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GENDER, WORK AND ETHNIC IDEOLOGY: CASTELLORIZIAN GREEKS IN PERTH, AUSTRALIA

ABSTRACT

This article analyses the values and practices surrounding work among the Castellorizian migrants of Perth, Western Australia. The article compares and analyses the occupational and class patterns of the Castellorizians of Perth and those of their original community on the island of Castellorizo, to focus upon the construction of Castellorizian ethnic identity. Castellorizian men, with an occupational background in business and the professions, selectively deploy elements of regional Castellorizian tradition and of Greek ethnic ideology, to emphasize their material success in Perth. Castellorizian women, on the other hand, stress the need to abstain from paid labour, while their children are young, and motherhood as a channel for the socialization of their children into Greek culture. This case study demonstrates that the Castellorizian elite of Perth hegemonically defines the historically grounded and gendered ethnic ideology that underlies Castellorizian ethnic identity. This ideology is open and inclusive and incorporates the predominant values and practices of the surrounding Australian society.

1. THE BACKGROUND

This paper analyses the values and practices surrounding work in a group of Greek immigrants and their descendants originating from the island of Castellorizo and now settled in Perth, Western Australia. The Castellorizians or «Cazzies», as they often refer to themselves and as they are generally known in Australia, numbering about 4,000 to 7,000 in the late 1980s, migrated to Perth between 1900 and 1950 by chain migration and constitute a large and influential section of the Greek community of Perth. I employ an

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anthropological analysis of ethnographic material collected during my field research in the mid-1980s, as well as historical material from published sources, to present a case study in long-term migrant ethnicity and ethnic identity. More specifically, I focus on Castellorizian immigrant and Australian-born men's and women's values and attitudes regarding work as they relate to their gender and class roles and to their ethnic ideology.[1]

Castellorizo is a small island of one settlement located on the southeast border of Greece, to the south east of Rhodes, and only some one and half miles away from the Turkish coast of Asia Minor. Throughout the 19c and early 20c it thrived on sea trade pursued unencumbered in the context of the Ottoman Empire and conducted by its trader-captains and by merchants settled on the island and in various towns of the Asia Minor coast opposite. This mode of livelihood and economy furthered the consolidation of a class-stratified society on Castellorizo.

Following rebellion against and autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in 1913, the Castellorizians were no longer able to trade in the eastern Mediterranean. Involvement in World War I and occupation by the French and the Italians precipitated Castellorizian chain migration to Perth, Australia, in the footsteps of Avgoustis or Auguste, an early pioneer already established in Perth by the late 1890s.[2] Most Castellorizians migrated to Perth in the 1920s and 1930s and from there some migrated on to the eastern states of Australia.[3] Their group migration was complete before

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1. The ethnographic information presented here derives from my field research in Perth and from interviews conducted on the island of Castellorizo, on Rhodes and in Athens. Unless otherwise specified all citations of interview material derive from fieldwork. For a comprehensive analysis of the ethnic identity of the Castellorizians of Perth see Chryssanthopoulou 1993, which forms the basis of a forthcoming book with the title *«Cazzies and those who would like to be»: Greeks from Castellorizo in Australia* (Berghahn, 2003). I am grateful to Evangelia Tastsoglou, Blanca Ananiadis, Venetia Kantza and Elizabeth Mestheneos for their insightful comments on this article. I also thank the Alexander Onassis Foundation for their award of a scholarship which enabled me to carry out the research on which this article is based.

2. For an analysis of the factors which led to the successive waves of Castellorizian migration to Australia during the first half of the 20c see Chryssanthopoulou-Farrington, 1986.

3. The Castellorizians constituted one of the three early Greek chains of migration to Australia. Apart from Castellorizians settled originally in Perth, Ithacans also migrated to Melbourne and Kytherans to Sydney. In fact, during the pre-Second World War period 43 per cent of Greek settlers in Australia came from these three islands – Kythera, Ithaca and Castellorizo (Price, 1963a: 134-5).

World War II, thus preceding the large wave of other Greek immigrants who arrived in Perth and the rest of Australia in the 1950s as a result of an open policy of migration applied by the Australian state. By then the Castellorizians had established themselves in Perth and had created institutional structures such as a Community, a church and various migrant organizations. Competition with post-1950s Greek immigrants for power in these structures resulted in the creation of a second Greek Community and in the proliferation of other Greek organizations. Competition between Castellorizians and post-1950s Greeks also influenced the decisions and policies of the multicultural agencies which arose in Australia in the 1970s and urged Castellorizians to reflect on and to express their collective distinctiveness. They viewed this distinctiveness as the result of their social and moral superiority vis-à-vis post-1950s Greek immigrants and expressed it through the political and moral leadership the members of the Castellorizian elite of Perth provided. This elite, seen as following the example of the ancestral elite of Castellorizo, defined and perpetuated the boundaries of the Castellorizian community and constituted a fundamental factor in the shaping of its ethnic identity.[4]

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

By means of this ethnographic case study of the Castellorizian Greeks of Perth the theoretical aim of this paper is to underline and analyze several principles which seem to be fundamental in the study of immigrant organization and identity, which could, therefore, prove helpful in the analysis of other immigrant groups and individuals. More specifically, I would like to suggest that these principles could be applied to the study of immigrants in Greece today, thus showing the value of a comparative approach in the social sciences.

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4. On Greek mass migration to Australia during the post-1950s period and its impact on the social and political life of already established Greek immigrant communities see Tsounis, 1975: 24-64; Tsounis, 1988: 18-22; Kakakios and van der Velden, 1984: 152-163; and Doumanis, 1999: 64-74. The most conspicuous effects of this influx included the proliferation of Greek immigrant associations created to express different regional, age, gender, recreational and political interests, as well as the expansion of the Greek Orthodox Church through the building of more churches. Moreover, controversy ensued between Church authorities and the established Greek Communities over rights to the ownership of churches, known as «the schism» (see Tsounis, 1975: 36-57 and Doumanis, 1999: 72-3).

Firstly, I have adopted a historical perspective in the study of Castellorizian occupational adaptation and ethnic ideology and identity. I draw a parallel between the occupational values and practices of Castellorizian men and women of Perth and the respective values and practices prevailing on the island before migration, a past that the Castellorizians perceive as their «heritage» *(klironomia)* or «tradition» *(paradhosi)* which permeates all areas of social life in Perth. Values and attitudes relating to work, however, have changed among Castellorizians of successive Australian-born generations according to new needs and priorities. My analysis focuses on these changes, too, showing how the Castellorizians deploy selectively and creatively an ethnic ideology of uniqueness and superiority deriving from collective representations of their past, to accommodate changes and to better adapt to new circumstances.

Secondly, this paper stresses the importance of gender in the study of migration, the main theme of this volume.[5] In order to understand the manner of Castellorizian migration to and settlement in Australia, one needs to study Castellorizian gender values, intertwined with family, kinship and class values. On the other hand, the new needs engendered by migration and the new society into which the Castellorizians strove to integrate themselves have gradually affected their gender values relating to areas such as work and involvement with the family.

