the fourteen-year war against Japan and then during the subsequent civil war (AHDH 55).

As Alexander is talking, he realises he misses China in spite of his “deep Greek roots and the flowering of the loyal feeling of Hellenism planted in me by my dear parents” (AHDH 55). As a consequence, when the party are walking towards the dining room,

⁷⁰ Hereafter, the short story “Another Happy Day in Hobart” will be referred to as “AHDH” when quoting from it.

Alexander wonders “was there not room for two or even more such sentiments to grow in the human soul or was it that I had acquired two souls? Would not my love of Australia blossom to be just as bright one day?” (AHDH 55). Alexander’s feelings of patriotism and belonging are stirred by the conversation.

After the pleasant dinner, when they are all talking in the lounge, Mr Willowes questions Alexander again this time about his academic qualifications and skills which enable him to teach English and French to finally accuse him bluntly of taking the job of “one of our local teachers” (AHDH 56). Alexander wonders about Mr Willowes’ intentions, but replies politely as, after all, he is “a guest in this man’s house and [he has] noticed the circles of consternation widening on Mrs Willowes’ perspiring face” (AHDH 56). Alexander’s sense of honour and respect towards elders does not allow him to defend himself from the accusation but just to reply politely and try to change topics. On the other hand, Mr Willowes does not seem to worry about making his guests, his wife or his daughter uncomfortable: he seems to be affronted by this foreign teacher of English and French and attacks him in order to defend the suitability of local teachers.

6.4.2.2. Analysis of identities

Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum theory can be used to analyse cultures as well as individuals. As explained in chapter 5, Greek and Chinese cultures seem to be more inclined towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum, that is, they tend to privilege the group over the individual; there is a social hierarchy rather than an egalitarian society; kinship, blood relationships, respect for wisdom and group loyalty are expected and encouraged. Also, in more concrete societies, favours and gift-giving are used as a way of strengthening bonds between people, and social relations are with neighbours, and not due to personal interests.

If the psychocultural continuum theory is used to analyse Alexander, it is clear that his sense of belonging and of loyalty to a group –two features of ‘concreteness’- are personal characteristics not only in his childhood but also as a young adult. Also, in Shanghai and in Hobart, Alexander has friends of many nationalities, that is to say, he relates to others because of preferences and social networks –two features of ‘abstractness’- and not because of kinship and blood relations. Nevertheless, when Alexander is living in Hobart, he supports professionalism, disengaged rationalism and solves problems face-to-face, three characteristics of abstractness. There are no

references to his relation to the natural world nor to deities, nor to his preference concerning economic exchanges: in bartering, gifts or favours, or regarding money, shares or stocks. Consequently, it can be argued that when Alexander is a child, his identity is inclined towards the more concrete end of the continuum, and that when he is a young adult, his identity is between the more concrete and the more abstract ends of the psychocultural continuum.

As a child, in Shanghai	As a young adult, in Hobart
MA MC	MA MC
... _____ <u>X</u> _____ _____ <u>X</u> _____ ...

Figure 6.7. Analysis of Alexander’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

If Manuel Castells’ identity theory is applied to Alexander, it is clear that he is an example of a legitimizing identity. Alexander follows the regulations and becomes part of civil society. He neither rebels against nor excludes anyone, not even those who try to exclude him, the main trait of resistance identity. Furthermore, he does not reveal the characteristics of project identity either, as he does not dream about a new society, does not change his own identity and he does not try to implement any change in others.

Conclusion

The six texts presented introduce different characters, who present a wide range of approximations to migration and identity. Those studied include males (Lucky and Alexander) and females (Antigone, Diana, Angie, Nicky and Clio), first-generation (Antigone and Alexander) and second-generation migrants (all the others); four characters were born in Australia (Diana, Lucky, Angie and Nicky), one in Greece (Antigone) and two in China (Clio and Alexander). As a consequence, the character of Alexander is a second-generation migrant in China and a first-generation migrant in Australia. All these characters are literate, although Antigone’s knowledge of English is almost non-existent. All their respective families are either working or middle class: Antigone’s family had lands in Greece and gave her an education, while Diana’s father

owned his house and she studied medicine. In Papaellinas’ novel, Lucky and Angie’s parents worked in factories and Angie pursued tertiary education. Charalambous created a main character (Nicky) whose parents owned a business and she managed to study to become a Visual Arts teacher. Likewise, the families of Paradissis’ characters were businessmen and Clio completed the studies she chose and Alexander studied to become an English and French language teacher. Regarding religion, only Antigone has a relationship with deities as all the other characters make no references to religious feelings or beliefs, not even when their identities are explored over a long time span. It is worth noting that there are no homosexual, lesbian, bisexual nor transgender characters in any of these texts.

Some of the characters hardly change their inclination towards the more concrete or more abstract end of the continuum: Antigone, Lucky, Angie and Clio remain stable to their identities, even when they face difficult events and situations. On the contrary, Diana and Alexander change from childhood to adulthood as they move towards the more abstract end of the continuum. In the case of Diana, her being a second-generation migrant is a pivotal aspect of her identity. In relation to Alexander, migrating to Australia seems to have a strong effect on his perception of himself as he questions his patriotism and how he relates to Greece, China and Australia. Nicky undergoes a more profound modification in character: as a child, she is inclined towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum; and, as an adolescent, she prioritizes her wish to study and she radically changes towards the more abstract end. However, she experiences a third change: as an adult she manages to understand –not agree with- her parents and she reconciles herself with part of the concrete in her, so her identity moves to a mid-position between the concrete and abstract ends of the continuum.

Following Manuel Castells’ identity theory, four of the characters (Antigone, Diana, Clio and Alexander) have a legitimizing identity: they follow the conventions and norms of the country they live in, do not exclude anyone and do not aim to create a new society. Conversely, Angie is an example of resistance identity, as she tries to live in a world that excludes those who have made her feel she is not a full member of society on equal terms. Finally, Lucky and Nicky clearly reveal project identities as they rebel against what they do not like about the society they live in and they create a society of their own, with their own rules: Lucky with Larpa and Cindy, and Nicky with her friends. This does not mean that they live apart from the rest of society, on the contrary, Lucky benefits from the capitalist society others support as he steals from

them, while Nicky teaches at a school, that is, at one of the main institutions which transmit power relations and social regulations. None of the characters presented seem to modify the way they relate to others, but their patterns of behaviour are coherent with their understanding of the society around them.

It is interesting to note that first-generation and second-generation Greek-Australian writers present different solutions to deal with the difficult situations characters face. While Tsoulis and Paradissis create legitimizing characters, Papaellinas and Charalambous come up with characters who have resistance and project identities. This may be influenced by their personal experiences as first-generation migrants who arrived in Australia in the 1950s (Tsoulis in 1953 or 1954 as a child and Paradissis in 1949 as a young adult). They had no choice but to assimilate into Australian society at a time when the White Australia policy was starting to be relaxed because the country needed to increase its population and assimilation was expected from migrants. On the other hand, second-generation Papaellinas and Charalambous were born and raised in Australia and went to school at a time when integration and then multiculturalism were the approaches towards migrants. This means that they had more tools available to explore their identities and that they had learnt their rights and duties as Australian citizens at school.

In the introduction to the thesis and this chapter, four questions were posed:

- 1- How do the causes for migration influence the evolution of the constructs of duty and obedience (dis/adaptation to society, dis/trust in institutions, ease/difficulty in learning a new language, definition of the group)?
- 2- What effects do the concepts of duty and obedience have on the characters that represent Greek migrants and their children?
- 3- Which strategies do these texts offer?
- 4- Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Greek-Australian authors?

Each text approaches these questions in a different way. Although the causes for migration are different (a marriage, better living conditions), Australian institutions affect the characters in two different ways: Antigone, Lucky and Nicky's lives are profoundly shaped by Australian institutions, either because they help or hurt them, while Angie, Clio and Alexander's lives are not noticeably determined by them as institutions do not interfere with their freedom.

In *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*, Antigone holds on to Vangelia to adapt to life in the country and to deal with her past memories. Her social group is limited to those who live in the household and some neighbours: she does not feel integrated into the wider community, does not speak English, does not work outside the house, and her knowledge about Australian institutions and ways of life is limited. When Antigone is in the mental hospital, the memories of her daughter, of her beloved ones, of the Greek landscape and her beliefs in Greek customs seem to be her source of energy to cope with the situation. She is forced to remain in the hospital and, as she cannot communicate with the nurses, doctors and guards, she is at their mercy. Her experience of Australia is oppressive and a source of suffering.

In *No*, both Lucky and Angie learn English as children but neither of them trusts institutions. On the one hand, Lucky decides to live a life as far out of reach of institutions as possible: he gives up school, he does not go to hospitals when sick or injured, he is put in prison and he is bashed up by the police. On the other hand, Angie works for the workers union to defend their rights as she considers that democratic institutions are abusive and only want to maintain the established order without taking into account the social changes experienced in the previous decades. She deals with institutions in her daily life, but they do not limit her freedom of movement or of action.

In *Furies*, Nicky learns English at school as she speaks Greek at home and only knows a few words related to food sold at her parent’s shop. Nicky trusts institutions and, not only does she ask them for help to further her studies, but she also leaves her parent’s house and goes to live with state wards and then in long-term foster care. She benefits from the existence of social institutions which help her reach her goal: to continue studying.

In *Dragonsleep*, Clio works in the export trade, but her boss and later fiancé is a soldier, which implies an acceptance and continuity of the established norms and of a hierarchy. Nevertheless, during the time Clio is in China, institutions do not shape her daily life as she does not pose a threat to them.

In “The European Eleven”, Alexander is a child who obeys his parents and teachers and, even though he lives in China, the institutions which mould his daily life are in the French concession of Shanghai, therefore, not even those of the country he lives in. In “Another Happy Day in Hobart”, Alexander arrives in Australia and as a skilled worker. This means that he quickly adapts to the country and to its institutions as

he is proficient in English and works in a school, which implies knowing and understanding the power structures.

In these six texts, authors present different strategies to explain the constructs of duty and obedience, which are intrinsic to interpersonal relations: being born in their families, the main characters have learnt the expectations imposed on them by their parents and their communities. Thus, regardless of whether they are first- or second-generation migrants, some characters (Antigone, Diana, Angie, Clio and Alexander) live according to these expectations, while others (Lucky, Nicky) defy or subvert them. As Madan Sarup (1991) affirmed, “literature and storytelling [have important functions because they] provide the means for dealing with experiences by discussing them” (139). Accordingly, the construction of the characters presents alternatives, sometimes drastic ones, to possible situations and experiences which can affect first- or second-generation migrants.

Finally, the feelings of home and belonging are determinant factors in a person’s identity. In the case of first-generation migrants, the country of birth and the country of residence can arouse different emotions, while in the case of the second-generation, the fact that the country of birth and residence is different from the country of one’s parents and ancestors can make migrants experience different degrees of ease. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the feeling of belonging is just limited to one country or that this should be their country of birth: individuals can feel they belong to more than one place, or that their feeling of belonging is different from those of others.

In Eugenia Tsoulis’ *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*, Antigone clearly feels Greek, while Diana feels Greek-Australian, different from other Greeks and from other Australians. The main characters in George Papaellinas’ *No* and John Charalambous’ *Furies* are second-generation migrants whose sense of identity is different from that of their parents and who create their own alternative communities, thus, feeling Greek-Australian. Finally, the central characters in Aristides George Paradissis’ *Dragonsleep* and in the short story “The European Eleven” are examples of individuals identifying with both the Greeks and the Chinese. Nevertheless, Paradissis’ “Another Happy Day in Hobart” introduces another option: that of the character whose identity is not based on the place where he was born, on the country of his ancestors nor on the place where he is currently living. His identity is not only in the past, nor only in the present, but in the movement he experiences in life and which also includes the future. Thus, ‘home’ comes to mean the place where he becomes himself, not necessarily a country. This

approach to ‘home’ and ‘identity’ suits Alexander because he is a first-generation migrant in Australia, and he is on the move. He is not rooted in just one country: Alexander was born in China into a Greek family and lives in Australia. This amalgam of cultures and experiences makes him different from other Chinese, Greek and Australian peoples as well as from other Chinese Australians and Greek-Australians. His way of understanding life, the story he tells of himself and the story others may tell of him (Madan Sarup’s identity theory) may have more in common with an Italian-Canadian living Tokyo than with a Chinese Australian or a Greek-Australian: his identity is fluid. Thus, he wonders: “Would not my love of Australia blossom to be just as bright [as that for Greece and for China] one day?” (AHDH 55). Some sociological theories which study this type of migration and identity are “global citizenship” and “third culture kids”. Given that this thesis focuses on first- and second-generation migrants in Australia, it will not explore these theoretical approaches to identity.

To sum up, the six texts examine different strategies to tackle the constructs of duty and obedience and to deal with inter-generational conflicts. The construction of each individual’s identity is clearly determined by their experience as first- or as second-generation migrants: they are pro-active in the shaping of their lives as, even when they have to wait for something to come true, their determination to remain coherent with their beliefs guides their actions.

7. Duty, Obedience and Identity in Chinese Australian Prose Fiction

“I don’t see anything wrong in trying to get your children especially your daughters married off to the right people, to desirable people, ones who can provide a good future for them. I’m only trying to do the best for my children.”

Frank Chan Loh. *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen*. 40.

The above is part of a conversation that a Chinese-Malaysian father, Mr. Lam, has with his friends during the 1986 Chinese New Year party he is throwing at his home in Sydney. He wants to marry off his daughter to a wealthy man as he feels this is his duty. Therefore, he introduces her to all the suitable candidates he finds, who happen to be sons of his friends. Dr Chou and Moby, two of his guests, are talking to him and Moby, a newly-arrived Chinese language teacher from Beijing, asks Mr Lam: “In China today, parents don’t arrange marriages for their children anymore. You huaqiao in Australia still arrange your children’s marriages?” (Loh 40). Dr Chou intervenes and clarifies: “No, we don’t either...Only Lam does.” (Loh 40).

As seen in chapter 4, filial piety is a central construct in Chinese cultures. Logically, this concept has been explored by Chinese authors in the People’s Republic of China as well as by Chinese living abroad or *huaqiao*. Australia has more than 860,000 inhabitants who claim Chinese ancestry, that is, a 4.3% of the total population (ABS 2013), and less than 30 have published literary (not academic and not journalistic) texts in prose in English language since the 1980s and consider themselves writers. Most of these authors of Chinese heritage are part of the Asian Australian Studies Research Network (AASRN), which compiled a list which includes most of those whose works won or were nominated to national and international literary awards.

Being of Chinese descent does not imply having been born in the People’s Republic of China. In fact, most of the authors included in the AASRN list migrated to Australia from a country where Chinese people had migrated to before and where they had settled and created communities, such as Malaysia or Singapore. Thus, it can be argued that the works of writers who were born in this second country are part of their national literatures. Such is the position of Tamara S. Wagner, who considers Singapore-born Hsu-Ming Teo to be an example of Singaporean writing (2003: 30).

Conversely, I regard Hsu-Ming Teo as a Chinese Australian author, and her writing part of Australian literature. As explained in the introduction of this thesis⁷¹, from the time of the first Chinese migrants, individuals of Chinese origin living in Australia had different perceptions of their identities and belonging with regards to Australia. After the policies of multiculturalism, the label ‘Chinese Australian’ became acceptable and accepted as an identity term and, as Hsu-Ming Teo is a person of Chinese descent who holds Australian citizenship and who was raised during the times of multiculturalism, I consider her to be Chinese Australian.

Chinese Australian authors cover a wide range of genres: from poetry to drama, from children’s literature to thrillers, from fiction to biographies. The authors studied in this thesis are Ang Chin Geok, Frank Chan Loh and Hsu-Ming Teo, as the two constructs of filial piety and identity are explored in their novels. These writers migrated to Australia from Malaysia and Singapore between 1967 and 1978, and all of them have Australian citizenship. They are part of the Australian ‘new’ middle-class: they pursued tertiary education and hold liberal professions, as they are secondary or tertiary education teachers as well as writers.

The four novels studied analyse a variety of characters and situations, but they also share some characteristics. All the texts are partially or mainly set in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s, immigration is central to the development of the characters, there are intergenerational conflicts and the novels are open-ended, which emphasises the thesis that identities are not given, but are constructs which change with time and experience. Besides, all the texts are aimed at a readership with limited or minimum knowledge about Chinese cultures, about family and interpersonal relations and about historical events in different East Asian or South-East Asian countries.

Some of the novels also follow what Tamara S. Wagner (2003) has coined as the ‘Amy Tan-syndrome’. Amy Tan is a renowned Chinese-American writer whose first novel, *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), became a best-seller and an inspiration for many first- and second-generation migrant writers. Tan’s novel explains the lives and relationships among four Chinese migrant women in America and their second-generation daughters. Going back and forth from pre-1949 China to 1970s-1980s California, the novel explores cultural and generational clashes, expectations and dreams.

⁷¹ For more information, go to pages 25 and 26.

Tamara S. Wagner (2003) enumerates the four characteristics of the ‘Amy Tan-syndrome’ as “the juxtaposition of a contemporary and a historical plot”, “the paralleling of the mother’s and daughter’s history”, “the clash of traditional Chinese and ‘Western’ or ‘Westernized’ protagonists” and “a disconcerting juxtaposition of war-time or post-war atrocities and postcolonial hybridity” (25). These four characteristics appear in Ang Chin Geok’s and Hsu-Ming Teo’s novels as they are central to the plot in *Wind and Water* (1997) and *Love and Vertigo* (2000), and relevant for the understanding of two of the main characters in *Behind the Moon* (2005). Nevertheless, only the third characteristic appears in Frank Chan Loh’s *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen* (2000). Consequently, this novel cannot be considered to follow this literary pattern. The Amy Tan-syndrome will be used as the framework to analyse mother-daughter and mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations in Geok’s and Teo’s novels.

The analysis of these four novels aims to partially answer the questions raised in the introduction of the thesis:

- 1- How do the causes for migration influence the evolution of the constructs of duty and obedience (dis/adaptation to society, dis/trust in institutions, ease/difficulty in learning a new language, definition of the group)?
- 2- What effects do the concepts of duty and obedience have on the characters that represent Chinese migrants and their children?
- 3- What strategies do the texts offer?
- 4- Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Chinese Australian authors?

Each section in this chapter begins with a short biographical note on each author, followed by an analysis of his or her novels. In the cases of Ang Chin Geok’s *Wind and Water* and Hsu-Ming Teo’s *Love and Vertigo*, the study of each novel includes an introduction, an analysis of the Amy Tan-syndrome and of the identities of the most relevant characters. With reference to Hsu-Ming Teo’s *Behind the Moon*, the subsection is organized into an introduction to the text, an analysis of the main characters, which includes an examination of the Amy Tan-syndrome in one of the characters, and a study of the identities of the main characters. Concerning Frank Chan Loh’s *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen*, the subsection is divided into an introduction to the text, an analysis of the main characters and a study of their identities. Finally, the questions above will be answered in the conclusions.

7.1. Ang Chin Geok

Ang Chin Geok was born in Singapore in 1942 and migrated to Australia in 1967. She studied anthropology at the University of Queensland, where she worked as a research assistant. She lived in Singapore for three years before moving back to Sydney and becoming a full time writer in 1993. Geok also got a MA at Macquarie University and a PhD in Creative Writing at the University of Queensland.

7.1.1. *Wind and Water*

Geok’s debut novel is *Wind and Water*⁷² (1997), a Chinese-Singaporean family saga explained by some of its female members. What makes this linear novel unique is the fact that each member is scrutinized from the point of view of her youngest daughter, that is, Madam Seah is approached through Teen, whose life is mainly explained by her daughter Peng An, who is also presented by Lettie. The novel focuses on the three first characters and the social and historical changes they lived through, how the patriarchal world Madam Seah imposed on Teen is weakened when it comes to Peng An and not forced onto Lettie. For the purpose of this study, I will focus on the characters of Peng An, who migrated to Australia, and Lettie, who was born and raised there.

Peng An is the youngest daughter of Hock Teen and her husband, whose name is never revealed in the novel. She was born during the Japanese occupation of Singapore and barely survived the consequent famine. At the end of the war as the country began an economic boom, her family became prosperous and she was taken care by *amah* Ah Siew. Peng An went to the Singapore Chinese Girls’ School and, when she was eight or nine, Ah Siew was expelled for stealing Peng An’s clothes and jewellery to pay for her gambling addiction. When she was studying at university, Peng An married Chris Hamilton, a young Australian of English ancestry, and she migrated to Australia. Chris wanted to become a professional diplomat and he cherished Peng An’s intelligence and personality. He was different to the Chinese men Peng An had met, who wanted a traditional Chinese wife. Even though Peng An’s parents were not happy about her marrying a man whose knowledge about her culture and language was extremely

⁷² Hereafter, the novel *Wind and Water* will be referred to as “WW” when quoting from it.

limited and did not like the prospect of losing her to migration, they allowed them to get married. She did not foresee, though, his family’s opposition and disapproval. She was made to feel a second-class citizen by Chris’ mother, sisters and wider society, and only had the support of her father-in-law, who died five years after their marriage. Chris and Peng An had a daughter, Lettie, and a son, Sam, who died when he was 20. Their marriage was not happy and it ended after eleven years, when she left Chris and their children. Peng An decided to stay in Australia, rebuild her life and get the custody of her daughter and son.

