A Qualitative Investigation of the Impact of Migration and Culture on the Social and Emotional Well-being of First Generation Greek Immigrants Ageing in Australia

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Abstract

First-generation Greek immigrants in Australia are among a cohort of older immigrants who have been found to experience higher levels of depression and anxiety when compared to Anglo Australians (Kiropoulos, Klimidis & Minas, 2004). Although Kiropoulos et al. (2004) have indicated that much of the variance in symptoms between Greek-born older adults and those of the general community may be attributed to social, economic and health conditions, these factors do not entirely explain or remove the effects of 'culture' and 'immigrant status'. Studies that have investigated depression and anxiety in older Greek-born immigrants have largely utilised quantitative methodologies which were limited in being able to further explore the impact of migration and culture on their social and emotional well-being. The present research project aims to adopt a qualitative approach to investigate culturally specific conceptualisations of social and emotional well-being from the perspective of older Greek immigrants in Australia and will attempt to uncover how this may be related to their subjective experience of migration, personal and cultural identity, and the ageing process.

The first part of the present study attempted to explore the nature of cultural identity of members of the first generation of Greek migrants living within a South Australian community. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher in the Greek language to examine identity constructions and relationship to the country of origin (Greece) and adopted homeland (Australia). Interviews were conducted with 16 Greek-born immigrants to Australia with ages ranging from 70 to 85 years. Six males and ten females were interviewed and these were supplemented by the administration of the Greek version of the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS). The results of the GDS showed a mean score of expressed depressive ideation below the level of clinical significance for the total group of participants, as well as for males and females separately; however, males scored, on average, slightly higher than the females. The results of the MAS indicated a relatively low level of acculturation for both males and females, with females scoring, on average, slightly higher than

males. The results showed particularly that all participants preferred to speak Greek both at home and socially, but regretted their inability to learn English.

An inductive thematic analysis of the interview data revealed that only a minority of the participants embraced a hybrid or Australian identity. The majority assumed a mono-ethnic identity as 'Greek', and this was attributed to Greek as their spoken language and almost exclusive socialisation within the Greek community. While a number of participants were unable to relinquish their strong identification with Greece as their 'patrida' or 'motherland', others expressed feelings of estrangement and of being treated like a foreigner ('xenos') when in Greece. The sense of a double loss and of feeling displaced both within their country of birth and their adopted homeland is discussed within the context of research that examines the relationship between a sense of identity, belonging and psychological well-being when one is ageing 'out of place'.

Although older Greek migrants constitute the second largest established minority group in Australia, they have largely been overlooked in research examining concepts of 'successful ageing' or 'ageing well'. The second part of this study examined perceptions of ageing, sense of well-being, and needs in later life among members of the first generation of Greek migrants living within a South Australian community. An inductive thematic analysis of data from 16 in-depth interviews with Greek-born immigrants revealed that the perception of ageing is significantly influenced by, for example, family closeness and interconnectedness; the level and quality of social support; a sense of security; an acceptance of the ageing process as 'preordained fate' or 'God's will'; maintaining a positive outlook; and health of the self and the family as paramount and integral to well-being. The most reported concerns and fears expressed included a loss of physical independence or cognitive functioning; not being able to speak English; remaining alone and coping with loneliness; not becoming a burden on their adult children in the event of incapacitation; managing finances on the Age Pension; and the prospect of being placed in a nursing home. While elements of this study resonate with concepts of ageing well, as encapsulated by Rowe and Kahn's (1997) model of successful ageing, it has also illuminated culturally specific concepts of ageing

well. Hence, this study can contribute not only to conceptual debates regarding the assumptions of the universal applicability of conceptualisations of 'ageing well', but can also progress our understanding of how this cohort of Greek migrants have adapted to the ageing process.

Thesis Declaration

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Dedication

The inspiration for this research was borne first and foremost out of love and dedication to my parents, Andonis and Katina Kyriakoulakos. They are themselves Greek immigrants of the first generation who migrated to Australia during the early 1960s. It is through their love, care and sacrifice that I have learnt what is most important in life: family, kindness, selflessness, generosity, perseverance, humility and respect.

This thesis is also dedicated to the members of the Greek Community who have given generously of their time to make this study possible. They were central to my endeavour to bring to light the enormity of their migratory journey and to lend voice to their experiences as they are ageing in their adopted motherland, Australia. Their stories have filled me with awe and respect for all that they have endured and sacrificed to pave the way for their children, the members of the second generation, and beyond.

Glossary

GREEK	PHONETIC SPELLING	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Ανησυχία	Anisychia	Agitation/ worry
Νεύρα	Nevra	Nerves, Anxiety, Stress
Καφενιο	Kafenio	Café
Μάτιασμα	Matiasma	Evil Eye
Αγχος	Angkos	Anxiety
Πρόςφύγια	Prosphygia	Forced exile
Θλίψη/ Κατάθλιψη	Thlipsi /Katathlipsi	Sadness, Depression
Μοίρα	Moira	Fate, Destiny
Ξενιτια	Xenitia	'Foreign Land'
Πατρίδα	Patrida	Ancestral Homeland
Ξένος	Xenos	Foreigner, Stranger
Ξενομανία	Xenomania	Favouring Foreigners
Μητριά	Mitria	Step-Mother
Μητέρα	Mitera	Mother
'Καλά γεράματα'	'Kala Yeramata'	'A Good Old Age'
Εὐθανασία	Euthanasia	Euthanasia
Ἀναστασία	Anastasia	Resurrection
Καλος θανατος	Kalos Thanatos	A Good Death
Τύχη	Tyche	Chance, Fate
Γερουσία	Gerousia	A Council of Elders
Ψυχοσάββατο	Psycho-Sabbato	All Souls Saturday
Όχι	Ochi	'No' Day
Τέλος	Télos	The End
Χάρων	Charon	Death
Χαροπαλεβω	Charopalevo	Struggle with Charon
Στενοχωρία	Stenochoria	Anguish, distress.

Introductory Overview

Background

The present research focuses on the social and emotional well-being of Greek migrants of the first generation, the factors that influence their well-being, and their experiences of ageing within a South Australian community. In Australia, Greek migrants constitute the second largest group of older persons of a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background who migrated after World War II. As such, they represent an important cohort of the Australian population who may be said to be ageing 'out of place' or in a place outside of their country of origin. This study focuses on their conceptualisation and experience of identity and belonging, as well as their understanding of what it means to age well and a sense of 'homeness' or being at home. This is explored within the context of a shifting relationship both to their country of origin (Greece) and their adopted homeland (Australia) as they enter the latter stage of their life.

The current introductory overview begins by discussing the changing demographics that have been brought about by migration trends and associated issues that pertain to the changing composition of the ageing population both nationally and internationally. It provides an overview of the issues facing the ageing population in Australia with a specific focus on research that has examined empirical evidence of the prevalence of comorbidities among established migrant groups in Australia**.** It concludes with a specific focus on research examining empirical evidence that suggests high psychological morbidity rates among members of the first generation of Greek migrants in Australia.

A *Review of Australian research on older people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds,* conducted in 2015 by the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA), has found that the ageing of established migrant group populations is increasing at a faster rate than that of the general population (FECCA, 2015). This is due to immigration patterns in Australia which saw a large influx of people from Italy, Poland, Germany and Greece arriving

during the post-World War II period. For example, according to the Australian Greek Welfare Society (AGWS) Annual Report of 2014-2015 there has been a steady flow of Greek immigrants to Australia since the turn of the 20th Century (AGWS, 2014). However, the report noted that it was not until the post-World War II period that larger numbers of Greek-born people began arriving in Australia, with the population having reached its peak during 1971. The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW, 2018; Gibson, Braun, Benham & Mason, 2001) Report on *Projections of older immigrants: people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, 1996-2026,* states that trends in Australian immigration have indicated that in 2011, the older population (defined as persons aged 65 and over) from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds was 17.8 per cent of the total older Australian population. By 2026, it is projected to be 22.5 per cent of the total older Australian population and that persons born in Italy will constitute the largest group of older people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (CALD), followed by persons born in Greece, Germany, the Netherlands, and China. This means that Greece is ranked second place as the next most common country of origin for older immigrants from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in Australia. Moreover, the projections for 2026 indicate that Italy and Greece will continue to rank as the first and second largest groups of older people of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in Australia (AIHW, 2018; FECCA, 2015; Gibson et al., 2001).

Prevailing assumptions about the relatively successful integration of established migrant groups within mainstream society can render invisible the level of need that exists within these communities (Kirmayer et al., 2011; Low et al., 2009; Stuart, Klimidis & Minas, 1998). The AGWS submission to the Productivity Commission Inquiry (AGWS, 2010) highlights a number of social determinants which place the ageing Greek population at risk of developing psychological disorders such as depression and anxiety. For example, it is estimated that more than 75 per cent of Greek immigrants who arrived in Australia between 1947 and 1971 became employed as unskilled labourers, process workers and machine operators (AGWS, 2010). This largely reflects the fact that

Greek-born immigrants came from agricultural/ farming/ rural backgrounds with little opportunity to receive a formal education. The level of English language proficiency within the Greek-born population remains very low, with 34.4 per cent rating their proficiency in spoken English as 'Not well' or 'Not at all' (AGWS, 2010). As a result of working in largely physically demanding occupations, health problems in later life, such as the propensity to suffer from diabetes, cardiovascular and musculo-skeletal conditions, compound the vulnerability of this group. Poor health literacy due to education and language barriers and a strong belief in the power of the medical profession results in a tendency to demonstrate a passive response to health and an over-reliance on medications (AGWS, 2010).

While comprehensive general population statistics exist, statistics on the prevalence of mental health disorders among older CALD communities are less reliable. Difficulties in measuring prevalence rates relates to, for example, the lack of cultural equivalence in constructs of mental health; the consequent lack of culturally validated measures and assessment procedures for people of CALD backgrounds; and differences in idioms of distress between cultures which may affect presentations and help-seeking behaviour. These difficulties often result in a higher probability that misdiagnoses will occur (Andary, Stolk & Klimidis, 2003b; Kirmayer & Young, 1998; Livingston & Sembhi, 2003). There is, however, increasing evidence that migration and ageing play a significant role in mental health (Kuo, Chong & Joseph, 2008; Minas, Klimidis, Ranieri & Stuart 2008). For example, there is a higher rate of mental health disorders among those who do not have English language proficiency (Low et al., 2009; Pate, 2014). The Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria Inc. (ECCV, 2011) indicates that fewer people from ethnic communities accessed mental health services than those of the general population. However, more people from non-English speaking backgrounds were admitted to acute inpatient units involuntarily, with higher proportions being diagnosed with psychosis who were generally older and less educated than the general population (ECCV, 2011). Further indication of the prevalence of mental health disorders amongst the CALD community comes from McDonald and Steel (1997). This study found that males of

non-English speaking background (NESB) aged 75+ years had suicide rates that were 65.6 per cent higher than the general community and NESB females had suicide rates that were 177 per cent higher than the general community. These statistics are alarming and point to significantly higher levels of depression and anxiety among immigrants aged 65 years and over and is particularly concentrated amongst older CALD men and women who migrated to Australia late in their lives (Lynch, Compton, Mendelson, Robins & Krishnan, 2000; Mui & Kang, 2006; Pate, 2014).