Gender, however, refers to both male and female roles in their interrelationships. This is a fundamental factor often neglected in the analysis of gender in the context of immigration and other social contexts. In the case of the Castellorizians of Perth, men 's and women's attitudes and values regarding employment, family life and involvement with the community, complement each other and can only be interpreted in their interrelationship. Men and women contribute to the content of the Castellorizian ethnic ideology of excellence and superiority in complementary and, sometimes, mutually exclusive ways. I would, therefore, like to argue that whenever immigrant women are studied, their counterpart, namely immigrant men should not be neglected even when they are not ostensibly

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5. For an explicit focus on gender in the study of immigrants see, among others, Bottomley and de Lepervanche, 1984; Bottomley, de Lepervanche, Martin, 1991; Anthias, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Tastsoglou, 1997a, and Tastsoglou, 1997b. These studies are based on an analytical perspective which combines gender with class, culture and ethnicity.

present in the former's everyday lives. The same principle of analysis should of course apply to the case of immigrant men, too. [6]

For the purposes of this article I have chosen to focus on the area of work. By «work» I mean both concrete occupational practices and patterns before and after migration, and also Castellorizians' own understanding of work and the varying meanings and connotations attributed to it according to gender, migrant generation and class. The area of work is vital in the study of immigrants, not only because their very existence and organization centers round it, but also because it is here that immigrants' and their descendants' notions connected with family and community, public and private space, are materialized. Indeed, immigrants and second-generation members of ethnic communities often attribute their occupational choices and practices to their past which they view as characterizing and guiding their group alone. Such is the case of the Castellorizians of Perth and, I would venture to suggest that such is the case of immigrants from various parts of the world who have congregated in Greece over the past fifteen years.[7] While focusing on the occupational ideologies of immigrants, wherever they exist, several questions can be raised. How were such ideologies formed? How do immigrants themselves view their recent occupations in relation to their past? How do members of the surrounding host society view and justify immigrant occupational specializations? Finally, analysts need to focus on the ways in which immigrants integrate new occupational choices and values with past experience, thus preventing the disintegration of their personal and ethnic identities.

Castellorizians negotiate their ethnic identity by emphasizing its ideological component, namely their collective representations of the past which guide them for action and social interaction, especially with regard to gender and work values and practices. I employ the term «ethnic ideology» to refer to a set of beliefs and ideas which are regionally specific and cannot be subsumed into the Greek national ideology, and which provide «modes of orientation» conditioning the ways in which Castellorizians view the world and act within it. Donald and Hall's statement that ideology defines «a

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6. Hirschon's study of Greek refugees from Asia Minor settled in Piraeus, Greece, stresses and analyses complementarity in gender roles and ideals as it is perceived by the subjects of study themselves (see Hirschon, 1989: 141-6).

7. For a general view of immigrant occupational patterns and specialized areas of employment see, among others, Βάτου, Χατζημιχάλης, 1997; Πετρονώτη, 1998: 153-231; and Μαρβάκης, Παρσάνογλου, Παύλου (επιμ.), 2001.

definite discursive space of meaning which provides us with perspectives of the world» (Donald, Hall, 1986: IX-X), is highly applicable to the Castellorizian case.[8] The Castellorizian ethnic ideology, part of the Castellorizian ethnic identity in Australia, is interwoven with gender relations, class relations, and political and economic practices of Castellorizians. It is singled out and stressed here since Castellorizians themselves use it as a point of reference in order to define themselves. Class[9] background provides the very reasons for the migration of Castellorizians and contributes to an ethnic ideology which Castellorizians employ to justify the types of occupations that immigrant, second and third generation men pursued, as well as the abstention from paid labour by Castellorizian immigrant women and by those Australian-born, while their children are young.

Rooted in notions of «heritage» and «tradition», their ethnic ideology constitutes a symbolic boundary separating Castellorizians from post-1950s Greek immigrants and from other Australians. However, it is not monolithic and unchanging as it is challenged by subsequent generations who redefine it according to their needs in Australia as well as more recent cultural inputs from the national unit (Greece). At the same time, the Castellorizian ethnic ideology in Australia always retains a core of basic symbols which function as boundaries of Castellorizian ethnic identity (cf. Barth, 1969; Wallman, 1978; Cohen, 1985). Therefore, Castellorizian ethnic ideology is permeable, open and inclusive, influenced by processes both of the national unit and of the Australian social milieu. Expressed as it is in the occupational values and practices of Castellorizian men and women, this ideology conditions and reinforces the ethnic identity of the Castellorizians of Perth.[10]

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8. See also Eriksen's definition of ideology as a normative kind of knowledge and as that aspect of culture which concerns how society ought to be organizedî (Eriksen, 2001: 161).

9. As Tastsoglou points out social class, generally overlooked in the context of ethnic communities, is important as «it affects first the individuals' willingness and availability for community involvement, and second, it affects the content/symbolic script of ethnicity» (Tastsoglou, 1997b: 243). For a study which focuses on this parameter among Greek Australians, see Kakakios and van der Velden, 1984.

10. While investigating the social construction of ethnicity among three generations of Greek immigrant women in Ontario, Tastsoglou focuses on social class as an important factor in distinguishing between a more pragmatic, matter-of-fact, and a more symbolic ethnic identity: the lower the class and education of these women, the more pragmatic and

3. LORDS AND THE LOWER ORDERS:
THE ORIGINS OF AN ETHNIC IDEOLOGY

To comprehend the kinds of occupations pursued by Castellorizian immigrants and their descendants, as well as their very perception of work and attitudes surrounding it, one needs to look at their socio-economic organization before migration. An investigation of this past suggests an occupational continuity with regard to class and gender values and practices that the Castellorizians themselves see as the core of their tradition.

Sea trade constituted the basis of the Castellorizian economy since the late 18c. Castellorizian trader-captains *(kapetanii)* travelled widely in the eastern Mediterranean, mainly carrying wood, charcoal, clothes, carpets, and pottery bought cheaply in Lycian ports and sold profitably in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, the Aegean islands and on Castellorizo itself (Βαρ-δαμίδης, 1948: 72-3). In Egypt they bought coffee, linen and salt which they sold in Lycia and on Castellorizo (Tsenoglou, 1985: 20). They were also involved in the wheat trade between Russia, Constantinople and Egypt. As a result of the flourishing trade, Castellorizians established merchant «colonies» or *apikies,* as they still call them, in the towns of Antifellos (Kaş), Kalamaki (Kalkan), Myra (Demre), Finika (Finike), Kekova and Tristomo (Üçağiz), on the opposite coast of Asia Minor, that developed into permanent settlements. Perth Castellorizians originated either from the island or from «colonial» families and often stressed their differences as regards background and authenticity of tradition: to islander Castellorizian claims of greater genuineness of culture, colonial Castellorizians juxtaposed their often superior wealth and cosmopolitan experience.

The occupational categories which prevailed in the economy of Castellorizo in 19c and early 20c included trader-captains or *kapetanii,* who owned ships and conducted their own sea-trading business; merchants or *empori,* who owned shops and ran commercial enterprises; and sailors or

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ascriptive their ethnicity, experienced in the context of ethnic community life and through participation in the ethnic labour force (see Tastsoglou, 1997b: 246). I also found that Greek immigrants of Perth, men and women, manifested similar variations in the ways in which they experienced and projected their sense of ethnic identity. However, among Castellorizians, the overriding existence of a hegemonic ethnic ideology bridged any socio-economic distances that existed between working, middle, upper-middle, and upper-class Castellorizians and allowed all of them to identify themselves as members of the same group, the symbolic boundaries of which were defined by their elite.

naftes, who provided crews for the ships. There were also small-scale manufacturers, artisans, builders, fishermen, sponge-fishermen, and charcoal-makers. Women from poor families worked either as cleaners and domestics in the homes of the rich, or, more commonly, as dressmakers and embroiderers, with some cases of very poor women employed as porters or as assistants to male builders on construction sites (cf. Χατζηφώτης, 1982: Ευστρατιάδου, 1987: 18, 39-43, 56-8).