The character of Lettie is the least developed in the novel. Most of the information provided refers to her relationship with others as the reader gets to know that she is determined and independent, that she was discriminated against at school because of her ethnicity, and that she is very fond of both her parents and her dead brother. She represents a break with patriarchal domination and a different generation for whom identities and roles are not fixed, but fluid, whose ethnicity and place of birth are not the main providers for a public identity and a generation who easily crosses countries and frontiers for pleasure.

Given the fact that this novel is a four-generation family saga set in the twentieth century, the sections below demonstrate the characteristics of the Amy Tan-syndrome and shed light on the identities of some of the characters using Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum theory and Manuel Castells’ identity theory.

7.1.1.1 The Amy Tan-syndrome

An analysis of *Wind and Water* (1997) brings to the surface the main characteristics of the Amy-Tan Syndrome, that is, the depiction of historical and contemporary plots as well as war and post-war atrocities; the construction of some characters as postcolonial hybrids; parallelisms between the lives of mothers and daughters (and grandmothers and granddaughters); and tension between some Chinese and “Western” or “Westernized” protagonists.

The novel spans the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. It is mainly set in Singapore, although three of the four generations live in a different country: Madan Seoh comes from China, Peng An goes to live in Australia and Lettie is born there. The war referred to is World War II and the main characters survive the fall and Japanese occupation of Singapore between 1942 and 1945. The scenario of World War II allows the author to deal with the atrocities that took place during the Japanese

occupation, such as the rape of a neighbour, the torture and beheading of others or the famine and struggle to survive. Most post-war difficulties are not specified and the novel lingers on the economic boom of the 1948- early 1950s.

Regarding the parallelism between generations of females, due to her illiteracy, Teen was unable to help her husband in his business, just as she was not able to help her father and avoid the family’s decline into bankruptcy. Not only Peng An’s grandfather and father had difficulties in their businesses, Peng An’s husband was an idealistic man and he was more interested in his projects as such than in selling them. Peng An’s grandfather enjoyed the Arts (classical poetry, music and songbirds) (WW 15) and disliked working in the family construction company. Peng An’s father started his own business as a mechanic, but after some very prosperous years, the business failed. Peng An’s husband was an architect “with a vision for Australian architecture which Australians could not comprehend” (WW 282). Thus, these three women dealt with husbands who were not good entrepreneurs, and their decisions had long lasting consequences on the families, such as bankruptcy.

Concerning hybridity, Peng An’s character reveals deep rooted rifts that lead her to defy traditions and the tight patriarchal knots her ancestors endured. Throughout her life, she remained a loyal and caring daughter but she was far more fortunate than her mother and grandmother in that she was literate and, most importantly, chose her own husband. Peng An’s hybridity is developed on the causes and effects of the decisions she makes: she marries a man of a different culture and language, migrates to a Western country and has two Anglo-Australian-Chinese-Singaporean children. When she leaves her husband, son and daughter, she decides to face the consequences herself. She refuses to move back to Singapore and to allow her mother to take over the reins of her family, but she accepts her advice and emotional reassurance. The fact that she lets her family support her but not dictate her life is a crucial turning point in the family saga and the novel hints that Lettie will continue this tendency.

7.1.1.2. Analysis of identities

As explained in chapter 5, in the psychocultural continuum theory of Vin D’Cruz and William Steele, individuals are placed in a continuum and they can be inclined towards the more concrete or towards the more abstract ends, as there are no pure terms and each person has different degrees of both characteristics. Consequently, a person can reach “the other within” if the suppressed self is acknowledged and then brought to

the surface to approach others. Given the fact that identity is not static, an individual’s amount of concreteness and abstractness can change during life. The main characteristics of each term are summarized in the table below:

Towards the more abstract	Towards the more concrete
Individual freedom: standing for one’s rights against the state and their own community	Group privileged: kinship, blood relations. Deep feeling of group belonging
Autonomy, disengaged rationality, all-encompassing love and professionalism, relation with others based on personal preferences	Reciprocity, respect for wisdom out of experience and group loyalty are key values
Problems solved through direct communication styles, also by mediated relationships, often without face-to-face contact	Problems solved face-to-face and by interpreting the unsaid
Importance of money and equities	Preference for the near and tangible in all areas of life Preference for bartering Partnership with the natural world, not subjugated
God: chosen, general, august, pure and distant, removed from all evil and negotiation.	Gods and goddesses: unchosen, unavoidable, close to individuals, part of every day lives

Table 7.1. Outline of the characteristics of abstractness and concreteness in Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum

According to this theory, Peng An would be positioned in a mid-position between the more concrete and the more abstract, definitely in a less concrete position than her mother or her grandmother. Peng An lives and believes in an egalitarian society rather than a hierarchical one consisting of first- and second-class citizens. She values her family and she accepts their support and love, but she enjoys and claims her individuality, as she proves when marrying Chris Hamilton or leaving her husband and children to construct her new identity. She decides to explore her autonomy and professionalism while problems are generally solved through mediation. Thus, she possesses an identity inclined towards both the more concrete and the more abstract ends of the continuum. Throughout her life she is often confronted by aspects of ‘the-other-within’ inevitably concerning her ethnicity and gender: her being considered an

outsider in Australia and suffering discrimination, and her role as wife and mother. Peng An’s family-in-law frequently force her to doubt her parenting skills resulting in her considering herself a failure. Due to such coercion, she decides to abandon her husband and offspring. However, the fact that she remains in Australia and fights for the custody of her children means that she faces the fears instilled in her and overcomes them.

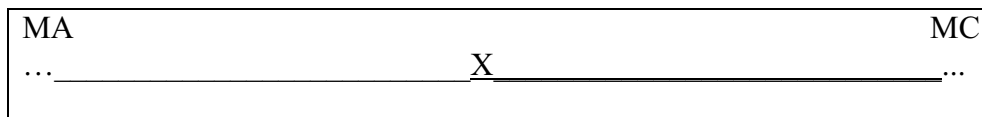


Figure 7.1. Analysis of Peng An’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Also, at her mother’s wake, Peng An realises the large number of people –mainly women- Teen had helped and supported throughout her life. Peng An’s mother thus embodies what Manuel Castells would call a resistance identity, that is, in spite of her position outside the domineering powers, she finds strategies to resist the mainstream institutions of society and creates an alternative one.

Teen was obstinate and had “strength of purpose” (WW 55). As a consequence, she managed to find strategies to resist what she did not like and counteract situations. As a woman, Teen was supposed to be submissive and passive, but she became the confident person who helped everyone and became the matriarchal figure not only within the family but also among her neighbours, thereby creating an alternative community. Peng An learnt from the example of her mother’s resistant identity, but, following Manuel Castells’ theory, hers is a project identity: she questions society and does not want to exclude others, but she longs to create a safer and more egalitarian society for her children.

Lettie Hamilton is Peng An’s daughter. Lettie was born in Townsville (Queensland, Australia) of a Han Chinese Singaporean mother (Peng An) and an Anglo-Australian father (Chris Hamilton). The novel mentions that Lettie had a Jewish-Hungarian stepfather, but this character is not explored, so the reader does not know the duration of the relationship or how close the characters are. Lettie considered herself to be “at the confluence of powerful ethnic currents, drawn into the vortex of a developing Australian consciousness, being whirled about and emulsified” (WW 275). Consequently, she is the most hybrid character in *Wind and Water*.

At school Lettie felt discriminated against because of her origins and she befriended other first- and second-generation migrant children. However, she realized she “had to be like other Australian children” as “safety lay in being inconspicuous” (WW 284). By the time she went to university, “race relations had become more relaxed, almost a non-issue for people of Asian and part-Asian parentage” (WW 287). Regarding her Singaporean family, Lettie visited them when she was one, four and ten years-old. The third time she was adamant in her refusal to visit her mother’s family because she remembered all the parental control and rules she had had to follow and the obedience demanded from her by other family members. However, as Teen was ill, Peng An took her children, Lettie and Sam, to Singapore to spend time with and take care of their dying grandmother. As a young adult, Lettie travelled around Europe and she realized “that how I perceived the world and my place in it was more important than how my chromosomes were arranged and which country had supplied them” (WW 299).

Following the psychocultural continuum theory, it can be argued that Lettie was inclined towards the more abstract, as she enjoyed her autonomy, freedom and individuality while approaching both conflict and communication unswervingly. Peng An had insisted on her children being responsible citizens first and putting their personal happiness second, but neither Lettie nor Sam agreed (WW 302). However, during her European trip, Lettie faced her other within: she came to terms with her hybridity.

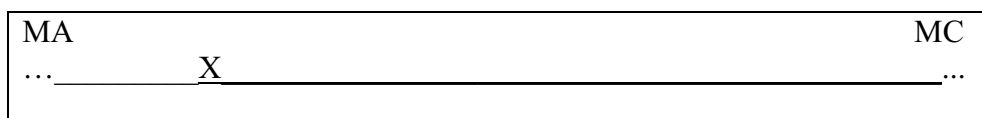


Figure 7.2. Analysis of Lettie’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

According to Manuel Castells’ theory, Lettie’s identity as a child and teenager was legitimizing, as she wanted to be accepted as part of the mainstream, but the trip helped her to develop a project personality, as she started to “build a new identity that redefines [her] position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure” (Castells 8) without racism and discrimination.

7.2. Hsu-Ming Teo

Hsu-Ming Teo was born in Malaysia in 1970 and she migrated with her family to Sydney, Australia, in 1977. She teaches European history and the history of travel and tourism in the Department of Modern History, Macquarie University. Regarding her works of fiction, she has authored two novels: *Love and Vertigo* and *Behind the Moon*. Teo wrote her first novel after the completion of her PhD in History and it was published in 2000. It won *The Australian/ Vogel Literary Award*, was short-listed for the inaugural Tasmania Pacific Region Literary Prize and for the Dobbie Award for women’s fiction. *Behind the Moon*, published in 2005, was shortlisted for one of the New South Wales Premier’s Literary Awards. Her first two novels are set in Sydney, the first one focuses on family relations and the second one, on friendship. Teo is writing a historical novel set in Melbourne in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, that is, at the time of the Federation of Australia and the White Australia policy, in which she explores the Chinese community through a Chinese-European male opera singer struggling to start his career. This novel is due to be published during 2013 (Teo 2012).

7.2.1. *Love and Vertigo*

Hsu-Ming Teo’s first novel, *Love and Vertigo*⁷³ (2000), explores the lives of the narrator’s parents and grandmothers and it scrutinizes family relations and the construct of filial piety. The narrator is Grace, the daughter of Pandora Lim and Jonah Tay and younger sister to Sonny. She refers to her father as ‘The Patriarch’ and, in her quest to understand her parents, she ceases to idealize her mother and demonize her father, and turns them into human beings, with their fears, faults, desires and miseries.

The novel begins with Pandora’s wake in Singapore and it finishes in Sydney once Jonah, Sonny and Grace are back. The rest of the novel is a flashback: first, to the events that led to Pandora’s suicide in Singapore and, then, it becomes a linear retrospective narrative beginning with Pandora and Jonah’s childhoods in Singapore.

The main characters in *Love and Vertigo* follow the construct of filial piety. However, it is a consequence of their eagerness and longing to be loved rather than of their desire to seek the ultimate harmonious relationship between family members. The

⁷³ Hereafter the novel *Love and Vertigo* will be referred to as “LV” when quoting from it.

mothers of Pandora and Jonah are constructed as tyrannical beings who do not hesitate to use physical violence against their children and often use emotional blackmail and whingeing to bend their wills. Husbands of all generations are described as having hegemonic masculinities and they use their authoritarian position over their wives to fulfil their wishes, and wives know about their need to be obedient to their husbands and the violent consequences they will face if they act otherwise. Roles are clearly set and crossing boundaries is met with physical and/or emotional violence.

Pandora was born into a low-middle class family and Jonah, in an upper-middle-class one. They managed to go to university and they met because Jonah helped one of Pandora’s sisters, who introduced them. They got married while they were still at university and they lived with Jonah’s mother, Madam Tay, who was extremely domineering. Because of Madam Tay’s power over them, Pandora asked Jonah to move to a place where they would have their privacy. They migrated to Malaysia, where Sonny was born during the May 1969 race riots. This social instability caused Pandora to ask her husband to take them to live in Australia, the United Kingdom or the United States of America, away from riots and wars. In spite of his fear of change, Jonah moved to Australia in 1975 and later his wife and children joined him. However, their family life there was not idyllic either and the parents’ frustrations affected all members of the household. In fact, Grace compares the relation between the family members and their drive to be loved to a merry-go-round: “As a family, we were doomed to the humiliation of begging pathetically for love and attention from the one member who refused it to us. Mum wanted Sonny’s, Sonny wanted the Patriarch’s, the Patriarch wanted his wife’s, and I wanted my mother’s” (LV 199).

The following subsections present the characteristics of the Amy Tan-syndrome in Hsu-Ming Teo’s first novel and analyse the identities of its three main characters using the theories of Vin D’Cruz and William Steele together with that of Manuel Castells.

7.2.1.1. The Amy Tan- syndrome

The novel can be considered to adhere to the Amy Tan-syndrome, as it complies with its four characteristics: there is a contemporary and a historical plot, war-time and post-war atrocities are explained and juxtaposed with postcolonial hybridity, mothers and daughters have parallel stories, and traditional Chinese, “Western” or “Westernized” characters clash.

To begin with, *Love and Vertigo* includes two historical plots and a contemporary one: the Japanese occupation of Singapore, explained during the birth of Pandora; the Malaysian race riots, which developed at the same time as Sonny’s birth; and the life in suburban Sydney in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The novel also includes descriptions of war-time and post-war atrocities, hints at the consequences suffered by comfort women⁷⁴, and details post-war living conditions. At the same time, the novel provides examples of postcolonial hybridity, such as in the portrayal of Pandora and Grace and, to a lesser extent, of Jonah.

Pandora was educated in an Anglican school which annually received a letter from the personal secretary of the Queen of England and taught BBC English. Later Pandora studied English at university and spoke BBC English in Australia though she spoke Singlish with her parents and when she travelled to Singapore.

Grace felt Australian, but her trips to Singapore made her realize how similar to her mother and her mother’s family she actually was. This forced her to wonder about her identity and hybridity as she started revising some of her personal attitudes and feelings towards her paternal grandmother and her mother’s family.

Jonah was also English educated and was attracted to Pandora and her family because they were different from his family: they spent most of their time together, they were loud and noisy and he considered the teasing between family members to be a sign of affection. Jonah had contradictory feelings as he wanted to be a good filial son, but he was also a jealous, controlling and abusive husband and father. As Grace concedes, “He tried his best and was even heroic in that attempt, for the very act of immigration had terrified a man afraid of change” (LV 9-10). He was unable to accept the consequences of his decisions and viewed them as sacrifices. Also, he found it unbearable not to be the focus of attention and care of the women he loved: his mother and his wife. Jonah had always been the centre of his mother’s attention and he also wanted to be the centre of his wife’s care. As a consequence, he was jealous of his son because he took Pandora’s unending attention, care and love. His jealousy provoked an internal struggle because “for a man who venerated his Chinese culture, this rejection of his first-born son was distressingly un-Chinese” (LV 13). As explained in chapter 4 of this thesis, the construct of ‘filial piety’ is core to the pattern of behaviour and beliefs of many Asians, in their countries and abroad. Filial piety includes “children’s respect,

⁷⁴ The name “comfort women” makes reference to those women and girls who were forced into prostitution by imperial Japanese soldiers. They were sex slaves.

obedience, loyalty, material provision, and physical care to parents” (Zhan and Montgomery 210), and sons and daughters are expected to fulfil filial piety with regard to its six aspects: caring, achievement and excellence, work ethic, responsibility, obedience and respect, which affect intergenerational and interpersonal relations. Obedience and respect are expected and demanded regardless of the fact that one may not agree with another person, but if he or she is socially or familiarly superior, they may be criticised but always obeyed.

The third characteristic of the Amy Tan-syndrome, that is, the existence of parallel stories between mothers and daughters, also appears in *Love and Vertigo*. There are two pairs of mother-daughter relations: Pandora and her mother, and Pandora and her daughter. On the one hand, neither Pandora’s mother’s marriage nor Pandora’s were happy ones: Pandora’s mother, Ling, was forced into an arranged marriage and Pandora convinced herself she would fall in love with Jonah. Besides, Ling did not want Pandora and Pandora did not want her first daughter, who was born dead. Furthermore, both husbands are abusive: Ling’s husband physically abuses his wife and Jonah physically and emotionally ill-treats Pandora. On the other hand, both Pandora and Grace have mothers who do not meet their daughters’ expectations of maternal love and, furthermore, they are continually exposed to domestic violence. Both Pandora and Grace have low expectations regarding themselves and do not consider they are worth being loved as human beings unless they make themselves useful and needed.

With regards to the fourth characteristic of the Amy Tan-syndrome, that is to say, the presence of clashes between traditional Chinese protagonists and “Western” or “Westernized” others, *Love and Vertigo* describes many conflicts between Jonah’s mother -Madam Tay- and Pandora. Madam Tay is an example of a domineering and egocentric woman who submits everyone to her wishes basing her arguments on other’s filial duties towards her instead of accepting what is best for others according to their own wishes. Madam Tay oversees and interferes in Jonah and Pandora’s marriage and emotionally bullies Pandora. First, she does not accept Pandora because she has not chosen her for her son, but, at Jonah’s insistence, she relents. However, she takes over the wedding preparations, forces them to live with her and, when Pandora is pregnant, Madam Tay compels her to abandon her last year of studies at university and stay at home. Madam Tay is intrusive, demanding and plays the victim to maintain her son’s attention. An example of the future relationship between the three takes place on the wedding night, when Jonah is made to sleep with his parents and Pandora with his

sisters. This situation causes resentment in Pandora, who becomes stressed and even frightened. Pandora’s first pregnancy ends with a stillborn baby girl. She is convinced that this is due to her anxiety and asks Jonah if they could move out of his mother’s house. Jonah complies with his role as husband and head of the house and they move to Malaysia, where he finds a job as Sultan’s dentist and where his son and later his daughter are born.

Another example of Madam Tay’s interference takes place at the time of Sonny’s birth. Pandora and Jonah are living in Malaysia and, when Pandora is 9 months pregnant and about to go into labour, the racial riots of May 1969 take place. As the narrator explains,

Malay Muslims, incited by the youth of the United Malay National Organisation, went on a jihad against Malaysian Chinese and Indians, murdering some and maiming others. The killing spree had been organised according to a precise cafe colour scheme: after *susu* (the milky-white Chinese) then *kopi* (the coffee-coloured Indians) (LV 11)

In order to prevent the riots from spreading in his sultanate, the Sultan forbids violence against any ethnic group and orders a curfew. On the morning the curfew is declared, unaware of the events, Jonah wants to go on an excursion with a friend of his to look for durians, a fruit he loves. He asks Pandora if his being away for the day suits her, and she agrees. However, due to the unforeseen curfew, Jonah cannot arrive home at night and, when he finally makes it the following evening, he finds his mother at home. This visit is totally unexpected as Madam Tay wants to make sure that her son is safe and sound, rather than help Pandora with the delivery of her child. As soon as Jonah enters his home, he cannot even ask Pandora how she is nor meet his new-born son, as his mother asks him to take her to her bedroom and stay with her until she falls asleep. Being a dutiful son, Jonah obeys his mother.

However, the situation is reversed when Sonny and Grace are teenagers. The family is living in Australia and Madam Tay decides to pay them a three-month visit. At the beginning she is authoritarian and plays the victim in order to attract Jonah’s attention. However, on this occasion Pandora takes advantage of Madam Tay’s old age, dependency on others and lack of English to take revenge on her and she bullies her mother-in-law to the point where Madam Tay hardly leaves her bedroom. Madam Tay dies shortly after her return to Singapore and Grace is convinced they have killed her.

