

1 **Greek people, the Orthodox Religion and Resilience in** 2 **the time of crisis**

3
4 *This paper examines the role of religion in supporting health and the*
5 *significance this has on emotional wellbeing in time of crisis for individuals*
6 *of Greek Australian background. Melbourne, Australia, has a large Greek*
7 *community whose oldest members were born in Greece and emigrated to*
8 *Australia 50-60 years ago. The children and grandchildren of these*
9 *immigrants were born in Australia but often see themselves as members of a*
10 *cultural community distinct from the English-speaking mainstream. In*
11 *addition to language, one of the most significant cultural factors handed*
12 *down by the immigrant generation is a belief in the importance of religion*
13 *and religious rituals in maintaining health. These rituals and beliefs are also*
14 *a powerful tool for coping in times of crisis, illness and other challenges. Its*
15 *findings are based on several qualitative studies undertaken in Melbourne*
16 *between 2011-2016. The individuals that participated in these studies relied*
17 *on religious faith and traditional practices to support them in times of crisis.*
18 *Their specific beliefs reflect orthodox theology but also folk practices*
19 *specific to this community and can be applied to wellbeing and resilience*
20 *shown by this population in times of crisis. They have a strong belief in*
21 *destiny and generally accept that God provides the means for addressing*
22 *negative conditions. This paper describes the nature of their beliefs and*
23 *outlines the ways in which religion serves as the basis for their resilience*
24 *and ability to cope with adversity.*

25
26 **Keywords:** *Greek people, Orthodox Religion, Faith, Resilience, Crisis*

27 28 29 **Introduction, Background and Methodology**

30
31 The journey of Greek migration to Australia dates back to 1827, however
32 the vast majority of Greek people arrived between 1945 and 1982, searching
33 for a new beginning in the “*lucky country*,” – “*the country of opportunity*” as
34 they referred to, and viewed Australia. This process was made possible by the
35 Assisted Passage Agreement that was made by the Greek and Australian
36 governments in 1952 that opened the way for the Greek people to first migrate
37 to Australia and then for the City of Melbourne become home to the world’s
38 largest population of Greek people outside of Greece, and this is still the fact
39 now, in 2021.

40
41 In addition to integrating into Australian society, the migrants and their
42 Australian born descendants have maintained a strong cultural identity that
43 includes strong links to their ancestral country, to the Greek language and to
44 their faith the Greek Orthodox religion (for further discussion on this, see
45 Tamis (2005). Generally, faith and the Greek Orthodox religion has been
46 significant as a means of support and an ingredient of resilience for both the
47 Greek migrants and their descendants too (Avgoulas and Fanany 2015).

1 The majority of Greek migrants to Australia arrived with a firsthand
2 experience of war. Greece had been occupied by the German-Italian forces
3 during World War II and this was followed by the Greek civil war. Despite
4 their aspiration for a new start life, many of these migrants saw the move to
5 Australia as a temporary measure. Most intended to return to Greece at some
6 time, having achieved a measure of success in Australia that would allow them
7 to settle in their native land. For most, this did not become reality, and then
8 ended up staying permanently in their new home. This has generated mixed
9 emotions. On the one hand, older migrants often note wistfully that,
10 *“Unfortunately we could not go back.”* Nonetheless, many of them are
11 remarkably positive and consider that they may have been luckier than those
12 who stayed behind in Greece, commenting, *“Look at Greece now and those
13 that live there. We are luckier here.”* or *“All they have is the sun, water and
14 the Greek land. We have it all here just go to Oakleigh. It’s Greece in
15 Melbourne.”* Oakleigh is a Melbourne neighbourhood that offers a large
16 number of Greek businesses and services. Others simply note that, *“Australia
17 was good to us.”* This same view is sometimes echoed by Greeks who
18 remained in their native land, especially in the today’s context of economic
19 problems: *“You’re a lucky one. You left and gave a future to your children –
20 you made a life for yourself and for your children. Look at us here. We have
21 nothing, and our children have no future.”*

22 For the original migrant generation, as well as for their descendants,
23 Australia became home, and they became acculturated to the English-speaking
24 context. They came to refer to Australia as their second country or ‘patrida’
25 (*“Αυστραλία η δεύτερη πατρίδα”*). The vast majority of migrants had few
26 possessions and were not well-educated. They came from largely rural
27 backgrounds and were unskilled. They did bring a store of traditional
28 knowledge, views, and behavior that they made great efforts to pass on to their
29 descendants, as the essence of their ‘Greekness,’ and that were gradually
30 adapted to the Australian context.