Publications on the social history of the island by Castellorizians employ the term *taxis* or classes to refer to the three socio-economic strata that existed on the island during the time of its greatest prosperity as reflected by their income, level of taxation and access to office: the wealthiest citizens paid 300 piastres or *grosia,* those well-off paid 150, and «the third class» paid nothing. At the same time the members of the Council of the Elders or *Dhimogerondia* responsible for local affairs and island administration together with the Turkish Governor were elected from among the two upper classes (Βαρδαμίδης, 1948: 82, 103). However, in contrast to such formal analyses, my Castellorizian informants employed the term «taxis» interchangeably with the names of occupational categories whenever they referred to social differences between socio-economic strata and to the hierarchical relationships between them: for example, they either referred to «the first class» *(I proti taxis)*, or to merchants and trader-captains *(I empori kai I kapetanii).* Thus by referring to occupational rather than income categories, Castellorizians verbally mediated the boundaries which clearly distinguished people of different socio-economic status on the island, thus softening the tensions that such overt opposition might have provoked and strengthening community integration.[11]

Relations between people of different socio-economic status were characterized by patronage that muted and mediated differences, but did not affect people's awareness of the distance separating rich from poor. Their well-being depended on cooperation and on mutual obligations: the rich through their taxes bore the costs of health, education, churches and the cemetery, services available to all islanders. It was also common for them to become benefactors or *evergetes* of their community by funding the building and maintenance of churches and schools, and to practise charity by donating food and clothes to poor families on festive days. Poor people, in

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11. Bennett suggests that an overt opposition along class boundaries among people who belong to the same community «runs counter to egalitarian ideology, and if drawn sharply, can pose a threat to community stability» (Bennett, 1989: 189).

their turn, owed allegiance to their wealthy patrons, and abided by the social and moral values hegemonically expressed by the elite.

Castellorizians used specific terms to refer to an individual's or family's social status. One such term was *sira* or rank. «They are not of our *sira*» (δεν είναι της σειράς μας), was a phrase used to exclude people from interacting on the basis of socio-economic differences. The term *sira* should be understood as incorporating groups of kin into a socio-economic stratum, although, of course, it pertains to the socio-economic status of individuals qua members of kin groups. This notion was extremely important in the case of marriages as it defined the chances for suitable matches and for dowries to be received upon marriage for Castellorizian women.

Members of wealthy families referred to themselves and were referred to by others as *arkondes* (regional form for Greek: *archontes*) or noblemen, for males, and *arkontopoules* (regional form for Greek: *archontopoules*) or noblewomen, for females. An elderly immigrant woman who used to belong to the elite on Castellorizo referred to her class as «we aristocrats», *emis I aristokratia,* whilst referring to poorer people as *I parakatiani,* or «the lower people», *o chamilos kosmos.*[12]

Apart from terms of reference, members of different socio-economic strata were also distinguished by residential criteria, appearance and social expectations. Rich people's houses were built mainly round the harbour of Castellorizo (στο Κορδόνι), «to command a view of their ships», as Castellorizians told me. The clothes and jewels of elite women also differed conspicuously in quantity and quality from those of women of average or poor status. Hederer, a doctor in the French navy that occupied Castellorizo in 1915 vividly described the rich and bejewelled women of the island as dressed «in their Sunday best-harem pants and gold-embroidered caftans, belts of bayadere and precious slippers», (Hederer, 1985: 15). By their dress and jewellery elite women and girls reflected the financial status of their families. At least part of a family's capital was invested in the jewels their womenfolk displayed at weddings and at other public appearances. This was capital handed on to daughters in the form of dowry or *prika* upon marriage.

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12. On the distinction between class divisions and status stratification, see Gilmore, 1982: 186. Gilmore observes that while class has to do with the social organisation of production, with the division of labour and with the appropriation of value, status refers to subjective forms of prestige that community members recognize. In my opinion, class and status are inextricably bound together, and it is necessary to take into account local forms of prestige to understand class formation and change.

The custom of pre-marital seclusion or *krypsimo,* literally «hiding», widespread on Castellorizo until World War II, was a <u>sine qua non</u> for elite girls and was emulated by girls of middle-range income families, but was not followed by daughters of poor families who had to work to earn a living. An elderly Castellorizian immigrant subjected to pre-marital seclusion as a girl on Castellorizo[13] commented on the rationale behind this practice as follows: «for Castellorizian girls to marry well, they had to go into seclusion *(έπρεπε να κρυφτούνε).* In this way they would acquire a good name *(για να βγάλουν καλό όνομα).* In the opposite case people might think: how can I marry a girl who spends her time at the door and the window *(την πορτού θα πάρω και την παραθυρού;)».*[14]

Poor girls who had to work for their living, however, were not considered to have destroyed or lost their moral standing by working outside home. They were described as «honourable girls» or *timies kopeles,* assisting their families through their labour. Their employment was acceptable in the context of self-sacrifice for the sake of family survival. They were often employed by rich families to make or embroider the clothes or the trousseaux *(προικιά)* of rich girls. An elderly Castellorizian immigrant of Perth told me how she had gone round the houses of rich people teaching their daughters how to make carpets *(έδειχνα στις πλούσιες κόρες πώς να φαίνουν σετσετέδες).* Despite such discrepancies in practice, it is the ideal of pre-marital seclusion practised by girls and young women of the elite on the island that encapsulates the high moral standards of Castellorizian women, thus expressing the moral, consequently primordial, superiority of all Castellorizians versus other Greeks.

To conclude, distinct socio-economic strata and occupational classes existed on Castellorizo before migration and socio-economic differences prevailed, so that Castellorizians experienced life and culture differently

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13. Pre-marital seclusion on Castellorizo was reported by Hederer (1985: 15). For an analysis of this customary practice as it related to the Eastertide swings or *santaklidhes* on the island and to class stratification, see Chryssanthopoulou-Farrington, 1988.

14. In this case doors and windows are seen as dangerous «openings» that may lead to moral and social transgressions. Hirschon has analysed sexual behaviour and morality among Greek women of refugee origin in Kokkinia, Piraeus, according to the local concepts of «open» and «closed» (1978 and 1989: 33-34, 146-149 and 235-238). Dubisch (1986) suggests a parallel between the boundaries of the body and the boundaries of the house in Greek culture, as they are both controlled by women. See also Chryssanthopoulou (1984: 17-19), on the concepts of «open» and «closed» in rituals surrounding birth in Greece.

according to their socio-economic status. Inequality and systematic differences manifested in income and taxation, access to office, terms of reference, clothes and jewellery worn by Castellorizian women, marriages and dowries and female values and attitudes differentiated by social class, qualify the notion of one, uniform group identity that Perth Castellorizians project as their shared background. On the other hand, a shared sense of belonging is forged firstly, through the use of conceptually ambiguous terms which allowed lower income people to share the prestige of top classes; secondly, through patronage bonds which existed between rich trader-captains and poor sailors; and finally, through a general acceptance of the social and moral hegemony of the elite. These mechanisms of collective identity construction constitute at the same time the essence of the ethnic ideology of Perth Castellorizians which structures their ways of looking at the world and understanding their beliefs and actions.

4. «THE CAPTAIN'S GRANDSON»: PRESENT AND PAST, NECESSITY AND TRADITION IN CASTELLORIZIAN MEN'S OCCUPATIONAL PURSUITS

How have Castellorizians utilized their perception of their past, especially their occupational background, to adapt to socio-economic conditions in Perth? The strategies, outlook and understanding of their occupational patterns differs according to migrant generation, but they all combine to form an occupational ideology consistent with, and indeed part of, their ethnic ideology and identity.

The majority of Castellorizian immigrants were involved in catering, either as self-employed, as employers, or as employees. They had been involved in a variety of occupations before migration, although interview material suggests that members of the higher classes of Castellorizo were often able to set up their own shops in Perth using the capital and knowledge they had brought with them from home. By «catering» I refer to small-scale businesses such as restaurants, cafιs, fish-shops, fruit-shops and groceries relating mostly to the selling of food. Their pioneer, Athanasios Avgoustis or Arthur Auguste, had shown the way by establishing various catering businesses, such as an oyster restaurant in 1892 in Fremantle, the harbour of Perth, himself following in the footsteps of earlier Greek migrants in the eastern States of Australia. Figures based on the 1947 Census show that 47.6 per cent of the Castellorizian workforce were employers or self-employed,

and 19 per cent were employees in the catering trades (Price, 1963b: 56-7).[15] The fact that the overwhelming majority of pre-Second World War Castellorizian and other Greek immigrants were employed in the catering trade, however, does not preclude diversity of employment. For example, a few Castellorizian families that lived in the town of Bunbury, north of Perth, were fishermen, whilst Castellorizians also worked in sugar-cane farms in Queensland and in meat-processing factories in Darwin.