Another constant confrontation is that between Jonah and his son, Sonny. They do not get on well because Jonah is jealous of him and because Sonny cannot tolerate Jonah’s ongoing abuse of his mother. Jonah asks for filial piety from his wife and children but is totally frustrated by his family’s attitudes: he does not accept that his children consider themselves Australian rather than Chinese-Singaporean and do not embrace all the duties embedded in the construct of filial piety. Jonah takes every possibility to vent his frustration on them, as he constantly “remind[s] his family of the sacrifices made and the opportunities lost” (LV 10). During one argument, Jonah tells Sonny to leave the house until he can treat him with respect. Sonny leaves school, gets a job and goes to live with his girlfriend, who soon gets pregnant. He starts his own family and only keeps in contact with Grace and his mother. He is in Singapore with his family during Pandora’s wake but, by then, Jonah and Sonny have become estranged from one another.

7.2.1.2. Analysis of identities

If the psychocultural continuum theory of Vin D’Cruz and William Steele is applied to Pandora, Grace and Jonah, it can be argued that the women undergo the biggest transformations as they move from one end of the continuum towards the other. The main characteristics of abstractness are a wish for individual freedom, which can include standing for one’s rights against the state and their own community. Also, abstractness stands for autonomy, disengaged rationality, all-encompassing love, professionalism and a relation with others based on personal preferences. A third feature is solving problems through direct communication, also by mediated relationships and often without face-to-face contact. A fourth trait in abstractness is the importance of money and equities. Finally, god is chosen and is considered to be general, august, pure and distant, removed from all evil and negotiation. Conversely, concreteness privileges the group, kinship, blood relations and the feeling of group belonging. Some central values are reciprocity, respect for wisdom out of experience and group loyalty. Problems are solved face-to-face as well as by interpreting the unsaid. In concreteness there is a preference for the near and tangible in all areas of life, for bartering and there is a partnership with the natural world, which is not subjugated. Regarding deities, gods and goddesses are unchosen, unavoidable, close to individuals and part of their everyday lives.

If this theory is applied to the main three characters, it can be seen that, throughout her life, Pandora moves from the more concrete end of the continuum towards the more abstract end. As a child, Pandora privileges the group, accepts the hierarchical social order and considers kinship, blood relationships and group loyalty fundamental to a person’s perception of self. Her neighbours and her family are her community and she helps them as much as she can. Regarding religion, gods and goddesses are part of her daily life and they are unavoidable. However, when her children are teenagers, Pandora starts to change and she privileges her own individuality and wishes to those of her family. She becomes an active member of a religious community, which leads to strangers with similar interests becoming part of her social network choosing her god and her relation with it. Her ultimate act of independence is her decision to commit suicide.

As a child	As an adult
MA MC	MA MC
... <u>X</u> <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.3. Analysis of Pandora’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

With regards to Grace, before her mother’s death, she values individuality and autonomy, she chooses her relationship with God and she does not approve of her Singaporean’s family superstition. She does not consider blood relationships and kinship to be of utmost importance and she does not like hierarchies. After her mother’s wake, Grace relies on the interpretation of the unsaid more than on face-to-face conversations. Also, she decides to leave her apartment in order to take care of her father, thus, giving up part of her individuality and autonomy in order to privilege the family and blood relations. Still, she does not embrace a more concrete way of relating towards the natural world, gods and goddesses, but senses that her mother may be a hungry ghost⁷⁵ because she committed suicide.

⁷⁵ There is a festival in their honour. During the Hungry Ghost Festival (on the 15th day of the 7th month of the year), families offer food to their deceased family members: not only ancestors, but also children and adults who have died. Sometimes families light candles to guide them home. If the living do not make enough offerings to the hungry ghost, before he/she goes back to the underworld, the ghost can “curse” the family and cause them harm, difficulties or to have bad luck, which will last until the ghost is appeased with more offerings.

As a child	As an adult
MA MC	MA MC
... <u>X</u> <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.4. Analysis of Grace’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Jonah seems to remain towards the more concrete end of the continuum throughout his life, although with some characteristics of the more abstract end of the continuum. In his world, the group is more important than the individual, as long as he is the centre of attention of both his mother and his wife. Kinship, blood relationships, reciprocity and group loyalty are of utmost importance to him. Jonah prefers the near and tangible in all areas of life, doing favours and giving gifts. He has “fundamentalist Christian beliefs” (LV 18) and he considers God to be pure, distant, august and general.

As a child	As an adult
MA MC	MA MC
... <u>X</u> <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.5. Analysis of Jonah’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Applying Manuel Castells’ identity theory to the same three characters, they are examples of legitimizing identity, that is to say, that which “*generates a civil society*; that is, a set of organizations and institutions, as well as a series of structured and organized social actors, which reproduce, albeit sometimes in a conflictive manner, the identity that rationalizes the sources of structural domination” (Castells 8). Jonah is an example of legitimizing identity in Singapore, Malaysia and in Australia. He follows the dominant institutions of each society and supports its social structures, social organization and the processes imposed by the nation-states. He is not comfortable with having migrated, but once he is in the host country, he assumes he needs to follow the law, regulations and expectations and try to be a model citizen. Pandora is an example of a troubled legitimizing identity. She too accepts both institutions and regulations, even when she does not like them. She does not exclude those who exclude her

(resistant identity) and she does not try to create a new society (project identity), but tries to be a model citizen and meet the expectations others have on her. Finally, Grace tries to exclude those who exclude her (her classmates, her family members, her acquaintances) but she feels uncomfortable regarding this behaviour. She would like to live in a different society and in different circumstances, but she does not try to create a new society. Thus, I think that Grace’s identity is legitimizing because she does not question her place as member of civil society and assumes as natural her changing roles as daughter and sister.

7.2.2. *Behind the Moon*

In her second novel, *Behind the Moon*⁷⁶ (2005), Hsu-Ming Teo explores migrants’ lives in Australia and constructs three main characters who defy the stereotypes of being ‘Australian’ while the notions of ‘mateship’ and ‘friendship’ are also questioned. As mentioned in chapter 5⁷⁷, the ideal Australian is constructed as a heterosexual, Protestant, white, English-speaking, Australian-born of British ancestry young adult person. Some specifically-considered ‘Australian values’ and preferences are the concepts of ‘fair go’, ‘mateship’, the love of sports, nature and barbeques. In the novel, none of the three main characters, who are middle-class and live in the Western suburbs of Sydney in the 1990s, follow all the necessary requirements to be a ‘good Australian’. While Justin is fit, a good student and good at sports, he is Chinese Australian and homosexual. Whereas Gibbo is heterosexual, white and Australian-born of British ancestry, he is fat, clumsy and bad at sports and at socializing. Though Tien is heterosexual, cherishes the English lessons given by Gibbo’s mother and yearns for an Anglo-Australian family, she is a refugee of Afro-American and Chinese-Vietnamese ancestry, she has never met her father and her mother, Lihn, remained in Malaysia for five years until she could make her way to Australia. Tien escaped Malaysia on a boat with her uncles, aunties and cousins and, as there was only one seat left, Lihn forced her own father to get on board. The three characters try to make themselves likeable and to comply with their respective families’ expectations, those imposed by society while also struggling to achieve their own. Given the fact that most of the novel’s plot takes place in Australia, the following pages provide a detailed examination of its main characters,

⁷⁶ Hereafter the novel *Behind the Moon* will be referred to as “BM” when quoting from it.

⁷⁷ For more information, go to page 157.

which are then analysed with the psychocultural continuum theory and Manuel Castells’ identity theory.

7.2.2.1. Analysis of the main characters

Two strong bonds keep Justin, Gibbo and Tien together: their shared time and experiences, and their uneasiness with their own ethnicities. The three friends do not spend all their schooling together. Tien joins Gibbo’s class when she arrives in Australia, although she is two years older than him. She sits next to him and, as the two of them are constantly rejected and mocked by the rest of students, they support each other and become friends. Some years later, Justin, who goes to piano lessons with Gibbo, is expelled from his high school, sent to Gibbo and Tien’s and joins their class. Justin and Tien become friends and the three of them call themselves the “multicultural reject group” (BM 61). Besides alienation from other classmates, ethnicity is another common link. Justin and Tien are clearly otherised as ‘Asians’, but Gibbo frequently claims a Chinese ancestor from the goldrush period (BM 55-60). This situation leads to a paradox among these characters: while Justin and Tien would like to be Anglo-Australians, Gibbo prefers not to “reap the rewards of being an Aussie male”, as Tien puts it (BM 57), but to claim his Chinese ancestry in order to feel closer to his friends and their families. Following their assimilatory intentions, Justin and Tien take speech lessons from Gibbo’s mother and Tien tries to imitate Gibbo’s father’s ocker strine accent, while Gibbo copies Justin’s mother’s Singaporean expressions and learns how to cook and eat Singaporean food. The three friends are trying to acquire cultural capital, as Bourdieu (1986) called it, but, as they are not born with this capital, they will never have the ‘essence’ of the national Anglo-Australian or ‘Asian’ aristocracy, respectively. The three friends have to develop their own identities based on other distinguishing factors, and each of them turns to their sexuality and yearning to be loved.

As a fourteen year-old boy, Justin tries to negate and hide his homosexuality from his parents and friends, as he thinks they will stop loving and accepting him if they know. Consequently, he creates a façade of the perfect son, student and friend, and does not allow anyone to know his emotions, feelings and worries. Years later, he makes himself vulnerable to Gibbo during a camping excursion after their high school certificate exams. The two friends are spending two days together, without Tien and, one night after an excess of alcohol and marihuana, Justin kisses Gibbo, who rejects

him. Their friendship turns sour and they become more distant. When Justin is twenty-one, Gibbo's father tells the three families that Justin is homosexual, thus, publically revealing his sexuality. Justin decides to be open about it with his extended family as well and he is mainly otherised, stereotyped and not understood. He goes on to explore his identity as a young homosexual of Asian origin and has two relationships: one with a Malaysian university classmate, which does not work because he considers Justin to be too 'Westernized' and not to understand filial piety (BM 148), and another with Dirk Merkel, a divorced Anglo-Australian father of two teenage children, who loves him, understands him and gives him space to grow up and know what he really wants.

Justin's depiction of his homosexuality follows Baetz's list of "society's most deadly weapons" (Pallotta-Chiarolli 1995: 136) introduced in chapter 5: silence, lies, isolation, intimidation and physical violence. He does not have role models or texts to learn about what he considers to be "practically an oxymoron" (BM 141): Asian or Asian Australian homosexuality. When exploring his sexuality, he finds a community whose boundaries are too restrictive though he tries to fit in and avoid isolation. He has heard lies about homosexuality and is confronted with them when he tells his extended family. He is intimidated, physically abused and sexually assaulted by strangers: in the last chapter, he is in a coma with multiple external and internal injuries after being beaten up and raped.

As far as Gibbo is concerned, his physical appearance and nervousness when talking with strangers and women makes him feel inadequate regarding himself and society. He is not assertive and does not retaliate when he is bullied or insulted. Gibbo's masculinity is not hegemonic, as he is not dominant; neither is it complicit, because he does not take advantage of the benefits of his masculinity. It is not marginalized either, as he is a white middle-class member of the Australian society. In my opinion, as a teenager Gibbo's masculinity is subordinated, not only to that of other men, but to women as well. However, as a young adult, he feels more comfortable with himself and moves towards a complicit masculinity. He only feels comfortable within his body when he makes himself useful, when he can fix house items and appliances and when he cooks. The relationship with his father is almost non-existent until he turns 21 as Gibbo does not like sports and his father finds it difficult to communicate with another man without playing with a ball, watching sports or doing something. In spite of their mutual love, they hardly speak and Gibbo feels his father considers him a failure.

Because he yearns to get married, to have a family of his own and to have a wife and kids to love, he decides to join a date group and learn how to behave and act. During his first dinner out, he coincides with Tien’s mother, Lihn, and she takes him home completely drunk. Gibbo is ashamed of his behaviour and grateful for her kindness. The following time they meet is at a dinner Justin’s and Gibbo’s mothers organize at Justin’s home. Although the three families are reunited (Justin and his parents, Gibbo and his parents, Tien and her mother) and the mothers have the best intentions, the evening is a disaster. First, during the meal Gibbo’s father announces Justin’s homosexuality, which his son had told him about after the incident on the beach. Justin accuses Gibbo of having betrayed him. Furthermore, the situation worsens when Gibbo’s father remembers that day is his son’s 21st birthday and they have all forgotten about it. Lihn tries to comfort Gibbo and she tells him he is a good person and it is not his fault the dinner turned out like that.

Gibbo becomes infatuated with Lihn and, thinking that he is just being patient, giving her time to change her feelings for him and showing her his love, he stalks her. The fact that she fears him and has an Apprehended Violence Order (AVO) taken out against him makes Gibbo realise that he does not know how to convey his feelings as he is not understood and the sacrifices he is willing to make –such as not having a family of his own- are not valued. After the AVO, Gibbo’s father tries to improve their relationship and, slowly he proves to his son that he loves him. They spend more time together, first, being silent in Gibbo’s bedroom and, later, going for rides in the car. One night Gibbo’s father tells him he loves him, he is a good man and he will always have his parents’ support (BM 291).

Some time later, Lihn removes the AVO and they have a sincere conversation about what had happened and the need to put the past behind. Gibbo also realises he needs to change his life and explore his identity and masculinity, so he moves into a flat with other young people, his second “multicultural reject group” (BM 298). He becomes a vegetarian, finishes his studies as an engineer (BM 110) and starts working at a pub while he seriously considers becoming a chef. When Justin is in hospital, Gibbo helps Justin’s parents as much as he can by cooking for them or spending time with Justin so they can rest.

As regards Tien, she loves Justin and she lets him know her feelings after going to the graduation ball with him and without Gibbo. In an attempt to hide his sexuality, Justin tries to fulfil her wishes and have sexual intercourse, but it does not work. After

that, they become distant. Eventually Tien starts going out with Stan Wong, a Chinese Australian medical student and artist. After getting married, they migrate to the United States of America so Stan can further his studies at the University of California San Francisco. Given the fact that she knows about filial piety, that Stan is the first man who asks her out, Tien is eager to make the relationship work. She tries to be compliant and follow the stereotype of the obedient ‘Asian’ wife and she hides her feelings and thoughts from Stan and from her mother. Her marriage breaks up in less than two years and when she has decided to divorce Stan, she receives a phone call telling her that Justin is in hospital. She goes to Australia in the first available flight and she finally admits she has always loved Justin and her marriage was bound to fail because her friends and their families were not part of her life anymore.

Tien is uneasy with her body, her skin colour, her features and her sexuality. Since Justin’s negative response, she felt unlovable, and she hanged onto Stan for security, even if it meant negating her own person. Tien does not have a suitable role model of a second- or 1.5-generation⁷⁸ Afro-Asian-Australian woman to be inspired by: Gibbo’s mother, who she calls mum and visits often until Lihn arrives in Australia, is Anglo-Australian; Lihn and her aunts are Vietnamese and Justin’s mother is Singaporean.

The relationship between Tien and Lihn follows the Amy Tan-syndrome. Two chapters in the novel are devoted to explain “The Tale of Lihn”, that is, her life and the reasons she had to stay behind and allow Tien to escape to Australia and be looked after by her father, her brothers and their families. When Lihn gave her seat on the boat to her father, she was fulfilling her filial duty towards him. Lihn considered she had brought shame to her family when her first marriage, which had been arranged, failed. Despite the fact that she tried to excel in her roles as wife and mother, her husband abandoned her and their baby daughter, who later died. Then, she had to go back to her father’s and live with them again. Some time later, Lihn moved to a different city and she started a relationship with Tien’s father, a Cajun-Creole-American soldier. This time Lihn did not ask her father for his consent nor did they get married. Throughout these two chapters the reader also knows the hardships of the war and some of the atrocities committed by the Viet Com. As a result, *Behind the Moon* juxtaposes a contemporary (1990s Australia) and a historical plot (Vietnam War) as well as war-time and post-war

⁷⁸ As Wenche Ommundsen (2012) points out the migrant or refugee child who is schooled in the host country is termed “1.5 generation”.

atrocities with postcolonial hybridity, personified by Tien’s Cajun-Creole-Chinese-Vietnamese ancestors and also developed through Justin and Gibbo.

The other two characteristics of the Amy Tan-syndrome also appear in the novel. There exists a parallelism between the way Lihn and Tien behave with males. In order to be loved and cared about, they hide their feelings from them and do not take the initiative to change the situations that make them unhappy. Finally, there is a clash in the way the two characters behave towards their parents. Although Tien obeys Lihn when she arrives, she does not accept her authority as her mother, she resents the separation and is disrespectful towards her. Lihn tries to win Tien by buying her a big television screen and other gadgets she may want, but she hardly demonstrates interest or value for her mother’s sacrifices to get those items and be closer to Tien. This attitude is very different from the one Lihn had with her father: she never dared reply back to him or show him disrespect, she always obeyed him and tried to excel in her behaviour towards him. Father and daughter used to communicate through *The Tale of Kieu*, an 18th century epic poem written in classical Chinese language which explains filial piety through the story of a beautiful and talented young woman who sacrifices herself to save her father and brother.

As can be seen, the identities of the characters are explored from a myriad of factors, mainly gender, sexuality and belonging. The following subsection explores the construction and development of Justin, Tien and Gibbo’s identities with the two theories presented in chapter 5: Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s psychocultural continuum theory and Manuel Castells’ identity theory.

7.2.2.2. Analysis of identities

The three friends negate and suppress part of their identities in order to be accepted and loved. If Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s theory of the psychocultural continuum is applied to Justin, Gibbo and Tien, it can be argued that as children the three friends are towards the more concrete end of the continuum, as they privilege being part of the group over their own individual wishes, they value group loyalty and reciprocity and they respect wisdom and elders. They obey their parents, uncles and other figures of authority and follow filial piety. As teenagers, they remain towards the more concrete end of the continuum, though they suppress part of their personalities to do so. On the one hand, Justin hides and tries to ignore his homosexuality in order to

avoid deceiving his beloved ones. On the other hand, Gibbo clings onto his friends even more in order to avoid facing his fears and lack of social abilities. Also, Tien struggles to obey her mother and fulfil her filial duties towards her. She resents Lihn for having stayed behind and for changing the relation between her and Gibbo’s mother.

As a child	As a young adult
MA MC ... _____ <u>X</u> ...	MA MC ... <u>X</u> _____ ...

Figure 7.6. Analysis of Justin’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

As a child	As a young adult
MA MC ... _____ <u>X</u> ...	MA MC ... _____ <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.7. Analysis of Gibbo’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

As a child	As a young adult	After her divorce
MA MC ... _____ <u>X</u> ...	MA MC ... <u>X</u> _____ ...	MA MC ... _____ <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.8. Analysis of Tien’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

As young adults, Justin and Tien move towards the more abstract end of the continuum since they value their own wishes more than their place in their former group. Justin explores his identity as an Asian Australian homosexual young man without the emotional support of his friends and, although at first he hides his identity from his parents, once his secret is known, he tells his extended family, thus, valuing his individuality more than his own community or his father’s wishes. He tries to get together with other groups of people following their common preferences and he creates social networks which are not based on familial bonds. Likewise, Tien befriends other university students and distances herself from Justin and Gibbo, to such a point that Gibbo’s father accuses her of being a snob. She also supports Stan even when that

means suing Gibbo’s mother or putting pressure on Lihn to get an AVO against Gibbo. Stan’s and Lihn’s individuality, approval and love are more important for her than the former friendship and loyalty that bound her to Gibbo, his mother and his father. Her way of solving problems with them is not face-to-face, but through the mediation of the judicial system.

However, when her marriage fails, she moves towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum again: she values belonging to her group, that is, the bond she had with Justin, Gibbo and their families; she apologizes to Gibbo and his mother face-to-face; she helps Justin’s parents as much as she can; she fulfils her filial obligations towards Lihn and stops fighting with her. She faces her fears and frustrations and, this way, she can reach again towards those she loves.

On the other hand, while his friends change and become distant, Gibbo remains towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum. Gibbo tries to make another group of friends in order to boost his feeling of belonging. He maintains his respect towards elders and, although his relationship with his father is not easy, he obeys him most of the times. Gibbo continues to show his care and love for others by doing favours, and he solves problems face-to-face, but also relies on the interpretation of the unsaid to forgive other people’s misdeeds towards him. Gibbo faces his own fears and, although he believes Tien is sincere when she says they will be friends forever, he is sceptical and knows that the friendship will become distant when they fall in love with someone else.

Following Manuel Castells’ identity theory, it can be observed that during their teenage years Justin and Tien try to have a legitimizing identity, that is, “the identity that rationalizes the sources of structural domination” (Castells 8), while Gibbo has a resistance identity, that is, he builds a “defensive identity in the terms of dominant institutions/ideologies, reversing the value judgement while reinforcing the boundary” (Castells 9). On the one hand, both Justin and Tien try to fulfil the expectations of their families and the wider society, they intend to behave as it is expected from them: Justin is the good, obedient and perfect son, whereas Tien struggles to perform her filial obligations while craving for the love of a mother.