31 The early years of settlement in Australia were difficult for the Greek
32 people overall. Their positive outlook and resilience derived from their
33 traditional culture and religious faith along with the view that maintaining their
34 Greek ways would allow them to prosper. This knowledge, in particular, gave
35 them strength and resilience in diaspora. As compared to other cultural groups
36 in the multicultural Australian society, the Greek community has shown a
37 unique level of attachment to their homeland which confers a sense of
38 belonging (Kaloudis, 2006). This has been supportive in the process of
39 adaptation and acculturation and, for the original migrants, provided a refuge
40 from the pressures of integration into the English-speaking mainstream.

41 Culture plays an important role in the life of individuals and populations
42 and serves as a lens through which health, wellbeing and the experience of
43 illness is perceived. The experiences of specific immigrant communities and
44 the significance of cultural identity in overall wellbeing has been discussed
45 extensively in the literature (see, for example, (Lopez-Class et al., 2011; Unger
46 and Schwartz 2012). The experience of migration is life changing, for the

1 immigrants themselves and also for their decedents. There is often little time
2 for adjustment, and the attendant anxiety may also contribute to a number of
3 health problems (Pumariega, Rothe and Pumariega 2005). However,
4 migration and the nature of the associated experiences are difficult to predict
5 and may be different for each individual (Berry and Kim, 1988). It has also
6 been noted that there are links between the journey of migration the experience
7 of acculturation and the overall health of migrants (Miranda, Gonzalez and
8 Tarraf 2011; Organista, Organista and Kurasaki 2003; Salant and Lauderdale
9 2003; among others).

10 This paper will explore the area of migration and health, in particular
11 health and wellbeing will be discussed, and life in people of Greek origin
12 before and after migration to Australia. Incorporating post migration
13 participants that were in fact descendants of the original migrants, and how this
14 can and has been a positive ingredient in time of crisis. Each participant was
15 interviewed about their experiences, and the resulting texts were analyzed
16 using the narrative approach to ethnographic study outlined by Savage (2006).
17 One of the authors of this study, M-I Avgoulas, is a member of the Greek
18 community in Melbourne and occupied a position as both an insider and
19 outsider. For this reason, it was possible to carry out the interviews in Greek
20 and for an emic and etic perspective to be identified (see Ong 1993; Savage
21 2006 among others). The discussion presented below consists of four sections:
22 Health and Wellbeing in Greece before Migration; Greece after migration;
23 Health and Wellbeing in Greece compared to Australia; and Life in Australia,
24 migration and health. Quotations from the participants are presented to more
25 fully present their perspective and views on their own experience.

26 Despite having lived in Australia for many years, the participants in this
27 study were far more comfortable using Greek than English. This is a
28 characteristic of the Greek community in Australia that has been widely
29 observed; the migrant generation largely maintained a Greek-speaking identity.
30 The first and second Australian generations are native speakers of English,
31 however, and there is some evidence that facility in Greek is declining
32 significantly among younger Australian-born individuals. Language is a
33 significant factor in identity on multiple levels and is also significant in
34 acculturation (see, for example Feuerverger, 1989; Fishman, 1977; Giles and
35 Johnson, 1981; Li 1995). In addition to its function in communication,
36 language is an expression of ethnicity and cultural background (Authers (2006)
37 . For immigrants in particular, language may be a determinant in overall
38 wellbeing, and the ability to communicate fully, including in the context of
39 health care, may be crucial in the experience of health and illness (Unger and
40 Schwartz 2012).