Castellorizians and other pre-1950s Greeks chose catering for a number of reasons related to the specific socio-economic circumstances prevailing in Perth during the pre-1950s. As immigrants living in urban areas, often lacking language, social and trade skills which would have made them more employable, they resorted to the selling of such goods and services as those requiring a less than perfect knowledge of English. During the pre-1950s period industry in Australia generally, and in Western Australia, in particular, was underdeveloped. Therefore few Castellorizians were absorbed into factories, as opposed to the overwhelming number of post-1950s Greek migrants to Australia. Moreover, by running their own shops, Castellorizian immigrants sought an efficient use of family resources and of cheap Castellorizian regional and Greek ethnic labour. They also targeted the emergent local Greek -and other Mediterranean immigrant- market which demanded specific goods and services unavailable on the Australian market.

Cooperation of family and relatives, both male and female, in these businesses was seen as a sine qua non and as the key to successful economic and social adaptation in a foreign land. The trust and value placed upon relatives in Castellorizian society before migration, as in Greek society in general, was enhanced because of migration.[16] Family migration was complemented by early cohabitation of related families and by collaboration in businesses run collectively. In fact, relatives' cooperation at work acquired a moral dimension added to the obvious practical one, and became an element underlying individual and family honour. An elderly

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15. These figures are similar to the respective ones for the Greek workforce, in general. In *Life in Australia*, a 1916 book published and probably sponsored by John Comino, a Greek from Kythera who had become very successful in oyster trade, eighty Greek shops are mentioned for Western Australia, most of them concentrated in Perth, Fremantle and Kalgoorlie (see Tsounis, 1971: 58-59; see also Appleyard and Yiannakis, 2002: 89-100).

16. On trust placed on relatives for the purpose of economic cooperation among the Sarakatsani of Greece, see Campbell, 1964: 36-42 and 88-123. On the value and functions of kinship in Greek society, see Just, 1991 and 2001: 93-128.

Castellorizian migrant often praised three Castellorizian brothers who had been running a successful grocery and wholesale business: «they are always together, loving each other, as is the will of God. This is why they progress in life» *(Πάντα μαζί και αγαπημένοι, όπως το θέλει ο Θεός. Γι' αυτό προκό-βουν).* On the other hand, failure of brothers to collaborate in business was frowned upon and affected the reputation of such families who were criticized as «not good families».

Were Castellorizian – and other Greek – shopkeepers an outcome of necessity or of culture? Many of them had been practising trade on Castellorizo, either as trader captains or as owners of shops. Thus they employed some skills that they had already developed in their society of origin. They also attempted to make the best use of their resources and to take advantage of the local Greek market. Interestingly, however, they interpret this occupational trend as the result of cultural factors that prove their social qualities as a community and express their desirable characteristics as Australian settlers: they claim that their turning to trade is the outcome of the Greek love of freedom and independence, hard work and adventure, qualities well displayed especially in the context of Greek diaspora. Success in business, referred to as «the Greek aptitude for commerce» *(το εμπορικό δαιμόνιο του Έλληνα)* or «the Greek business spirit/ talent» *(το ελληνικό επιχειρηματικό πνεύμα/ταλέντο),* is considered to derive from primordial qualities, to be «in the blood» *(είναι στο αίμα μας),* as Perth Castellorizians and other Greeks say. Such «biological» perception of their occupational tradition, indeed of ethnicity, is seen as difficult to eradicate.[17]

Commitment to «the shopkeeper ideal» (Tsounis, 1971: 57) often utilizes nationalist imagery and rhetoric and is expressed succinctly in the following words by Theo Sidiropoulos, a former Mayor of Collingwood and a member of the Victorian Parliament, seen as «a success symbol amongst the Melbourne Greeks»: «we die for freedom regularly in Greece. That's why when we come to Australia we prefer to earn $60 to $70 a week in our own fish or hamburger shops rather than work for a boss» (Sherington, 1980:

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17. For a theory of ethnicity and of race as biologically grounded, see van den Berghe, 1978. On the old controversy about the primordial/cultural or circumstantial/instrumental nature of ethnicity, see Smith, 1986; Keyes, 1976; Epstein, 1978, for support of the primordialist thesis. On the instrumentalist position which suggests that ethnicity is constructed as a response to the current needs and interests of ethnic groups and individuals, see Cohen, 1974. On the construction of tradition, see Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983.

160). Interestingly, similar opinions are also expressed by students of migration, such as Price in the following quotation: «there is, indeed, almost certainly something in the Greek character and tradition that, when away from Hellas itself, turns naturally to commercial activities» (Price, 1963a: 160). In his study of Greeks in the United States, Saloutos supplements this aptitude with an inclination to work hard and succeed, qualities highly respected by the host society: «the average Greek businessman was an independent, freedom-loving individual who thrived in a society that honoured these qualities ...A natural-born competitor with a determination to succeed, he reconciled himself quite early to hard work; he accepted the cult of success without even having heard of capitalism and the Protestant Ethic» (Saloutos, 1964: 258). Such statements indicate how immigrants respond to the needs and values of the receiving society by often incorporating them into their own occupational and ethnic ideologies.

When we turn to the study of second-generation Castellorizian occupations, we observe the same selective and creative use of the past to justify present responses, always seen within the framework of their heritage. Through their careers successful second-generation Castellorizian men maintain, but also redefine the Castellorizian occupational tradition. The members of this new elite view themselves as acting in the footsteps of their island predecessors and preserve and symbolize the boundaries of the Castellorizian community and identity through their individual and collective behaviour.

Many second-generation Castellorizian men, middle-aged by the 1980s, went into business and the professions, whether their parents had belonged to the higher classes before migration or not.[18] By the 1950s and 1960s second-generation Castellorizian men were qualifying as doctors and lawyers, obtaining well-paid jobs and moving to socially better suburbs. In the 1980s third-generation Castellorizian males preferred to attend the University of Western Australia where they studied subjects such as medicine, law and accountancy, while females pursued arts subjects, and dominated the Hellenic University Student Society (H.U.S.S.). On the contrary, most second-generation, non-Castellorizian Greek students, sons and daughters of post-1950s Greek immigrants, followed technical careers at

18. A survey by Price in New South Wales showed that 50 per cent of the second-generation Greeks had gone into the skilled trades, business and professions, compared to only 10 per cent of the first- generation Greek newcomers (Price, 1963a: 194-195).

the Western Australian Institute of Technology, later named Curtin University, where they dominated the Hellenic Institute Student Society (H.I.S.S.). Such choices reflected the higher socio-economic status of Castellorizians versus non-Castellorizian, post-1950s Greeks, since a University degree was regarded as a prestigious professional qualification often requiring long-term and expensive education, while Institute of Technology degrees were seen as geared towards a more immediate and concrete career path that the children of immigrants were keen to follow.

Cazzies, as Australian-born Castellorizians call themselves and as they are best known by other Australians (see above, section 1), attribute their successful professional careers to the Greek love for education. In this case they draw on a broader ethnic characteristic, rather than on a regional one. They support this view first by quoting the names of diaspora Greeks who have achieved fame in different areas of academe; secondly, they point out that even in the remotest villages of Greece one can find peasant families who have sent their children to University; finally, they draw on their ancient Greek heritage, reminding everybody that their ancient ancestors, the Greeks of the classical period, «gave the light [of education] to the world» *(έδωσαν τα φώτα – του πολιτισμού – στον κόσμο).*

Castellorizians, with the exception of a few families that boasted one or two educationalist ancestors on the island, cannot lay claim to a regional tradition in education. Despite the fact that there were schools for boys and girls on Castellorizo, it was uncommon for the sons of rich merchants and trader-captains to pursue tertiary education abroad, as happened with the sons of people from other parts of the Greek-speaking world at that time. Young men followed their fathers into commerce, and the education they received on the island was considered sufficient for a career in trade. Notwithstanding Castellorizian and other Greek claims to the opposite, it seems that the universal Greek ideal of education is contingent upon other socio-economic factors and is only pursued as a strategy for advancement in the appropriate circumstances. This explains why most second-generation Greeks of Canberra did not attend University in the early 1990s, instead they assisted their wealthy families involved in property management, building construction and the running of super-markets.[19]

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19. This insight derives from personal observation and from discussions with members of the Greek community of Canberra during my stay there in 1990-1.