As a young adult exploring his homosexuality, Justin seems to have a resistance identity and be part of another defined community. However, as he is being assaulted, he realises he is beyond it and, in my opinion, he begins to move towards a project identity, that is to say, he starts to “build a new identity that redefines [his] position in

society and, by so doing, seek[s] the transformation of overall social structure” (Castells 8). The following extract conveys Justin’s thoughts:

He no longer needed the external markers of identity, the first thing people saw or learned about him and judged him by. He was not reducible to his ethnicity or his sexuality or his occupation or geographical location or even his family. Somewhere between the surface of his skin and the creases of his soul, in the interstice of mind and matter, there was a void in which he simply was (BM 333-4).

Nevertheless, the novel has an open ending as Justin is still in a coma and the reader does not know whether or not Justin will survive and, if so, under which conditions. The reader is told that Justin is supported by his family and friends and that everyone has also accepted his former partner, Dirk.

As regards Tien, as a young adult woman she tries to equate her identity to her role as wife. However, it does not work for her and, when she goes to Australia, she finally faces her anger and frustration and asks Lihn for help. Tien’s identity and conduct is not defined as she needs to get to know herself before she can have a pattern of behaviour.

On the other hand, Gibbo’s character is an example of resistance identity. He discards the Anglo-Australian aspect of his identity because he feels rejected by other Anglo-Australians and, as a defence technique, he tries to exclude all those who exclude him, who consider he is not good enough, fit enough and assertive enough. Gibbo enjoys being part of “multicultural reject groups” and tries to live in alternative communities, as a child and teenager with his Asian Australian friends and families, and as a young adult by becoming vegetarian and following his wish of caring for others. While Justin is in a coma, Gibbo realises that Tien’s and Justin’s friendship will last as long as they do not have partners and that, despite the fact that they care for one another, their wishes to be loved are more alluring than the need for their friends. Gibbo seems to be consistent with his resistance identity and the reader is made unaware of his future: whether he will continue having a resistance identity or he will develop it into project identity. After the AVO, it can be assumed that Gibbo will not impose his identity or ideas on others by coercive means, but he will use negotiation as a tool to reach his dreams.

7.3. Frank Chan Loh

Frank Chan Loh was born in Penang, Malaysia, in 1951. He studied at the Malayan Teachers’ College in Wolverhampton, England, for two years. He moved back to Malaysia and worked as a teacher for five years. He then decided to go to Australia to study a BA in English Literature at the University of Queensland. After finishing, he went back to Malaysia and resumed teaching. In 1978, he migrated to Australia with his wife and two sons and worked as a teacher.

Loh wrote several radio plays and short stories, which were broadcast in Malaysia between 1976 and 1978. Some examples are *Paper Doll*, *Where the Peacock Flies*, *No Stars in the Sky*, *Ghost Story* and *Come, Murder Me*. In 1991, Loh wrote his novel *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen*, which was published in 2000. In 2005, Loh won the New South Wales Writers’ Centre Poetry Sprint for his poem *It’s not Your War*. Some of his ten-minute plays were also nominated for awards in Australia, such as *Anita Walker Walks Again*, which was short-listed for the 2006 Sydney Short and Sweet Festival of short plays, or *The Laptop*, which was short-listed for the 2006 Melbourne, the 2007 Sydney and the 2007 Singapore Short and Sweet Festivals of short plays (Loh 2008).

7.3.1. *When Dining with Tigers*

Frank Chan Loh wrote his first novel in 1991, but it was not published until nine years later. The novel has a very plastic and visual style probably influenced by the author’s previous writings. *When Dining with Tigers*⁷⁹ has a circular structure as four characters (the priest, Monkey, Sandy and Pigsy) listen to the novel that Scholar Wu⁸⁰ has written and they comment on it. The five friends are in the great mansion the scholar has in Heaven, as he has gathered them to listen to and comment on his new novel. This untitled text is set in Australia and in China, more specifically in the cities of Sydney and Beijing, between 1986 and 1989. Besides the novel and the novel-within-the-novel, each chapter in *When Dining with Tigers* includes a mythological or legendary Chinese story that Scholar Wu shares with his friends and which introduces the seven topics explored: slavery, fate, fear, duty, honour, liberty and gratitude.

⁷⁹ Hereafter the novel *When Dining with Tigers* will be referred to as “WDWT” when quoting from it.

⁸⁰ Scholar Wu lived during the 16th century and was well known for writing a classic in Chinese literature: *Journey to the West*, a fictional account of the 14-year trip made by a Buddhist monk in the 7th century to get the Buddhist Scriptures from India to China. In his first novel, “the Goddess of Mercy... provided [the priest] with three companions to act as his porters, guides and protectors” (WDWT 13): Monkey, Sandy and Pigsy.

Sometimes the characters of the novel interrupt Scholar Wu's reading, whilst on other occasions Scholar Wu addresses the reader directly and explains some comments, situations or concepts.

The structure of the novel is circular and that of the novel-within-the-novel is linear. The characters in the outer text comment on the inner novel and the reactions of its characters in Sydney and in Beijing. Conversely, the characters in the inner novel do not interact with the outer characters, although one of the mythological stories read by Scholar Wu is also explained by one of the characters in the inner novel. *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen* ends when Scholar Wu finishes reading his novel and he and his friends discuss its moral. However, the inner novel is open ended. This novel-within-the-novel is the main text, as it is where most of the action takes place, where the reader gets a detailed explanation of and insight view into the characters and where the intercultural, intergenerational, intergender and interracial conflicts and solutions occur. Moreover, the inner story leads to the events of 4th June 1989 in Tiananmen Square, a reference to the subtitle of the book: *Roads to Tiananmen*. The short stories at the beginning of each chapter and their morals are a path that leads to these roads: they are a tool used to explain and understand a series of events and the reactions of the characters in the inner novel, and a way to make the reader reflect on these topics and wonder about their personal opinion about each of them.

The main characters in the untitled novel-within-the-novel are Moby, a Beijing language teacher who moves to Sydney for a year as part of an exchange programme; Mr Wilson, his host, a retired journalist; Mr Wilson's son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren; and their neighbours: the Lams (Mr Lam, Mrs Lam, Qiaochu, Dustin and Natasha), the Chous (Dr Chou, Mrs Chou and their two sons), Charlie (a Singaporean student living with the Chous) and the Hunters (Jack, Leah and their daughter, Daisy). Moreover, during his stay in Beijing, Moby and his wife maintain correspondence through letters, in which Moby comments on cultural clashes and Zhezhu talks about their family members: their son, Xing; Moby's parents; her parents; her brother, Yonggan, his pregnant wife, Mei; and, Moby's elder brother, Lanjing, his wife and son. The inner novel does not finish when Moby leaves Sydney, but it continues when he is back in Beijing and Mr Wilson visits Moby and Zhenzhu. The timing of his visit coincides with the protests in May-June 1989 and it includes the massacre at Tiananmen

Square⁸¹. The novel finishes soon after Mr Wilson has gone back to Sydney and Moby is arrested by the police.

7.3.1.1. Analysis of the main characters

Many characters are first-generation (Moby, Charlie, Mr Lam, Mrs Lam, Dr Chou) or 1.5-generation migrants (the Lams siblings). The identities of most of these characters are deeply affected by migration, and the novel mainly explores those of Moby, Mr Lam and Dustin. In this section, I will analyse all these first- and 1.5-generation characters except Dr Chou, as there is hardly any information on him.

Moby is the central character. His name is Sun Baijing, but Mr Wilson suggests changing it to “Moby”, as the name means “white whale” and the reference to the Western classic *Moby Dick* makes it easy to remember. Despite the fact that Sun Baijing readily accepts “Moby” as his ‘Western name’ and that the practice of having a foreign-sounding name when studying a language is common in some countries, this can, however, be considered as an example of neo-colonization. Mr Wilson is a retired journalist in his mid-sixties who lived in Europe for many years. It is logical to think that he met many people during his career and that he would not have difficulties remembering data or non-English names. Nevertheless, on their way to their new home from the airport, Mr Wilson asks Sun Baijing if he can call him “Moby”. The reference for both is the same text, but for the Chinese guest it is Herman Melville’s novel *Moby Dick: The Whale* (1851) while for the Australian host it is the 1956 film adaptation by John Huston. It is worth noting that Mr Wilson praises his defence of freedom, yet has not read the original text, has not contrasted the film version against the original and does not have his own opinion, but has accepted the film as the main referent. Some of the main themes in Melville’s novel are obsession and madness; revenge; the relation of man with the natural world; religious traditions; race; sexuality and sexual identity; fate, destiny and free will; and also literature, reading and writing. Some of these topics are explored in the inner novel as they are experienced by its characters, while others are also dealt with by the characters in the outer novel or in the mythological stories explained by Scholar Wu.

⁸¹ For more information on the influence of the Tiananmen Square Massacre in Chinese Australian literature, read my article “Lives Broken by the Tiananmen Square Massacre: Consequences in Chinese-Australian Literature” in *Lives in Migration: Rupture and Continuity*. Ed. by Martin Renes. Barcelona: CEA, 2011. 64-79.

Moby is a young man who displays complicit masculinity, that is to say, he is not comfortable with the idea of patriarchy but takes advantage of the benefits it gives him while he also reaches compromises with his wife regarding decision-making, household chores, parenthood, etc. Moby makes that clear that in China “We were brain-washed from very young to treat both sexes as equals” (WDWT 46), but he is glad he had a son to continue his family name and he counts on his wife to take care of his parents, so he fulfils his filial duty. Nevertheless, in his letters to his wife, he supports her way of raising their son, but also shows his concern about their child being too pampered and overfed. Finally, he thinks about his wife and family before making a decision and many times her audacity and bravery are an inspiration for his behaviour.

Moby is also an example of a member of the multicultural middle class. He has tertiary education and migrates to Australia for a year in order to improve his working skills. He is sent by the government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) to learn more techniques to teach English as a second language and, on his return, to introduce these improvements in his teaching methods and, consequently, benefit his students. Obviously, his level of English is proficient, and he learns a number of Australian expressions.

With regards to his feeling of belonging, Moby clearly feels Chinese, but during his time in Sydney he questions the lack of freedom and censorship in the PRC. He reflects on many historical events and social situations: from the cultural revolution and the red guards, to the fear of demonstrating and of being followed and recorded by plainclothes policemen, to the events that led to the Democracy Wall being torn apart, and to the one-child policy and the preference for male descendents. When he goes back to China, he feels that Chinese society has also changed and it demands more freedom. However, nothing prepares him for the events that will lead to the Tiananmen Square demonstrations and its outcome in May and June 1989. After the events, Moby’s brother denounces him to the police and accuses him of having supported the demonstrations. He is taken away from his flat in the middle of the night wearing his pyjamas and he is not allowed to change his clothes. Because this is what happened to Charlie’s father in Singapore, the reader can expect Moby to spend some time in prison and then be released and allowed to go back to his family. Moby used to have nightmares about being hurt by the police and accused of something, but he dealt with this fear during his time in Australia. When he goes back, he is mentally stronger and, consequently, able to cope with his brother’s betrayal and his time in custody.

The character of Charlie Voon is partially explored. He is a Singaporean student of Architecture who is living with the Chous because his father and Dr Chou were old friends and the Chous live near the university. In his first conversation with Natasha Lam at her father’s party, Charlie explains his idea of masculinity: “To me, the man is the provider whether it’s game from the day’s hunt or grain from the harvest” (WDWT 46). His is an example of hegemonic masculinity and represents a contrast to Moby’s complicit masculinity. The fact that he has a parrot as a pet can be seen as part of his hegemonic personality in that he wants to mould wild nature to his wishes. He is harshly criticised by Leah Hunter, an animal rights defender, as soon as she sees him.

Charlie’s family is middle class as his father runs “a small newspaper in Singapore called *The Singapore Sun*” (WDWT 38) and has been able to send him abroad to university. In Australia, Charlie is part of the multicultural middle class, not only because he is an international tertiary student, but also because the Chous are middle class (Dr Chou is a physician) and he lives with them. Charlie’s sense of belonging is hardly explored in the novel. The reader only knows that his father is taken by the police at night as he is accused of having endangered national security when he published an editorial criticising the government. Two years later, Charlie finishes his studies, goes back to Singapore and finds a job. A week after his arrival, Charlie’s father is released from detention.

The Lams are a middle class Malaysian family. Mr Lam is a successful import-export businessman who wanted to become a doctor, but his father had wanted his eldest son to take over the family business and was not allowed to study Medicine. His younger brother, the second son, was allowed to become a doctor and his youngest brother, the third son, a dentist. None of them questioned their father’s wishes and obeyed him. Mr Lam expects the same degree of filial piety from each of his own children. Mr Lam wants his sons and daughter to become doctors, but his eldest son, Qiaochu, prefers astronomy, his second son, Dustin, wants to work as an actor, and his daughter, Natasha, wants to become a civil engineer. Being an obedient son, Qiaochu enrolls in Medicine, and Justin also begins Medical Studies. However, Natasha is more unruly and she pursues civil engineering.

The character of Qiaochu has no voice in the novel, as he commits suicide and Dustin explains his reasons. Qiaochu failed his exams in Medicine and, as he could not face the shame of confronting his father and telling him that he had been expelled from the university, he committed suicide. According to Dustin, he was the most obedient

and filial of the siblings and he provides an example: when their father caned Qiaochu for misbehaving, he apologised for his behaviour and promised not to make the same mistake again, showing the humility extorted by Confucius. Because of his Chinese name, Qiaochu was teased at school, but he did not reply or fight back, he just ignored the student(s) and sometimes even left the place to avoid confrontation.

Dustin was more rebellious: he retaliated against those who teased him at school and he frequently confronted his father. He managed to get his name changed: from Wangchu, which “means ‘a prince’” (WDWT 155) to Dustin, in honour of Dustin Hoffman, his favourite actor. He wants to be a filial son, but he is torn between his wish to become an actor and to obey his father. During the time Moby is in Australia, Dustin starts a relationship with Leah, who had divorced her husband. She has insisted on Dustin following his dreams and facing his father (WDWT 262). Leah suggests he moves in with her and her daughter if his father throws him out of his house and makes Dustin promise he will follow his dream. Some days later, Dustin tries to convince his father to allow him to change his studies. Mr Lam refuses, accuses him of being most unfilial if he abandons his studies and orders him to leave his house and live without his help and support if he dares give up his medical studies. Dustin follows his heart and leaves his father’s house. Two years later, Leah and he are married, have a son, Dustin is now working as an actor and finally he is reconciled with his father.

Dustin’s masculinity seems to be complicit, as he takes advantage of the benefits of being a male when he was a child but he also reaches compromises with his partner regarding decision-making. Dustin is defined by Mr Wilson as “thoughtful as a husband and caring as a father” (WDWT 289). Concerning his sense of belonging, he is Australian but his father constantly reminds him that his origins are Chinese. This duality creates a tension in him which will be analysed in the next section.

Regarding Natasha, she is the most unruly of the three siblings. She has always been a feminist and since childhood she demands to be treated like her brothers. At home each child had a different role according to age and gender and she constantly defied her parents. She also changed her name from Dinghong, “someone tranquil and magnificent” (WDWT 106), to Natasha. Not only did she shock her parents with her behaviour and coarse language, she also led a demonstration at school in order to ask for students to be allowed to choose the elective subjects they wanted to study, regardless of their being considered male or female subjects. Even though her father is not as strict with her as with her brothers because she is a girl, Mr Lam is determined to accomplish

what he considers to be his duty towards her. As Natasha explains, “he thinks that when he has successfully married me off to some rich fellow, he has then fulfilled his responsibility towards me” (WDWT 113). Natasha’s sense of belonging is not analysed in the novel although the reader can deduce that she feels both Australian and Chinese, as she gives talks to the Chinese Women’s Positive Action Group and does not repress either of the two cultures.

The relationship between Mr and Mrs Lam is based on respect and duty. Mr Lam had a psychological condition which resulted in him not wanting to have sex any more, but he was convinced it was a physical illness. Mrs Lam and Dr Chou knew it was of a mental order, but they decided to continue the charade and not to tell him he was mistaken. Once he was “cured”, Mrs Lam tried to convince him to have sex but he would not give in. Mr Lam suggested they got divorced so she could marry somebody else, but she refused that option because it would not be acceptable for her children to have divorced parents nor for the good name of the family. Thus, she prioritized her role as mother and family member to her feelings as woman and her sexual desires. Because Mr Lam has such a hegemonic masculinity, she is relegated to a supportive role in the family.

7.3.1.2. Analysis of identities

Given that the information on Charlie’s, Mr Lam’s, Qiaochu’s and Mrs Lam’s identity and thoughts is so scarce, I do not have enough information to analyse these characters using Vin D’Cruz and William Steele’s and Manuel Castells’ identity theories. Therefore, this section focuses on Moby, Dustin and Natasha.

Although only a temporary migrant, Moby’s identity is clearly influenced by having lived in Australia. If he is analysed with the psychocultural continuum theory, Moby’s identity is located towards the more concrete end of the continuum when he is in the PRC and during part of his stay in Australia: he privileges the group over the individual, although he does not denounce his brother when he escapes from the farm on the borders of Manchuria where he has been sent after serving a time in prison. For Moby, kinship and blood relations, loyalty and respect for wisdom are of utter importance. He has an inclination towards doing favours, giving presents and having a close relationship with his neighbours. However, during his time in Sydney and due to a series of personal and historical events, Moby emphasises and values individuality, even if it means standing against the state or the community, preferring autonomy and

rationality. He becomes more vocal in expressing his opinions, less fearful of accusations and he tries to solve problems face-to-face. Consequently, his identity moves to some extent towards the more abstract end of the continuum. His stay helps him come to terms with some of his fears and with his other within. For Moby, stating and defending the right of individuality, of freedom of speech and movement and of having as many children as one wants is a turning-point in his identity, which changes the balance of concrete and abstract in himself.

Before his stay in Australia	After his stay in Australia
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> MA MC </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ..._____X_____... </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> MA MC </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ..._____X_____... </div>

Figure 7.9. Analysis of Moby’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Regarding Manuel Castells’ identity theory, Moby has a legitimizing identity, as he does not question the social structure of the PRC or of Australia, but after his time in Sydney, he changes and wants to have a project identity as he aims to change Chinese society by negotiating with others. He believes in the democratic movement and he supports his students. He is particularly proud of one female student, who reminds him of his wife. He thinks that dialogue and civil action can improve Chinese society and that the government should listen to the petitions made by citizens. Even though as a student Moby was interested in democracy, it is only when he returns from Australia that he takes a clear position regarding demonstrations and freedom of speech.

In the case of Dustin, he struggles to find a balance between the concrete and abstract in himself. On the one hand, his behaviour shows some characteristics of concreteness such as loyalty to the group, privileging the group over the individual, kinship and blood relationships are of utmost importance to him. He shows respect for wisdom and relies on the interpretation of the unsaid when solving problems face-to-face. At the same time, he values some of the principles of abstractness, such as his individuality and his dream to become an actor, professionalism and creating social networks outside his community. Going against his father’s wishes is the hardest action for Dustin as his father considers it a betrayal. The fact of standing against him and stating his individuality is a turning point in his life and in his family’s. That is the exact

moment when he privileges his abstractness over his concreteness, that is, his individuality over his family. He faces his fears with the support of Leah and, although he continues to be portrayed as a caring character, he makes a stand for himself that clearly sets him towards the more abstract end of the continuum.

Before giving up Medical Studies	After giving up Medical Studies
MA MC ... <u>X</u> ...	MA MC ... <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.10. Analysis of Dustin’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Following Manuel Castells’ theory his identity is legitimizing, mainstream or normative, as he does not question the social organization of the nation state but follows the rule. Besides, when he was excluded and teased at school, he did not exclude or ignore his classmates, but fought against them.

Finally, Natasha’s identity lies towards the more abstract end of the continuum, as she emphasises and values her individuality, her rationality, her autonomy, her professionalism and direct communication. She is part of social networks which share her interests. Logically, as there are no pure concrete or abstract types, she also shows characteristics of concreteness. Some of them are the importance she gives to group loyalty and family and blood relations. In fact, if she did not care about what her parents and brothers thought about her, she would not have been such an unruly child. As she admits: “The older I got, the more unruly I became. I was always on the lookout for ways to shock my parents, sometimes by behaving badly, sometimes by using coarse language” (WDWT 109). As an adult, Natasha does not seem to have changed much as she continues to prioritise her desires and ideas: she goes abroad to pursue her professional career rather than get married to any of the bachelors introduced to her by her father.

