

Introduction

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It could be argued that diaspora, exile and immigration represent three successive phases in Modern Greek history and that they could serve as useful vantage points from which to analyse changes in Greek society, politics and culture over the last three centuries. Looking at a wide range of case studies, this volume charts the role of territorial displacements as social and cultural agents from the eighteenth century to the present day and examines their impact on communities, politics, institutional attitudes and culture.

Along with the Jewish and the Armenian, the Greek diaspora has been considered one of the paradigmatic historical diasporas. Though some trace the origins of the Greek diaspora to ancient Greek colonies, it should be seen as a more modern phenomenon and its history can be divided into three broad phases. The first coincides with the period of Ottoman rule (mid-fifteenth century to the emergence of the Greek state in 1830); the second extends from the mid-nineteenth century until the beginning of World War II; and the third covers the period from the 1940s to the 1970s. In the second period the Peloponnese tended to be the main supplier of the migratory flow, though very few women emigrated (on average 2.5–5 per cent of the overall total of emigrants between 1869–1925). In the third period northern Greece produced the bulk of the migrants and the proportion of women among them increased dramatically (Hassiotis 2004: 96–8; Yannouloupoulos 1985).

After the bloody civil war of 1946–9 the long-standing exodus of Greeks to the USA, Australia and Germany was swelled by a large number of political exiles who fled to Eastern Europe. In the 1990s, however, with the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Balkans, Greece experienced an influx of economic migrants from neighbouring countries, including Pontic Greeks from the diaspora communities in the former USSR.¹ The arrival of these migrants and the increasing recognition of the rights of minorities has meant Greece has rapidly developed into a more multicultural, open and diverse society. Moreover, since the restoration of democracy in 1974, expatriate lobbies, particularly in the USA, have been used to support or promote Greek foreign policy, a strategy which received new impetus after 1989 with the ‘Macedonian issue’ and the emerging economic or cultural aspirations of Greece in the Balkans and in parts of the former USSR.

¹ See the special issue ‘The Odyssey of the Pontic Greeks’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4 (4) 1991.

These developments point to deep social, economic and cultural changes and invite us to take a more comprehensive look at migratory trends, reconfigurations of identities and transnational networks from a fresh perspective. By studying migratory trends over the years the aim is to map out the transformation of Greece from a largely homogenous society with a high proportion of emigrants, refugees, political exiles and *Gastarbeiter* to a more diverse society inundated by immigrants after the end of the Cold War. This constitutes the distinctiveness of this volume and makes it the first of its kind in bringing together diaspora, exile and immigration and focusing on developments both inside and outside Greece.

In the last 30 years a number of books have been published on the Greek diaspora, indicating that the subject constitutes a distinct and flourishing area of academic interest. These books examine the history and development of Greek communities in different parts of the world (e.g. Hassiotis 1993, Clogg 1999, Hassiotis et al. 2006), or in specific areas, e.g. Australia (Tamis 2005), the USA (Moskos 1989, Papaioannou 1985),² Canada (Chimbos 1980), Argentina (Damilakou 2004), Russia (Mazis 2004, Kardasis 1998 and 2001, Koromila 1991), Italy (Katsiardi-Hering 1986), Belgium (Venturas 1999), and Africa (Kitroeff 1989, Markakis 1998).³ This volume continues to some extent the historical approach of these earlier studies by exploring hitherto unexplored aspects of the history of the diaspora communities (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4), but it aspires to adopt a broader perspective by examining developments from the eighteenth century to the present day, covering four continents (Europe, USA, Africa and Australia) and looking at political exiles and recent migrants to Greece.

With the exception of the Greek Americans, the cultural impact of diaspora, exile and migration has not been fully explored as yet and this volume pays particular attention to the way in which migrants are represented in fiction, travel writing, poetry, film and music.⁴ It also deals with the poetics of repatriation and the complexities of homecoming and not only with departures, settlement and challenges abroad. Moreover, the examination of the attitudes of the Greek state towards expatriate Greeks and migrants since the nineteenth century, particularly regarding issues of naturalisation and nationality, adds a new perspective and will contribute to a better understanding of the way these people have been treated when returning to or arriving in Greece.