41 Despite the participants' preference for Greek, in fact, they were able to
42 switch between Greek and English readily, and their normal use of Greek
43 contained numerous English words which were specific to the Australian
44 context. Some of these loan terms include: "*homemade*", "*anyway*",
45 "*alcohol*", "*jeans*", "*lungs*", "*hamburgers*", "*chips*", "*restaurant*", "*stress*",
46 "*healthy*", "*computer*", "*children's hospital*", "*mobile*", "*bus stop*",

1 “drugs”, “cheesecake”, “ice-cream”, “government”, “happy”, “yes”,
 2 “cancer”, “pollution”, “inflection”, “no hope”, “soy milk”, “very difficult”,
 3 and “take it easy”. When this language use was pointed out to them, a number
 4 of participants were quite surprised and also disappointed in themselves that
 5 they were using English words naturally and spontaneously and at times had
 6 even forgotten the corresponding Greek words. This situation shows the
 7 importance of language maintenance to these members of the original migrant
 8 generation but also the inescapable presence of English in their environment as
 9 well as the existence of language shift (see Forrest and Dandy, 2017). Overall,
 10 the English ability of these women was low, and they all relied on children and
 11 grandchildren for assistance communicating in the larger Australian
 12 environment. This was especially important in the context of health where their
 13 low level of formal education meant that they had little knowledge relevant to
 14 decision-making and tended to rely on traditional knowledge or on their
 15 English-speaking family members.

16
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18 **Health and Wellbeing in Greece before Migration**

19

20 The participants in this study all seemed to feel that Greece before
 21 migration was a healthier place than Australia (generally the belief remains the
 22 same today particularly by the younger ones that the health benefits of life in
 23 Greece are endless “where to start – everything is just better in Greece, the
 24 food is yummy and good for you. People there (in Greece) are happier not just
 25 those at beach bars – but even at church”), and that being in their homeland
 26 was an aspect of wellbeing. Having migrated at a young age, however, it was
 27 notable that these perceptions did not reflect the adult perspective the women
 28 had gained over time or the experience of raising children. One commented on
 29 the fact that her memories of Greece were those of a child, saying, “*We were*
 30 *strong kids then; the lifestyle was different then.*”

31 Medicine has a long tradition in Greece dating back to Hippocrates and
 32 has remained a highly respected profession. Nonetheless, some participants
 33 recalled doctors in Greece being not very knowledgeable. One noted, “*There*
 34 *were doctors, but they did not know the medication.*” Others remembered only
 35 seeing a doctor for something serious, and others had never been to a doctor in
 36 Greece. One participants recalled, “*In Greece in those years, I remember there*
 37 *was only one doctor for many villages and someone had to go personally to*
 38 *call the doctor, as there were no phones to contact the doctor to come and then*
 39 *the doctor would come on the donkey, it was very difficult.*”

40 The participants were aware that illness was treated differently in the
 41 Greece of their youth than in Australia. A more traditional and informal
 42 approach was the norm as was the use of home remedies and treatments
 43 derived from plants. Several of them recalled specific treatments they had
 44 experienced or instances of being sick. The participants’ comments included:
 45 “*My mother would rub me with petrol, she would give me warm drinks;*” “*I*
 46 *had whooping cough and I was taken to the seaside. The doctor had said ‘take*

1 *her for some fresh air.*” One participant, who had had tonsillitis, said, *“They*
 2 *put something like hay on a towel, they would heat it and it would take away*
 3 *the infection, as they couldn’t go to doctors.”* Another participant reported
 4 being made to stay in bed when she was sick and that rubs and cupping were
 5 also used at the time.

6 Overall, the participants felt they had been healthier in Greece, and their
 7 explanation for this was that they ate healthier food and looked after
 8 themselves better. One participant said, *“When I was a child in Greece, I*
 9 *would eat meat only once a week, and it was fresh. We didn’t have*
 10 *refrigerators. That’s why there weren’t so many illnesses.”* Another
 11 commented that, *“We were lucky that there were no infections then as the*
 12 *atmosphere was clean.”*

13 The contrast between Greece and Australia was notable in the participants
 14 perceptions of health. One factor in this may have been the difference in age.
 15 Speaking from a position of older age, the participants had greater awareness
 16 of illness that they had not yet experienced at the time they were still living in
 17 Greece. Since most of their experience of dealing with health problems of their
 18 own as well as those of family members had occurred in Australia, it is
 19 possible they viewed Australia as less healthy simply because it was the
 20 location of the majority of the illness they had personally experienced. It is also
 21 the case that these participants were aware of concerns about health and the
 22 environment that are periodically discussed in the media, including the Greek
 23 language media in Australia, and that this also influenced their perceptions as
 24 did their views of their children and grandchildren that reflect the wider
 25 Australian context.