As a child	As an adult
MA MC ... <u>X</u> ...	MA MC ... <u>X</u> ...

Figure 7.11. Analysis of Natasha’s identity following the psychocultural continuum theory. MA: towards the more abstract. MC: towards the more concrete

Natasha is an example of Manuel Castells' project identity. First, as a girl and a woman she resists and opposes stereotypes, but as a young adult she tries to change her community with her discourse and behaviour. She tries to build a new identity and wants to transform society and its overall structure. The fact that she goes to work in Thailand once she finishes her studies as an engineer can be analysed as a means to escape from her father's pressure to marry her off -the idea hinted at by Mr Wilson- but also as a way to change and make an impact on a society and a community.

Conclusion

The four novels studied present different characters approximations to migration and identity. The characters analysed include males (Jonah, Justin, Gibbo, Moby, Dustin) and females (Peng An, Lettie, Pandora, Grace, Tien, Natasha); homosexuals (Justin) and heterosexuals (all the other); first (Peng An, Pandora, Jonah, Moby), 1.5 (Grace, Tien) and second (Lettie, Justin, Dustin, Natasha) generation migrants in Australia and even an Anglo-Australian with a Chinese ancestor (Gibbo). All these characters are literate, middle class and master the English language. It is worth noting that just one novel has a character who is homosexual and that there are no lesbians nor transgender characters in any of the texts. Regarding religion, Pandora and Jonah are Christians and they influence Grace to get baptised, although her faith is not strong. All the other characters explored profess either no religion or it is not stated (Lettie, Justin, Gibbo, Tien, Dustin, Natasha) or they pay respect to their ancestors (Peng An, Moby). All these aspects of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, social class, language/s spoken and religion form a person's (or character's) identity, as explained in chapter 5.

Some of the characters (Peng An, Lettie, Jonah, Gibbo and Natasha) hardly change the combination of abstractness and concreteness in their identities and they remain stable and true to their personal vision of the world and to their own stories, which, following Madan Sarup's definition of identity, coincide with those stories others tell about them. On the other hand, the other characters are so deeply influenced by their experiences that they change their own values and their perception of the world and themselves. At the beginning of the texts, the characters of Pandora, Justin, Moby and Dustin are more inclined towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural

continuum, but the process of migration for Pandora and Moby or confronting their fears in the cases of Justin and Dustin cause such an internal struggle that the balance of concreteness and abstractness in them changes. After these experiences, they move towards the more abstract end of the continuum. The reverse path is walked by Grace, who is more inclined towards the more abstract end of the continuum, but whose mother's death makes her value other cultural and personal assets and it causes concreteness to predominate in her inner equilibrium of abstractness and concreteness. Finally, the character of Tien changes twice: as a child, she is more inclined towards the more concrete end of the psychocultural continuum, but as a young adult she changes her values towards the more abstract end of the continuum. However, the failure of her marriage and the love of her mother and friends prove another turning point in her life and she starts to embrace more concrete values in herself and in others.

Following Manuel Castells' identity theory, most characters have a legitimizing identity. Pandora, Jonah, Grace, Tien and Dustin follow the social rules, conventions and expectations and they do not try to change society, but to adapt to it. In the cases of Lettie and Moby, their trips to Europe and Australia, respectively, become turning points in their conceptions of themselves, as they change from legitimizing to project identities. Besides Lettie and Moby, Peng An also has a project identity, but I think she is deeply influenced by the example of her mother, which means that reaching this point in her life is not just a consequence of the development of her identity nor of learning from her mistakes. Gibbo is an example of resistant identity as he excludes those who exclude him. No matter what happens in his life and how hurt he is, his attitude remains the same: being loyal to those he loves and excluding those who stereotype him and exclude him. Natasha, on the other hand, is an example of a project identity as she tries to change social rules and conventions. Her attitude began in childhood, developed in adolescence and continued as a young woman: she is coherent with her beliefs and thoughts and she does not allow any figure of authority to divert her from her ideals and dreams. Finally, the character of Justin evolves from a legitimizing to a resistant identity when his sexuality is exposed and he needs to face his fears and come to terms with the story about himself he had been negating and suppressing. However, when he is being assaulted, his thoughts hint at a possible move towards a project identity in a society without prejudice. As he is left in a coma, the reader does not know whether he pursues his dream and tries to modify society.

All these changes in one’s perception of oneself, one’s relation to others’ and of concreteness and abstractness are proof of the fluidity and malleability of identities. Chinese Australian authors present characters who face internal struggles, most of them caused by migration. In the introduction of the thesis and of this chapter, four questions were raised:

- 1- How do the causes for migration influence the evolution of the constructs of duty and obedience (dis/adaptation to society, dis/trust in institutions, ease/difficulty in learning a new language, definition of the group)?
- 2- What effects do the concepts of duty and obedience have on the characters that represent Chinese migrants and their children?
- 3- Which strategies do the texts offer?
- 4- Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Chinese Australian authors?

Each novel tackles these questions in a different way. Although the causes for migration are different for each character (a marriage, business migration, an exchange program, as a refugee), most of them react to their experiences in Australia in a similar way.

In *Wind and Water*, Peng An moves to Australia willingly after having married Chris Hamilton. She has limited knowledge about the country, but it is her choice, so she tries to embrace her experience and adapt to the host society in spite of the many difficulties she faces because she is considered a second-class citizen. A positive aspect is that she speaks English, but with an accent. Peng An does not bring any family member to Australia either when she migrates or after leaving Chris and the children.

In *Love and Vertigo*, Jonah feels forced to emigrate and, as he is afraid of change, he always resents this fact. Despite speaking English and trying to adapt and be a good citizen, he does not feel at ease in Australia. Contrarily, Pandora embraces migration. Despite the fact that she does not need to work outside the house, she is not confined to that space: she goes shopping and meets her friends and later on she joins a church group. She does feel lonely sometimes and this is the main reason why she engages in different activities. Her proficiency in English is not a problem either, although she speaks with a BBC accent, which also marks her as an outsider.

In *Behind the Moon*, Tien is a Vietnamese refugee and the fact that her mother gave her seat on the boat to save her grandfather has a profound effect on her: Tien cannot live with her mother but with her uncle, aunty and three daughters, who make her feel like an outsider because she is of mixed ancestry. Not having the love and care of her

mother, nor of her father, is a determinant factor in the construction of her own identity. She learns English at school, diction with Gibbo's mother and Australian strine with Gibbo's father. She wants to be accepted and part of a group, and she does everything she can to reach this goal.

In *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen*, Moby is eager to observe, experience, learn and adapt, he is proficient in English and his group of friends is formed by his Anglo-Australian host and his Chinese Australian friends. The same can be said about Mr Lam, who went to Australia to succeed and to give his children the opportunities he did not have in Malaysia and, as he says, he became successful five years after their arrival in Australia (WDWT 264). English is not a problem for him either, and his group of friends seems to be mainly other Chinese Australians.

For all these characters, the constructs of duty and obedience are determining aspects of identity, which mould most of their actions and which they try to inculcate into the second generation.

In the case of Grace in *Love and Vertigo*, another 1.5 generation migrant, her father tries to impose duty and obedience onto the family and, even though she tries her best in her own way, her father makes her feel that whatever she does will never be good enough. Because of her sense of duty towards her mother, towards her family and what it represents for her, she covers up her mother's affair, helps her in her depression and later on in her blindness. The construct of duty and the desire to be loved are what move Grace to behave in her particular way, while she is in Australia but also at her mother's wake in Singapore and with her father.

For second-generation migrant characters, these constructs are central in their upbringing although sometimes they feel torn between what they want to do and what is expected from them by their families and by society. Regarding Lettie in *Wind and Water*, she knows about the construct but she mainly feels the expectations embedded in it when she goes to Singapore to visit her mother's family. While she is in Australia, she does not feel oppressed by them. For Justin in *Behind the Moon*, duty and obedience are the aspects that shape his relation towards others: he tries to excel in order to make his parents proud of him, he tries to be the perfect son and the perfect friend. He tries to negate and suppress his sexual feelings and identity as he thinks he will deceive those he loves. When his sexuality is exposed, he feels torn and he struggles to find out what he wants in life and how he wants his life to be. When Justin is in a coma, Justin's parents accept and support his partner, which means that they have reconciled

themselves to their son's sexuality. If Justin wakes up from the coma, it can be assumed that he will find a way to reconcile his own expectations regarding duty and obedience with his personal identity, without labels. In *When Dining with Tigers: Roads to Tiananmen*, the three Lam siblings provide three different reactions to the constructs of duty and obedience. On the one hand, Qiaochu commits suicide when he cannot cope with the loss of face he has brought to his family after being expelled from university. On the other hand, Natasha does not allow her father to control her life and, not only does she change her name and study the degree she wants, she also goes to Thailand to work in order to enjoy more freedom. Finally, Dustin insists on having his father's blessing to follow his dream of becoming an actor and he regularly raises the issue with him. However, with the support of his girlfriend, he dares to confront his father and takes a personal stand. For each of the siblings, duty and obedience determine the path of their lives: to commit suicide, to go abroad or to break the family ties.

Each novel offers different strategies to respond to the constructs of duty and obedience and to cope with intergenerational conflicts. First-generation migrants had *hsiao* embedded in them and, in spite of their time in Australia, it still shapes their reactions and patterns of behaviour. Those who were raised in Australia, 1.5 and second-generation migrants, struggle to reconcile what they want and what is expected from them, that is, to find an equilibrium between the levels of abstractness and concreteness in themselves. Sometimes this imbalance makes them rebellious and others more obedient, but matching the story they tell about themselves with the story that others tell about them -that is, Madam Sarup's definition of identity- is what these struggles are about. Each author presents different situations and there are no two characters who behave in the same way, consequently, the array of options and strategies is wide. Nevertheless, their common factor is finding equilibrium in their own identities, being coherent with themselves.

8. Conclusions

This thesis aimed to elucidate the relationship among the cultural concepts of duty and obedience in Greek and Chinese cultures, the experience of being a migrant in Australia and how this influences the construct of identity in the works of those Greeks or Chinese who personally experienced migration or those writers whose parents were first-generation migrants and wrote fictional texts about the experiences of migration.

My theoretical consideration of the notion of identity was framed within the psychocultural continuum theory, defined by Vin D'Cruz and William Steele, and the network society, by Manuel Castells. The construct of identity was also approached through Madan Sarup's definition. The various cultural frameworks I have used regarding the constructs of duty and obedience have revealed an array of approaches to them: in marriage and divorce, in taking care of other members of the family, in the notion of patriotism, in migration and, in the case of Greek culture, also in religion. The theory of the psychocultural continuum was also applied to cultures to give an explanation as to how and why societies change their values.

In order to contextualise the experience of migration in Australia, this thesis introduced the main policies which affected the lives of migrants since the colonization of Australia until 2011. The population of the country trebled in less than 70 years, growing from 7 million inhabitants in 1945 to 21 million people in 2011. As part of this increase, the residents in Australia varied enormously as 98% of the inhabitants were Australian-born citizens of English, Irish, Welsh or Scottish ascendancy in 1945, while the 2011 census showed that 46% of the population was first- or second-generation migrants from a wide array of countries. The social composition of the country currently includes people from different ethnicities and cultures who speak diverse languages and profess a wider variety of religions. This impressive change in the social configuration of the country affects the values officially considered relevant at a given moment in time. Consequently, in different periods these principles are sited in diverse positions in the psychocultural continuum: not only do they move towards the more abstract or towards the more concrete ends of the continuum, but the fears and the perception of the 'other' also varies.

Part of these changes were caused by Greek and Chinese migrants, whose understanding and expectations of family and interpersonal relations differed from those

of mainstream society. Literature provided a means to explore the acquisition of social and cultural capital as well as ways of questioning and deconstructing values, ideals and social relations. Some of the migrants who arrived after World War II and experienced through the policies of assimilation and multiculturalism are the authors studied (in order of analysis): Eugenia Tsoulis, George Papaellinas, John Charalambous, Aristides George Paradissis, Ang Chin Geok, Hsu-Ming Teo and Frank Chan Loh. These authors set their texts in different years and locations but, for their migrant protagonists, family relations and the cultural constructs of duty and obedience moulded their identities.

In the introduction, I referred to the plurality of motives for migration defended by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009). The authors argued that the answers to the eight questions they posed would provide a more coherent approach to the processes of emigration and immigration. The questions were the following:

- 1- What economic, social, demographic, environmental or political factors have changed so much that people feel the need to leave their area of origin?
- 2- What factors provide opportunities for migrants in the destination area?
- 3- How do social networks and other links develop between two areas, providing prospective migrants with information, means of travel and the possibility of entry?
- 4- What legal, political, economic and social structures and practices exist or emerge to regulate migration and settlement?
- 5- How do migrants turn into settlers, and why does this lead to discrimination, conflict and racism in some cases, but to pluralist or multicultural societies in others?
- 6- What is the effect of settlement on the social structure, culture and national identity of the receiving societies?
- 7- How do emigration and return migration change the sending area?
- 8- To what extent do migrations lead to new linkages between sending and receiving societies? (Castles and Miller 30)

The answers to questions 1 to 6 were developed in chapters 2 to 4 and in the annex, and the effects of emigration and return migration in the sending areas were not tackled in this research. Therefore, this question cannot be answered here.

Greek citizens migrated to Australia as a consequence of World War II, the occupation of the country by German and Italian forces and the civil war that followed.

Australia and Greece signed the Assisted Migration Program in 1952 and approximately 220,000 Greeks migrated to Australia between 1952 and 1974. As Australia needed menial workers, families and women to redress the gender imbalance and to increase the population of the country, one of the main conditions to be accepted was that the person had to work for two years before she or he could go back to Greece, otherwise the migrants had to pay for their transport and cost of living. Few returned to Greece after this period. Social networks provided information on the possibilities of Australia, and the conditions for eligibility. The need for a person of reference in Australia favoured the continuity of arranged marriages.

In Australia, the state provided housing and a job, as well as English language courses and health insurance. Given that the main aim was to turn immigrants into good ‘New Australians’, migrants were expected to assimilate quickly. The Adult Migrant Education Program (later on changed to Adult Migrant English Program) and the Good Neighbour Movement were created in 1947 and 1949, respectively, to help in the fulfilment of these aims. Nevertheless, the discourses and attitudes of the political parties towards immigrants were remarkably paternalistic and tensions arose when politicians realised that things were not going according to plan. Several acts were passed, such as the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* (1948), *Migration Act* (1958) and between 1965 and 1972 the focus changed from assimilation to integration. Many measures were introduced to ease the difficult working and living conditions for migrants.

Although the aim of the policies was integration, discrimination continued and debates on the presence, number and origins of migrants as well as on the religions professed and languages spoken were cyclical. Nevertheless, the commitment to a plural Australia continues and the nation cannot be understood without acknowledging the changes caused by post-World War II migration, which affect daily life experiences, such as food, clothing and interpersonal relations, as well as official discourses, like national identities, citizenship and the relation with other countries.

Because of the number of Greek migrants to Australia, bilateral relations increased, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, with the re-establishment of the Hellenic Chamber of Commerce in Sydney and the establishment of the Hellenic Business Forum in Melbourne and the Hellenic Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Regarding literature, first-generation authors often wrote in Greek, bilingual editions were published, and Australian writers who had married Greek husbands and later

migrated to Greece, such as Gillian Bouras or Beverly Farmer, were prolific in their publications. Many second-generation writers, such as Christos Tsiolkas or Jeana Vithoukias, set some of their novels in both Australia and Greece and their main characters were second-generation migrants ‘returning’ to Greece and experiencing their parents’ homeland through their Greek-Australian upbringing.

Regarding Chinese migration to Australia, the social changes implemented by Chairman Mao created a new social system. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution were two of the main policies that disregarded millennia-old traditions and radically changed the social structure of the country. Australia and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) broke off diplomatic and official relations between 1952 and 1973. However, during the decade after their reestablishment (1973 and 1984), relations between the countries improved at official, economic, cultural, scientific and business levels and exchanges, visits, councils and programs were launched. Besides migrants from the PRC, Australia received migrants of Chinese ancestry from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan or Vietnam, for example. Many of these territories were suffering from consequences of World War II, civil wars, invasions and/or economic and political turmoil.

Although Australia did not offer an Assisted Migration Program to Chinese peoples, two plans were created: the possibility of permanent residency to certain groups of people from Asian countries, and the Colombo plan, aimed at temporary migration. This second plan, launched in 1951, proved a valuable tool to offer technical and tertiary training to students. Although not specific to China or migrants of Chinese origins, “between 70 and 75 per cent of all foreign students in the country during much of this period [1951-2005] were Chinese from Malaya, Singapore, or Hong Kong – a majority of them private, fee-paying students” (Tavan 72). Despite the fact that there were no official relations between China and Australia, the two countries maintained economic ties, as China bought wheat from Australia between 1958 and 1960.

In the 1970s, the main immigration policies in Australia shifted from integration to multiculturalism. However, some critics considered that Australia was being “Asianised” and bitter debates took place between 1984 and 1988. After the events of 4th June 1989, the relations between China and Australia froze at a political level, but they were not broken off. Australia allowed permanent citizenship to the approximately 16,000 students who had arrived in Australia before 20th June 1989, and then started a

family reunion program. Therefore, about 28,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Australia after the Tiananmen massacre.

In 1996 further debates on the “Asianisation” of Australia took place and racist discourses have been recurrent in the country. Nevertheless, immigrants of Chinese origins continued to arrive, settle and live in Australia and their contributions to the country cannot be dismissed. In academia there exists an emphasis on the research of Chinese migrants during the goldrush period and on the construct of identity by first- and second-generation Chinese Australians. Many first-generation migrants wrote in Chinese languages although their publications were successful abroad but not in Australia. Bilingual editions are not common in literary publications and some first- or second-generation migrants, such as Ouyang Yu or Helene Chung Martin, write about their experiences when returning to China.

The questions posed by Stephen Castles and Mark Miller in their *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World* (2009) offer a comprehensive approach to the causes and consequences of migration in the sending and receiving countries. This provides a more inclusive dimension to the migrant person and also to the literature authored by first- and second-generation migrants. With this understanding, migrants are not just numbers in statistics: the focus of migration is on the person, not on the economic, demographic, geographic or sociological aspects of the process. Thus, this thesis supports the idea that migratory movements are better understood from an interdisciplinary perspective and that they are the results of the interaction between macro-, meso- and micro-structures, that is, markets and policies, mediators between migrants and institutions, and informal social networks.

8.1. Analysis

In the introduction of the thesis, I set four premises on which I based this research and asked four questions. This section aims to confirm whether or not the premises were valid for all the texts and to answer the queries. The following subsections are organized thematically as some of the premises and questions focus on interpersonal relations, the constructs of duty and obedience and migration in the characters analysed, while others aim at the literary strategies used by the authors. The first subsection analyses the validity of the first three premises. The second subsection

answers the first two questions. The third subsection focuses on literary strategies and, consequently, examines the last premise and answers the last two questions.

8.1.1. Premises

This section analyses whether or not the first three premises defined in the introduction are correct. The statements are the following:

1. Family relations are still central in Australia for Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian families.
2. The constructs of duty and obedience are negotiated by the different generations.
3. The circumstances and experiences caused by migration provoke intergenerational clashes which are explored in texts written by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors.

In order to carry out the analyses, the arguments provided are based on both main and secondary migrant characters and the three premises are questioned in each text. The order of analysis follows that of appearance in the thesis.

Family relations are explored in Eugenia Tsoulis’ *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*. Not only are they central for Antigone and Diana, but they are the element that keeps Antigone sane. First-generation migrant characters (Antigone, Petro, Stathi, Vangelia, and Sia, among others) cling firmly to their family bonds to deal with their experiences of migration.

The constructs of duty and obedience are not negotiated: they are accepted as part of interpersonal relations. The causes and experiences of migration, however, do provoke intergenerational clashes, especially between Diana and her father, and Sia and her sons.

In Papaellinas’ *No*, family relations determine the way siblings Lacki/Lucky and Angie behave: either by leaving their father and living a life of his own or by taking care of their parents and having a career influenced by her father’s expectations. Papaellinas shows two opposing ways of dealing with the constructs of duty and obedience: Lucky does not negotiate them, while Angie does.

The causes for migration do not motivate intergenerational clashes, although migration does affect the life of each family member. However, the Greek civil war begins a line of silence among three generations of males: Lucky’s grandfather stopped

talking when he was tortured during the civil war, Lucky’s father when his wife abandoned him, and Lucky, without a given reason but because he decided to do so.