It is clear, therefore, that second-generation Castellorizian professionals established a tradition that third-generation Castellorizians could follow, and non-Castellorizian Greeks could attempt to emulate, by drawing on the broader Greek commitment to education. The situation changes for second-generation Castellorizians who went into large-scale commercial enterprises, such as the fishing trade. The latter interpret their occupational choices and success by referring either to specific trader ancestors, or, in the absence of such ancestors, to the general trading background of Castellorizians in the 19c and early 20c. This difference points to the selective and malleable nature of the Castellorizian ethnic ideology:[20] In order to justify their occupational choices some Australian-born Castellorizians draw on values and beliefs they view as regionally specific that stress their business acumen, while others draw on an educational tradition seen as shared by all Greeks.

To construct an occupational tradition, successful second-generation Castellorizian businessmen often distance themselves from their migrant fathers' low status menial jobs, which they present as the result of necessity. The following words of a second-generation Castellorizian entrepreneur engaged in large-scale fishing and pearling, draw a clear line between his connection with the sea and the equivalent of his immigrant parents with fish:

«... Castellorizians wouldn't really know how to catch a fish if they tried. I don't know where the misconception came from. I learnt that fishing is an Australian characteristic - like fish and chips, I suppose. What happened was that when our parents came to Australia there was nobody to trade with, there were no jobs because it was depression, so they took up menial jobs. Fish and chips was one of them. All you needed was a pan and some fat. There was no health department, so you just cooked fish and chips» (Hummerston, 1980).

Rather than being seen as the son of a fish-and-chips shop owner, the aforementioned businessman aligned himself with his grandfather, a prominent trader-captain on Castellorizo: «fishing was not a natural progression for x. His forefathers were essentially traders...», is claimed in an article based on interview material (Hummerston, op.cit.). Indeed, he

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20. As Donald and Hall point out, ideologies provide perspectives which are inevitably selective, as they organize facts so that they make sense by excluding other ways of putting things (1986: X).

delighted in saying that whenever he visited Castellorizo, the locals identified him as «Captain X's grandson» (*του καπετάνιου Χ το εγγόνι*), a phrase reflecting his grandfather's –and generally his family's– reputation on the island.[21] The symbolic connection between grandfather and grandson and the reconstruction of a personal ethnic myth by the latter is also expressed by his recovery of his grandfather's ship's anchor, later placed conspicuously in his suburban garden in Perth. To other Castellorizians who knew the story of this family this gesture also meant that the grandson had redeemed the fallen fortune of his family: they had been forced to migration when his grandfather's ship with its cargo was confiscated by the Italians in 1912. An anchor is also engraved on the tombstone of his grandmother's grave in the cemetery of Karakatta in Perth as she had also come «from a kindred of trader-captains» (*ήταν από σόι καπετάνιων*).

An occupational ideology based on a selective and reinterpreted use of their Greek ethnic and regional past has motivated first and second-generation Castellorizians in their socio-economic life and adaptation to the society of Perth. It is articulated by an elite consisting of families whose members prospered in the professions and in trade, either as shop-owners or as large-scale businessmen. They became the leaders and benefactors of Greek community organizations and churches, with Castellorizians of lower socio-economic status looking up to them as exemplifying the moral values, occupational and residential trends and fashions of the entire Castellorizian community. The women of this elite, in particular, defined the moral and symbolic boundaries of Castellorizian identity through their adherence to distinct social values discussed below. Some of the new elite had also been influential on Castellorizo. In other cases, Australian-born Castellorizians either joined the elite from previously undistinguished families, or else redeemed the ancestral status of their families after an interval of downward mobility. This fact reveals that class barriers on Castellorizo were not very rigid and thus were permeable and easily remolded after migration.

Whatever the case, the Castellorizian elite of Perth follows in the footsteps of the island elite, memories of which are still fresh among immigrants and have been transmitted to those Australian-born through memory and narrative. Material success expressed through the patronage of Greek community and church structures remains the key criterion for

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21. See Hansen, 1999, for a recently published book on this businessman's personal and family story and occupational tradition.

membership of the elite. In the mid - 1980s, first and second - generation Castellorizians held the leadership of both Greek Communities (see above, section 1), whilst Greek Orthodox churches were also generally run by them. «They won't collect any money, you'll see. The Castellorizians are not here today», an elderly Castellorizian migrant said to me at a fundraising church event, a remark that corroborates the case.

Residence in the exclusive suburb of City Beach, dressing in expensive clothes of fine material, opting for spouses from within the Castellorizian or the broader Greek community and having all rituals and customs performed in an elaborate manner for their weddings, constitute other expressions of belonging to the Castellorizian elite. City Beach has become a symbol employed by all Castellorizians to stress collective superiority vis-à-vis post-1950s Greek immigrants to the point that even non - Greek Australians often think that all Castellorizians are wealthy residents of this suburb.

In their collective self-identification and appraisal Castellorizians have included values such as love of independence, hard work and ingenuity, which are popular among the Anglo-Australian majority. The qualities of the lone pioneer indulging in adventures and emerging victorious are also to be found, expressed in the story of Arthur Auguste, the pioneer of the Castellorizian migration chain (Chryssanthopoulou-Farrington, 1986: 33; Appleyard and Yiannakis, 2002: 11-13). Elite Castellorizians in particular are also involved in Australian national politics and stress their Australian belonging, by seeking and advertising such civic honours and prizes that prove that they are worthy Australian citizens. Some of them deplore their identification as «ethnics», a fact which, they feel, places them in the same category as newcomer Vietnamese and other recent immigrants. They reject what they consider as pejorative connotations of «ethnic» and stress their identification with mainstream Australians, albeit of an old migrant community background. «My father washed dishes in a restaurant so that we, his children, may be called Australians, rather than ethnics», was the reaction of a second-generation Castellorizian that clearly expresses this attitude.

In spite of such attitudes that denote convergence with the broader Australian identity, elite Castellorizians – and their less prosperous compatriots – pride themselves on their wealthy and gentrified background before migration, thus clearly distinguishing themselves from the «rags to riches» family and ethnic myths that many Anglo-Australians held about their forebears. Their elitist ideology, articulated by a hegemonic elite, distinguishes Castellorizians both from the claims to humble origins of many

Anglo-Australians, and from the stories of escape from poverty of many post-1950s Greek immigrants with whom they came to share and to compete over power in the Greek community in Perth.

5. «CASTELLORIZIAN WOMEN LIKE TO STAY AT HOME»: THE COMPLEMENTARITY OF GENDER ROLES AND IDEOLOGIES IN FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Male members of the Castellorizian elite of Perth adhere to their ethnic ideology by stressing material success through hard work and political influence both on Greek community structures and on the Australian local government. Elite women, on the other hand, adhere to theirs by emphasizing abstention from paid labour and by focusing on cultural, spiritual and moral concerns relating to their homes and to the socialization of their children.[22] These are two aspects of the Castellorizian ethnic ideology which function in a complementary way, and are seen as such by Castellorizians themselves.

Migrant occupational adaptation is a long-term project, so we need to start with the migrant generation. Oral information indicates that Castellorizian women's unpaid labour constituted an important factor in the success of small-scale catering businesses. Wives, sisters and daughters worked on a regular basis for the support of these family concerns (cf. Appleyard and Yiannakis, 2002: 165). Most of my elderly female informants had worked alongside with their fathers, husbands and even sons. One of them whose husband had a small restaurant, described her life as «cooking chook -Australian slang for chicken- all day». However, this female labour was perceived and described, as «help» owed to their families and, by extension, to their men. It was not seen as work of the same nature as men's, even though both sexes worked in the same space. For Castellorizian women who had often undergone pre-marital seclusion on the island before migration, working away in the shop chaperoned by men, was seen as an extension of their home duties and a proof of their dedication to the family.