Livingston and Sembhi (2003, p. 31) contend that awareness of immigrant groups is important not only to enable the development of culturally appropriate provision of services, but also because immigrant status may hold clues as to the aetiology and presentation of psychological distress. Ethnic elders are particularly vulnerable to depression because of risk factors such as socio-economic background; migration circumstances; language and communication barriers; a lack of social support; and the increasing health needs that come with advancing age (Livingston & Sembhi, 2003, p. 34; Menezes, Georgiades & Boyle, 2011). Additional difficulties in accessing existing support within the mainstream mental health service relates not only to language barriers, but also differences in the conceptualisation and manifestation of psychological distress across cultures and the level of stigma attached to 'mental health disorders' (FECCA, 2011; Klimidis, McKenzie, Lewis & Minas, 2000; Zogalis, 2008). These factors will be examined in more detail below.

The Present Research

The emergent literature examining the prevalence of psychological morbidity among older Greek and Italian immigrants in Australia has generally found higher levels of depression and anxiety among these groups. This was concomitant with poorer health status when compared to their Anglo-Australian counterparts (Kiropoulos et al., 2012; Kiropoulos, Klimidis & Minas, 2004; Stanaway et al., 2010). Kiropoulos et al. (2004) found that first-generation Greek immigrants in Australia are among a cohort of elderly immigrants who experience higher levels of depression and

anxiety as manifested in higher scores on measures of anxiety and depression when compared to Anglo Australians. The findings of quantitative research that has emanated from the Victorian Transcultural Psychiatry Unit by Kiropoulos et al. (2004) indicated that elderly Greek-born residents experience higher levels of depression and anxiety than Anglo-Australian residents on measures such as the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-2) and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI). Although much of the variance between the groups was accounted for by factors such as ill-health, higher levels of stress and low educational and occupational levels, there remained additional variance to symptomatology which raised the possibility that 'culture' and other immigrant factors may have contributed to the symptomatic differences between the groups.

The findings of a more recent study by Kiropoulos et al. (2012) amplifies the direct consequences of higher levels of depression and anxiety among older Greek immigrants by demonstrating that it is one of the most significant factors that poses a greater risk of developing coronary heart disease (CHD) and other morbidities. Similarly, a study examining depressive symptoms in older male Italian-born immigrants in Australia found almost twice the prevalence of depression when compared to Australian-born men aged 70 years and over (Stanaway et al., 2010). This study found that higher levels of depression among Italian-born men was associated with increased reliance on the aged pension as the sole source of income, and a lower level of satisfaction with existing social supports (Stanaway et al., 2010).

Aims and Research Questions

To the researcher's knowledge, few studies have employed qualitative approaches to examine the impact of culture and migration on the social and emotional well-being of older Greek immigrants in Australia. The studies by Kiropoulos et al. (2012), Kiropoulos et al. (2004) and Stanaway et al. (2010) presented empirical evidence which have established that there are higher rates of anxiety and depression among older Greek and Italian immigrants in Australia. Moreover, these rates were associated with low educational and occupational levels, low current financial status and lower

satisfaction with existing levels of social support. This will become an ever-pressing issue given the current and projected proportion of older immigrants of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in the Australian community.

Although there has been limited qualitative research in this area in Australia, qualitative studies have been conducted by Lock and Wakewich-Dunk (1990) and Loizos and Constantinou (2007) with first-generation Greek immigrants living in Canada and Greek Cypriot refugees living in Cyprus who had become displaced within their own country. In so doing, they were able to demonstrate the power and utility of these approaches in being able to generate insights into the participants' experiences of forced migration and how this impacted on their sense of identity and well-being. This in turn raises the question of whether a qualitative approach to the research design may be more effective in uncovering and analysing 'culture' and the migratory experience both as a contextual domain and how that is represented and manifested at the level of the individual. The current study will attempt to answer the question of how older Greek migrants define and construct their sense of well-being and how their experiences as an older immigrant living in Australia has impacted on their personal and cultural identity and sense of well-being.

The current research will focus on the following questions:

a) What are the experiences of older Greek immigrants as they are ageing in the migrant diaspora in Australia?
b) How do older Greek migrants define and construct their sense of well-being?
c) How have their experiences as an older immigrant living in Australia impacted on their personal and cultural identity and sense of well-being?

The objectives of the current research will be to:

1. Obtain an account of how older Greek immigrants narrate their experiences as migrants and how this has impacted on their sense of identity and social and emotional well-being.

2. Develop an understanding of what psychological and emotional well-being means from the perspective of older Greek immigrants.

It is hoped that this will facilitate an understanding of:

- How older Greek immigrants narrate their experiences of having migrated to Australia, including how this has impacted on their sense of identity, both in terms of their relationship to their country of origin and to their adopted homeland (i.e. Australia) and how it has impacted on their sense of well-being.
- How levels of English language proficiency and degrees of acculturation influence the cultural identity of first-generation Greek-born immigrants.
- How culturally specific understandings of social and emotional well-being develop among older Greek immigrants, including the exploration of belief systems concerning the aetiology and amelioration of psychological/ emotional distress, adjustment to the ageing process and concepts of ageing well.

Research Significance and Contribution

The significance of this research can be understood within the context of a rapidly ageing population and the increasing proportion of persons of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds who comprise the older population, among whom Greek immigrants constitute the second largest group. It is therefore becoming crucial to consider the needs of an increasingly diverse older population in terms of culturally sensitive and appropriate mental health service provision, of which Greek immigrants represent a significant majority.

The literature suggests that there is a dearth of qualitative research examining the role of language, culture, and identity and how this may interrelate with the social and emotional well-being of elderly Greek immigrants in Australia. Research indicates that older Greek immigrants are among a cohort of first-generation immigrants who experience higher levels of depression and anxiety as manifested in higher suicide rates when compared to Anglo-Australians. The topic is

therefore of social relevance and concern and points to the need to better understand and develop culturally responsive psychotherapeutic approaches and services to address the needs of older Greek immigrants (Bhui & Morgan, 2007; Kanitsaki, 2003; Klimidis et al., 2000)

There appear to be few studies that have systematically canvassed the views of CALD seniors about their aspirations for ageing well and the type of support that they need to age well within their cultural context. It appears that most studies have been carried out using quantitative methodologies that have identified the likely prevalence of mental health disorders among CALD seniors. However, fewer studies appear to have explored cultural conceptualisations of social and emotional well-being, culturally specific explanatory models of depression and anxiety, and cultural understandings of mental health aetiology and interventions that are specific to this group (Clark, 1989; Csordas & Harwood, 1994). Lock and Wakewich-Dunk (1990) demonstrate that their use of in-depth open-ended interviews with first-generation Greek immigrants residing in Montreal enabled them to gain a better understanding of the value systems of their participants; that is, causal attributions in regard to health problems, family relationships, working conditions, religious beliefs and ideas about the location of responsibility for the preservation of health.

This research also aims to give voice to first-generation Greek citizens by enabling an opportunity to articulate their perspective and understanding of what psychological social and emotional well-being means. As the interviews will be conducted in the native language of the participants by the researcher who is fluent in the Greek language and a member of the Greek community, this will potentially provide a rich source of data to elucidate cultural differences in conceptualisations of psychological and emotional well-being and notions of what it means to ‘age well’. There are very few studies of the Greek diaspora that have been conducted using the native language of the participants by a researcher who is proficient in the use of that language. This is significant given that a large proportion of first-generation Greek immigrants do not have a high level of proficiency in the use of the English language. The present researcher is able to confirm that those who do speak English often express a preference to communicate in their native language

when given a choice. The researcher's ability to speak the native language of the participants affords the ability to more readily enter the participants' assumptive world and make connections that enables access to the understanding of the cultural idioms of expression and metaphors that would otherwise be difficult to comprehend. This is because there is often not a one-to-one correspondence of meanings or linguistic equivalence of mental health concepts from one language to another. The study conducted by Stanaway et al. (2010, p. 161) which examined the factors that contributed to higher levels of depression among older Italian immigrants indicated that the use of English in all of the assessments that were conducted may have resulted in an underestimation of the presence of depressive symptoms within this group. This is on account of the lack of accord between the Italian and English version of the Geriatric Depression Scale: "with the Italian version more likely to find depressive symptoms in Italian born men." In turn, the study lends further weight to the validity of research that is conducted using the native language of the participants.

Owing to high levels of stigma associated with psychological and psychiatric disorders among CALD communities, many people from a CALD background experience considerable barriers in being able to express their social, psychological and emotional needs (Andary et al., 2003b; Ziguras, Klimidis, Lewis & Stuart, 2003). Terminology used is often problematic within cross-cultural contexts due to the lack of linguistic and cultural equivalence in the meaning of mental health concepts, cultural differences in idioms of distress and in the conceptualisation and manifestation of psychological distress (FECCA, July 2011; Kirmayer & Young, 1998). For example, in many collectivistic cultures, as is true for the Greek culture, there are linguistic and cultural differences in concepts of depression and anxiety which can often be used metaphorically to connote the embodiment or somatisation of psychological distress. While the terms 'άγχος' (Angkos) and 'κατάθλιψη' (Katathlipsi) may be regarded as semantically equivalent to the English terms 'anxiety' and 'depression' respectively, such terminology has not entered the lexicon or lay discourse that is commonly used by members of the first generation of Greek migrants in Australia. This is because the vast majority of Greeks who migrated to Australia during the post-World War II

period have not acquired more than a basic conversational (albeit functional) command of the Greek language due to the lack of educational opportunities in rural Greece. Older Greek migrants of the first generation are more likely to use terms such as 'Στενοχωρία' ('stenochoria') or 'Νεύρα ('nevra') to express anxiety states. Other words and expressions that can be found in the contemporary Greek vernacular that are commonly used by older Greek migrants to convey states of anxiety or stress include: 'Ανησυχία' (Anisychia), or a state of worry and distress and 'my nerves have been broken' and carry the notion that such states have become somatised through the nervous system (Clark, 1989; Dunk, 1989). The somatisation of psychological distress is not uncommon among persons of collectivistic cultures, with a number of studies citing differences in the experience and manifestation of psychological distress across cultures (Andary et al., 2003b; Livingston & Sembhi, 2003; Lock & Wakewich-Dunk, 1990; Loizos & Constantinou, 2007;). A qualitative study conducted by Loizos and Constantinou (2007, pp. 99-102) among displaced Greek Cypriot refugees in Cyprus, for example, found that these refugees tended to attribute deaths within their community to 'the refugee condition', which was encapsulated by the use of the words 'prosphygia' (i.e. forced exile) and 'angkos' (i.e. anxiety and stress). Similarly, expressions for depression within the Greek language cannot be fully understood outside of the context in which it occurs. Words such as 'thlipsis' and 'marazi' were used by the Cypriot refugees in this study to convey a deep sadness and grief upon being forced to leave their village (Loizos & Constantinou, 2007, p. 101).