John Charalambous’ novel *Furies* shows how family relations can be subverted and re-created to fit the wishes and expectations of the characters. Nicky fights for her right to education and, in doing this, she breaks with her family. Later she creates a family of her although not related by blood ties. As an adolescent, Nicky tries to negotiate the boundaries between being obedient and doing what she wants, that is, furthering her studies, but it does not work as her father is impassive. When she raises Imogen, she tries to lead by example and they discuss the norms they follow. Their relationship is based on trust, dialogue, freedom and mutual support, in direct contrast to the way Nicky was raised.

Nicky’s parents’ parenting skills are directly related to their lives in Greece and their understanding of family relations. They expect their daughters to follow their directions, be obedient and just accept the destiny traced by their parents. Nicky’s behaviour is unheard of and is not understood by her parents, not even twenty years after Nicky’s leaving home.

A fourth approach to family relations is developed by Aristides George Paradissis in his texts. In *Dragonsleep*, Clio lives with her parents and her son in the same house, in “The European Eleven” all the members in Alexander’s family are also introduced (his parents and sister, her amah and the cook), and in “Another Happy Day in Hobart” most of the action happens in a particular house where Alexander has been invited to a dinner with the family of a friend. Thus, family relations are the context where the actions happen.

The constructs of duty and obedience are not negotiated by the different generations as daughter and son obey their parents and there are no intergenerational clashes. Clio’s and Alexander’s families do not seem to struggle because they are migrants, quite the contrary: in Chefoo, in Shanghai or in Hobart, the families seem to make the most of their circumstances, live comfortably and have a good position in society.

The four main characters in Ang Chin Geok’s *Wind and Water* have tight family bonds: those who are born, raised and live in Singapore –Madam Seah and Teen- and those who live in Australia -Peng An and Lettie. Family ties are maintained as Peng An needs the support of her mother, even when they live in different countries. Peng An

also encourages those bonds and she takes her children to Singapore to spend time with her family.

The constructs of duty and obedience are negotiated in Australia as Lettie and her brother do not agree with some of their mother's expectations. They also have to negotiate these concepts when they are in Singapore as the family members there expect them to comply with everything they say and order them to do.

The reasons for Peng An's migration affect the way she raises her children: she decides to marry an Australian and to move to Australia, therefore, she enjoys freedom to choose the life she wants to live. This encourages her to let her children make their own decisions and reach agreements with them.

Family relations are at the core of Hsu-Ming Teo's first novel *Love and Vertigo*. The relationship among its members is even compared to a merry-go-round and the intricacies among them are explored, not only in Australia, but also in Singapore. The father, Jonah, tries to impose his understanding of the constructs of duty and obedience on his wife, son and daughter, but the outcome is not what he expects: his wife accuses him of being violent and having raped her, his son leaves the house because he cannot accept the way he treats his mother, and his daughter is distant and tries to help her mother to avoid further arguments in the family. Thus, these constructs are not negotiated but forced onto others.

Having migrated is a motive for intergenerational clashes: Jonah was afraid of change and had to leave his family behind. Thus, he constantly reminds his family of the sacrifices he made by migrating and he expects their unconditional obedience because of it. However, his son and daughter do not share his understanding of the constructs and they do not further their studies, two of the cornerstones of his upbringing. Jonah feels puzzled by his offspring and finds their attitudes strange.

In *Behind the Moon*, family relations are also central to the plot and the constructs of duty and identity shape the patterns of behaviour and struggles of Justin and Tien, second- and 1.5-generation migrants, respectively: Justin follows the construct while Tien would like to rebel but also follows it. Although he is not a migrant, the character of Gibbo accepts the constructs of duty and obedience with the families of his friends, just as he tries to include Singaporean expressions and eat Chinese food the way they do.

Teo presents an example of migration not playing a decisive role in intergenerational clashes, that of Justin's family arrived, and another in which the

relation between mother and daughter is clearly shaped by the cause and experience of migration, that of Lihn and Tien.

The last text studied is Frank Chan Loh's *When Dining with Tigers. Roads to Tiananmen*. In the novel-within-the-novel family relations are of utter importance as all the Chinese characters are introduced in relation to their families: Moby and his family in China, Charlie and his parents in Singapore, and Mr Lam, his wife, Qiaochu, Dustin and Natasha.

The constructs of duty and obedience are either negotiated or imposed, but never dismissed. The clearest examples appear in the Lams: Mr Lam obeyed his father; Qiaochu commits suicide when he deceives his father; Dustin tries to negotiate his wishes but finally defies his father; and Natasha does not even negotiate the constructs of duty and obedience with her parents: she defies them and fights against them until she achieves what she wants. For the Lams, the circumstances and experiences caused by migration provoke intergenerational clashes among its members.

Texts analysed	Family relations central in Australia	Duty and obedience negotiated by generations	Intergenerational clashes caused by circumstances & experiences of migration
BCS	Yes	No, accepted	Yes
NO	Yes	Yes and No: Angie negotiates them, Lucky defies them	No
FS	Yes	Yes and No: as a child Nicky cannot negotiate with her parents, as an adult she negotiates them with Imogen.	Yes
DS	Yes	No, accepted	No, there are no intergenerational clashes
EE and AHDH	Yes	No, accepted	No, there are no intergenerational clashes
WW	Yes	Yes and No: as a child Peng An accepts them, as a parent she negotiates with her offspring	Yes
LV	Yes	No, imposed	Yes
BM	Yes	Yes	Yes and No: yes with Tien, No with Justin.
WDWT	Yes	Yes and No: Qiaochu accepts them, Dustin and Natasha try to negotiate with their father	Yes

Table 8.1. Analysis of premises 1 to 3. BCS: *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*; NO: *No*; FS: *Furies*; DS: *Dragonsleep*; EE: “The European Eleven”; AHDH: “Another Happy Day in Hobart”; WW: *Wind and Water*; LV: *Love and Vertigo*; BM: *Behind the Moon*; WDWT: *When Dining with Tigers*.

As a result of this analysis, it can be said that the first premise was correct for all texts, while the second and third premises were valid for only some of the texts and characters analysed. In all the texts studied, family relations were central to the plot and the characters developed the constructs of duty and obedience in each text. However, these notions were not always negotiated by the different generations, but they were often accepted or imposed.

Regarding the influence of the causes for and experiences of migration in intergenerational clashes, all the texts written by Chinese Australian authors included this influence in their texts in some of the characters; however, only two of the four Greek-Australian authors developed this topic. Consequently, one conclusion may be that the first premise was valid, while the second and third premises were only partially correct. They would be suitable if rephrased. Thus, the second premise should read: “the constructs of duty and obedience shape interpersonal relations and are an example of the relationship among characters”. Also, the third premise should say: “those characters who suffered oppression in their countries of birth –either from the state or their families- seem to have more difficulties accepting that others break with traditions in Australia”.

8.1.2. Questions

In the introduction, four questions were asked. The first two were partially answered after the study of the novels in chapters 6 and 7. This section summarizes and compares the answers provided by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors. The two first questions posed were:

1. How do the causes for migration influence the evolution of the constructs of duty and obedience (dis/adaptation to society, dis/trust in institutions, ease/difficulty in learning a new language, definition of the group)?
2. What effects do the concepts of duty and obedience have on the characters that represent Greek or Chinese migrants and their children?

Chapter 6 included an analysis of Greek-Australian characters. For those who were first-generation migrants (Antigone, Sia, Stathi, Vangelia, Petro, Lucky and Angie’s parents, Nicky’s parents, Clio’s parents, Alexander in Australia), the reasons that led to migration influenced their understanding of the concepts of duty and obedience and their time in Australia. In *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*, Antigone went to Australia to marry Petro, who had emigrated looking for a prosperous future. Stathis and Vangelia had left their daughters with their family in Greece while they went to Australia to work hard and save money in order to give their daughters an education and the possibility of a better future. Sia had migrated with her husband for the same reason: to improve the living conditions they had in Greece. In *No*, Lucky’s father managed to escape from persecution experienced during the civil war and finally arrived in Australia. In the

other texts (*Furies*, *Dragonsleep* and “The European Eleven”) the causes for migration were not specified, so improving the family’s living conditions seems to be the most plausible option, especially for the families in Paradissis’ texts, as these are historically set before World War II.

Except for Antigone, all the other characters migrated to Australia hoping for a better life. Antigone was still mourning her fiancé and her forced abortion, she did not want to leave her family and even less to marry a stranger. For Stathis and Vangelia leaving their daughters behind was an extreme sacrifice, but they thought the future benefits would compensate the present pain. For these three characters, the experience of migration was painful and it determined their lives: Antigone spent years in a mental hospital, Vangelia died and, thus, Stathi became a widower. Antigone and Stathi went back to Greece and they seemed to be happier there because they were with their beloved ones, did not have to speak a foreign language or comply with different traditions. These characters felt like exiles, rather than migrants. However, contrary to George Lamming’s quote studied in chapter 5 -“To be an exile is to be alive” (12)-, their experience was painful and negative. Their perception certainly followed Edward Said’s thought: “Exile is life led outside the habitual order” (2000: 186). It was not Antigone’s habitual order to be away from her mother and village, to remember vividly the forced abortion suffered and the menacing soldiers, to have difficulties in communicating with others because of the language, not to be close to the sea and even less to live in a mental hospital. Stathi and Vangelia’s habitual order included their daughters and their parents, working but feeling respected and valued. Because of their difficult experiences, Antigone, Vangelia and Stathi clung to their traditions, customs and interpersonal relations to face and overcome the difficulties lived in Australia.

The other first-generation migrant characters (Sia, Petro, Lucky and Angie’s parents, Nicky’s parents, Clio’s parents and Alexander in Australia) seem to adapt to their lives in Australia, even though most of them follow the constructs of duty and obedience in their interpersonal relations: in the expectations they have of others and, mainly, in their roles of husband and wife. Alexander is a young bachelor in “Another Happy Day in Hobart”, but his respectful behaviour towards his host shows his acceptance and implementation of these notions.

Second-generation migrants (Diana, Lucky, Angie, Nicky, Clio and Alexander in China) reacted differently to the constructs of duty and obedience. In *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*, Diana, as a child and as an adult, seemed to accept them and follow

them. In *No*, Lucky defied these notions, left his family and created his own community outside the system. Angie followed the notions of duty and obedience, although sometimes she struggled to accommodate the behaviour of her family, what was expected from her and what she wanted. In *Furies*, Nicky followed the constructs of duty and obedience when she was a child, but she defied them as a teenager and subverted them as an adult. For Nicky family relations were relevant but the notions her parents tried to instil onto her did not suit her ideals, so she created her own rules. In *Dragonsleep* and in “The European Eleven”, Clio and Alexander accepted the ideas of duty and obedience and behaved accordingly.

In chapter 7, Chinese Australian characters were analysed. For those first-generation migrants (Peng An, Jonah, Pandora, Lihn, Justin’s parents, Moby, Charlie and Mr Lam), the causes for migration profoundly influenced their attitudes towards their lives in Australia. In *Wind and Water*, Peng An moved to Australia for love and she decided to stay in the country even after her divorce for the sake of her children. In *Love and Vertigo*, Jonah was never happy in Australia because he did not want to migrate: he felt obliged by his condition of family provider, but it was not his wish. Pandora was eager to migrate from Singapore to Malaysia and even more to Australia. She felt stronger and she proved to be so during the visit of her mother-in-law, when she took revenge on her. Regarding Lihn in *Behind the Moon*, her past suffering and being a refugee made her determined to enjoy the life and opportunities that Australia offered: she worked hard to give her daughter everything she wanted in order to be closer to her. Justin’s parents were business migrants and they tried to be model migrants while maintaining their traditions. In *When Dining with Tigers*, Moby and Charlie had clear motives for their temporal migration: Moby to improve his teaching and proficiency of the language, and Charlie to study a degree. Moby’s experience of migration helped him to face and overcome some of his fears, while Charlie became aware of his patriarchal upbringing and behaviour. Mr Lam migrated to Australia to give his children a more prosperous future and he was a successful businessman within five years.

The causes for migration also dictated the relevance of teaching the constructs of duty and obedience to their offspring because these notions determined their actions and identities. For the 1.5 and second-generation migrants, however, duty and obedience had a different significance. While some accepted these notions (Qiaochu, Justin), others negotiated them and adapted them to their needs and feelings (Lettie, Grace, Tien, Dustin, Natasha) and others ignored them (Sonny, Natasha). Qiaochu (in *When*

Dining with Tigers) and Justin (in *Behind the Moon*) wanted to be "the perfect son" for their parents, thus, they were obedient and dutiful. They tried to suppress their respective wishes: Qiaochu's love for astronomy and not for Medical Studies, or Justin's homosexuality.

In *Wind and Water*, Lettie negotiated the constructs of duty and obedience with her mother and she managed to live her life as she understood it, without having to follow her mother's concept of interpersonal relations. In *Love and Vertigo*, Grace had to face a domineering father who expected the fulfilment of *hsiao* by his wife and offspring, but she managed to adapt this construct to her preferences and act accordingly. In *Behind the Moon*, Tien struggled in her effort to deal with the notions of duty and obedience: she knew they were important for her mother and that she expected them in their relationship, but Tien was hurt by her mother's temporary abandonment and could not behave as she expected. Only when the two of them demolished the walls between them did it seem that their relationship would improve and they would find a balance between what one gave and expected from the other. In *When Dining with Tigers*, Dustin tried to negotiate his wishes with those of his father. However, at a given moment, he followed his heart, gives up Medicine, leaves his father house and studies acting, got some jobs as an actor and has a family of his own. Dustin proved his father that he had fulfilled his wishes (being able to take care of himself and of his family) but in a way he did not approve of.

In *When Dining with Tigers*, Natasha shocked her parents as a child, mainly because of the sexist norms they tried to instil into the children. She wanted equality with her brothers and freedom to make their own decisions. When older, she did not try to negotiate her wishes anymore but she ignored the construct of duty and obedience and moved to Thailand. In *Wind and Water*, Sonny stopped his relationship with his father and, thus, with his understanding of these notions.

Consequently, it can be argued that, for Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian characters, the reasons for migration affected their lives in Australia, their approaches to interpersonal relations and how they tried to implement the constructs of duty and obedience in the behaviour of their offspring. Second-generation migrant characters, however, showed a wide array of reactions to these notions: acceptance, defiance, subversion, negotiation or disregard.

8.1.3. Strategies

This subsection deals with the literary strategies used by the authors to construct or deconstruct the notions of duty and obedience and the identities of the characters presented. Therefore, the fourth premise and the last two questions posed in the introduction are analysed:

- Premise 4: The alternatives and strategies authors create are similar despite the different circumstances, experiences, cultures, ethnicities, languages and religions.
- Question 3: Which strategies do the texts offer?
- Question 4: Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Greek-Australian authors and by Chinese Australian authors?

The analysis of the novels is tackled following their order of appearance.

Eugenia Tsoulis uses an array of alternatives and strategies to explore the constructs of duty and obedience and interpersonal relations in *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*. These show different attitudes, dispositions and limitations: past traumatic syndromes that last for decades, dreams and expectations that do not come true, a distancing from the parents' culture or embracing the possibilities offered by the new country. All these are possible patterns of behaviour migrants could follow. In Tsoulis' novel, identity is linked to values and traditions. Thus, characters can be strong and maintain the same beliefs through the years, just like Antigone, Sia, Vangelia, Stathi and Petro do, or they can modify their values depending on their personal circumstances, like Diana does.

The strategies that George Papaellinas used in *No* to defy the constructs of duty and obedience included the opposites of abandoning one's family members or staying next to them. By tattooing most of his face and body, Lucky defied interpersonal communication as his tattoos constituted a barrier for his interlocutor. His decision to stop speaking often made others uncomfortable because silence can mean hostility, disinterest, anger or tranquillity and inner stillness. Larpa, Cindy and other friends were able to see through his tattoos, be comfortable with his muteness and interpret his silences. Lucky's sense of self and lifestyle defied conventions as he lived apart from his family, ethnic group and institutions, he created his own community and followed his values, many of which differed from those of his family. For Angie, her role as daughter and her condition as descendant of Greek migrants moulded her actions and

decisions. Helping her mother after she was beaten by her husband, living with her, the election of her studies, her job, her decision not to marry a certain man or to look for Lucky and to visit him are just some of them. Angie felt the importance of family relations and ties, even when family members hurt others.

In his novel *Furies*, John Charambalous presents what can be considered two dysfunctional families. Nicky’s family seems to be typical: the parents and their daughters living in the house above their shop. However, Nicky decided to leave them and go to live with state wards as she was not allowed to continue her studies. Also, her father was sent to jail for trafficking with raw tobacco. As an adult, Nicky created her own family with Imogen, and they lived on their own –without a father figure- in what many considered to be a hut. Nicky was coherent regarding her life and the decisions she made, she was responsible, professional and caring, but she often felt judged by her neighbours and doubted her parenting skills.

George Aristides Paradissis does not create subversive families or characters who defy the establishment. On the contrary, his characters had the support and trust of their parents and both Clio and Alexander consulted their worries with them. Paradissis shows a close family whose members enjoy the possibilities offered by migration.

In *Wind and Water*, the main strategy that Ang Chin Geok offers to deal with the constructs of duty and obedience is the family saga and the maintenance of family relations. In Australia, Peng An was questioned by her in-laws, which caused her to doubt her values and parenting skills. Peng An’s experience of migration was challenging and she experienced ‘the tyranny of distance’, although she kept in contact with her family in Singapore, visited them regularly and received their support and encouragement.

In *Love and Vertigo*, Hsu-Ming Teo depicts one character who was frustrated at his life as a migrant (Jonah), another one who was not able to break away from patriarchy and live the life she wanted (Pandora), a third one who broke with his father in order to be in charge of his own life and family (Sonny) and the main character who developed empathy and understood that both her parents and brother had faults and fears, just like herself (Grace). All these options try to emphasise the humanity of the characters and how migration sometimes only highlights some existing problems.

The strategies used to deal with the concepts of duty and obedience that Hsu-Ming Teo offers in *Behind the Moon* include following the expectations set by the construct of *hsiao* and not expressing one’s feelings. Lihn prioritises her role as

daughter over her role as mother when she gives her seat on the boat that is to take her to Australia to her father and lets her daughter go with her uncles. Justin puts up a façade to avoid disappointing his parents and friends. Only when Gibbo’s father announces Justin’s homosexuality, does he start to openly explore this aspect of his life, which comes at a cost: he distances himself from his parents and friends, who still support and love him. Tien is also distant to her mother and does not share her feelings. However, she realises she is not happy and the novel’s open-ending suggests that mother and daughter will find strategies to improve their relationship.

In *When Dining with Tigers. Roads to Tiananmen*, Frank Chan Loh shows various ways of dealing with the constructs of duty and obedience. Loh presents four different strategies to face the same situation: a father’s wish to dictate the studies and future of his offspring. The strategies includes obedience and being successful (Mr Lam); obedience and not being successful (Qioachu); negotiating the constructs, breaking ties and being successful (Dustin); and leaving the country in order to avoid constant negotiation (Natasha).

The table below presents a summary of the strategies introduced in the different texts:

Texts analysed	Strategies
BTCS	Past traumas whose consequences last for decades Dreams and expectations that do not come true Distancing from the parental culture Embracing the possibilities offered by the new country.
NO	Defiance of interpersonal relations: tattoos and use of silence Focus on the role of daughter and 2 nd generation migrant Frustration at life as a migrant Break with the family
FS	Dysfunctional families
DS	Families and characters do not defy the establishment
EE and AHDH	Families and characters do not defy the establishment
WW	Evolution through family saga Contrast with an Anglo-Australian bully family ‘Tyranny of distance’ but possibility of regular visits
LV	Frustration at life as a migrant Break with part of the family Empathy with family members
BM	Follow the expectations Not to express one’s feelings
WDWT	Follow the desires of the father and become successful Follow the desires of the father, fail and commit suicide Negotiate the desires of the father with one’s own desires Ignore the desires of the father and choose one’s own studies and lifestyle

Table 8.2. Question 3. BCS: *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*; NO: *No*; FS: *Furies*; DS: *Dragonsleep*; EE: “The European Eleven”; AHDH: “Another Happy Day in Hobart”; WW: *Wind and Water*; LV: *Love and Vertigo*; BM: *Behind the Moon*; WDWT: *When Dining with Tigers*.