² The study of Greek Americans has received new impetus from the following books: Laliotou 2004, Orfanos 2002, Moskos and Georgakas 1991.

³ Three other edited volumes should be mentioned here: the general-interest *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora* (Fossey 1991) and two more specialised works, one examining entrepreneurial networks (Baghdiantz McCabe et al. 2005) and the other the role of the Greek diaspora in influencing the foreign policy of certain countries (e.g. USA, Australia, Canada) (Constas and Platias 1993).

⁴ The volumes edited by Spanaki (2001) and Tsokalidou and Papparousi (2005) and the books by Niki Eideneier (2006) and Kalogeras (2007) are the most recent attempts to explore the relationship of literature and the Greek diaspora.

The growth of interest in diaspora Greeks since the 1970s has been seen as representing a shift of emphasis, partly influenced by Marxist historiography, from the history of the Greek state to the history of the Greek communities abroad before the Greek War of Independence. As a result attention was focused on the study of the Greek Enlightenment and the expatriate intellectual elites, the relationship between centre and periphery, the role of commerce and the emergence of a middle class outside the mainland (Katsiardi-Hering 2004).⁵ This volume aspires to redress this emphasis by examining the attitudes of the Greek state towards diaspora Greeks and immigrants (see Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

Two texts could be seen as setting rough chronological parameters for the present volume, reflecting its theme and demonstrating how things have changed over the years. The first one is *Γράμματα από το Άμστερνταμ* [Letters from Amsterdam] by Stamatis Petrou, written between October 1772 and October 1774 (Petrou 2005). The book consists of 14 letters sent by Petrou to his employer in Smyrna and concern the westernisation of Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) who was working in Amsterdam at that time for the same company. The letters chart the clash between modernisation and traditionalism, Orthodoxy and secularism, as Korais abandons his traditional clothes, religious fasting and so on and gives in to western pleasures, being transformed from an oriental merchant into a western intellectual. The letters offer us an insight into the emergence of Greek communities in Western Europe and the intellectual formation and changing lifestyles of leading diaspora figures such as Korais.⁶

The second book, *Μικρό Ημερολόγιο Συνόρων* [A Brief Diary of Borders] by Gazmend Kapllani, an Albanian journalist living in Greece, was published in Greek in 2006. The narrative develops on two alternating levels. The first, printed in italics, recalls his life in Albania and his first days in Greece as a migrant; the second level is a series of reflections on being a migrant. In his book he points out:

The migrant is surrounded by borders. The conventional borders which separate the countries are for him simply a large, visible borderline. There are, however, a thousand other invisible borders which wait for him every moment, every day, almost in his every move, desire and ambition. (Kapllani 2006: 96)

Migration for Kapllani is a physical as well as a mental experience. It is a struggle with real and imaginary borders. For him the migrant is like a tree; its branches

⁵ It should be noted that the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* started its publication in 1974.

⁶ His lecture ‘Mémoire sur l’état présent de la civilisation dans la Grèce’, published in 1803 in Paris and available in English translation (Kedourie 1970: 153–88), has been considered as ‘a stunningly modern analysis of the sociological bases for Greek nationalism’ (Anderson 1983: 70). It has also been described as ‘a capital document to illustrate the spread of nationalist ideology outside the Western cultural sphere’ (Kedourie 1970: 42).

look towards the country s/he left behind while its roots are growing deeper into the host country (Kapllani 2006: 150).

These two books represent two phenomena (diaspora and border crossing) that blow up – both enlarge and explode – the hyphen in hybrid identities where it could be said to act as a kind of border. They invite us to reflect on the links between diaspora and migration and to explore the contribution of diaspora communities, refugee and migrant experiences to historical changes and cultural developments over the last two centuries. Though Korais and Kapllani could be seen as representing the intellectual migrant, their texts offer a good insight into the formation of the migrant subject and the provisional status of their identity. As Salman Rushdie has remarked, those who have experienced cultural displacement have been forced to accept the provisional nature of all truths and all certainties (Rushdie 1991: 12).