Furthermore, concepts such as 'rehabilitation', 'carer' and 'volunteer' do not exist in the Greek language. Difficulties in defining terms or in finding equivalent terms can therefore be attributed to varying cultural perceptions of ageing, mental health, frailty and dementia and the contexts in which they occur. It follows that Western perceptions of cultural behaviour and mental illness do not easily align with diverse cultural perceptions of behaviour and manifestations of psychological distress such as sadness, anger, depression and grief. International studies on war trauma in Afghanistan and post-tsunami Sri Lanka, for example, revealed that there were many

psychological reactions that were not easily subsumed within existing classificatory systems such as the DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) (Watters, 2010a). Understandings of mental health are heavily dominated by a bio-medical model of mental illness and a universal classificatory system with underlying universalistic assumptions about the nature of mental disorders across cultures. There is an increasing level of concern about the promotion and uncritical acceptance of Western notions of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder and other mental health disorders, driven to a large extent by multi-national pharmaceutical companies (Watters, 2010a). Given that there is a higher use of medication by people from culturally diverse background, this is particularly problematic given the deleterious effect of psychotropic medications with older persons (O'Donnell, 2019; Watters, 2010b).

Therefore, further research is required on cross-cultural manifestations of depression and anxiety among older persons of CALD backgrounds and the healthcare systems in which they find themselves. Thus far, the literature indicates that further local Australian research is required on culturally distinct expressions and local idioms of emotional/psychological distress among the older CALD community. In particular, there needs to be further recognition of how migration has impacted on mental health and well-being within established migrant communities, as much of the literature has tended to focus on older Asian immigrants within international contexts (Kuo et al., 2008; Mui & Kang, 2006). Studies on chronic disease and acculturation indicate that a fragmented identity and a lack of English language skills are linked to the onset of depression. For example, the most recent study by Kiropoulos et al. (2012) has indicated that the risk of developing coronary heart disease among Greek-born immigrants in Australia was associated with strong and consistent links between higher degrees of depression and anxiety due to social isolation, cultural and linguistic barriers, and lower socio-economic status. This further highlights the urgency of developing flexible and culturally appropriate interventions which target the need for preventative measures within this group using their first language and at a level which can be readily understood (Kiropoulos et al., 2012).

Research Structure: Overview of the Present Research

The present research is divided into six chapters. The introductory overview introduces the present research on Greek immigrants ageing in Australia, their identity constructions, their concepts of ageing well and needs in later life. It also outlines the aims and objectives of the present research and explains its significance and contribution. Chapters 1 and 2 present the *Literature Review in Parts I and II* respectively and provide an overview of the related literature that has informed the aims of the present investigation. Firstly, Chapter 1 *Literature Review Part I: 'Acculturation, Identity and Belonging'* provides a review of the literature that relates to theorisations of identity, commencing with an introduction to the concept of acculturation. It draws on Berry's Acculturation Model (1997, 2003, 2005) that provides a framework within which to examine levels of acculturation among Greek migrants of the first generation. By employing a qualitative methodological approach to complement the use of the Marin Acculturation Scale, it expands on Berry's Acculturation Model by exploring the function of ethno-cultural identity as an independent construct. It is suggested that this paves the way for an expansion of research that investigates ethno-cultural identity conflicts using a cognitive assessment of adaptive outcomes to complement the predominantly behavioural indicators that are most commonly used in acculturation research (Ward, 2008). Secondly, Chapter 2, *Literature Review Part II: 'Migration, Mental Health and "Ageing Well"',* begins by discussing the influx of Greek migrants within the context of post-World War II migration and the resultant increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of the ageing population in Australia with a specific focus on the characteristics of Greek immigrants in Australia. This is followed by an overview of the literature that examines the relationship between migration and mental health. Specifically, it focuses on emergent literature that examines evidence that relates to the prevalence of psychological morbidity among older Greek migrants in Australia. It then concludes with a model based on notions of 'successful ageing' or 'ageing well' in order to contextualise the present research. Chapter 3 on *Methodology* provides the theoretical framework and methods that were used to conduct the present research. It includes the use of Narrative Inquiry

as the guiding theoretical framework within which in-depth interviews were conducted, and the use of an inductive thematic analysis to extract the main overarching themes and sub-themes that emerged from the interview data. Chapter 4, *Cultural Identity and Psychological Well-Being of Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia***,** discusses the nature of cultural identity of members of the first generation of Greek migrants living within a South Australian community. It presents interview data from semi-structured in-depth interviews that were conducted by the researcher in the Greek language. It examines Greek migrant identity constructions and their relationship both to their country of origin (Greece) and their adopted homeland (Australia). The chapter includes an interpretation and discussion of the main findings based on a qualitative interpretation of the interview data, including a brief overview of the results of the scales that were used to supplement the in-depth interviews. Chapter 5, *Concepts of Ageing Well among Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia,* discusses the emergent themes relating to concepts of 'ageing well', perceptions of ageing, sense of well-being, and needs in later life among members of the first generation of Greek migrants living within a South Australian community. Chapter 6, *Discussion and Conclusion*, provides an extended in-depth discussion and interpretation of the main themes and sub-themes that have emerged from the data corpus. This chapter ends by discussing the implications of this type of research and its potential applicability to related research and future directions.

Chapter 1: Literature Review Part 1: Acculturation, Identity and Belonging

1.1 Preface

The following chapter reviews the literature that relates to theorisations of identity and is explored within the context of why identity, belonging and a sense of home matters to a migrant community that is ageing 'out of place' or in a country other than their place of origin. The role of language and acculturation and its impact on the values of Greek immigrants ageing in Australia is discussed within this context.

1.2 Acculturation, Identity and Belonging among Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia

1.2.1 Theories of Acculturation

Acculturation is generally defined as the cultural adaptation of immigrants to the host or mainstream society into which they migrate and refers to the process in which one cultural group adopts the beliefs and behaviours of another group (Berry, 1997 & 2003). Berry developed the best known model of acculturation in which he proposed that host culture acquisition and culture of origin retention were conceptualised as independent dimensions. According to Berry's acculturation model, these two dimensions intersect to create four acculturation categories, vis., *Assimilation* (adopts the host culture and rejects the culture of origin); *Separation* (rejects the host culture and retains the culture of origin); *Integration* (adopts the host culture and retains the culture of origin) and *Marginalisation* (rejects both the host culture and the culture of origin). However, Berry's model has been criticised for failing to take into account the fluidity and complexity of this process. In addition, subsequent research has indicated that not all of these categories may exist in a given sample or population (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010).

Acculturation became an increasing focus for research in Psychology during the 1970s. An extended definition of acculturation was proposed to include psychological factors as contributing variables to acculturation. It also underlined the importance of choices that an immigrant makes

about which components of their own culture they wish to keep and which components of the host culture they wish to adopt (Berry, 2005; Padilla & Perez, 2003). Correspondingly, research began to focus on dimensionality and directionality or the direction in which the change occurs, with the assumption that all immigrants move from their culture of origin to that of the host or mainstream culture. With regard to dimensionality, the research began to expand on whether acculturation occurs in a continuum or along two separate dimensions (Berry, 2003 & 2005).

To this end, a number of theorists have attempted to redefine the process of acculturation since the 1970s. Triandis (1993 & 1997) has proposed to expand Berry's model to include many of the known dimensions of cultural variation. Triandis (1988 & 1997) has been the main proponent of the *individualistic vs collectivistic* dimension of understanding cultural differences. Triandis (1997) has proposed that individuals from a culture that may be characterised as 'individualistic' 'egalitarian' or 'loose' are likely to have more difficulties in adjusting to a culture that is 'hierarchical', 'collectivistic' and 'tight' than those who come from a similarly oriented culture. Since the 1960s, a period when many countries opened their borders to a diverse array of migrants, many people from Latin America, Asia and the Middle East – regions where collectivistic value orientations are held (i.e. cultural values that place an emphasis on the well-being of the family, the clan, the nation or religion) – have settled primarily in regions such as North America, Europe and Australia. These are regions where the cultures are more individualistic in orientation, resulting in discrepancies between the cultural values of many migrants and the countries that are receiving them. Hence Triandis (1997) suggested that to better understand acculturation processes, it is necessary to take into account the value orientations underpinning the cultures from which the migrants themselves originated and how this interacts with the host culture into which they settle. More broadly, the interactional context in which acculturation occurs needs to be better understood. This includes the characteristics of the migrants themselves, their socio-economic status, and their fluency in the language of the host country (Kuo, 2014). In this regard, Triandis (1997) argues that ethnicity, culture and language are an integral aspect of the process of acculturation and migrant

reception. The role of language is particularly important in that it remains at the basis of ethnic and cultural identity and is one among a number of important factors that are associated with the acculturation process (Schwartz et al., 2010). Many studies have independently illustrated that a strong cultural identity is correlated with a higher quality of life and is often regarded as a stronger indicator of psychological well-being (Tsemberis & Orfanos, 1999; Utsey, Chae, Brown & Kelly, 2002). Ward (2008) states that long-term acculturative change has been demonstrated to occur along two distinctive dimensions; namely, at both (a) the psychological and (b) the socio-cultural level. Psychological adaptation is usually conceptualised within a stress and coping framework and is commonly examined by scales that measure life satisfaction, well-being, and the absence of depression. Sociocultural adaptation on the other hand, involves the quantification of behavioural responses to acculturation. By adopting a qualitative approach to study the relationship between levels of acculturation and identity, the present study transcends the attempt to categorise the changes that may occur along these dimensions (Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart & Kus, 2010). It instead provides nuanced and richly textured accounts that examine the relationship between an individual's cultural identity and how this intersects with their levels of acculturation and well-being.

In summary, the literature suggests that the process of acculturation is complex, difficult to measure, and unable to demonstrate a clear correlation between levels of acculturation and psychological well-being (Ward, 2013). Moreover, a positive relationship between levels of ethnic identity has been associated with better adaptation to the mainstream culture (Phinney, 1990; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). The following section will explore theorisations of cultural identity and the significance and role that adherence to a strong cultural identity plays in the well-being of Greek immigrants ageing in Australia.

1.2.2 A Global Identity Crisis?

There is currently much conjecture and debate regarding the emergence of an 'identity crisis' at a global level prompting considerable soul searching (Gobel, Benet-Martinez, Mesquita & Uskul, 2018; Herzfeld, 2013). To a large extent this is driven by a deep-seated angst for the future as security, identity, sovereignty and belonging are perceived to have become increasingly threatened by the impact of globalisation, de-territorialisation and a changing global economy (Lianos, Bozatzis, Dobré & Vicsek, 1999). The question of identity, what it means, how it defines the sense of the self and its relationship to our sense of belonging are existential questions that have long been the subject of extensive research (Hall & Du Gay, 1996).

Hall and Du Gay (1996) and Papastergiadis (2013) assert that the phenomenon of globalisation and de-territorialisation of the 'nation state' has resulted in a corresponding fragmentation of the human subject and a universal 'crisis' of identity. The question of what is meant by a 'crisis of identity', how it is manifested, and what are the potential consequences, can be explored at both a national level and at an individual cultural level. The focus of the current chapter will be to examine those aspects of identity at the individual and cultural level that relate to a sense of belonging and of that relating to the distinctiveness of an ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and national culture.