As can be seen, the strategies of Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors are varied and most texts present characters who enjoy or loathe their life as a migrant. Two authors who present opposite strategies are Aristides George Paradissis and Hsu-Ming Teo: all the characters introduced in Paradissis’ texts make the most of migration while those in Teo’s *Behind the Moon* only value the negative consequences. Eugenia Tsoulis’ *Between the Ceiling and Sky*, Hsu-Ming Teo’s *Behind the Moon* and Frank Chan Loh’s *When Dining with Tigers* can be compared as these texts follow three similar strategies. Regarding first-generation migrants authors highlight the personal circumstances of some characters (mainly Antigone, Lihn and Moby, respectively). When dealing with second-generation characters, these authors also provide examples of migrants who distance themselves from their parents (Diana, Justin and Dustin and

Natasha). But these authors also focus on the relevance of the role of daughter or son as they present characters who follow the desires of their mother or father because they do not want to disappoint them and break away from the expected behaviour within the family (Antigone, Justin and Quiaochu and Dustin, correspondingly).

Two further strategies are preferred by either Greek-Australian or Chinese Australian authors. The only authors who create and develop alternative communities are Greek-Australian George Papaellinas and John Charalambous, as no Chinese Australian authors present unconventional societies. Ang Chin Geok’s *Wind and Water* is the only family saga and, even though Tsoulis’ *Between the Ceiling and the Sky* includes references to Antigone’s female ancestors, their lives are not explained.

Another common strategy among many of these authors is changing the name of some of the characters. This tactic affects Diana in *Between the Ceiling and the Sky*, Lucky in *No*, Nicky in *Furies*, Clio in *Dragonsleep*, and Moby, Dustin and Natasha in *When Dining With Tigers*. Some of the characters change their names because of the influence of another character. Such is the case of Diana, the reader never knows the name she was given at baptism, and of Moby, who accepts being referred to as the whale. Sometimes the characters decide to change their own names for others which are homophones, or for those which have references or connotations they prefer. Lucky, Dustin and Natasha are examples of this. Other times, characters, like Nicky, refer to themselves by their nicknames and using the name and surname given at birth sounds unfamiliar. Finally, other characters prefer to revert to their original names, such as Clio, who decides to go back to her maiden name rather than maintain the surname of her late husband. Following Madan Sarup’s definition of identity, that is “the story we tell of ourselves and which is also the story that others tell of us” (1996: 3), changing one’s name affects the way one perceives oneself as well as influencing the way others see a person. Therefore, one’s identity is affected and it implies a personal personality crisis. In order to end such a crisis, a new identity is created and this is represented by the new name. As can be noted, all Greek-Australian authors have used this technique in their texts, while only one Chinese Australian author has done so.

To sum up, I would argue that:

1. the notions of duty and obedience are relevant in the construction of interpersonal relations in the texts written by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors

2. certain similarities exist between the techniques used by Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian authors to deal with the issues of duty, obedience and identity, such as explaining the lives of first-generation migrants in their countries, the relevance of the roles of being a son or a daughter and the second-generation distant attitude towards their parents
3. Greek-Australian authors use strategical techniques more than Chinese Australians, such as name changing
4. Chinese Australian writers may use family sagas to show the evolution of these constructs

Therefore, premise 4 (“The alternatives and strategies authors create are similar despite the different circumstances, experiences, cultures, ethnicities, languages and religions”) is only partially valid and the answer to question 4 (“Are there similarities between the strategies proposed by Greek-Australian authors and by Chinese Australian authors?”) is most definitely affirmative.

8.2. Contribution to knowledge

This thesis has aimed to contribute to the disciplines of Greek-Australian Studies and of Chinese Australian Studies. By means of analysing the migration and experiences of Greek and Chinese peoples in Australia, the cultural constructs that define interpersonal relations and examples of the literature authored, this thesis has meant to fill an existing gap in each field of studies. None of these areas have a sociocultural nor a literary study devoted to the constructs of duty and obedience.

This thesis has also intended to contribute to the area of Literary Studies from a point of view of Postcolonial Studies and by using theories from Cultural and Migration Studies. It can be argued that this thesis can also be considered part of “Comparative Literary and Cultural Studies” for two main reasons. This study is a comparison of literary texts as well as of cultural constructs. Also, it has an interdisciplinary dimension, an intrinsic characteristic of Comparative Literature and of Comparative Cultural Studies as explained by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek who defines Comparative Cultural Studies as

a contextual approach to the study of culture in a global and intercultural context. It works with a plurality of methods and approaches. The theoretical and methodological framework of comparative cultural studies is

built on tenets borrowed from the disciplines of comparative literature and cultural studies and from a range of thought traditions including literary and culture theory, (radical) constructivism, communication theories, and systems theories. In comparative cultural studies the focus is on theory and method as well as application (2013)

In the same vein the British Comparative Literature Association (BCLA) states its aims as “to promote the scholarly study of literature without confinement to national and linguistic boundaries, and in relation to other disciplines. The BCLA’s primary interests are in literature, the contexts of literature and the interaction between literatures” (BCLA 2013). The boundaries among fields of study change with time and, consequently, labels are fluid terms with undefined margins. This allows for the emergence of new areas of investigation, such as Greek-Australian or Asian Australian Studies, two unheard foci of study sixty years ago.

Socio-culturally speaking, this thesis has intended to fill in three gaps. By using the psychocultural continuum theory and applying it to social events in Australia, this research has proved how cultural changes over time can be understood as moments when societies face some of their ‘other within’ and modify the number of values which are towards the more concrete and towards the more abstract ends of the psychocultural continuum. Besides, this study has illustrated how certain cultural concepts are constructed over centuries and how they change and adapt to new circumstances in order to stress the relevance of that notion for a particular society. In the case of migrants, the moulding of the constructs to the new society is even more relevant with regard to maintaining the culture of the home country and limiting the influences of the host country. Also, this thesis has showed the positive consequences of the maintenance of languages and some traditions and customs by first-generation migrants as they ease the process of migration and the life in the new country.

Literary speaking, the analysis of the texts offered two options to the approaches to the first-generation migrant character who does not adapt, who feels otherised or who tries to be the ‘perfect’ ‘New Australian’, and to the second-generation migrant character who either follows his family expectations, or who tries to break away from his family in order to meet those of his friends. As can be seen in the analysis, some characters create alternative communities, while others do not fit in the definitions of Greek-Australian or Chinese-Australian, but rather suit those of global citizen or “third culture kid”.

To conclude, this thesis, "Neither here and nor there does water quench our thirst": Duty, Obedience and Identity in Greek-Australian and Chinese Australian Prose Fiction, 1971-2005, has intended to provide some answers to the questions about identity and interpersonal relations posed in the introduction by means of the exploration of the lives of a number of literary characters.

Annex: Chronology of historical events in Greece and China including their main bilateral relations with Australia, 1770-2011

This thesis studies the literary production of Greek and Chinese migrants in Australia. Since the historical events that migrants lived led them to the journey, this annex provides an overview of the transformation of Australia's relations with Greece and China as well as the main historical facts these three countries experienced.

On the one hand, the present-day Republic of Greece has survived a very convulsive twentieth century fraught by political, economic and social changes that led to the emigration of many Greek citizens. In one hundred years, Greece was a kingdom twice and a republic twice, experienced coups d'état, dictatorships, wars, occupation, a civil war and had several constitutions. The country also experienced of significant economic, social and political reforms and an especially deep economic crisis during the first decades of the 21st century.

On the other hand, the present-day People's Republic of China is the consequence of a very turbulent twentieth century, which has seen the country change from an empire based on millennia-old traditions to a republic under different forms: from dictatorships and warlords to communism and to an opening towards capitalism. However, all these regimes have been and are authoritarian, and "the only partially free multi-party election ever held on the mainland, in 1912, ended in the assassination of the head of the winning party" (Fenby xxxviii). Furthermore, in the last century the country suffered many uprisings, wars, civil wars and foreign invasions, and its society and economy changed enormously.

In order to understand some of the changes Australia, Greece and China were subjected to over the last century, this appendix overviews the main events that took place during the past three-hundred years.

1. Greece

1.1. Ottoman Empire

1453-1800: Ottoman Empire. The Byzantine empire is defeated at the fall of Constantinople and, since Greece forms part of the Byzantine empire, the territory now belongs to the Ottoman empire.

1768-74: Russo-Turkish war.

1770: Captain Cook lands at Botany Bay (Australia) and claims the territory for Great Britain on the basis of *terra nullius*.

1774: The Treaty of Kutchuk Kaynardja ends the Russo-Turkish war.

1787-92: Russo-Turkish war.

1788: The First Fleet of Convicts lands in Australia.

1789: French Revolution begins.

1789-1807: Sultan Selim III imposes a New Order (modernization of army and navy).

1792: The Treaty of Jassy ends the Russo-Turkish war.

1797: The Smyrna rebellion.

Treaty of Campo Formio between France and Austria (the Ionian Islands pass from Venetian to French rule).

1798-1801: Napoleon Bonaparte invades Egypt.

1800-30: Greek struggle for independence from the Ottoman empire.

1800-20: “Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment”: the publication of approximately 1300 different books in the original languages as well as translations in Greek of the works of many Western scientists and philosophers (Beccaria, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, etc) allows Greeks to be up-to-day with the ideas circulating in Europe and some Greeks even publish philosophical treatises.

1800-07: Joint Russo-Turkish forces take the Ionian Islands from Napoleon Bonaparte and are under Russian protectorate.

1804-15: Serbian revolt against the Ottoman empire.

1807: Sultan Selim III is dethroned and imprisoned.

The Peace of Tilsit between France and Russia and France and Prussia concedes the Ionian Islands back to the French.

Foundation of the Greek Hostel Society or *Ellinoglosson Xenodocheion* in Paris.

1807-08: Sultan Mustafa IV.

1807-12: Russo-Turkish war.

1808-39: Sultan Mahmud II.

1808: The Philological Gymnasium opens in Smyrna (Greek classics, mathematics and natural sciences, and not just basic knowledge of reading and writing, are taught).

1812: The Treaty of Bucharest ends the Russo-Turkish war.

1813: Foundation of the Society of Friends of the Muses or *Philomousos Etairia* in Athens.

1814: Secret foundation of the Friendly Society or *Philiki Etairia* in Odessa.

1815: The Ionian Islands are a “single, free, and independent state under the exclusive protection of His Britannic Majesty” (Clogg 47).

The Ottomans grant Serbia quasi-autonomous status.

1821: March, 25th: The revolt at the monastery of Aghia Lavra, near Kalavryta, with the cry of “*Eleftheria i thanatos*” (“Freedom or death”), begins the revolution against the Ottoman empire. It is considered to be Independence Day.

December: First National Assembly at Epidaurus to write a provisional Constitution, drafted by Mavrokordatos and Negris with the assistance of Italian Vincenzo Gallina. This Constitution clearly reveals the influence of the French Revolution.

1822: Constitution passed.

1823: March: Second National Assembly at Astros meets to revise the 1822 Constitution. Regional assemblies are suppressed but the tension among the “civilian” and the “military” factions does not diminish. Two rival governments claim “to be the legitimate representative of the insurgent Greeks” (Clogg 59).

1824: October: George Koundouriotis becomes the leader of the insurgent Greeks.

Uprising in Crete suppressed by the pasha of Egypt under the auspice of Sultan Mahmud II.

1826: April: Greeks massacred in Mesolonghi.

The Protocol of St Petersburg: the Duke of Wellington and Russian authorities agree to offer mediation between the Greeks and the Ottomans. France, Austria and Prussia are invited to mediate.

Third National Assembly at Aegina and at Ermioni. Ioannis Kapodistrias, a Corfu-born politician, former Russian ambassador who lives in Switzerland, is elected president of Greece for a seven-year term.

August: Athens falls to the Egyptian army, but the Acropolis remains in Greek hands.

1827: April: the Third National Assembly at Aegina and the Third National Assembly at Ermioni unite in the Third National Assembly at Troezen.

May: A Constitution is passed. A clear distinction is made between the functions of the executive, legislative and judicial powers.

June: The Turks capture the Acropolis in Athens.

July, 27th: Treaty of London: France agrees to mediate in the Greek-Ottoman conflict together with Great Britain and Russia. Their proposal is the creation of an “autonomous, though not sovereign, Greek state” (Clogg 64).

October, 20th: Battle of Navarino: a combined British, French and Russian fleet defeats the Turks.

December: Russia, Britain and France withdraw their ambassadors from Constantinople.

1827-32: London Conferences: Russian, French, British and Greek meetings to deal with the frontiers of Greece and the future king of the new country.

1828: April: Russia declares war on the Ottoman empire.

Kapodistrias arrives in Greece after touring Europe for support for the Greek cause, abolishes the Third National Assembly and constitutes a 27-member *Panhellenion*.

1829: July: The *Panhellenion* is substituted by a Senate. This is ratified by the Fourth National Assembly at Argos.

September: Treaty of Adrianople (end of Russo-Turkish war of 1827-29).

1829-1900: First phase of Greek migration to Australia: approximately 1000 pioneers settle in the country.

1.2. Greece as an independent country

1830: The modern Greek state is proclaimed at the Berlin Treaty.

1830-60: The Greeks in the Ottoman empire enjoy more equality, freedom and can work on politics and influential jobs.

1831: October, 9th: Kapodistrias is assassinated. Civil war between factions wanting to rule.

1831-32: Fifth National Assembly at Napflion.

- 1832: Convention of London between Britain, Russia, France and Bavaria: Prince Frederick Otto of Wittelsbach, the 17 year-old second son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, accepts to be king of Greece. Until he becomes of age, a regent council of three Bavarians leads the country.
- 1833-63: Prince Frederick Otto of Wittelsbach becomes king Otto I of Greece.
- 1833-35: The regent council organises the institutional structures of the new state in a conservative European fashion with the Church subjugated to the State. The capital is moved from Nafplion to Athens. The Greek Orthodox Church is declared independent from the State but the Catholic King Otto is named head of the Church.
- 1833-34: New criminal and civil law codes are introduced.
- 1834: Teacher Training College established in Nafplion.
- 1837: A University is established in Athens.
- 1839: A conspiracy to force king Otto I to embrace Orthodoxy or abdicate is made public.
- 1840: Convict transportation to New South Wales (Australia) ends.
- 1840s-1945: Greeks established in Egypt make the largest ethnic group in this country.
- 1843: September, 3rd: Military and civilian uprising to force King Otto I to make a constitution.
- 1844: March: A new Constitution is promulgated, which includes a clause stating the compulsoriness of Orthodox faith by the following king.
- 1847: Anti-Jewish riots in Athens at Easter.
- 1850s: Gold is discovered in Victoria (Australia).
- 1850-1900: Press freedom in Greece. “In Athens alone... ten morning and three afternoon newspapers [are] needed to cater for the insatiable demand for news and political gossip” (Clogg 85).
- 1850: Convict transportation to Western Australia begins.
- 1852: Convict transportation to eastern Australia finishes.
- 1853: Russia occupies Ottoman territory in the Danubian.
- 1853-56: Crimean war (Russia against the Ottoman empire, Great Britain, France and Sardinia).
- 1854: Britain and France oblige Greece to be neutral in the conflict.
- May: British and French troops occupy Piraeus. Outbreak of cholera in Piraeus and Athens.

- 1856: The Treaty of Paris ends the Crimean war.
- 1857: February: British and French troops leave Piraeus.
- 1859: The elections in Greece are manipulated.
- 1860: The first Greek men arrive in Brisbane and in Tasmania.
- 1861: Attempt on Queen Amalia’s life (Greece).
- 1862: Uprisings in Nafplion and Athens. King Otto is ousted. A provisional government is appointed to frame a new constitution and elect a new ruler.
- 1863: Treaty of London: the Protecting Powers (Britain, France and Russia) confirm the new king of Greece.
- 1863-1913: Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus George of Holstein-Sonderborg-Glücksburg becomes King George I of the Hellenes. He is to receive a personal civil list and a “personal pension to be paid out of the repayments due on the 1833 loan” (Clogg 82-3).
- 1864: Britain cedes the Ionian Islands to Greece.
- Greece passes a new constitution, by which Greece becomes a “crowned democracy” (Clogg 83) and the powers of the king are limited. However, the king still can dissolve parliament, appoint and dismiss ministers, declare war and contract treaties. Male suffrage: all male Greeks aged over 21 who possess some property or follow a trade or profession are entitled to vote.
- 1866-69: Cretan crisis.
- 1867: Greece allies with Serbia (first treaty with one of its Balkan neighbours).
- The Aliens Legislation in Western Australia prohibits non-British settlers from acquiring land.
- 1868: Convict transportation to Western Australia finishes.
- 1869: The first Greek sporting club is founded in Victoria: the Greek Rowing Club ‘Leventia’.
- 1870-75: Political instability in Greece: four elections and nine administrations.
- 1870-1900: Transformation of Greek politics by Charilaos Trikoupis. Massive migration of Greek nationals to southern Russia, the Caucasus, Transylvania, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Vlachia, north and south America and Australia. Massive Cypriot exodus to the United Kingdom and Australia.
- 1872: The Orthodox patriarchate in Greece declares a schism with the Bulgarian hierarchy.
- 1877: Russo-Turkish war.

- 1878: March, 3rd: Treaty of San Stefano ends the Russo-Turkish war.
June-July: Congress of Berlin: the formal independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania is recognised.
- 1881: During the Conference of Constantinople the Turks agree to give Thessaly and Epirus to Greece.
- 1882-97: Charilaos Trikoupis and Theodore Deliyannis alternate in power in Greece. The second undoes what the first does. Modest economic progress in the early years, desperate financial situation during the last years. Improvement of railway and telegraph lines.
- 1888: First time the phrase “White Australia Policy” appears in a newspaper in Australia.
- 1893: The Corinth Canal is opened.
- 1894: Women gain the right to vote and run for Parliament in South Australia.
- 1896: The first Greek Community is founded in Sydney with Greek and Syrolibanese Orthodox migrants.
Athens Olympic Games.
- 1897: Greece declares war on Turkey to help the Cretan insurrection.
The “leaders of the 100 Greeks who live in Melbourne, in collaboration with the Syrolibanese settlers, ... [found] the Greek Orthodox Church [Community] of Melbourne.” (Tamis 67-8)
- 1897-1959: Use of the Dictation Test to positively discriminate white migrants in Australia.
- 1898: The First Orthodox Church in Australia is consecrated: it is Holy Trinity (“Agia Triada”) Orthodox Church in Sydney.
- 1899: Women gain the right to vote in Western Australia.
- 1901: Federation of Australia. *Immigration Restriction Act* passed.
- 1901-45: Second phase of Greek migration to Australia: approximately 17,000 Greek migrants settle in Australia, especially refugees of the wars in Europe.
- 1902: Non-Indigenous Australian, Asian, African or Pacific Islander women gain the right to vote and to run for Parliament in Australia due to Commonwealth legislation. Women in New South Wales gain the right to vote.
- 1903: Women in Tasmania gain the right to vote. A change in immigration legislation in Australia does not allow wives and children under 18 to join their non-European husbands/fathers.

- 1905: Women in Queensland gain the right to vote.
- 1908: Women in Victoria gain the right to vote.
- 1909-69: Mix-descent Indigenous Australians are forcibly removed from their families and kins and put into missions (“Stolen Generations”).
- 1910-15: Eleftherios Venizelos is elected Prime Minister. He aspires to make the *Megale Idea* (or “Great Idea”) come true, that is, to unite all Greeks under one flag through the “cultural Hellenisation of the [Ottoman] Empire” (Tamis 19). Greece’s population grows from 2.8 million to 4.8 million inhabitants.
- 1911: Greece passes a new Constitution.
- 1912-13: The Balkan wars. About 100,000 Greek refugees settle in Thessaly.
- 1912: The Kastellorizian Brotherhood is established in Perth.
- 1913: The Queensland Hellenic Association is established in Brisbane. Greek women create the first Greek female association in Brisbane.
- 1913-17: King Constantine I.
- 1914-18: Word War I.
- 1914: Greek Cypriots establish the first Greek Community in Queensland.
- 1915: ANZAC Forces under British orders are defeated at the Battle of Gallipoli.
- 1917: King Constantine I is forced to abdicate.
- 1917-20: King Alexander.
- 1918: The youth group Greek Unity of Western Australia is founded in Perth.
- 1920-22: King Constantine I (second time).
- 1922: King Constantine I is forced into exile.
- 1922-24: King George II.
- 1923: A notable amount of land is divided amongst the peasants in Greece.
- 1924: King George II is forced into exile.
- 1924-35: I Hellenic Republic.
- 1927: Greece passes a new Constitution.
- 1928-32: Under Venizelos’ premiership, Greece undergoes a major economic modernization, an educational reform, the settlement of 1.2 million refugees from Asia Minor and treaties of friendship with Italy (1928), Yugoslavia (1929) and Turkey (1930).
- 1930: The Greek Community of South Australia is established in Adelaide.
- 1933: The Greek Association of Northern Queensland is founded in Innisfail.