By focusing on the dialogic tension between home and abroad, ethnic self and immigrant other, this volume explores the interstices between experience and memory. Moreover, it tackles issues of religion, identity, colonialism and otherness, thus presenting the opportunity to address a number of questions, such as the following: is the Greek diaspora on the wane now that Greece has more immigrants arriving than emigrants leaving the country or are new expatriate communities being ‘invented’ particularly in Eastern Europe, which the Greek state can use to advance its own economic and political interests? Are new diasporic subjects emerging in the form of nomadic academics and professional people, making London and New York, the Odessa, Vienna or Trieste of the twenty-first century for Greek expatriates? Does Greece use its diaspora to offset its marginal status on the international scene? Is there a tendency to downplay the proletarian migration out of Greece in the twentieth century and talk up the link between the commercial and intellectual diaspora before Independence and recent developments? To what extent could one argue that, whereas until the 1970s Greece was struggling to come to terms with the political other, in the last two decades the challenge has been to find a *modus vivendi* with the cultural or ethnic other?

We tend to identify exile and migration with a sense of loss and a painful experience. But as Said asks: ‘If true exile is a condition of terminal loss, why has it been transformed so easily into a potent, even enriching, motif of modern culture? ... Modern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees’ (Said 2001: 173). Exile and migration, therefore, are no longer simply survival stories, but present an opportunity to think through some vexed questions: solidarity and criticism, belonging and distance, insider spaces and outsider spaces, identity as invention and identity as natural, location–subject positionality and the politics of representation (Radhakrishnan 2003: 129). What migration and diaspora ‘have done is to move the margins to the centre’ (Cohen 1997: 134) and register a broader shift within human sciences from temporality, fixity and rootedness to space, distance and travel. Diaspora, exile and migration involve an oscillation between proximity and distance and this ambiguous in-between space has of late attracted huge scholarly attention.

What diaspora, exile and migration have in common and underpins this volume is the idea of home as a symbolic space rather than a physical place.

Mapping the world starts with the primary marker of the home. The distinctions between self/other; inside/outside; order/chaos revolve around the prior constructions of the home as the position from which these values can be discerned. Home is the place where moral knots are untied and ethical patterns are stitched together. (Papastergiadis 1988: 5–6)

The traditional idea of home and identity assumed a strong linkage between time and space, but as we experience an increasing ‘time-space distancing’, the concept of home as a geographically defined entity and as the embodiment of culture, stability, order and history is increasingly being challenged. Modernity entails the breaking up of the attachment to place (Giddens 1990), and therefore identity can no longer be confirmed by naming a single place of origin. Hence, it is increasingly defined by reference to other places. Deepening the crisis of identity, diaspora and exile are no longer identified with wilderness, instability or oblivion, but emerge as new conceptions of ‘home’, pointing to an identity premised more on memory and less on common territory. The stereotype of the migrant as either denying his/her past or trying to retrieve it gives way to a negotiation that includes both. Living between a lost past and a non-integrated present, diasporic and migrant subjects experience a perpetual state of liminality while their identities are formed ‘on the move’.

In recent years postmodernism has embraced nomadism and rejected the aestheticism of modernist exile associated with solitude and spirituality (Kaplan 1996). It aspires to replace the ‘critical distance’ of exile with the betweenness of hybridity while the user of the internet has often been described as a kind of postmodern traveller. Postmodernism refuses an attachment to an abode and sees migrants suspended between departure and arrival. By challenging the financial or class connotations of migration, it changes the semantics of migrancy, thus treating it as an identity and not as an administrative category. Postmodern ethnicity is no longer based on tradition or ancestry but is experienced as a provisional site of identity which must be constantly (re)invented and (re)negotiated. Diasporas promote this notion of ethnicity since they have the potential to unsettle essentialist or totalising conceptions of ‘national culture’ or ‘national identity’.

Though the term diaspora etymologically suggests the fertility of dispersion, dissemination and the scattering of seeds, its current use denotes communities dislocated from their native homelands through migration and exile. It is an ambiguous category since, on the one hand, it could be associated with traditional communities or those resistant to change while, on the other hand, diaspora artists and intellectuals can champion modern and challenging ideas. Despite its ambiguity, the term ‘diaspora’ has found new currency and featured prominently in the recent theoretical debates related to postmodernism, postcolonialism and globalisation.