26 27 28 **Greece after migration**

29
30 Asked to think about the current situation in Greece, the participants felt
 31 that Greece itself as well as the people there had changed since they left. They
 32 had all had the opportunity to visit at various times and observe their original
 33 homeland firsthand. One participant explained her perceptions, saying:
 34 *“Greece has changed. When I was there, I would close my eyes and remember*
 35 *the past, the Greece I remembered. Everything has changed, and this saddens*
 36 *me. The people who live there are now different, I did not find my friends,*
 37 *everything has changed.”* Another noted that: *“Greece has changed, the way*
 38 *of life is very different, young people have no respect.”* One commented on the
 39 difference between Greece and Australia, saying, *“Here we work, and I have*
 40 *taught my children this as well. There, the young people just want to have a*
 41 *good time. Here we have a better life.”* They all noted a significant difference
 42 between the Greek and Australian lifestyle and the fact that they had come to
 43 be seen as ‘Australian’ by people in Greece. Having left at an early age, these
 44 women had not experienced firsthand the changes in Europe in the final
 45 decades of the twentieth century which included major cultural and political
 46 change associated with European Union. At the same time, the participants

1 were not conscious of the ways in which they had changed as a result of their
2 experiences in Australia and, while they felt themselves to be the same as
3 they had been when they left Greece, were unaware that their culture and that
4 of people in Greece had diverged. Generally, they realized that they no longer
5 belonged in Greece, and some of them were surprised to note that they, in fact,
6 were disliked and feared as outsiders or interlopers. One participant explained:
7 *"[It was] terrible, my own father and brother did not speak to me. The people*
8 *there changed. They would say 'the Australians have come to take our*
9 *farmland'."* Another commented, *"They disliked us and we them."* One
10 participant expressed a comparable concern showing her Australian
11 association, saying, *"They don't have money there. A lot of them are coming*
12 *here for work, and this may result in our children here not having work."*

13 The participants also commented on a number of lifestyle changes that
14 they observed in Greece. These included statements such as, *"They don't cook,*
15 *they go out"* and *"They don't even go to church. The grandmothers don't even*
16 *go. I go to church every Sunday."* Changes in language use also stood out to
17 the participants, particularly the use of the English language in Greece. One
18 noted, *"I hear on television shows from Greece that some Greek words are*
19 *used wrong,"* adding that use of the English word "okay" is widespread. At
20 the same time, the participants felt a strong sense of nostalgia and longing for
21 the Greece they remembered. One said, *"I do feel a pull to go back. I was born*
22 *there, my village, but when I went everything was different, nothing was the*
23 *same as the way I left it."* One participant recalled that, on one of her first
24 return trips to Greece, she wanted to bring some Greek soil to Australia but
25 decided not to as the soil belonged to Greece. The pain and difficulty
26 associated with what the participants referred to as having *"two homelands"*
27 was illustrated by one woman who said that, when she went to Greece for a
28 holiday she missed her family in Australia by the second week, but, when she
29 leaves, she misses Greece. She commented, *"That's what it's like to have two*
30 *homelands."* Another said, *"It's our πατρίδα (homeland), my family is there.*
31 *Here I feel and have always felt like someone who is free but a prisoner."*

32 These participants expressed sentiments that show a significant aspect of
33 the experience of migration, the difficulty in reconciling the effects of long
34 term residence in a foreign location with the memories of their culture of
35 origin. For many of them, the awareness that life in Greece had changed
36 significantly from the form they remembered was an unexpected and often
37 unwelcome realization, as was the fact that they, themselves, had gradually
38 come to think differently from friends and family who had remained behind.
39 This was evident in more easily observable aspects of their Greekness, such as
40 the use of English loan words in speaking, as well as in more intangible ways,
41 like attitudes about work, religious observance, and way of life.

42 Greek culture in Australia, which developed over the years through the
43 efforts of the migrant generation as well as their descendants, reflects the
44 memories of the original Greek settlers and has been adapted to the Australian
45 context. This has created a situation where people of Greek background in
46 Australia feel themselves to be Greek, and this cultural identity is defined by

1 the standards of the migrant generation whose views and experiences reflect
 2 the Greece of their youth as well as their social and cultural background. By
 3 contrast, Greek people in Greece have developed a very different modern
 4 identity characterized by continuous progress from the difficult war years up to
 5 the present time, which is structured by membership in the EU and
 6 participation in the affairs of the European region. In this sense, the Australian
 7 Greek community has maintained a comparatively static conceptualization of
 8 what their cultural identity entails but has moved significantly into the English-
 9 speaking mainstream. This is, of course, an aspect of adaptation to the
 10 Australian context and has occurred largely unconsciously among members of
 11 the Greek community.