- 1935: October: General Kondylis leads a coup against the *junta*, or group of military leaders, and persuades parliament to recall king George II.
- 1935-47: King George II (second time).
- 1936: Greece experiences 344 strikes during the first six months. In August, Ioannis Metaxas establishes a dictatorship (abolition of political parties, rigid press censorship, persecution of opponents).
Greece passes a new Constitution.
- 1937: The Church of Saints Constantine and Helen is consecrated in Perth.
- 1939-45: World War II.
- 1940: October, 28th: Ohi Day: General Metaxas declines the ultimatum given by dictator Mussolini. Beginning of Greece’s participation in World War II.
- 1941: German occupation of Greece. King George II leaves the country. Greece gets the help of 17,000 Australian soldiers.
- 1944: August: The representatives of the resistance groups (EAM –National Liberation Front-, ELAS –National People’s Liberation Army- and EDES –National Republican Greek League-) decide to support a government-in-exile established in Cairo with Georgios Papandreou as Prime Minister.
- 1945: August, 15th: End of World War II.
Greece and Australia are founding members of the United Nations.
New motto in Australia: “Populate or perish”. The “White Australia” policy is lessened and certain immigrants are welcomed. The Immigration Department is established and Arthur Calwell is the first Minister.
- 1946-49: Greek civil war: nationalists vs. communists.
- 1947: The Church of the Saint Theodore (“Agioi Theodori”) is consecrated in Townsville (Queensland). The first Greek Australian Chamber of Commerce is established in Melbourne.
- 1947-64: King Paul.
- 1952: Greece passes a new Constitution which grants women the right to vote. First Greek female minister: Lina Tsaldari, Minister of Social Affairs. Greece joins the NATO.
Australia-Greece bilateral agreement on immigration: Assisted Migration Program.
- 1952-74: Third phase of Greek migration to Australia: approximately 220,000 migrants settle in the country.

- 1953: August 8th: A 7.2 magnitude earthquake destroys the Ionian islands of Zakynthos and Kefalonia.
- 1954: April 30th: A 7.1 magnitude earthquake in Thessaly causes widespread casualties.
- 1955: Arrival of the millionth post-war immigrant in Australia.
- 1957: In Australia, non-Europeans are permitted to apply for citizenship after 15 years of residence (Europeans, after 5).
- 1858: June, 13th-16th: National conference of the Greek Communities in Sydney: first attempt to unite all Greek Orthodox in Australia.
- 1960: Cyprus becomes an independent country.
Schism between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Federation of the Greek Orthodox Communities of Australia.
- 1961: Greece allows the unrestricted migration of women to Australia.
Greece is part of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).
Australia considers Greece to be a “friendly country”.
- 1961-62: Riots at Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre due to the living conditions.
- 1962: Indigenous Australians in all States and Territories can vote.
- 1964-73: King Constantine II.
- 1965: Land rights in Australia are extended to citizens from the “friendly countries”.
- 1967-74: Right-wing dictatorship known as The *Junta* or The Regime of the Colonels.
- 1967: The king tries to launch a counter-coup in Greece but fails and flees into exile.
In Australia, the referendum to include Indigenous Australians in the census and to allow the Commonwealth government to make laws for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is approved.
- 1968: Greece’s new Constitution institutionalises the army’s control of the government.
- 1972: Indigenous Australians demand land rights with their Tent Embassy in Canberra.
- 1973: King Constantine II is formally deposed.
- 1973: Australia adopts a policy of non-discriminatory immigration and multiculturalism. The Telephone Interpreter Service is established.
- 1974: II Hellenic Republic. Turkish invasion of Cyprus.
- 1974-2011: Fourth phase of Greek migration to Australia: approximately 10,000 political refugees, traders and technocrats settle in the country, also Greeks from South Africa.
- 1975: Greece passes a new Constitution and a plebiscite abolishes monarchy.

- 1975: Australia’s *Racial Discrimination Act* makes it unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origins.
- 1978: The Galbally Report (*Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants*) emphasises cultural identification.
- 1981: Greece is a founding member of the European Community (now European Union).
Re-establishment of the Hellenic Chamber of Commerce in Sydney.
- 1981-85: Civil marriage is established, women’s rights are equalled to men’s and the dowry is abolished in Greece.
- 1982: The Zubrzycki Report (*Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nation*) denounces the paternalistic view of immigrants in Australia but does not offer suggestions to improve the policy and does not include the social dimension of multiculturalism.
- 1984-88: Debate on the “Asianization” of Australia.
- 1985: The Access and Equity Strategy aims to remove the barriers of race, culture, language and religion that prevented the access to government services and programs in Australia.
- 1986: The Jupp Report (*Don’t Settle for Less: Report of the Committee for Stage I of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services*) emphasises the social justice dimension of multiculturalism in Australia.
Greece revises its 1975 Constitution.
- 1988: The Fitzgerald Report (*Immigration: A Commitment to Australia*) does not provide constructive criticism nor suggestions to improve multiculturalism and focuses on economy.
- 1989: July, 29th: National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia launched.
- Early 1990s: Establishment of the Hellenic Business Forum (HBF) in Melbourne and of the Hellenic Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (HACCI).
- 1991: First detention centre for asylum seekers in Australia: Port Hedland Detention Centre.
- 1992: The High Court in Australia resolves Mabo case: Australia was not *terra nullius* when invaded.
- 1993: Temporary Protection Visas are turned into Permanent Resident Cards for Chinese students stranded in Australia.

- 1994: Greece is a founding member of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation.
- 1996: Australian Independent Member of Parliament Pauline Hanson’s maiden speech sparks off the anti-Asian immigration debate again.
- 1997: *Bringing Them Home* Report in Australia (inquiry about the Stolen Generations).
- 1999: August 17th and September 7th: a 7.6 magnitude earthquake in Izmit (Turkey) and a 6.0 magnitude one in Athens, respectively, caused the “Greek-Turkish earthquake diplomacy”.
- 2000: Sydney Olympic Games.
- 2001: Greece is a member of the eurozone. Greece revises its 1975 Constitution.
August: *Tampa* incident (a Norwegian freighter rescued Afghan asylum seekers heading to Australia and Australia did not allow the freighter to enter its territorial waters so they could not apply for refugee status).
- 2001-07: The “Pacific Solution” (asylum seekers in Australia transported to detention camps in Christmas Islands, Manus Island, Papua New Guinea and Nauru to determine their refugee status instead of letting them land on Australian mainland).
- 2004: Athens Olympic Games.
Cyprus, via its Greek Cypriot community, joins the European Union.
- 2005: Greece is part of the European Space Agency.
Racist riots in Cronulla (Sydney).
- 2007: More than 3,000 fires break across Greece, causing 84 casualties.
- 2008: February 13th: Australian National Apology to the Stolen Generations.
December 6th: Alexandros Grigoropoulos, a 15 year-old student, is killed by the police in Athens during some protests. This event causes widespread national and international demonstrations.
- 2009: August: Fires near Athens cause the evacuation of more than 10,000 people.
November, 16th: Australian National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants (to the children who experienced institutional care and who frequently suffered abuses; some of the children were separated from their families in the United Kingdom).
- 2010: Deep economic crisis in Greece. The European Union economically “rescues” the country. Riots throughout the country cause some deaths.

The HACCI (Hellenic Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry) and the HBFA (Hellenic Business Forum of Australia) merge into the HACCI.

Dec 2010- Jan 2011: Floods in Queensland: 75% of the territory is declared disaster zone. Thirty-eight people die.

2011: Jan- April: Floods in Victoria: Much of central and northern parts of the state are affected. Two people die.

Strikes in Greece are common all year round to express disagreement with the measures imposed by the European Union and the International Monetary Fund. Part of the debt is “forgiven” if Greece implements more austerity measures.

November: Prime Minister Papandreou resigns. Interim Prime Minister is Lucas Papademos, a former head of the Bank of Greece. Elections take place in May 2012.

2. China

2.1. Imperial China

1662-1722: Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty is the first of the Three Great Emperors.

1717: Catholicism is forbidden in China.

1723-35: Emperor Yongzheng is the second of the Three Great Emperors.

1736-95: Emperor Qianlong is the last of the Three Great Emperors.

1770: Captain Cook lands at Botany Bay (Australia) and claims the territory for Great Britain on the basis of *terra nullius*.

1773: The Jesuit order is dissolved and priests in China go clandestine.

1788: The First Fleet of Convicts lands in Australia.

1792: William Brereton calls for Chinese migration to assist the British colonization of Australia.

1796-1820: Emperor Jiaqing.

1804: Governor King plans the Chinese migration scheme to Australia.

1817: Mak Sai Ying, the first Chinese settler to Australia, arrives in New South Wales.

1820-50: Emperor Daoguang.

1840: Convict transportation to New South Wales (Australia) ends.

1840-42: I Opium War in China.

- 1842: Treaty of Nanjing.
- 1850: Convict transportation to Western Australia begins.
- 1850s: Gold is discovered in Victoria (Australia).
- 1850-61: Emperor Xianfeng.
- 1850-63: Taiping revolt.
- 1852: Convict transportation to eastern Australia finishes.
- 1853: First Chinese gold-diggers arrive in Victoria.
- 1855: Chinese in Victoria are controlled and limited by law.
- 1856-57: II Opium War.
- 1858: Treaty of Tianjing.
- 1860: III Opium War. Treaty of Beijing.
- 1861-74: Emperor Tongzhi.
- 1861-78: Anti-Chinese riots in Australia.
- 1868: Convict transportation to Western Australia finishes.
- 1874-1908: Emperor Guangxu.
- 1874-87: Regent Cixi.
- 1887: Chinese enquiry into immigrant conditions in Australia. All colonies increase the poll tax on Chinese immigrants to £100.
- 1888: Restrictions on Chinese immigration to Australia. Chinese passengers from the steamship *Afghan* –including legal immigrants and returning residents- are not allowed to land in Melbourne; 40,000 people in Sydney march against Chinese arrivals and the Premier in Sydney tries to impede their landing. First time the phrase “White Australia Policy” appears in a newspaper.
- 1894: Women gain the right to vote and run for Parliament in South Australia.
- 1894-95: Sino-Japanese war for Korea.
- 1897-1959: Use of the Dictation Test to positively discriminate white migrants in Australia.
- 1898: Hundred Days Reform in China.
- 1898-1901: Boxer rebellion.
- 1898-1908: Regent Cixi.
- 1899: Women gain the right to vote in Western Australia.
- 1901: Federation of Australia. *Immigration Restriction Act* passed.

- 1902: Non-Indigenous Australian, Asian, African or Pacific Islander women gain the right to vote and to run for Parliament in Australia due to Commonwealth legislation. Women in New South Wales gain the right to vote.
- 1903: Women in Tasmania gain the right to vote. A change in immigration legislation in Australia does not allow wives and children under 18 to join their non-European husbands/fathers.
- 1905: Women in Queensland gain the right to vote.
- 1907: Public schools for girls are created in China.
- 1908: Women in Victoria gain the right to vote.
- 1908-11: Emperor Xuantong. The emperor’s father is regent.
- 1909: Creation of a provisional Senate in China.
- 1909-69: Mix-descent Indigenous Australians are forcibly removed from their families and kins and put into missions (“Stolen Generations”).
- 1910: Elections to the Senate in China.

2.2. Post-imperial China

- 1912: Sun Yat-sen is named president of the Republic of China.
- 1912-16: Yuan Shikai, president of the Republic of China, is elected by the legislative assembly.
- 1912: Creation of the Guomindang or Nationalist Party.
- 1912: Elections are won by the Guomindang but assassination of its leader (Song Jiaoren). Yuan Shikai continues as president.
- 1915: Yuan Shikai proclaims himself emperor Hongxian.
- 1916: Seventeen provinces rebel and dictator-emperor Hongxian decides to rule as president. Yuan Shikai dies before leaving the country.
- 1916-27: Warlords rule.
- 1919: May 4th Movement in China.
- 1921: Secret foundation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Shanghai.
Reelection of Sun Yat-sen as president of the Republic of China.
- 1921-22: The Nine-Power Treaty in China.
- 1925: May 30th Movement in China.
- 1927-37: Chiang Kai-shek’s, leader of the Guomindang, proclaims himself head of the Authoritarian Republic of China.

New Life Movement in China.

1931-34: Chinese Soviet Republic in Jiangxi province.

1931-36: Civil war between nationalists and communists.

1935-36: The Long March from Jiangxi province to Shaanxi province.

1935: Tanggu Truce between China and Japan. China recognises Manchukuo.

1937-45: Japanese invasion of China and World War II.

1937: Japanese attack Shanghai (2526 bombs thrown in one two-day period).

The Rape of Nanjing.

1941: Diplomatic relations between Australia and China are established.

1942-43: Japanese bombing of north Australia.

1943: Agreement between the USA and Great Britain to stop claiming their territorial rights in China.

1945: Department of Immigration established in Australia.

Agreement between the USA, Great Britain and the USSR at the Yalta conference to get the USSR to help China.

Fall of Manchukuo.

Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the USSR.

August, 6th and 9th: Atom bombs are dropped by the Allies on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

August, 15th: The Japanese surrender. End of World War II.

1945-49: Civil war between Nationalists and Communists in China.

1945: New motto in Australia: “Populate or perish”. The “White Australia” policy is made less restrictive and certain immigrants are welcomed.

1948: Chinese and Australian embassies are established.

1949: Chiang Kai-shek resigns as leader of the Nationalists. He goes into exile in Taiwan. Formation of the Republic of China in Taiwan.

October, 1st: Mao Zedong is the president of the People’s Republic of China.

1950-52: Rectification campaign in China. The “three antis” offensive (against corruption, waste and bureaucracy). The “five antis” offensive (against corruption, waste, bureaucracy, bribery and tax evasion). Thought reform campaign (intellectuals turned into proletarians, accusations against neighbours, self-criticism). Land reform campaign (“abolition of traditional socioeconomic relationships in the countryside, ... destruction of the landlord-gentry class, and

... redistribution of land among the peasantry” (Meisner 60)”. Foreigners are told to leave the country. Break off international relations with Australia.

1950-53: Korean War.

1951: Agreement of the Central People’s Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet.

1953-58: In China, five-year development plan and new motto: “What you plant, you eat. If you plant grain, you eat grain. If you bake bricks, you eat bricks”.

1955: Arrival of the millionth post-war immigrant in Australia.

1956: New motto in China: “More, faster, better and more economically”.

1956-68: Twelve-year agricultural plan in China. Small Leap Forward, Hundred Flowers Campaign.

1957: In Australia, non-Europeans are permitted to apply for citizenship after 15 years of residence (Europeans, after 5).

1958-60: Great Leap Forward in China.

1959: Revolt in Tibet. The Dalai Lama flees to India.

1960: British subjects with permanent residency in Australia are allowed to bring their non-Europeans spouses and unmarried children under 18.

The editor of *The Bulletin* removes its motto: “Australia for the White Man”.

1962: Indigenous Australians in all States and Territories can vote.

1964: France’s recognition of the People’s Republic of China.

China’s first nuclear test.

1966: Admission of a few well-qualified Asian migrants in Australia. The waiting period to apply for citizenship is reduced to 5 years in the case of some non-Europeans.

1966-69: Cultural Revolution in China.

1967: New motto in China: “Prepare for war, prepare for famine, for the sake of the people”.

First Chinese satellite in space.

In Australia, the referendum to include Indigenous Australians in the census and to allow the Commonwealth government to make laws for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is approved.

1971: Australian expedition to Beijing is led by opposition leader Gough Whitlam.

1972: Indigenous Australians demand land rights with their Tent Embassy in Canberra.

USA President Richard Nixon visits Beijing.

- 1973: Australia adopts a policy of non-discriminatory immigration and multiculturalism. The Telephone Interpreter Service is established.
- 1973-84: Improvement of relations between Australia and China:
- 1973: trade agreement and parliamentary visit.
 - 1974: student exchanges.
 - 1976: agricultural exchanges and Family Reunion Agreement.
 - 1977: exchange visits of scientists, sport teams and media executives.
 - 1978: establishment of the Australia-China Council.
 - 1979: opening of state-to-province relations of the Bank of China between Victoria and Jiangsu and New South Wales and Guangzhou.
 - 1980: cooperation in Science and Technology signed in May.
 - 1981: annual bilateral talks between officials and exchange of defence representatives.
 - 1983: establishment of the China Action Program to assist experts to go to Australia for a decade.
 - 1984: direct flights between both countries.
- 1975: Australia’s *Racial Discrimination Act* makes it unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origins.
- 1976: Death of Mao. Hua Guofeng is named president of the People’s Republic of China.
- 1978-89: Deng Xiaoping’s role as the core of the CCP. The four modernization processes (in agriculture, industry, education and defence).
- 1978: The one-child policy in China.
- 1978: The Galbally Report (*Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants*) emphasises cultural identification.
- 1978-84: The rural reform in China.
- 1979: Establishment of embassies in the USA and China.
- 1980: The Gang of Four and Chen Boda, Mao’s one time secretary, on trial.
- 1982: The Zubrzycki Report (*Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nation*) denounces the paternalistic view of immigrants in Australia but does not offer suggestions to improve the policy and does not include the social dimension of multiculturalism.
- 1984: Proclamation of “special” and “model” relationships between Australia and China.

1984-88: Debate on the “Asianization” of Australia.

1984-89: The urban reform in China.

1985: China-Australia Senior Executive Forum.

The Access and Equity Strategy aims to remove the barriers of race, culture, language and religion that prevented the access to government services and programs in Australia.

1986: The Jupp Report (*Don't Settle for Less: Report of the Committee for Stage I of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services*) emphasises the social justice dimension of multiculturalism.

1987: Hu Yaobang's dismissal as CCP's secretary.

1988: The Fitzgerald Report (*Immigration: A Commitment to Australia*) does not provide constructive criticism or suggestions to improve multiculturalism and focuses on economy.

1989: April, 15th: death of Hu Yaobang.

April-June: protests.

May, 15th: Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China.

May, 20th: Martial law in Beijing. Hunger strike of some protesters.

June, 3rd- 4th: Tiananmen Square massacre.

June, 5th: The “man with the bag” in Beijing.

July, 13th: Australian sanctions China. Visa extension granted to Chinese students in Australia.

July, 29th: National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia launched.

November: Deng withdraws from “active involvement in running the country” (Fenby 642).

1989-2002: Jiang Zeming is named president of the People's Republic of China.

1990: Brutal repression of the uprisings in Tibet and Xinjiang.

1991: End of sanctions.

1991: First detention centre for asylum seekers in Australia: Port Hedland Detention Centre.

1991-92: Australian human rights delegation visits China.

1991-95: Chinese five-year economy plan.

1992: The High Court in Australia resolves Mabo case: Australia was not *terra nullius* when invaded.

- 1993: Temporary Protection Visas are turned into Permanent Resident Cards for Chinese students stranded in Australia.
- 1996: Australian Independent Member of Parliament Pauline Hanson’s maiden speech sparks off the anti-Asian immigration debate again.
- 1997: Death of Deng Xiaoping.
Due to an agreement between Great Britain and China, Hong Kong becomes a Chinese Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong (“One country, two systems” formula).
Bringing Them Home Report in Australia (inquiry about the Stolen Generations).
- 1999: Portuguese handover of Macau to China.
- 2000: Sydney Olympic Games.
- 2001: China: member of the World Trade Organization.
August: *Tampa* incident (a Norwegian freighter rescued Afghan asylum seekers heading to Australia and Australia did not allow the freighter to enter its territorial waters so they could not apply for refugee status).
- 2001-07: The “Pacific Solution” (asylum seekers in Australia transported to detention camps in Christmas Islands, Manus Island, Papua New Guinea and Nauru to determine their refugee status instead of letting them land on the Australian mainland).
- 2002-12: Hu Jintao becomes President of the People’s Republic of China.
- 2005: Racist riots in Cronulla (Sydney).
- 2008: February 13th: Australian National Apology to the Stolen Generations.
August: Beijing Olympic Games.
- 2009: November, 16th: Australian National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants (to the children who experienced institutional care and who frequently suffered abuse; some of the children were separated from their families in the United Kingdom).
- 2010: Expo 2010 Shanghai China.
Nobel Prize for Peace goes to dissenter Mr Liu Xiaobo. China threatens Norway.
- Dec 2010- Jan 2011: Floods in Queensland: 75% of the territory is declared disaster zone. Thirty-eight people died.
- 2011: Jan- April: Floods in Victoria: Much of central and northern parts of the state affected. Two people died.
China becomes the world’s second-largest economy.

China arrests artist and activist Ai Weiwei for economic crimes. International campaign to free him. Ai Weiwei released after two months' detention, but faces a £2.3 million tax demand, which is paid by donations from his supporters.

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