1.2.3 Cross-Disciplinary Theorisations of Identity

Hall's (1996) argument is framed within a wider debate which claims that modern identities are being de-stabilised and fragmented as a result of the process of globalisation. Theorists who make this claim generally argue that it is the structural changes that are occurring within societies across the globe that are fundamentally transforming our personal identities, both from the places that we see ourselves as belonging to, as well as within ourselves as individuals (Anthias, 1998 & 2001; Hammack, 2008).

The 'Enlightenment subject' conceptualisation of identity as self-contained and unitary has been extended by the sociological conceptualisation of 'the self' as developing in relation to and in

interaction with 'significant others' (Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Hammack, 2008; Singer, 2004). Hall (1996) argues that as societal structures are shifting and changing, this has correspondingly resulted in the fragmentation and de-stabilisation of a subjective identity which no longer has the same structures or pillars upon which to anchor itself. Hence, the 'post-modern' subject is no longer conceptualised as fixed, essential or permanent, but may assume: "different identities at different times" (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p. 277). These identities may be multiple, contradictory, or shifting with time. Consequently, identity is no longer something that we have: it is a process within a shifting dynamic. The sense of personhood and coherence as embodied within the concept of an identity is not a given, but is constructed by the individual to make sense of themselves as an agent interacting with the outside world: "If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or 'narrative of the self' about ourselves" (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p. 277). Furthermore, it is argued that the process of both de-centring and de-stabilising traditionally coherent identities does not necessarily have negative consequences; rather, it opens up the possibility that new or multiple identities may be formed (Hall, 1996).

1.2.4 Narrative Identity

Narrative identity has been examined from the perspective of a range of disciplines. These include some sub-specialities within Psychology as well as across disciplines as diverse as anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and literature (Hammack, 2008; Singer 2004). In Psychology, narrative identity is located within the sub-discipline of personality theory. It focuses on how people understand themselves at multiple levels according to their gender, ethnicity, class, culture and life stage (Singer, 2004). Central to the concern of this approach is understanding how people's identity is formed: such as, through the meaning that is ascribed to significant life events and experiences; through the telling of their life stories; and how these stories are applied to a knowledge of themselves and others (Crossley, 2000). Singer (2004) and Crossley (2000) propose that adopting a developmental perspective to the formation of identity enables an understanding that our ability to construct a narrative and to make meaning of our lives evolves and changes across the various

phases of our lifespan. Singer (2004) suggests that the events of a particular period during the lifespan that is, in turn, critical to the developmental phase of that period is most likely to be recalled in the telling of one's story. Hence, narrative identity is shaped by and "remains sensitive to developmental crises throughout our lives" (Crossley, 2000; Singer, 2004, p. 447).

Hammack (2008) presents a tripartite model of identity that integrates cognitive, social and cultural levels of analysis. Within this model, identity is conceptualised as an ideology that is articulated through a personal narrative which is constructed and reconstructed through social interaction over the course of a lifetime. This model also allows for an examination of the relationship between personal narratives and master narratives of identity using ethnographic and idiographic methods (Hammack, 2008).

Such an approach, whilst privileging individual narratives, also attempts to integrate a range of perspectives that examines the relationship between culture and the individual (Fivush, Habermas, Waters & Zaman, 2011; Hammack, 2008). Identity is conceptualised in terms of its content structure and process within a framework that allows for an analysis of the relationship between culture and identity. Hammack (2008) argues that a narrative approach to the study of identity departs from traditional approaches within personality and social psychology. For instance, it separates personal identity from broader conceptualisations of culture and hence it allows for an exploration of individual lives in context.

According to the discipline of cultural psychology, it is recognised that within cultures that are said to be characterised by interdependence and collectivism as opposed to independence and individualism, notions of selfhood or identity are generally constructed in relational terms rather than in distinctively unique or atomistic terms (Triandis 1993 & 1997). However, there have been a number of criticisms that have been levelled at this dichotomous characterisation on the grounds that it relies on antiquated notions of culture and of culture as a homogenising influence (Anthias, 1998; Hammack, 2008). Culture itself has been viewed as a concept that is contestable and traditional approaches within cultural psychology have tended to reify intracultural similarities and

intercultural differences (Hammack, 2008). Hence a number of theorists have emphasised the need to reformulate the relationship between a culture and an individual that "assumes a 'bottom up approach' through extensive study of individual experience in cultural context" (Hammack, 2008, p. 230). Bruner (1990, p. 16) states that a culturally sensitive psychology must focus "not only upon what people actually do, but what they say they do and what they say caused them to do what they said".

When identity is conceptualised as an individual narrative, it allows the stories of the national identity and of struggles, suffering and resilience to become incorporated into the story of an individual while at the same time infusing their own personal experiences with that of their collective identity (Bruner, 1994). It is argued that an identity is always constructed relative to 'the other'. This becomes particularly apparent in the face of intergroup marginalisation, threat or political conflict between nations (Bozatzis, 2009; Christopoulos, 2009; Sapountzis et al., 2006; Triandafyllidou, 1998). Hence identity must also be theorised "in terms that possess social significance beyond an individual's internalization of some social 'sentiment'" (Hammack, 2008, p. 234).

1.2.5 A Transnational Identity Within the Migrant Diaspora

Anthias (1998) explores the heuristic potential of the notion of 'diaspora' given its emphasis on de-territorialisation within a transnational global context. The study argues that the notion of the diaspora affords greater flexibility in exploring identities that are less bound by the concepts of nation, race and ethnicity that enables a greater focus on transnational and dynamic processes that can elucidate difference and diversity within an ethnic group and hence lends itself to explorations of the hybridity of cultures as well as how gender and class may intersect within a particular ethnic group. The potency of the notion of 'diaspora' is that it moves beyond ethnicity and race paradigms which implicitly contain static and essentialised notions of racial and ethnic identities.

In so doing, Anthias (1998) entertains the concept of a new identity that is constructed on a global scale which crosses national borders and boundaries. Differences in the reasons for migration, the historical circumstances that led to migration and the different countries of destination are central questions that need to be explored in order to elucidate the differences within and between diaspora communities. Hence the focus of any analysis must be on the extent to which a community has formed different collective representations of the group within local conditions. It is suggested that attachment to the homeland in terms of national feeling and the continued interest in the homeland calls for "a nationalism from afar" which may account for the tendency for many migrants to preserve their traditions as they were within their homeland before they migrated (Anthias, 1998, p. 564). The diaspora is conceptualised as a condition rather than being descriptive of a group as it is the result of a group that has moved from its place of origin to a place of settlement. For this reason, it is a place where cultural differences may have resulted in the formation of a syncretic or hybrid identity. As a result, it is suggested that the destabilising effects of these cultural influences may be explored as well as the formation of new identities that may have been forged as a result of these differences. The idea of the 'nation state' is therefore destabilised and subverted by the new links and allegiances to the adopted nation and members of the diaspora may no longer adhere to autochthonous claims to the homeland: "identity becomes more syncretic: British born Cypriots, Australian Greeks, British Blacks, Muslims and Asians, German Jews, Russian Jews, Armenian Jews, American Italians and so on" (Anthias, 1998, p. 566).

Anthias (1998) simultaneously cautions against the automatic assumption that the migrant diaspora will in time develop a transnational identity and divest itself of national pride and ethnic specificity. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the members of the Greek migrant diaspora are just as likely to exhibit nationalistic fervour and pride in relation to vexed political issues to match those of their original homeland or nation-state compatriots; for example, in relation to the Turkish occupation of Cyprus. It is within such a theoretical framework that subsequent studies by Christou (2006a & 2009a) and Evergeti (2006) have situated their studies of

the narratives of return migrant Greek Americans of the second generation and Greek migrants living in Britain. This enabled the development of further insights into their identity constructions and the transformation of their identities in relation to the changing nature of a sense of belonging both to their ancestral homeland and to that of their adopted homeland.

1.3 Cultural/ Ethnic Identity within the Greek Diaspora

There appears to be a dearth of research examining the 'cultural' or 'ethnic' identity of first-generation Greek immigrants within Australia. Much of the existing research focuses on dimensions of identity pertaining to the second and third generation of Greek migrants within a Canadian and Euro-American context (Alexiou, 1993; Christou, 2006a, 2006b & 2006c; Constantinou, 1999; Evergeti, 2006; Lock, 1990; Lock & Wakewich-Dunk, 1990; Panagakos, 1998). Within the empirical literature, studies can be found that have adopted an operationalised definition of a 'cultural and ethnic identity' using measures of the degree of assimilation and acculturation of Greek migrants of diasporic communities across the globe. These studies have highlighted some of the most salient and distinctive features of a cultural identity of the first and second generations of Greek migrants in the United States of America, Canada, and Australia. The main findings of these studies are outlined as follows.

1.3.1 Findings of Research on the Cultural Identity of Greek Migrants in the United States of America

Alexiou (1993) undertook a survey using measures of assimilation in a sample of three cohorts of Greek Americans within the New York metropolitan area. Of these, 24 per cent were of the "immigrant population" (in the current study, this is referred to as the 'first generation'); 60 per cent of the "first generation", vis., (in the current study, this is referred to as the 'second generation'); and 14 per cent of the "second and third generation" (in the current study, this is referred to as the 'third and fourth generation' respectively). The degree of 'cultural assimilation' was measured by

dimensions such as level of education, language use, friends and co-workers. 'Structural assimilation' was measured by income and occupation, neighbourhood composition and participation in formal ethnic organisations. The most salient and relevant findings of this study as it relates to immigrants of the first generation was that of distinctive differences between successive generations on a number of dimensions. Specifically, as a group, the "immigrant generation" ('first generation') reported a higher percentage of their acquaintances as being Greek; 20 per cent reported that their co-workers were Greek as opposed to only 4 per cent of successive generations; they reported living in neighbourhoods with a higher concentration of Greeks compared to members of the "first or second generations"; and 61 per cent reported having attended Greek school. Hence the "immigrant" or "first generation" were found to have the strongest cultural attachment to their Greek identity and culture of origin as indicated by language use, attachment to a cohesive ethnic community and higher levels of Greek nationalism (Alexiou, 1993, pp. 44-45).

Constantinou (1999) has also contributed to empirical studies on Greek migrants across three generations within an American context using multivariate statistical methods to uncover the underlying themes pertaining to their ethnic identity. Specifically, Constantinou (1999) focuses on a Greek migrant community in north-eastern Ohio in which a large cross-section of migrants from a number of regions of Greece were represented. The way in which ethnic identity is manifested within this community constitutes the empirical part of the study, with the second part involving an examination of the way in which ethnic identity may have changed across three generations of Greek Americans (Constantinou, 1999).

Using a factor analysis on a sample of 448 returned questionnaires that sought information regarding a participant's formal and informal ethnic life, Constantinou (1999) found that three dominant themes emerged. These related to the importance of language, the role of the church and church affiliated organisations, and a continued interest in Greek politics as being the most fundamental and integral aspects of the Greek American ethnic identity. Inter-generational differences emerged with respect to the use of the Greek language and interest in Greek politics.