12
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14 **Health and wellbeing in Greece compared to Australia**

15

16 The participants in the study viewed health care as superior in Australia,
 17 but emotional health and wellbeing were seen as better in Greece. One
 18 participant noted, *“The comfort that as difficult things maybe you can
 19 overcome them financially here [in Australia]. When my children were ill, I
 20 would take them to the doctor, buy the medication. There [in Greece] no. Our
 21 parents found it very difficult. There my siblings were ill, and they died, why
 22 they died? There wasn’t medication, the doctors were not careful? The years
 23 were difficult.”* Another commented, *“It’s better here, the healthcare.”*
 24 *Reflecting on the difference, a participant concluded, “Here people mainly go
 25 to doctors.”*

26 One participant, however, added that, while formal health care was better
 27 and health knowledge more widespread in Australia, people were healthier in
 28 Greece. Other participants agreed that the lifestyle in Greece was better, at
 29 least as they recalled it. One commented, *“The way of life is very different in
 30 Australia compared to Greece. It’s beautiful in Greece. You feel wonderful in
 31 Greece. Our life changed in Australia. You go to work, you come home and
 32 then you go to work again.”* Another expressed this same view: *“Here we
 33 work very hard. I don’t understand how over there they don’t have the anxiety
 34 we do. Things are harder now, as they don’t have work, but you go there and
 35 the shops and cafes are full.”*

36

37 The participants felt that, in Greece, people experience less stress than in
 38 Australia. One said, *“They don’t have money, but they have a good time.”*
 39 This participant then mentioned a childhood memory of Greece: *“I remember,
 40 as a child, I would go to the garden. I would take an onion with some bread
 41 and I would eat. But I would not stress. I would go to the fields for work and I
 42 would come home singing in the evening.”* Another commented on the current
 43 economic crisis in Greece saying, *“Things were better before the crisis. It was
 44 better, the way of life is better.”* Nonetheless, the participants had many
 45 favorable views about life in Australia that related to their health and
 46 wellbeing. One noted that, even when she is in Greece, she tries to maintain the

1 lifestyle she has adopted in Australia, saying, *“I try to keep my rules. I have*
 2 *breakfast, a sandwich for lunch or tuna with salad. We have learnt a different*
 3 *way here.”* Another participant commented that, *“They live better in Greece,*
 4 *but the families are not close. We are more connected to our families here.”*
 5 Another recognized that she had adapted to the Australian context and that this
 6 had been beneficial. She said, *“We have adopted an Australian lifestyle that I*
 7 *think works well.”*
 8 The comments of the participants reflect the contrast they perceive between
 9 Greece and Australia but also demonstrate the degree to which they have
 10 become integrated into the Australian context. This fact was not apparent to
 11 many of them until they were asked to reflect on their experiences and talk
 12 about how they saw them. Overall, the participants recognized that they had
 13 done well in Australia and had achieved a lifestyle that surpassed what would
 14 likely have been available to them if they stayed in Greece. Nonetheless, the
 15 perception of loss remains a significant aspect of their experience, and they are
 16 aware that there were tradeoffs in coming to Australia despite their own
 17 success and that of their children and grandchildren. This highlights the
 18 dilemma of migration that has been experienced by many groups, including the
 19 Greek community, namely that the gains they have achieved are necessarily
 20 balanced by losses, and it is not always possible to reconcile the two.

21
22

23 **Life in Australia, Migration and Health**

24

25 This section of the paper will begin with two quotes to set the scene for
 26 what will be discussed and can also serve as a reflection to what has been
 27 discussed – one quote is from an elder (who was born in Greece), and the
 28 second from a young person (a descendant born in diaspora).