Like the critical terms *rhizome*, *créole*, *creolization*, *hybridity*, *heterogeneity*, *métis* and *métissage*, then, diaspora has emerged as an internal critique of the binarisms (coloniser/colonised; white/black; West/East) that circulated and found currency within colonial discourse and that persist even within some spheres of postcolonial studies (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 4).⁷

While in the past the study of diaspora was neglected, today the concept is used widely across many disciplines and has recently acquired new meanings, including global processes of deterritorialisation, transnational migration and cultural hybridity. It has also encapsulated groups ‘known by other names until the late 1960s: as exile groups, overseas communities, ethnic and racial minorities, and so forth’ (Tölölyan 1996: 3). The prominence of diaspora in discourse in recent decades represents a passage from ‘being’ to ‘feeling’, from groups to networks, from ethnicity to symbolic ethnicity, namely the emphasis on discursive and representational practices, while diasporic identity offers the opportunity to express our discontent with nation-states and to celebrate multiplicity and mobility. This academic growth and semantic change, however, tends to downplay traumatic dispersal, persecution and loss, often associated with diasporas, and simply highlights the potential of diasporas as ‘mediating cultures’.

Migration and diaspora might point to a postnational condition and deterritorialised reality, but the struggles of certain diasporas could be perceived in nationalistic terms. As Gregory Jusdanis points out: ‘The Macedonians, residing in multicultural societies of Canada and Australia, did not mute their passions in the fight over Macedonian nationhood on account of their diasporic existence. Their struggle was quintessentially nationalist’ (Jusdanis 2001: 207). On the other hand, it could be said that the nation-state aspires to terminate the multiple attachments associated with the diaspora, either through assimilation or return. So do diasporas represent a utopian transnational ideal or can they often be seen as supporting irredentist claims? Whatever their ideologies of purity or nostalgic visions, James Clifford argues, ‘diasporic cultural forms can never, in practice, be exclusively nationalist’ (1997: 251). Though they may have irredentist moments, diaspora cultures are not separatist and have rarely founded nation-states since ‘homecomings’ are, by definition, the negation of diaspora.

Taking into account the rapid flow of mass-mediated images, Arjun Appadurai emphasises the work of imagination in the relationship between electronic mediation and mass migration and argues that ‘diasporic public spheres, diverse among themselves, are the crucibles of a postnational political order’ (Appadurai 1996: 22). While diasporas might be positioned between nation-states and ‘travelling cultures’, diasporic identities can be both restrictive and liberating. Diaspora, like migration and exile, is not always voluntary and Robin Cohen’s

⁷ It has been pointed out that since ‘the journal *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* was inaugurated in 1991, debates over the theoretical, cultural, and historical resonances of the term have proliferated’ (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 2).

typology of diasporas (victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural) raises questions as to which category best suits the Greek diaspora (1997: x, 178).

The Greek diaspora can be seen both as a conduit for channelling new and challenging ideas to the mother country, particularly in the period from the end of the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, and as a conservative agent, maintaining fossilised cultural practices, or, as in the case of Greek Americans between 1967 and 1974, offering cautious support to the military junta or, more recently, demonstrating nationalist intransigence with regard to recent developments over the name Macedonia (see Chapter 10). Despite its Greek provenance, the term ‘diaspora’ has only recently been adopted in Greece, hesitantly replacing terms such as ‘apodimoi Ellines’ (Hellenes abroad) or ‘omogeneis’ (co-ethnics).⁸ This suggests that for the Greek authorities, who still perceive diaspora communities in ethnocentric terms as Greeks abroad, the term ‘diaspora’ is synonymous with globalisation, and as something which threatens the integrity of the nation. Towards the end of the twentieth century diasporic Hellenism has emerged as a new cultural ‘Great Idea’, creating the illusion that Greece, despite being a small country, has a virtual empire thanks to its worldwide diaspora.⁹ The re-hellenisation of the post-Soviet diaspora communities (Voutira 2006) or the ‘invention’ of new communities such as the Gagauz (Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians in Moldavia) and the Kalasha (a non-Muslim pagan community living near the Afghanistan border with Pakistan and considered descendants of Alexander the Great) have also contributed to this illusion.