However, continuity was found across the three generations pertaining to the continued interest in aspects of the culture, of which attachment to friends and relatives was a central and important part, leading Constantinou (1999) to conclude that whilst the process of assimilation is evident across generations, significant attachment to core aspects of Greek identity proved to be enduring. Importantly, Constantinou (1999, p. 115) reiterates that the first generation of Greek Americans (referred to as the "immigrant generation") differ sharply from subsequent generations in their adherence to the language aspect of their cultural identity.

1.3.2 Findings of Research on the Cultural Identity of Greek Migrants in Canada

Panagakos (1998 & 2003) argues that the advent of new technologies has enabled the continuity and reinforcement of the Greek identity through the mobilisation of diasporic communities to contribute to and influence governmental policy on issues pertaining to the plight of Greeks in Greece and in national debates concerning the economic crisis, territorial disputes and sovereignty. Panagakos (2003) thereby contests the paradigmatic notion that diasporic communities are at risk of disappearing through assimilation with each successive generation. Panagakos (2003) contends that Greeks of the diaspora are able to unite with other Greeks on a global scale through the use of media and new technologies, thereby rekindling and forging a continued bond to the homeland as well as to other diasporic communities around the world.

In Canada, Greek communities were able to preserve and maintain their ethnic identities by reproducing institutions that were familiar to them from the homeland. Examples include the Greek Orthodox Church, Greek language schools, Greek dance lessons, Greek Sunday school and brotherhood communities from the various regional sectors of the Greek community (Christou, 2009a; Evergeti, 2006; Lock, 1990; Panagakos, 2003). Greek women of the first generation are usually designated the role of being the caretakers of the community (Chryssanthopoulou, 2009; Dubisch, 1995). They volunteer their assistance to charitable organisations and their respective communities through the Greek Orthodox Church. The men, on the other hand, hold the formal

power as priests and the decision makers (Lock, 1990; Lock & Wakewich-Dunk, 1990; Panagakos, 2003). While Greek communities in Canada continue to be organised around a Greek Orthodox Church and a community centre, it is argued that new technologies such as satellite TV, the Internet and emails are creating a new outlet for the continuation and expression of a Greek identity on a global scale. Moreover, it is argued that such new technologies afford the opportunity for members of the Greek community to develop stronger links to their ancestral homeland and forge ties to other diasporic communities all over the world. However, Panagakos (2003) concluded that, based on her findings, these expressions of identity are best understood along a continuum from the virtual to the concrete and their realisation is largely dependent on differences in generation, gender and class.

It has been found that in Canada, as members of the first generation grow older, significant demographic and cultural shifts have begun to occur (Gavaki, 2009). These shifts are manifested in changes in the use and retention of the Greek language, levels of education, social class and upward mobility of the second generation and their corresponding consumption of new technologies. It is argued that these inter-generational transformations may be seen as simultaneously signalling the dissolution and resurrection of Greek ethnicity in the diaspora and that it is within this liminal space that the Greeks of today are "reconfiguring what it means to be Greek in the twenty first century" (Panagakos, 2003, p. 204).

Panagakos (2003) found that the cultural impact of higher levels of education among the second generation compared to the first generation of Greek immigrants is becoming evident in the types of social and recreational activities in which they are engaging. For example, members of the first generation have remained largely confined within their local communities, given their limited English language skills, despite the fact that most had been living in Canada for more than 30 years: "The social worlds of immigrant women revolved around home life and raising children, visiting with Greek friends and participating in the Hellenic Community of Calgary and District (HCCD)" (Panagakos, 2003, p. 204). However, it is primarily the members of the second generation who have the means and the know how to take advantage of these technologies, particularly with regard to use

of the internet. Members of the first generation, however, are more likely to use satellite television and radio as the main mediums through which to keep in touch with the events of their homeland. Indeed, these research findings have confirmed that "while only 15% of second or third generation respondents claimed to watch Greek satellite television, over 54% of first-generation immigrants were viewers" (Panagakos, 2003, p. 210). This disparity can be explained by the fact that most members of the first generation do not have sufficient proficiency in the English language or the technological knowledge to be able to access or take advantage of technologies such as the internet. The power of satellite TV, in bringing members of the first generation closer to their homelands, was described as 'startling' given the many years that the majority had been living within their host societies for a period that often exceeded 40 years. It was also remarked that many of the Greek women interviewed were not considered to be well integrated into Canadian society owing to their lack of English language skills and exclusive socialisation with other Greek women. Consequently, this amplified the potentially unifying influence that such a medium can have both within the community and as members of the transnational diaspora.

1.3.3 Findings of Research on the Cultural Identity of Greek Migrants in Australia

Damousi (2013 & 2015) uses two in-depth interviews to illustrate how the narratives of Greek migrants' memories and their experiences of World War II/ Civil War in Greece prior to their arrival in Australia have been reconstructed to forge new identities as migrants who were effectively forced to leave a significant part of their identity behind. Damousi (2013) examines how Greek migrant narratives of the first generation have in turn shaped not only their individual memories of the war itself, but also how the associated emotions and memories of the war have intersected and transferred inter-generationally into an identity of what it means to be 'Greek' in Australia. It is through the perspective of members of the second generation that Damousi (2013, pp. 14-17) examines the paradoxical impact of the narratives of 'noise' and the narratives of 'silence' (i.e. the contradictory urge found among some survivors of trauma of the "need to tell their stories" and the "need to forget") among members of the first generation. The study considers how

these narratives have, in turn, fundamentally shaped and defined an identity that is understood as distinctively 'Greek' for subsequent generations within an Australian context (Wiseman [2006] in Damousi 2013, p. 18). One of the participants of Damousi's study, a member of the second generation whose parents were born in Greece, describes in poignant detail how his parents' stories of the war and their deep suppression of war-related traumas and memories became transmuted into a stern silence and reproach which, in turn, shaped his experiences of what it meant to be Greek:

> My father's silence, his intensity, the intensity of his emotion is scary. My mother's vulnerability … Both of equivalent intensities; both compelling, both really compelling; both expecting of me that level of recognition and contact, emotional engagement … very primal … the degree to which I am framed by that history … It permeates me … It's woven into me; my sense of who I am … so profoundly that I am intensely emotional about it … I am Greek … I am nothing but Greek … I am not Australian. The reason I am not Australian is that … in the most profound influences, the deepest influences, the really emotional formation has been drawn from my relation to my mother and my father and the presence of their history. (in Damousi, 2013, p. 15).

This study is unique within the research that has been conducted of the Greek diaspora in Australia. It focuses on how emotions interact with memories of the war among members of the first generation using a qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews to examine the main themes of the transmission, formation, social inclusion and dislocation of Greek identity from the first to the second generation.

Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) conducted a comparative study of the ethnicity and ethnic identity of Greek, Italian and Anglo-Australian adolescents. They used a self-report scale and an interview to measure ethnic identity, family and social relations, community, positive emotional involvement, religion, language, and identification with the homeland. For the purposes of their study, Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) define ethnic identity as the internalisation of the values and traditions of a particular ethnic culture into a sense of the self. Consistent with the conceptualisation of identity provided by Triandafyllidou (1998), Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) contend that the

definition of an ethnic identity assumes greater clarity and strength when it is understood in relative terms or in relation to an out-group. Additionally, a broader definition of identity was adopted which encompassed the multidimensionality of identity beyond the primacy of language, such as cultural background, religion, physical appearance and family characteristics. The development of a positive association with one's ethnic identity was thought to be correlated with the societal context within which an ethnic minority lives, and the extent to which they have been able to establish a system of familiar institutions and a cohesive community from which to derive support and positive identification (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). Indeed, a number of researchers have identified the three pillars of Greek identity as being the family, the church and the community (Alexiou, 1993; Constantinou, 1999; Panagakos, 2003).

Although Rosenthal and Hrynevich's (1985) study focused on Greek-Australian adolescents, and hence, by definition, members of the second generation, they found that language continued to assume importance as a factor that defined their social categorisation and distinctiveness, notwithstanding the fact that all of the participants were fluent in the English language (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). Both Italian-Australian and Greek-Australian adolescents identified traditional food, religious celebrations and identification with the culture of their parents as further elements that defined their distinctiveness as an ethnic cultural group. These factors contributed to a strong awareness of the boundaries between their in-groups and out-groups (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). However, some additional differentiating factors were found for the Greek-Australians that were not present within the Italian-Australian groups. These included pride in cultural background and cultural separateness which were thought of in positive rather than negative terms (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). Interestingly, they attributed this to a greater institutional cohesiveness within the Greek community resulting in a greater positive identification with their community. The same study found correspondingly higher scores on measures of self-image and psychosocial development among Greek adolescents when compared to Italian-Australian adolescents. In this

respect, it represents one of the studies that found a positive correlation between ethnic identity and well-being.

A more recent study conducted by Georgiades (2010 & 2014) of Greek migrants in Australia found that, among other factors, cultural pride in Greek identity continues to remain strong among Greek-born members of the first generation as manifested in the maintenance of Greek customs and traditions, an emphasis on family values, and an adherence to the Greek Orthodox Christian faith. Similarly, Avgoulas and Fanany (2013b & 2014; Avgoulas, 2016) have undertaken a qualitative study to examine the transmission of health beliefs and practices of Greek migrants across three generations. Avgoulas and Fanany (2013b & 2014; Avgoulas, 2016) argue that the Greek community has maintained traditional beliefs and practices that constitute a 'memory culture' that has been transmitted to successive generations and may impact on conceptualisations of health, health behaviour and the corresponding utilisation of health services in Australia. These culturally accepted belief systems often depart from accepted norms and scientifically validated procedures within the medical profession. However, they are representative of an accumulation of culturally specific wisdom that has become culturally embedded and drawn upon to guide the beliefs and practices of the Greek migrant community.

Avgoulas (2016, p. 6) argues that the Greek culture that has been imported by the 'immigrant generation' (or first generation) of migrants can be characterised as 'traditional'. Given that the Greek culture has traditionally been patriarchal, it is generally the expectation that females will carry the predominant role of caring for family members in times of ill health. Consequently, the transmission of health beliefs between grandmothers, mothers and daughters is of paramount importance. It was noted that members of the Greek immigrant (or first-generation) population in Australia have not only retained a strong attachment to Greece as their 'patrida', but this has also been transmitted to successive generations of Greeks within Australia. While a sense of "not belonging" has been acutely experienced by members of the first generation from the time that they immigrated to Australia, Avgoulas and Fanany (2013b) argue that a sense of 'confusion of identity'

continues to be experienced by members of successive generations. However, this is a generalisation that does not take into account the degree to which attachment to homeland and sense of belonging can be mediated by a number of variables, including an individual's level of acculturation, adaptation, language acquisition, their degree of satisfaction with family relationships and their experiences of ageing.

Avgoulas and Fanany (2015) also maintain that relative to other minority cultures, the Greek culture has been able to maintain greater cohesiveness. This is despite the mitigating or corrosive influences of some individuals' early experiences of discrimination and the formation of a 'dual identity' or 'bicultural identity' as is evident in members of the second generation of Greek migrants in particular. It is argued that this greater level of continuity is attributed to the degree of veneration that is generally held of the Greek culture and language by the society at large, and the fact that the Greek community is well established. In addition, it can be ascribed to the institutional support afforded by the Greek community itself which has enabled the teaching of the Greek language and is considered to be one of the key markers in maintaining community identity.