29

30 *“Religious rituals are good, especially during illness as they help us emotionally.*
 31 *They do not take away illness. They give us courage and strength.”* – Elderly
 32 Greek participant

33

34 *“I believe it [magic] because it happened to me in my old house. One night, and*
 35 *after it happened I went straight to church. One night, we went to see a play in*
 36 *the city with cousins, a normal night, nothing weird. I went to bed hearing dogs*
 37 *barking and, as a teenager, you hear all the stories that if there is a dog barking,*
 38 *there is an evil spirit. I found this out from school and friends, not my*
 39 *grandmother, and also the internet. Because when you start reading things on the*
 40 *internet, forget it, you can’t stop. I woke up and I used to have a clock next to my*
 41 *bed. It was digital, had a light and I could always see the time and I had a look*
 42 *and it was around 3 in the morning. You know how they say at 3 o’clock, all the*
 43 *spirits come out. I went to move and get back to bed. I could not do it. I could not*
 44 *do it. I could not move and then I looked in my doorway, and there was a massive*
 45 *black figure in my doorway. I went to go and scream. I couldn’t scream. I*
 46 *couldn’t move. I felt like something was sitting on top of me. I couldn’t breathe*
 47 *and I remember I started crying. I freaked out. I didn’t know what was going on.*
 48 *The first thing I did, because it’s the only one I know off my heart, was to recite*

1 *the Lord's prayer, because through Greek school, we always said it, and then I*
 2 *managed to fall asleep, and two hours later, it happened again, and it had moved*
 3 *from my door to have moved on top of me. I freaked out and I couldn't scream. I*
 4 *just wanted to scream and call for help. I couldn't move. I could not breathe and*
 5 *I was in panic mode. The next morning, I didn't know how to explain what*
 6 *happened. One of our family friends is a priest, and I went to my mum, 'You have*
 7 *to call him. I need to see him.'* I went and spoke to the priest, and he said that we
 8 *have to do something about this. When we spoke, he gave me a little prayer to*
 9 *read every night and he said that, if anything else continues, to come back. Two*
 10 *weeks passed, and then one night, out of nowhere, I woke up and I stood up in my*
 11 *bed, and all that I can remember is hearing all these voices and I can't even*
 12 *explain it. All these voices around my head, and I was, 'No, this is not okay, and*
 13 *this time, I could move, so I got up and I ran. I ran to my mum and I told her we*
 14 *have to go back [to see the priest]. The next day, we went back, and the priest*
 15 *took me to the front of the church and he did this massive prayer and he put me*
 16 *under, not a cloak (the gown the priest wears), and ever since then, it has not*
 17 *happened again. He said to me that it could have been either, not someone who*
 18 *was trying to hurt me, but something that was either wrong inside of me or*
 19 *something that wanted to get in my head and wanted to do me harm. I asked to*
 20 *see a priest because this is something a doctor could not understand, a*
 21 *possession from an evil spirit. They would think I'm losing it, but if you go to a*
 22 *church and say that, they would understand. I chose church because I always*
 23 *knew it can help because a lot of things had happened. My mum lost her sister to*
 24 *cancer when I was really little, and she would always tell me that she would go to*
 25 *church or get a priest for support and to help her prepare, and that's how I knew*
 26 *straight away that I have to.'* Greek – Australian young participant.

27
 28 The participants in this study experienced a range of emotion associated
 29 with their experience of migration and settlement in Australia. While they had
 30 experienced happy times in Australia, memories of sadness, longing for family
 31 left behind, stress and anxiety related to the work context, the difficulty of not
 32 speaking English, and having to learn a new way of life are very clear to them.
 33 One participant spoke poignantly of the day they left Greece. Saying, "*They*
 34 *took me to Athens, Piraeus, and, when the time came to leave. . . Oh God, if I*
 35 *knew how to swim and I was not afraid of death, I would have jumped. That's*
 36 *how much leaving impacted me, even though I was coming to my sister who*
 37 *adored me.*" Another explained, "*We came here without knowing the*
 38 *language, without knowing anyone. It was challenging for us. The first year's*
 39 *there was a lot of sadness. We were afraid, and we would hide. I was afraid if*
 40 *someone knocked on the door, what would I say to them as I did not know the*
 41 *language. I was afraid if someone would come to my house and take my*
 42 *children. All this caused us stress.*" This participant concluded, however, that,
 43 "*Australia made us people.*" This statement epitomizes an idea expressed by
 44 all the participants that the challenges they faced in Australia forced them to
 45 become self-reliant and resilient in the face of a strange society and culture.
 46 The participants were also aware of the connection between their experience of
 47 migration and their health, both mental and physical. One participant said,
 48 "*The health of all immigrants has been impacted by migration.*" Another
 49 explained, "*Migration impacted my health. I had a nervous breakdown. That's*