Similarly, Castellorizian and other Greek women of the first generation participated in community activities in their own, all female organizations, thus «assisting their men» with important tasks without competing for

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22. For a similar view of female concerns as opposed to male ones among refugees from Asia Minor in Kokkinia, Piraeus, see Hirschon, 1989: 219-222.

power in the same organizations as men did. The Hellenic Women's Association, which owns its own premises next to the Hellenic Community of Western Australia and the two Women's Auxiliary bodies attached to the Greek Orthodox Churches of St.Constantine and St. Helene and of the Annunciation, constitute relevant examples. They demonstrate immigrant women's attitude of concern with and participation in community affairs, expressed through the idiom of «help» for the men and of «looking after» the community as an extension of their families and homes.[23]

Elite Castellorizian women of the second generation were already middle-aged or older by the 1980s. They were mostly married to second-generation Castellorizian men, professionals or businessmen and had not received tertiary education. In their overwhelming majority they had not worked outside home, and instead had devoted themselves to home duties, to raising their families and to supporting the Greek Orthodox churches of Perth. To quote the terms that they used to define themselves collectively, they were *«kalandrouses»* or caring for their husbands, *«spitikes»* or devoted to their homes, and *«thriskes»* or committed to religion.

The general socio-economic trends and values of the 1940s and 1950s offered fewer employment possibilities and choices for women living in Perth. This fact, combined with an ideology which upheld Castellorizian women's association with their homes as opposed to men's relentless pursuit of success outside it, led to the phenomenon of very few elite Castellorizian women being employed outside the home. This tendency was seen as compatible with the high moral standards and the honourable status of elite Castellorizian families, as their women expressed them. As a second-generation woman in her fifties explained to me:

«when I was a young woman, there were no suitable jobs for us. My brothers would say: how much money do you need? We shall give it to you. We need you to stay at home. Later, when I got married, I

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23. This attitude is often interpreted as lack of involvement in community affairs for women (e.g., Appleyard and Yiannakis, 2002: 167). One needs to view political participation in a broader light to include women's efforts that were not expressed in the same way as men's in the public sphere, but complemented the latter effectively. Tastsoglou also argues against the supposed «invisibility» of Greek immigrant women in the public sphere (see Tastsoglou, 1997b: 244). Moreover, women's segregation in their own associations should not be viewed as absence from the public sphere. I found that Castellorizian women of various generations preferred to socialize in their own, all-female organizations, and even rejected men's offer to merge into broader associations.

would look in the papers to find a job. Most of them were for barmaids. My husband and son would laugh at me».

The risk involved in Castellorizian women working outside the home unchaperoned by their men was further exacerbated by them not having received tertiary education which would have allowed them to look for higher status jobs. The only such jobs available to women were those of teachers, and high-ranking Castellorizian girls did not risk the possibility of staying unmarried to pursue the teaching profession which might have taken them to various posts outside Perth. Since the migrant generation had raised their standards of living to a level allowing for abstention from manual labour for women, second-generation Castellorizian girls could afford to resume traditional elite female behaviour, with betrothal and marriage at a young age and dedication to the upbringing of their children.[24]

Castellorizian women of various socio-economic backgrounds started following tertiary education only during the 1970s. However, unlike men who pursued degrees leading to well-paid jobs of high status, young women were channelled by parents into «soft», non-competitive subjects such as the Arts. Becoming a pre-school teacher was considered a particularly good qualification, as it guaranteed that these women would make excellent mothers, a role highly valued among Castellorizians. A few elite Castellorizian women who had pursued non-Arts subjects were considered eccentric and either did not marry Castellorizians, or did not marry at all. A woman who had followed a health-related profession commented on the fact that Castellorizians had viewed her choice as odd and had disliked her involvement with people with physical disabilities. She was married to a successful non-Castellorizian Greek professional but had stayed at home for several years to raise a large family, a fact praised and emulated by other Castellorizian women.

Indeed, it seems that the core of the Castellorizian ethnic ideology for women is the emphasis on staying at home to bring up their children «for five years», as they say. Active and unencumbered motherhood is seen not only as the essence of femininity, but also as the main means assuring the

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24. Appleyard and Yiannakis also note that «once circumstances improved it was expected that the employment of females would cease». A second-generation Castellorizian woman's words indicate that it was women more than men who emphasized this ideal: «Mother considered that if her daughter went out to work having come all this way from Cazzie, she would pack up and go back» (2002: 166).

maintenance and transmission of Castellorizian culture.[25] Castellorizian mothers socialize their children and transmit their heritage to them by teaching them the Greek language and values and by passing on such religious and ritual knowledge, especially to girls, as will allow them to perpetuate this heritage. Therefore, motherhood should not be compromised by other concerns, especially not by economic ones, which anyway are seen as constituting the province of men's contribution to the welfare of their families. Untimely work for young Castellorizian mothers could compromise the honour of their men and of their families.

The social skills and religious and ritual knowledge possessed by Castellorizian mothers constitutes a real and symbolic capital that needs to be transmitted to their children. This became clear to me when, on the occasion of the celebration of the Epiphany in church, a young Greek woman provoked Castellorizians by asking why people were carrying empty bottles and other containers. The latter were obviously going to be filled with «blessed water» ($\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\dot{o}\varsigma$), to take home and bless people and the house. Her ignorance irritated a middle-age elite Castellorizian woman who commented with indignation: «Did she not have a mother to tell her?».

Women as mothers are also seen as responsible for the preparation of ritual occasions involving a sound knowledge of tradition and customs and imbued with ethnic symbolism.[26] Most prominent among such occasions were the pre-wedding celebrations. Elite Castellorizian families practised these celebrations with great elaboration and with attention to detail thus priding themselves in following and displaying «authentic» tradition. Such was the richness and power of ethnic symbolism in these events, organized and supervised by Castellorizian mothers, that they came to be considered as epitomes of Castellorizian culture: «It was just like a Cazzie wedding», was a common phrase uttered on events perceived as quintessentially Castellorizian.

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25. On the perceived incompatibility of working in the shop with the ideals of motherhood for Greek immigrant women see Appleyard and Yiannakis (2002: 166). On the sacred connotations of motherhood in Greek culture resulting from emphasis on the archetypal image of the Mother of God or *Panayia* in Greek Orthodoxy, see Hirschon (1989: 219-220). On the significance of motherhood in relation to giving birth, see Rushton (1991) and Chryssanthopoulou (1984).

26. As De Vos notes, life crisis rituals are occasions par excellence on which one finds «highly emotional symbolic reinforcement of ethnic patterns» (1975: 26).

Such confidence in women's roles as carriers and instructors of culture and tradition partly explains why Castellorizians and other Greeks do not worry so much about their daughters marrying non-Greeks, as they do if their sons marry out of the community. The expectations are that Greek women will bring up their children in the «Greek» way, and may even bring their husbands closer to their parental families and to the Greek community. Men, on the other hand, are expected to be drawn to their wives' non-Greek milieu and to socialize according to their wives' liking, as Greek men normally abide by the cultural convention of leaving both socializing and the socialization of children to women.

Mothers are expected to provide active socialization for their children in the Castellorizian and broader Greek culture by cultivating knowledge of the Greek language, first and foremost. The Greek language is considered to be an essential part of Greek ethnicity and identity, and care is taken by Greek Orthodox churches and Communities to provide teaching in schools operating after regular school hours and on Saturdays.[27] Even third-generation Castellorizian mothers sometimes spoke to their children in Greek, and in certain cases, only in Greek. The emphasis placed on Greek as a significant part of the children's upbringing explains the reaction of the Greek Women's Auxiliary to a proposal by a multicultural agency to collaborate in setting up a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic childcare station. Rejecting the possibility for children to be instructed in languages other than Greek, a prominent member of this organization commented: «Greek women do not need a childcare centre. The [Greek Orthodox] Church is looking after their needs. After all, Greek women stay at home for five years to bring up their children by themselves. It is part of our culture», In this statement my informant alludes to the provision by her organization of childcare services run in Greek and available to children of Greek background twice a week. The Women's Auxiliary obviously did not want to compromise this service, but interestingly, their unwillingness to cooperate was justified on the grounds of culture and tradition.