Avgoulas and Fanany (2012b & 2013a) assert that Greek people have in general been taught not to question their religious faith and that the family structure has also remained very traditional. The persistence of the belief in the 'evil eye' as continuing to hold explanatory power within the belief system of elders with regard to the affliction of ill health and the belief in 'chicken soup' as a cure all or remedy for all ills were cited as examples of the adherence of traditional belief systems rooted in rural Greece (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2012b). This simplistic overgeneralisation risks essentialising a culture and its members when not nuanced with examples of individual case studies that speak to a diversity of beliefs held by different individuals within that culture. However, given that these studies are suggestive of a general positive correlation between ethnic identity and psychological well-being in Greek Australian adolescents, it is important to further explore to what extent this is generalisable to Greek migrants of the first generation as they are ageing in Australia.

1.4 Summary

The present chapter provides the foundation for the conceptual framework for the current research relating to theorisations of identity and belonging and why it matters for the social and psychological well-being of older persons of established migrant groups and of the Greek migrant community in particular. Despite many decades of living in Australia, it is noteworthy that Greek migrants have maintained a strong cultural identity through institutions such as the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek School to enable the maintenance and knowledge of the Greek language and culture This, in turn, highlights the importance that Greek cultural identity and identification with the Greek culture has in the conceptualisation of the self and the community (Alexiou, 1993; Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013b; Constantinou, 1999; Panagakos, 2003). It has been argued that this is not necessarily indicative of the degree to which Greek migrants of the first generation have become well integrated within the host country into which they have migrated. In fact, the literature suggests that the process of acculturation is complex and difficult to measure without being able to demonstrate a clear correlation between levels of acculturation and psychological well-being. In fact, a growing number of researchers in the acculturation field have emphasised the need to differentiate between psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Ward et al., 2010). It has been suggested that the universalistic assumptions that are inherent within acculturation models need to be extended to explore how acculturation differs within varying contexts such as between different cultures and ethnic communities, within the family, and within the national context. For example, the Berry Acculturation Model postulates that a bicultural integration of ethnic communities within the host society is generally most conducive to healthy adaptation and is thought to mediate between acculturation and well-being (Berry, 1992). Psychological difficulties in adaptation have been shown to increase during the initial phases of immigration when the minority culture differs significantly from that of the host or dominant culture, and are then thought to decrease over time post arrival. However, the literature suggests that these assumptions cannot be held for Greek immigrants of the first generation as they are ageing in a country in which they continue to depend

on family support due to language and cultural barriers that continue to be experienced many years post arrival. Furthermore, it is argued that the vertical transmission of cultural traditions and beliefs assumes greater importance than the horizontal transmission of knowledge or that which is transmitted between peers. This is thought to be due to the greater value that Greek culture places on the role of the family and family relations during the formative years (Morse & Messimeri-Kianidis, 2002). The next chapter provides an overview of the literature that relates to the relationship between migration and mental health. It presents a model based on notions of successful ageing in order to provide a basis as to how this might align with notions of 'a good old age' as conceptualised by Greek immigrants themselves.

Chapter 2: Literature Review Part II: Migration, Mental Health and 'Ageing Well'

2.1 Preface

The following chapter provides an overview of the literature that relates to the relationship between migration and mental health. It begins by providing an overview of the specific circumstances that led to the Greek migrant diaspora. It then examines the factors that impact on the social and emotional well-being of migrants in general, such as language and cultural barriers, the impact of immigration and acculturation, social support and health needs. This is followed by a focus on research that has examined empirical evidence that suggests significant psychological morbidity rates among members of the first generation of Greek migrants in Australia. While it is beyond the scope of the present study to be able to comprehensively review the literature on the relationship between migration and mental health, the following section will provide a brief overview of the research that examines the various factors that have an impact on the mental health and well-being of immigrants. It will then focus specifically on the research that has been conducted on the psychological impact of migration within the Greek immigrant diaspora. This chapter concludes with a review of the literature on 'ageing-well' and how this aligns with notions of 'a good old age'. This will provide the basis from which to explore how this is conceptualised by the Greek immigrants who were interviewed by the researcher of the current study and are presented in Chapter 5 on: 'Concepts of Ageing Well among Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia'.

2.2 Migration Circumstances of the Greek Migrant Diaspora

Migrants commonly migrate for economic, political and educational betterment. The Greek migrant population in Australia is largely composed of immigrants of a rural background who emigrated between 1941 and 1975 (Damousi, 2015; Lock & Wakewich-Dunk, 1990; Tamis, 2005). After the Nazi occupation of Greece during World War II, Greece saw numerous changes of government between 1944 and 1975, culminating in the rise of the military junta between 1967 and 1975 (Clogg, 2013). The turmoil and economic hardship created by the level of political instability within

Greece during this period caused substantial economic hardship and loss of land for a large proportion of the rural population (Kalyvas, 2015). This forced many of them to migrate to Australia, the United States of America, Canada and Germany where they became predominantly employed in unskilled labour (Australian Greek Welfare Society, July 2010; Lock & Wakewich-Dunk, 1990).

2.2.3 Greek Migration to Australia

Prior to 1829, Australia remained unknown to Greeks. However, people of Greek origin started to arrive from 1829 in steadily increasing numbers. By 1974, it is estimated that approximately 300,000 had immigrated and settled in Australia. Early Greek settlement to Australia within the period of 1829 to 1880 was largely sporadic and mainly included sailors, pirates, and fortune seekers who were tempted by the gold rush. Among the first wave of Greek immigrants were seven sailors who were convicted of piracy by a British naval court and were sentenced to transportation to New South Wales. The majority of Greek migrants had settled in New South Wales and Victoria. Some were said to have actively participated in the 1854 Eureka Stockade rebellion at Sovereign Hill of Ballarat to protest against the oppressive working conditions and taxes that had been imposed upon them by British colonial rule (Tamis, 2005, p. 31).

Until 1965, Greek immigration to Australia was male dominated, with the Victorian Census of 1871 recording 127 males and 19 females born in Greece. These pioneer Greeks were mostly illiterate bachelors who worked under strenuous conditions in mining camps and as peddlers in urban centres, porters on the wharves and in unskilled agricultural and seasonal work. Some had decided to settle, married local women and became small farmers and graziers. A few had decided to settle permanently, having realised that there were more opportunities to prosper in Australia than there was back in their native homeland. The early migrants predominantly came from Greek islands such as Kastellorizo, Ithaca, Samos and Cyprus (Tamis 2005).

During the interwar period, the number of Greek settlers in Australia increased dramatically due to the mass exodus of Greeks that resulted from the Greco-Turkish War, with new waves of Greeks coming from Asia Minor, Macedonia and the Peloponnese. However, despite the population increase, the new arrivals encountered difficulties in being able to find employment in the major urban centres and were compelled to look for work in rural areas, often in exploitative and harsh conditions. Many were said to have found the starkness of the host country, the difficulties of surviving in the bush and the tyranny of distance from their native homeland, along with the cultural and linguistic barriers that they inevitably encountered, to have contributed to an acute sense of social isolation and alienation. This experience is perhaps best encapsulated by the use of the term: 'xenitia', a term which is commonly used by Greek migrants to connote a state of being exiled into a foreign land. Such hardships inevitably affected their physical and mental health, particularly as it became increasingly difficult to be able to finance a return to their native homeland.

As Greece entered World War II (WW II) following the invasion of Italian forces which led to the Nazi occupation, many soldiers of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACs) tried to help the nation to defeat the Axis enemy. During the course of the war, particularly notable during the Battle of Crete, the Cretans forged lifelong relationships with Australian diggers who fought valiantly alongside them, fed them and shielded them from the onslaught of attacks by the German paratroopers (Hill, 2010). The months following the end of WWII saw a massive surge of immigrants that was unprecedented in Australia's history up until that point in time (Damousi, 2015). An ambitious program of immigration was undertaken by the then Curtin Labor government, followed by the Chifley administration with a view to increasing its population of 7 million. This was propelled by Australia's involvement in the war in South East Asia and by the Japanese attacks in New Guinea and Darwin which brought to bear the realisation that Australia was vastly under-resourced to be able to defend itself. The imperative to increase the population and boost the economy led to the decision to take in many more migrants in order to provide labour for new

industries. During the period of 1901 to 1940, the majority of migrants to Australia were from the United Kingdom, with the 1947 census revealing that just under one-tenth of Australians were born overseas (Damousi, 2015). However, this was to change dramatically when 2.5 million people arrived in Australia from across Europe. During this intake, the composition of immigrants was more diverse, with 12,000 Baltic refugees, 180,000 from Eastern Europe, 50,000 from Southern Europe, 34,000 from Northern Europe and 7,000 from Asia (Damousi, 2015). The establishment of the Immigration Department in 1945 with Arthur Calwell as its first Minister resulted in the signing of agreements with participating countries which included Malta, Italy and Greece. The relevant agreement with Greece was signed in 1952 after which 250,000 people from Greece and Cyprus arrived from 1952 to 1974.

After the changes in Greece from the mid-1970s, including the fall of the Papadopoulos regime of 1974 and the formal inclusion of Greece into the European Union, Greek immigration to Australia has slowed since its peak in 1971. Within Australia, Greek immigrants have been well organised socially and politically, with an estimated 600 Greek organisations having been established by 1973 as a means of maintaining their faith and cultural identity.

2.3 The Impact of Migration on Mental Health

There is now a substantial body of literature on the impact of migration on mental health. For example, Jayasuriya, Sang and Fielding (1992) examine the relationship between ethnicity and mental health in order to evaluate the adequacy and effectiveness of mental health policies and services for immigrants and ethnic minority groups in Australia. Gonçalves, Pachana and Byrne (2011) found that Generalized Anxiety Disorder (GAD) is highly prevalent in community-residing older adults and is strongly associated with functional limitations, psychiatric comorbidity and increased medication intake. Lastly, Close et al. (2016) provides a recent systematic review of the mental health and well-being of first-generation migrants and found that they may be at increased risk of mental illness due to risk factors such as low Gross National Product in the host country,

downward social mobility, country of origin, and host country. The researchers contend that public health policy must account for this and influencing factors and point to the need for high quality research in the area using culturally specific validated measurement tools for assessing migrant mental health (Close et al., 2016). Bhugra and Jones (2001) distinguish between the 'macro' and the 'micro' factors in migration. The macro factors relate to the preparation to migrate, the acceptance of new immigrants into the host community and the process of migration itself. The micro factors include personality traits, psychological robustness, cultural identity and social support. Bhugra and Jones (2001) propose that phases of migration, interlinked with significant life events and chronic difficulties, personal factors and relational factors such as social support and cultural identity, must be considered separately and continually. Bhugra and Jones (2001) contend that during the first phase of migration, psychological distress will be different from that experienced at a later date. They suggest that post migration assimilation, acceptance and 'de-culturation' can be the most destructive for the individual (Bhugra & Jones, 2001). Furthermore, Bhugra and Jones (2001) suggest that experiences of insidious ongoing discrimination or racism that some refugees or migrants may experience can be particularly pathogenic in producing various psychiatric conditions. If this is combined with paucity of support and other protective factors, the risk of heightened psychological distress will increase (Bhugra & Jones, 2001; Kirmayer et al. 2011; Livingston & Sembhi, 2003; Menezes et al. 2011). The present study will focus on the ageing of Greek immigrants in Australia who migrated during early adulthood and have, on average, lived in Australia between 30 and 50+ years.