In recent years the Greek diaspora and migration have featured prominently in films such the romantic comedy *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (2002), written by and starring Nia Vardalos, *Brides* [Nymphes] (2004), directed by Pantelis Voulgaris, and *The Journey: The Greek American Dream* (2007), directed by Maria Iliou. Moreover there is a growing interest in writers of Greek origin publishing in the language of their host country such as George Pelekanos and Jeffrey Eugenides (USA), Vassilis Alexakis (France), Aris Fioretos and Theodor Kallifatides (Sweden), Panos Karnezis (UK), Perikles Monioudis (Switzerland), who are translated into Greek or invited to Athens to present their work.¹⁰ Painters born or living outside Greece for most of their lives such as Theodoros Stamos (1922–97), Yerasimos Steris (1898–1987), Periklis Pantazis (1849–84), Stephen Antonakos

⁸ The term ‘Greater Hellenism’ (μείζων ελληνισμός) is often used to refer to Greek communities in the Balkans and East Mediterranean region.

⁹ The increasing political role of the diaspora is reflected in the fact that the Greek government is considering allowing expatriate Greeks to vote in Greek general elections.

¹⁰ Elena Paparizou, a Greek singer born and raised in Sweden, won the Eurovision Song Contest in 2005 for Greece and a Greek-American singer, Kalomoira, represented Greece in the same contest in 2008.

(b.1926), Yannis Kounelis (b.1936) and Luca Samaras (b.1936) have also enjoyed greater prominence.¹¹

As has already been said, Greek society has been significantly transformed over the last 30 years and from a country of emigrants has become a host to migrants, who have contributed enormously to the Greek economy. According to a report compiled in October 2005 by Ruby Gropas and Anna Triandafyllidou, Greece's immigrant population, including aliens and co-ethnic returnees such as Pontic and ethnic Greek Albanians, had reached just over one million people and this represented about 9 per cent of the total resident population.¹² The 1991 census indicates that the total population of Greece was then 10,260,000 of which 167,000 were foreigners, but in the census of 2001 the number of foreigners had increased to 797,091 (of which 47,000 were EU citizens) while the total population was 10,964,020. This is indeed a strikingly high proportion of immigrants for a country which, only a few years before, was sending large numbers of migrants abroad. According to the report, approximately three-quarters of the immigrant population currently has legal status (work and residence permits) though most immigrants entered Greece illegally.¹³

The largest group of immigrants were from the Balkans, given that more than half were Albanian citizens (i.e. 438,000 or 57 per cent), with the Bulgarians in second place, though lagging way behind with just 35,000 migrants (or 4.4 per cent of all immigrants to Greece). By the year 2000, according to a census carried out by the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, 152,204 Pontic Greeks had settled in Greece (about 80,000 from Georgia, 31,000 from Kazakhstan, 23,000 from Russia and about 9,000 from Armenia). The Greek state granted special status to immigrants of Greek ethnic origin thus distinguishing them from the other immigrants. Co-ethnics from the former Soviet Union were given preferential treatment with regard to naturalisation, while ethnic Greek Albanian citizens were issued with special identity cards, but discouraged from naturalising so as not to lose their Albanian citizenship.

According to the 2005 report, males make up 54.5 per cent and females 45.5 per cent of the total immigrant population. Women represent almost two-thirds of the immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Bulgaria, as well as approximately four-fifths of the Filipinos. On the other hand, immigrants from Pakistan and India are almost exclusively male. The participation of immigrants

¹¹ The *Mataroa*, the ship which in December 1945 took a number of young Greeks from Piraeus to France via Italy, has been mythologised in Greece and has featured in a number of recent publications. Some of the ship's passengers (e.g. Cornelius Castoriadis [1922–97] and Iannis Xenakis [1922–2001]) became well-known intellectuals and artists in France where they lived for the rest of their lives.

¹² The full report along with reports on all 25 EU member states is available from the following website: www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe.