Retiring from work at least for five years to raise their children was a trend generally followed by Castellorizian women of upper and middle-range income. Bringing their children up by themselves was highly desirable and praised by the Castellorizian community, while avoiding this responsibility was heavily criticized. Such was the dilemma faced by a wealthy second-

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27. On Greek community schools, see Αθανασίου, 1988; Tsounis, 1975; and Tamis, 1988.

generation Castellorizian woman who gave up her career in multicultural education to raise her baby. Her desire to pursue further education by enrolling for a course was greeted with great disapproval by her own parents: «Are you mad? Who are you going to leave your child with?» (*πού θα αφήσεις το παιδί σου*).[28] As that woman had enough money to secure a child minder, this was obviously not a matter of lack of financial or other resources. To my suggestion that her own mother could assist her by staying with the child, as commonly happens in Greece, she retorted: «It is true, but we do things differently here. We want to bring our children up by ourselves. Besides, we do not want to burden our mothers with duties that are not their own. They have done their bit». The values expressed in her words suggest the ideological and social influence exercised by the broader Australian society, and the changing perception of the relationship between individual and family characterizing Australian-born Castellorizian women. These words and the attitudes behind them also demonstrate that far from being rigidly anchored in regional cultural practices and gender roles brought from Castellorizo, Castellorizian ethnic ideology is permeable, open and inclusive (see above, section 2).

As more elite women disobey their parents and defy community opinion to embark on professional careers, middle-aged and elderly members of the elite view this attitude as dangerous and interpret it as a sign of cultural and moral decline. In the words of a second-generation woman: «Castellorizian women have always upheld their ideals. They want to be good wives and mothers and to do everything perfectly. But in the last ten years there has been a moral decline (*κατρακύλα*). Soon they will all be working for big money». This statement captures succinctly the essence of female Castellorizian ideology and identity. By focusing on social attitudes and moral values, namely those of female dedication to their families, my informant's words draw the boundaries of identity not simply for the female Castellorizian elite, but for the whole group. These attitudes and values are felt to be grounded on tradition, thus to be primordial; the danger inherent in their transgression constitutes a danger of erosion for Castellorizian culture, therefore for the very maintenance of a contemporary version of Castellorizian ethnicity.

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28. See Doumanis (1999: 68), on Greek immigrant women's unhappiness for having to leave their children with strangers during working hours.

The values expressed by the statement above suggest a selective interpretation of the past and a rewriting of the social history of Castellorizians for women also, analogous to the one for Castellorizian men. It has already been said that only girls of well-off families on Castellorizo practised abstention from work and pre-marital seclusion, while poorer girls and older women often had to work away from their homes to support their families. In Perth, again, migrant Castellorizian women often worked in family-owned catering businesses, although they did not view this as work of the same nature as paid labour. Nevertheless, genuine Castellorizian tradition or «ideals», in the words employed by my informant, entails abstention from paid labour and from «working for big money». Elite ideology defies different attitudes towards female employment both on Castellorizo and in Perth, ignores a variety of patterns of work followed by different generations and classes, and presents a unified view of work as typical for all Castellorizian women and as the only one compatible with «authentic» Castellorizian tradition. Instead of challenging such generalizations, working Castellorizian women employed strategic silence thus tacitly supporting elite claims of representing the whole group. Well-off Castellorizians, in their turn, downplay the obvious discrepancies between the ideal of female abstention from paid labour and the many cases of working Castellorizian women, thus upholding the particularistic interests of their class while also serving the universalistic interests of the entire Castellorizian community. As members of the elite they stress abstention from paid labour thus emphasizing their own socio-economic superiority; as leaders of the Castellorizian community they need to stress its homogeneity, which they achieve by accepting different patterns of female employment.[29]

To downplay any social and moral status differences based on economic differences within the Castellorizian group is to strengthen its solidarity and stability, as also happened with the stratified society of Castellorizo before migration (cf. Bennett, 1989: 191). However, Castellorizians stress and project differences in collective moral and social status between themselves and post-1950s Greek migrants to prove that they are a distinct and superior group. In the 1950s and 1960s thousands of Greek immigrants from different

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29. On the «particularistic» and «universalistic» functions of elites, see Cohen, 1981, on the Creole elite of Sierra Leone. See also Wann, 1987, on the elite of Chiot shipowners in London and their universalistic function as leaders of the Greek community in matters related to the Greek Orthodox Church.

parts of the Greek-speaking world settled in Australia, including Perth, as part of Australia's open migration policy. Their employment patterns clearly differed from those of Castellorizians already established and settled in suburbs of higher socio-economic status, knowing English, with children who had become educated professionals and businessmen. Post-1950s Greeks went into the manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas and water industries, especially into public service rather than enterprise jobs.[30]

These newcomers, however, although not as numerous in Perth as in the eastern states of Australia, competed with Castellorizians for offices in the Greek community and brought with them different ideas and notions surrounding Greekness often at variance with those of pre-second World War Castellorizians. The result of such juxtaposition dominated the political and social life of the Greek community of Perth and was still clear in the 1980s and the 1990s: Greeks of different regional origin, migrant generation and socio-economic background competed over the most authentic version of Greekness actively, but also verbally, through rhetoric stressing moral superiority of one group over another.

The criterion that Castellorizians employ to justify their superiority as a group within the broader Greek community is the status of their elite. The latter embodies the collective aspirations to status of all Castellorizians. Middle and lower class Castellorizians talk about how well their affluent compatriots have done in businesses and the professions, thus rhetorically appropriating the latter's status. Similarly, elite Castellorizian women's abstention from work is presented as another proof of collective Castellorizian distinctiveness and superiority. In the words of a Castellorizian woman whose family used to belong to the elite but later declined socio-economically, «These poor women who have been coming, we do not even approach them. Our rank does not allow us to talk to them. (δεν είναι η σειρά μας να τους μιλήσουμε). They throw themselves into work, and

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30. The 1954 and 1971 Censuses show a dramatic decrease in the percentages of employers and self-employed, and an equally dramatic increase in the percentage of employees in the total Greek workforce in Western Australia. Employers decreased from 17.19% to 9.8%, while self-employed decreased from 25.51% to 12.21%; employees, on the other hand, increased from 53.51% to 74.69% (Jackson, 1979, Tables 2.8 and 2.9: 29-30). The results of the 1981 Census about all Greek-born of Western Australia including Castellorizians, shows that 18.3% of them were employed in manufacturing, while 25% were in the wholesale and retail trade, a percentage definitely smaller than the pre-War one of about 70% in trade (see Profile '81, Table 10b).

then become ill and go to hell (*πέφτουνε στη δουλειά και μετά παίρνουν καμμιά αρρώστια και παν στο διάολο*)». Despite using the present tense, this extreme statement refers to Greek women who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s. The moral implications of women throwing themselves into work thus neglecting their families and children are clear in the ways in which they are punished for such transgressions. Though their differences are projected as moral ones, the criterion separating these Greek newcomers from Castellorizian women is the notion of *sira* or rank, a concept used on Castellorizo to denote the socio-economic and moral status of families and individuals (see above, section 3).

It has already been shown that paid labour outside home for Greek women is acceptable if it is seen as indispensable for the survival of their families. Placed in this context their work does not contradict the fundamental social and moral commitment to their families and homes and is seen as an extension of this commitment. The paid labour of poor island girls and women and of poor immigrant women was seen as honourable, and as such can also be considered the paid labour of post-1950s Greek immigrants. The two approaches to female labour are not diametrically opposed, but could be reconciled in the name of sacrifice for family survival and honour.[31] Emphasis on elite Castellorizian women's abstention from work is selective and circumstantial and could shift to accommodate new attitudes and trends towards female occupation, an indication of ethnic adaptation.