1 *what the psychiatrist told me.*” Thinking about her experiences, other
 2 participants concluded that, “[*Migration is*] *why I have health problems now.*”
 3 This same woman reflected on the importance of her faith in coping with the
 4 problems she experienced, saying, “*Everything was very difficult. I was alone.*
 5 *It was very difficult and dangerous. I didn’t know anyone, and I would pray,*
 6 *and I would ask for the Virgin Mary’s help.*”

7 All of the participants in this study hoped and expected to return to Greece
 8 one day. This idea was an assumption that underlay their activities in Australia
 9 from their first arrival. In particular, it motivated their very strong desire to
 10 maintain their Greekness and, more importantly, to convey this identity to their
 11 children and grandchildren, even as they tried to adapt to the Australian
 12 context. One participant said definitively, “*We all had the dream of staying in*
 13 *Australia for a few years only and to return to Greece.*” Another explained the
 14 dilemma of living between two cultures with the hope of returning to Greece as
 15 follows: “*Everything changed from the minute we got here. Life changed. We*
 16 *did what the Australians do. We kept the Greek language, [but] our manners*
 17 *changed. We have order here.*” Another participant described the hope of
 18 migrants like herself but noted the well known difficulty of return migration,
 19 saying, “*We all came here with the same dream, to make money and go back.*
 20 *This didn’t happen, and the ones that did go back, returned to Australia.*” The
 21 problems faced by people of Greek origin who decide to return to Greece has
 22 been well-documented in the literature (see, for example, Christou, 2002;
 23 Christou, 2006; King and Christou, 2010) and serve to show the real impacts of
 24 the psychological and emotional changes caused by acculturation.

25 26 27 **Conclusion**

28
29 Despite the difficulties the [participants in this study, and other members
 30 of the original migrant generation of people of Greek origin to Australia,
 31 experienced, they have, as a group, shown remarkable resilience that is
 32 characterized by the integration of the first and second Australian generations
 33 into all levels of society. Nonetheless, the experience of migration affected the
 34 perceptions and attitudes of the migrants and changed them, relative to family
 35 and friends left behind in Greece. One domain of experience that has been
 36 significantly altered by their experience in Australia relates to health and
 37 wellbeing, where the contrast between the situation in the Greece of their
 38 childhood contrast sharply with the Australian context. While in certain ways,
 39 they tend to view their health and that of their family, as well as their access to
 40 healthcare services, as having benefited in Australia, they still have mixed
 41 feelings about the healthiness of the environment, especially the psychological
 42 dimension represented by life stress. This underscores the division between
 43 physical and mental health in the experience of migrants and suggests a need to
 44 better understand the psychological impacts of the experience of migration,
 45 especially as these individuals age and face additional physical challenges
 46 associated with chronic illness and the period of older adulthood. The

1 perception of the Greece of their childhood that has been passed down to the
 2 next generations and that suggests a healthier, happier place presents a serious
 3 contrast with the Greece they have experienced as visitors later in life and
 4 serves, for many older migrants, as a source of concern and confusion that is
 5 difficult to reconcile with the advantages of their life in Australia. Overall,
 6 Greek migrants have achieved success in Australia, particularly as measured by
 7 economic status. This has contributed to physical health and vastly improved
 8 opportunities for children and grandchildren. It does not, in many cases, have
 9 the ability to soften the conflicting perceptions migrants often feel about their
 10 wellbeing that center on how Greece “should be” and confusion as to why it
 11 has, in their view, changed in ways they find concerning. This suggests a need
 12 to better understand the expectations of older migrants, the social factors that
 13 have motivated their actions over the life course, and the specific issues that
 14 exist within various of the cultural communities that make up Australia’s
 15 multicultural society. Further research on these topics would greatly enhance
 16 our understanding of the experience of migration and also suggest ways to
 17 more effectively address the needs of older Australians who were born in other
 18 countries and who are effectively caught between cultures.

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