¹³ For an analysis of some aspects of recent migration to Greece within the wider context of Southern Europe see (King et al. 2000 and Anthias and Lazaridis 2000).

in public life is very limited, but some of them publish their own newspapers or demand their own places of worship. The proposal to build a mosque in Athens has proved a controversial issue recently, and it has been reported that Athens is the only European capital without a purpose-built mosque.

Until the 1990s Greece lacked the legislative framework to manage the influx of the immigrants effectively and since then it has introduced a number of Laws and Presidential Decrees concerning the status of migrants. The first Act 1975/1991, entitled 'entry-exit, sojourn, employment, expulsion of aliens, procedure for the recognition of the status of refugee for foreigners and other measures', was aimed at curbing migration and making it harder for economic migrants to stay in the country. It is not surprising therefore, that Greece ranks alongside Switzerland in requiring a longer period of residence for naturalisation (more than 10 years in the last 12) than any other country in Europe.

Another aspect of migration to Greece involves citizens from EU countries who have chosen to settle in Greece (mainly on the islands), even though Greek bureaucracy makes it hard for them to buy property in the country. In some places (e.g. Sými, Vámos) they even outnumber the local population and determine the outcome of the local elections. Television channels in Crete have introduced news programmes in English having these migrants as the target audience.

The impact of immigrants on Greek society can be judged by their widespread representation in Greek fiction and film (see Chapter 18). Over the last few years the novels and films about migrants in Greece have proliferated, while Greek writers from Albania (e.g. Tilemachos Kotsias) have started publishing in Greece.¹⁴ Recent Greek fiction and film suggest that Greeks are gradually coming to terms with the growing multicultural and multiethnic character of their society.

This book consists of two parts and the chapters can be classified into three overlapping categories on the basis of the approaches they adopt: socio-historical, institutional/political and cultural.¹⁵ In the first section of Part I, which deals with the émigré experience, Thomas Gallant explores the darker side to the story of Greek migration by focusing on 'underworld' migrants (petty criminals, prostitutes, brawlers and sailors) who moved between major cities of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. He reconstructs the social world of these itinerant Greeks, as they moved back and forth between the margins of their home society and their host society. Jonathan Harris examines the survival of the Greek community in Britain during the eighteenth century and Maria Christina Chatziioannou traces its development into a thriving merchant hub during the nineteenth century with the arrival of Greeks (mostly from the island of Chios) in London, Manchester and Liverpool. Settlement in Britain in the nineteenth century offered Greek expatriates the unique experience of a competitive business environment and

¹⁴ The Greek fiction competition 'Hotel 2007' for young writers had as its theme 'we are all migrants' and the best six stories have been published in book form (Fais 2007).

¹⁵ Where no publisher is given in the bibliographic references, this means that the publisher is unknown.

coexistence with a socially stratified society. Both chapters offer some interesting comparisons with other diaspora communities or ethnic groups settled in Britain and their entrepreneurial culture.

The next three chapters focus on the Greek community in Egypt, the Slav Macedonian political refugees and the Greek migrants in Denmark. Anthony Gorman discusses the challenges that Greeks faced in Egypt since 1945 and the range of options available to them after Nasser's rise to power. Iakovos Michailidis examines the economic and political consequences for Greece of the exodus of Slav Macedonian refugees in the 1940s, their settlement abroad and the impact of the Slav Macedonian refugee factor on diplomatic relations between Greece and Eastern bloc countries. Anastasia Christou explores how the multiple identities of Greek migrants in Denmark are shaped by and constructed through their spatial and cultural encounters in both home and host countries. Identification processes are linked with a state of migrancy and develop across temporal and spatial contexts that convey the transitional nature of the migration phenomenon.

The second section of Part I concentrates on issues of integration and naturalisation, the attitude of the Greek state towards diaspora Greeks and migrants, and the role of the Greek-American lobby. Elpida Vogli argues that the openness of Greek laws and policies towards ethnic Greeks was connected to Greek irredentism and nationalism. Dimitris Christopoulos reviews Greek policies on nationality throughout the twentieth century and examines the recent trends in Greek legislation pertaining to acquisition of nationality and human rights. Lina Venturas concludes the examination of the policies of the Greek state by focusing on the period 1974–2001. She considers international developments, changes in Greek foreign policy and terminology regarding Greeks abroad as well as the setting up of new institutions such as 'The World Council of Hellenes Abroad' in 1995. Alexander Kitroeff examines the activities of the Greek-American lobby at the end of the twentieth century and more generally ethnic lobbying in American politics in an age of transnationalism.