Last, but not least, elite Castellorizian women's abstention from work for five years to bring up their young children is a widespread trend among Anglo-Australian women and is also common in other Western societies. Therefore, a pattern adopted from Anglo-Australians is used to define the core of elite Castellorizian occupational ideology and, by extension, of

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31. As Hirschon notes for Greek refugees from Asia Minor settled in Kokkinia, Piraeus, a wife's employment was seen as acceptable in the context of self-sacrifice which places a family's survival above all other considerations (1989: 99-100). A parallel could be drawn between the work patterns of those refugee women and of post-1950s Greek migrant women in countries like Germany and Australia, on the one hand, and immigrant female newcomers in Greece from the Balkans or countries of the ex-Soviet Union, or from the Philippines, on the other. In many cases these women have to leave their children in their countries of origin to work in Greece as full-time domestics or nurses, without a home of their own, a fact making locals question these women's commitment to their families and even seen as an indication of immorality. In this case women's ability to devote time to their families and children becomes a boundary distinguishing between locals and newcomers.

Castellorizian ethnic identity. This is another example of how migration reorganizes culture, in this case gender values. Moreover, this is not a unique case in which values and practices of the broader Australian society have become incorporated into Castellorizian tradition, have been reinterpreted and used to define the ethnic group. Another example concerns the inclusion of the Anglo-Australian kitchen-tea, combined with island customs, in Castellorizian pre-wedding rituals.[32] A case of hybridity or syncretism, it shows that migrant and ethnic groups, even those most strongly defined through boundaries of community and ideology, cannot but exist in the broader socio-cultural context of their new homes, interacting with members of other cultures and responding to the needs of the host society.[33] It also suggests that the Castellorizian ethnic ideology can shift or expand to incorporate the predominant values of Australian society.

The Castellorizians of Perth construct their ethnic identity by adhering to an ideology they see as grounded in tradition which stresses the complementarity of values and roles regarding men's and women's occupations: men adhere to tradition through occupational success and involvement in the community, while women project moral excellence, ritual expertise, adherence to religion and involvement in the running of churches. Above all, Castellorizian ethnic identity and ideology is expressed through the behaviour of elite women, namely through their abstention from paid labour to bring up their children and through their emphasis on motherhood. The latter guarantees the preservation and transmission of Castellorizian and broader Greek culture, while also securing the honour and status of elite families, thus strengthening the boundaries of the elite and, hegemonically, of the entire Castellorizian group in the context of the Greek community of Perth.

6. THE CASTELLORIZIAN ETHNIC IDEOLOGY: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL RESPONSES

From the outset of my fieldwork among the Castellorizians of Perth I was impressed by their firm belief in their collective distinctiveness and

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32. On the kitchen-tea in combination with the ritual threading of cloves or *mousoukarfia* as reinterpreted by young female Castellorizians, see Χρυσανθοπούλου-Farrington, 1999.

33. On «cultures of hybridity» associated with the «new diasporas» created by postcolonial migrations and by globalization and «harmonizing old and new without assimilation or total loss of the past», see Cohen, 1997: 130-131.

superiority as a group in Australia and around the world, and was led to enquire into the nature of this belief. «I am not surprised that you chose to study the Castellorizians», a third- generation woman told me; «they are the best in everything». A third-generation man quoted his father's favourite saying: «there are two kinds of Greeks in Perth: Cazzies and those who would like to be». In many discussions in a variety of contexts the claim that they constituted «a distinct race» (*άλλη ράτσα*) compared to the rest of the Greeks of Perth, frequently came up.

I have tried to show that the creation and resilience despite transformations of Castellorizian ethnic identity in Australia is largely due to the existence of a strong ethnic ideology. It is this ideology that defines the boundaries of the Castellorizian group and of Castellorizian ethnicity seventy years after the majority of Castellorizians settled in Perth and at least thirty years after their dispersal into the suburbs of this city. Despite differentiation according to migrant generation, socio-economic status and gender, their ethnic ideology binds Perth Castellorizians together and sets them apart in the contexts of the Greek and of the broader Australian community. This is the case even for those Castellorizians who question and even reject some of the tenets of this normative knowledge, since even they still define themselves in relation to it. Their ethnic ideology provides Castellorizians with reference points to define themselves in the society of Perth.

In this paper I have chosen to focus on two crucial areas in which Castellorizian ethnic ideology is articulated, namely on values and attitudes surrounding work and gender, in their interrelationship.[34] The Castellorizian ethnic charter of being prescribes socio-economic success through hard work and political power for men and dedication to the family combined with abstention from paid labour while their children are young, for Castellorizian women. The tenets that men and women abide by are different, but also complementary and necessary parts of the Castellorizian ethnic ideology.

Castellorizians regard both the content of their ethnic ideology and their adherence to it as grounded in their background, as tradition or heritage which is hard to eradicate due to its primordial character. However, it has been shown that Castellorizian male and female attitudes to work are as

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34. Another dimension that could be usefully explored, again in relation to gender, is that of religion and ritual. Castellorizian women believe that they «live in the church. Castellorizian [religious] customs cannot be forgotten, because they are not customs, they are in our blood», as an elite Castellorizian woman once said to me.

much the result of background, as they are a response to needs and trends prevailing in the host country and changing with time. The same attitudes which are also followed by other Greeks, or, indeed, by non-Greek Australians, are invested with ethnic significance by Castellorizians and are used to mark the boundaries of their community and collective identity: the ideals of independence and of hard work, for example, are also values generally pursued by Anglo-Australian men, while abstention from paid labour during early motherhood is a trend generally pursued in many Western societies. Interpreted in the context of the Castellorizian tradition, these attitudes have allowed Castellorizians to preserve a sense of cultural integrity and continuity.

The very essence of Castellorizian tradition, of course, as of most ethnic traditions and myths, is negotiated by its carriers according to the needs of the present and of the future. The past, therefore, is also reconstructed and reinterpreted. Such was shown to be the case with elite Castellorizians presenting trading occupations and female pre-marital seclusion on the island as characterizing the whole group.

The following factors need to be taken into account in the study of ethnic identity and ideology, as made apparent by the Castellorizian case study. Firstly, a historical perspective needs to be employed. The present example suggests that the occupational adaptation of migrant groups and individuals needs to be studied over a long period of time and to use a variety of sources, both ethnographic and published, in order for responses to needs and options followed by migrants and their descendants to be comprehended.

Gender is another crucial perspective in the study of ethnic identity and ideology. Indeed, it has been shown that the Castellorizian ethnic identity and ideology is gendered, as it is constituted by distinct but complementary values and attitudes for men and women. Members of both sexes are responsible for shaping and perpetuating ethnic identity and ideology in their distinct ways.

Migrant and ethnic identity should be seen in the context of interaction with other groups. In the present case Castellorizian ethnicity and ethnic ideology emerges when Castellorizians juxtapose themselves to post-1950s Greek immigrants for power in community organizations. However, in multicultural settings ethnicity and ethnic identity cannot but be articulated in segmentary fashion: members of migrant and ethnic groups belong to several communities and stress different aspects of their belonging according to the context of interaction with others. A Castellorizian is also Greek and

Australian and will defend all these identities according to the circumstances of interaction. In multicultural settings, therefore, ethnic identity is permeable, open and inclusive, incorporating spatial and temporal changes and developments, and it is through the existence of an ethnic ideology that groups and individuals may continue to distinguish themselves from others symbolically. Quite clearly ethnic identity and the ideology supporting it, changes over time, since gender roles, occupational values and practices and other aspects of it also change. Castellorizians, however, consider these changes as the outcome of a single, «authentic» (though in important respects also in effect changing) tradition of which they are the carriers.

Last, but not least, the existence of a leading class or elite, as in the case of the Castellorizians of Perth, may act as a catalyst in the construction and transmission of an ethnic ideology, and consequently, of ethnic identity. Such an elite often expresses the essence of tradition, incarnates ideology and defines hegemonically the boundaries of the entire group.

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