2.4 Language and Communication

Research generally indicates that an immigrants' ability to learn the language of the host society can influence their social integration in as much as it can determine the degree to which a person can interact with members of the broader community and participate within mainstream society (Diwan, 2008; Dolk, 1985; Holeva, 2004). A study by Kim et al. (2011) conducted in the United States found that a significant contributor to immigrant vulnerability, apart from immigrant status and

socio-economic background, was English language proficiency. Individuals with limited English as a second language (ESL) have been reported to have greater vulnerability to poorer health status and this was in a large part due to a tendency not to seek care in a consistent service setting, resulting in receiving less preventative health care (Kim et al., 2011 Kiropoulos, Griffiths & Blashki, 2011; Klimidis et al., 2000; Stuart et al., 1998).

The study conducted by Kim et al. (2011) set out to explore the extent to which older immigrants varying in ESL proficiency residing in the United States differed with respect to their risk of developing physical and mental health problems due to difficulties in accessing services. Respondents who self-identified as either 'Latinos' and Asian immigrants aged 60 years and over and born outside of the United States were selected. The findings provided strong evidence indicating that limited ESL proficiency was associated with a greater risk of poor physical and mental health outcomes and inadequate health care in older immigrants. Older adults with limited ESL proficiency were much more likely to rate their health as poor and reported higher levels of psychological distress than those who had better ESL proficiency (Kim et al., 2011). However, it was found that ESL proficiency was not significantly associated with reported chronic disease, with the researchers arguing that this was possibly reflective of differing thresholds in reporting psychological distress, with higher degrees of pessimism evident in persons with low ESL proficiency (Kim et al., 2011). As was predicted, older immigrants with poor ESL skills were also found to experience barriers in accessing healthcare services. These difficulties included problems in being able to understand doctors and reading instructions on medication prescriptions. Given that older immigrants with low ESL proficiency were also generally less educated with limited literacy in their native languages, the researchers concluded that limited literacy in general could have additionally contributed to the vulnerability of this group (Kim et al., 2011). These studies, in turn, demonstrate that the degree to which a person may become acculturated within the host or dominant culture is largely influenced by their ESL proficiency, as this enables access to the culture at large.

One of the central factors in facilitating the process of cultural integration is the extent to which a migrant or refugee is able to gain proficiency in the host language to which they migrate. Research among Sudanese and Bhutanese refugees settling in Australia and the United States has identified strong associations between English language proficiency and adaptation, alongside factors such as higher socio-economic status, perceived social support, and adaptive coping styles (Lumley, Katsikitis & Statham, 2018). 'Acculturative stress' refers to experiences of psychological strain and distress as a result of poor adaptation. Lumley et al. (2018) concluded that Bhutanese refugees are best helped by offering them access to learning the English language, enabling access to opportunities for education and employment, and increasing their access to treatment for depression and anxiety.

2.5 The Impact of Immigration and Acculturation

Over the past 20 years, research has increasingly focused on the relationship between ethnic identity, acculturation and psychological well-being. These studies have attempted to isolate different stages of ethnic identity and acculturation strategies that would lead to more positive psychological outcomes. For example, Berry's (1992, 2003) model of acculturation has shown that inclusion in different cultures is related to positive psychological well-being. In this regard, Berry's integration category, which is often also referred to as *biculturalism,* is often associated with the most positive psychological outcomes given that migrants in this category tend to be better adjusted and better able to integrate competing aspects of the competing cultures to which they are exposed. This, in turn, is determined in part by the degree of similarity between the migrants' culture of origin and the host culture into which they migrate. However, a number of studies have since yielded contradictory findings, with some studies suggesting that acculturation strategies such as assimilation and integration account for about 4 per cent of the variance in psychological well-being and about 3 per cent of the variance in life satisfaction (Sam, 2000). Similarly, many large epidemiological studies using unidimensional markers of acculturation, such as years spent in the host country and language use, reported that higher degrees of acculturation resulted in poorer

health outcomes, a phenomenon that has come to be known as “the immigrant paradox” (Schwartz et al., 2010, p. 243). Therefore, with respect to the relationship between acculturation and well-being, the results are tenuous and inconsistent.

Relatively little is known about the diversity in patterns of social integration among older first-generation immigrants and how this relates to their social and emotional well-being. Diwan (2008) set about investigating the relationship between levels of acculturation and social and emotional well-being among Asian Indian (sub-continent) immigrants in the United States. As Asian Indian immigrants are a relatively diverse community in terms of levels of education, socio-economic status and religious affiliation compared to other minority immigrant groups, Diwan (2008) postulated that those with limited ESL skills would likely differ in their social networks and social participation than those with ESL proficiency within this community. Diwan (2008) also hypothesised that levels of depression within the two samples are likely to be influenced by the different patterns of social integration, with those having limited ESL proficiency more likely to develop depressive symptoms than their English-speaking counterparts.

Diwan (2008) found significant differences between the two groups in terms of demographic characteristics. For example, elders with limited ESL proficiency tended to be older, less educated, are more likely to live with adult children, have shorter residency in the United States, and rate their health as poorer compared to the English-speaking sample within this community. Also confirming the first hypothesis, Diwan (2008) found that elders with limited ESL proficiency were less likely to have a well-developed social support network nearby and were more reliant on family members and ethnic community organisations to remain socially connected. However, no significant relationship between social integration and depressive symptoms were found. Hence, the findings on the relationship between acculturation and depressive symptoms were not consistent or uniform (Tsemberis & Orfanos, 1999; Ward, 2013). Diwan (2008) cites a study by Gonzalez, Haan and Hinton (2001), who note that maintaining a traditional ethnic identity can be both a risk factor and a resource in terms of its impact on well-being. Diwan (2008) additionally indicates that previous

research among elderly Asian immigrants in the United States has shown that a less traditional and more bicultural ethnic identity was associated with less depressive symptoms.

Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou and Efklides (1989) and Triandis (1989) have postulated that the extent to which a culture of origin is similar to the host culture will determine the ease or difficulty of the adaptation or acculturation of members of a migrant culture of origin. They administered measures of cultural values to a sample of Greek-born (G), Greek-Australian (GA) (i.e. second-generation Australian-born children of Greek immigrants), and Anglo-Australians (AA). The study canvassed their views on questions regarding child rearing, values that are considered important to their culture, and appropriate parental roles and behaviours. Rosenthal et al. (1989) found evidence to suggest that Greek and Australian cultures differ considerably on a number of dimensions. One of the main differences related to the dimension of individualism and collectivism which has been identified as a common differentiating factor between cultures in some cross-cultural studies conducted by Hofstede and Triandis (in Rosenthal et al., 1989, p. 59). Traditional Greek culture was found to be more collectivistic in its orientation. In other words, it places an emphasis on the in-group and the achievement of that group as a being of central importance. However, the Anglo-Australian culture was found to place more of an emphasis on individualism; namely, individual achievement and the significance of individual needs.

Rosenthal et al. (1989) argued that given that most Greek families in Australia have come from rural agricultural backgrounds, it can be expected that they would retain the traditional values of their rural counterparts in Greece. Furthermore, they argued that they have preserved a 'fossilised' or static if not, often romanticised, version of the culture that they left behind at the time of their departure (Rosenthal et al., 1989). The findings of the study supported the claim that "Australians and traditional Greeks emphasize different values" (Rosenthal et al., 1989, p. 67). There was an overlap between value clusters for both Greek-Australian (GA) and Greek samples (G). This overlap suggests that these values are an important and unchanging set of principles that are transmitted inter-generationally after migration and many years of settlement in the host culture.

In other words, there was an emphasis on collectivistic values such as "a focus on family, on being respected and respectable members of their community and a concern for their cultural heritage … typical of rural, working-class Greeks" (Rosenthal et al., 1989, p. 67).

2.6 Social Support

Much of the international research on elderly immigrants has shown that social integration has a significantly salutary influence on social and emotional well-being (SEWB) (Diwan, 2008). Empirical studies in the United States and in Europe have linked patterns of social integration to mental health outcomes. For example, networks that are local (family, friends and involvement in community groups) are associated with a lower risk of developing depression than networks that do not have family and friends nearby. However, the quality of the relationships within the network was shown to be the significant variable that was impacting on well-being rather than the structural characteristics of the network on its own (Diwan, 2008; Stanaway et al., 2011). Hence, while limited ESL proficiency, declining health, and changes in social networks through the process of immigration itself were shown to be important barriers to social integration and well-being among older immigrants, there were other mitigating factors such as strong family relationships and membership in religious or other cultural organisations that could offset the impact of these barriers. Diwan (2008) found that the development of depression among Chinese- and Arab-American elders was strongly linked to the dissatisfaction with the support received from their adult children.

Within the Australian context, a study by Stanaway et al. (2011) showed that one of the main contributing factors to the development of depression among older Italian immigrants in Australia was the lower level of satisfaction reported with existing social supports. This was despite higher rates of marriage and lower rates of living alone when compared to their Anglo-Australian counterparts. Damousi (2012) cautions against the presumption that members of the first generation of the Greek community can be assumed to be well adjusted and psychologically healthy by virtue of their length of settlement in Australia. A study by Kiropoulos, Klimidis and Minas (2004)

indicated that deteriorating health status and a reduction of social networks through death, emigration of peers and inter-generational conflicts with their children have contributed to higher levels of depression and anxiety within this sector of the Greek community. This points to the need to adopt a lifespan approach to the study of the impact of variables such as the impact of migration and social support networks on the social and emotional well-being of older Greek immigrants.

2.7 Health Needs

Kiropoulos et al. (2012) compared measures of depression and anxiety, physical health status, quality of life and social support in Greek-born and Anglo-Australian outpatients with coronary heart disease (CHD). In this study they found evidence that higher levels of anxiety and depression and lower levels of perceived social support in Greek-born immigrants was linked to higher risk factors for developing CHD. Significantly, Greece is a traditionally low-risk country for developing heart disease. Therefore, this highlights the possible impact that migration to another country brings such as changes to diet, lifestyle and sustained levels of stress. For example, Kouris-Blazos, Wahlqvist, Trichopoulou, Polychronopoulos and Trichopoulos (1996) suggest that the possible causes of the deteriorating health of older Greek immigrants in Australia may be partly associated with the changing trends in dietary intake brought about by migration and length of stay within the host society. For example, this study found that older Greek immigrants living in Melbourne had significantly greater intakes of animal foods (e.g. meat), protein, polyunsaturated fats, carbohydrates and beer when compared to Greeks living in Sparta, Greece (Kouris-Blazos et al., 1996).