The chapters in Part II look at travel writing, diaspora writers, literary production in Eastern Europe by political exiles, the representation of migrants in fiction and film, and finally popular culture in the diaspora communities. Dimitris Tziovas's chapter discusses the travel narratives by diaspora Greeks during the period 1880–1930 and outlines the range of attitudes they adopted towards their native land. Their texts show that there is no unified perspective among diaspora Greeks on their country and highlight their ambiguous status as both outsiders and insiders. Alexander Kazamias analyses Greek-Egyptian literary production and the two cultural perspectives on Egyptian-Greekness developed in relation to Greek identity, the Egyptian experience and British colonialism in Egypt, which broadly speaking can be characterised as 'pro-European' and 'anti-colonialist'. Eleni Papargyriou's contribution looks at the work of Stratis Tsirkas, whose trilogy *Drifting Cities* (1959–65) and subsequent novel *Lost Spring* (1976) are largely informed by the notions of exile, diaspora and repatriation. Tsirkas's move from Alexandria to Athens is used as a subtext that permeates the sequence of

his novelistic output, while geography, culture and politics are identified as three key aspects in the transition. In his contribution Gerasimus Katsan argues that it is the sense of being resigned to the exilic situation and the realisation of the final ‘impossibility of return’ that leads to a sense of acceptance on the part of the exile, creating new bonds to the place of exile and a feeling of strangeness as regards the homeland. His contribution explores the ramifications of these processes and the problem of return in the work of several post-war authors, including Dimitris Chatzis and Alki Zei, while taking Mimika Kranaki’s *Philhellenes* as his main focus for interpretation. Venetia Apostolidou explores the considerable literary and semi-literary output produced by the Greek political exiles in Eastern Europe. She investigates the conditions and the constraints under which the political exiles produced their work and negotiated the trauma of their political defeat and exile.

The next two chapters focus on the ‘comeback’ in Greece of the Greek-American writer Nicolas Calas and on contemporary Greek-American writing. Lena Hoff examines the comeback of Nikitas Randos/Nicolas Calas as a Greek poet in the 1960s after his departure from Greece in 1937 first for Paris and then for New York, and focuses on his critique of Greek society and Greekness. Her contribution traces a connection between the poet of the past (Nikitas Randos) and the poet of the present (Nicolas Calas) and discusses issues of identity, memory and critical detachment. Martha Klironomos explores the fictional output of second- and third-generation Greek-American authors since the early 1990s. She identifies a recurrent trope that has surfaced in this corpus of writing and is often identified as the Greek ancestral village.

The last two chapters of the book turn their attention to film and popular culture. Dimitris Papanikolaou analyses the complex relationship between narratives about members of the Greek diaspora returning to Greece and representations of new immigrants to Greece in the 1990s. His contribution focuses on the two most acclaimed recent Greek films on immigration: *Eternity and a Day* by Theo Angelopoulos and *From the Edge of the City* by Constantine Giannaris (both released in 1998). Angelopoulos and Giannaris both expose and mediate the tensions and inconsistencies evident in the reception of new immigrants to Greece, albeit taking different viewpoints. Stathis Gauntlett concludes this section and the volume by outlining how Melbourne became one of the acknowledged global centres of rebetika (‘arguably the artistic genre of Greek migration and diaspora par excellence’) and illustrating the ways in which the genre has been used in diaspora identity politics.

The examination of key aspects of migration to and from Greece, of the political or institutional treatment of migrants and of the representation of territorial displacements in various cultural forms, make this volume both wide-ranging and multi-disciplinary, thus hopefully appealing to a wide variety of readers, researchers and academics. There was no space to explore here the impact of satellite television, the internet or other new technologies and globalisation on diaspora and migrant identities, but this could be the theme of another volume.

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