A study conducted by Loizos and Constantinou (2007) used a combined quantitative and qualitative approach to compare the health outcomes of two Greek Cypriot village cohorts: one that had become displaced and made destitute as a result of the military conflicts in Cyprus of 1974, with another that had continued to reside in their village communities without being forced to migrate. Loizos and Constantinou (2007) found significant differences between the refugees and the

non-refugees in Cyprus within this context, with the results indicating a higher prevalence of myocardial infarction, angina pectoris and diabetes among the refugees. Moreover, the qualitative material which used case studies was found to yield valuable information about the belief systems and attributions made by the refugees regarding the higher levels of psychological distress and morbidities experienced by members of their community (Loizos & Constantinou, 2007).

2.8 Cross-Cultural Differences in the Manifestation of Psychological Distress

The dimension individualism-collectivism is often used in cross-cultural theorisations to differentiate between cultures with an individualistic orientation and cultures with a collectivistic orientation (Andary, Stolk & Klimidis, 2003a; Triandis, 1993). The *individualist-collectivist* dimension also forms an important part of cross-cultural psychological understandings of the relationship between culture and the individual (Andary et al., 2003a, Triandis, 1993). It is here that collectivist and individualist cultures may be contrasted to enable a greater understanding of the concept of the self within a cross-cultural framework (Ryder, Yang & Heine, 2002). Much of Western Psychology has based its theorisation of psychopathology on a model of the self as a separate and autonomous entity which, in turn, causes behaviour. A healthy sense of self is defined as one that is clearly separate from that of others and is able to maintain distinct boundaries within diverse social environments. This is the sense of self upon which individualistic cultures such as many of those of Northern Europe tend to be based. On the other hand, collectivistic cultures such as Indigenous Australian and many Asian and Southern European cultures have a more fluid and permeable sense of self that is not as sharply individuated from the cultural group. These cultures place a greater importance on interconnectedness, the maintenance of good relationships, and consideration of the thoughts, emotions and behaviours of others (Ryder, Yang & Heine, 2002). Such theorisations can elucidate many of the differences in the manifestations of psychopathology across cultures. Ryder, Yang and Heine (2002) suggest that the collectivist cultural emphasis on subordinating the self to the needs of the group may explain why mental disorders that have become interpersonally disruptive are particularly stigmatised. It may also explain why depressed clients

with a strong interdependent sense of self may tend to somatise their symptoms to a greater degree than those from an individualistic culture. Such a theory has been suggested by Ryder, Yang and Heine (2002) as being able to explain possible differences in the degree of somatisation between Chinese and American patients with a diagnosis of depression. It has also been postulated that collectivistic cultures do not conceptualise the mind and the body dualistically, but view mind and body as being an integral whole which is inseparable from social context. This is reflected by the lack of linguistic equivalents for the English words 'anxiety' and 'depression' in the Greek language, for example. Hence, while people of some cultural groups may present with symptoms of sadness and low mood during depression, others may present with pain and somatic symptoms (Livingston & Sembhi, 2003). Common among people from collectivistic cultures is a tendency to somatise symptoms and this is related to an emphasis on an interdependent sense of self and relationship to their community. In the absence of a privileging of psychological over somatic symptoms, such symptoms are often not attributed to or located within the individual (Andary, Stolk & Klimidis, 2003b).

In conclusion, the language of distress that is used often reflects the manner in which it is conceptualised and expressed. This often does not correspond to the diagnostic categories that are contained within universal classificatory systems of mental disorders, such as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of mental Disorders (DSM). Thus, the diagnosis may lead to either an underestimation or an overestimation of distress and anxiety levels, and hence to the possibility that a misdiagnosis will occur. In addition, screening instruments validated in a mainly dominant middle-class sector of the population may not be valid for other populations.

2.9 Social and Emotional Well-Being

Lock and Wakewich-Dunk (1990) demonstrate the use of open-ended unstructured interviews with Greek immigrant women living in Montreal to enable the participants to talk about the impact of migration on their sense of identity, social and emotional well-being. They argued that the

narratives of the women interviewed contained a multi-faceted source of information about their value systems and causal explanations about the onset of an illness or health problems. This provided important insights into family relationships, working conditions, locus of control and culturally specific gender roles and identity construction. A subsequent analysis of the interview data revealed that the most common theme to emerge from the women's narratives was the experience of 'nevra' (Lock & Wakewich-Dunk, 1990, p. 254). 'Nevra' or 'nerves' was a term often used by the women to describe states of accumulated stress and anxiety, and this was explicitly linked to the immigrant experience. For example, the women talked about the multiple losses that they had experienced as migrants to a foreign land, such as being constrained by gender role expectations, working in physically demanding and often underpaid jobs while carrying the sole responsibility for managing child rearing and household chores (Dunk, 1989). This was often endured in the context of a lack of extended family support, marital discord and social isolation, and increased dependence on their husbands. Given the contextual factors that contributed to their level of distress, Lock and Wakewich-Dunk (1990, p. 256) argue that "*Nevra* is the concept used to mediate between distressing social events, disvalued emotional states (a sensation of loss of control, of confinement and withdrawal, or of both) and somatic symptoms."

Livingston and Sembhi (2003) found high levels of depression among Cypriots residing in the United Kingdom compared to other ethnic groups. Higher levels of depression were reported despite the fact that Cypriots were less likely to live alone and were no more physically ill than other groups with whom they were compared. They were found, however, to have increased subjective ill-health, were much less likely to speak English or to have received a secondary education, and so were thought to experience more barriers in being able to access services. Livingston and Sembhi (2003) found that Cypriots with depression were likely to access a number of health-related services, but tended not to present with complaints relating to psychological symptoms as they are understood within the Western mental health system. Instead, it was found

that “They often presented with prominent somatic symptoms. This is likely to be due to a different idiom of distress” (Livingston & Sembhi, 2003, p. 35).

2.10 Explanatory Models of Depression Among Greek and Italian Migrants

Kiropoulos and Bauer (2011, p. 28) examined the explanatory models of depression in a sample of older Greek-born and Italian-born immigrants living in Melbourne. Their study set out to examine the conceptualisation of depression, including help-seeking behaviour in first-generation Greek-born and Italian-born immigrants. This was done by using an ‘Explanatory Models Interview Schedule’ which was developed and translated into Greek and Italian by the bilingual psychologists who were involved in conducting the research. It examined four components of explanatory models; namely, 1) the causes; 2) important symptoms; 3) the course; and 4) the consequences and treatment for depression. Interestingly, the findings showed that both Italian and Greek respondents held a more social and relational conceptualisation of depression than a disease-based model of depression which underpins universal classificatory systems of mental health disorders such as the DSM (and is ultimately what underpins mental health service delivery). In other words, they perceived depression as being caused by the breakdown of the family unit and other relationships. Correspondingly, they held the view that the way to overcome depression was through rebuilding strong social support networks. Overall, a social explanatory model persisted in varying degrees among these immigrant groups despite levels of acculturation and length of stay in Australia.

Moreover, it was found that Italians differed from the Greeks slightly in that they concurrently held the belief that seeking professional help from a doctor, Psychologist or Psychiatrist is potentially equally helpful in dealing with depression; however, the Greek respondents indicated that they were less likely to do so. Kiropoulos and Bauer (2011) conclude that as Greek-born immigrants tend not to endorse the disease-based model of depression, they may not come into contact with a health professional until it is too late, or, if they do, their symptoms may worsen and hence make treatment more difficult. They therefore suggest that treatment acceptance and

adherence for a depressive disorder could be achieved by involving more family members in the treatment process. In addition, it was suggested that the involvement of a bilingual mental health professional may also contribute to treatment adherence (Kiropoulos & Bauer, 2011).

Kiropoulos and Bauer (2011) tentatively suggest that clinicians may need to negotiate their own explanatory model with that of their clients. They may be able to provide psychological treatment for depression at the same time that their client may be receiving what they believe to be effective treatment for depression, for example, through other culturally specific means, or 'non-evidence-based therapies'. Older Greek immigrants will often do this by consulting their priest, attending social gatherings after church, socialising through brotherhoods and through other social networks. For men, it may involve socialising with others at a local 'kafenio' (café). For women, it might be to seek advice from other women or healers if they hold the belief that they or their family have been cursed by the 'evil eye' – a belief held among some Mediterranean cultures when a member of their cultural group has become afflicted with malaise or illness (Avgoulas, 2016; Georgiades, 2014; Loizos & Papataxiarchis, 1991).

2.11 Evidence of Psychological Morbidity Among Established Migrant Groups

The emergent literature examining the prevalence of psychological morbidity among older Greek and Italian immigrants in Australia has generally found higher levels of depression and anxiety among these groups. This was concomitant with poorer health status when compared to their Anglo-Australian counterparts (Kiropoulos et al., 2012; Kiropoulos et al., 2004; Stanaway et al., 2010). Kiropoulos et al. (2004) found that first-generation Greek immigrants in Australia are among a cohort of elderly immigrants who experience higher levels of depression and anxiety as manifested in higher scores on measures of anxiety and depression when compared to Anglo-Australians. The findings of quantitative research that has emanated from the Victorian Transcultural Psychiatry Unit by Kiropoulos et al. (2004) indicated that elderly Greek-born residents experience higher levels of depression and anxiety than Anglo-Australian residents on

measures such as the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-2) and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI). Although much of the variance between the groups was accounted for by factors such as ill-health, higher levels of stress and low educational and occupational levels, there remained additional variance to symptomatology which raised the possibility that 'culture' and other immigrant factors may have contributed to the symptomatic differences between the groups. In summary, the empirical evidence yielded by these studies suggests that there are significant psychological morbidity rates among members of the first generation of Greek migrants in Australia. The following section concludes with a review of the literature on 'ageing well' and how this aligns with notions of 'a good old age' as conceptualised by Greek immigrants themselves.

2.12 Concepts of 'Ageing Well'

2.12.1 Cross-Cultural Conceptualisations of 'Successful Ageing'

Integral to an understanding of the social and emotional well-being of older Greek immigrants is to examine concepts of 'successful ageing' and what are deemed to be the markers of 'ageing well' in older populations within an international context. A brief review of the literature on successful ageing suggests that the cornerstone of geriatrics and geriatric psychiatry has been the treatment of diseases and functional decline that are commonly associated with advancing age. Since the mid-1980s, however, there has been a gradual paradigm shift within this field. It has moved beyond the stereotypical restrictions associated with chronological age and considers the wide-ranging factors that may be taken into account in considering the meaning of successful ageing (Blazer, 2006; Depp & Jeste, 2006; Foster & Walker, 2015). The United States 'MacArthur Study of Successful Ageing' is considered to be central to the development of 'successful ageing' as a coherent construct in subsequent empirical studies that have been carried out in North America (Blazer, 2006). A model that has essentially developed out of the MacArthur study is based on Rowe and Kahn's (1997) notions of successful ageing and this includes "low probability of disease and disease-related disability, high cognitive and physical functioning capacity, and active engagement with life"

(Rowe & Kahn, 1997, p. 433). This model has been criticised on the grounds that, in objective terms, less than one-fifth of older people could be said to have fulfilled these criteria and yet this was at odds with how older people viewed themselves during this period of their lives (Bowling & Dieppe, 2005). This highlighted the need to undertake investigations into how older people themselves defined successful ageing (Martin et al., 2015; McCann Mortimer et al., 2008; Phelan et al., 2004). The few investigations that had been undertaken which canvassed the views of older people themselves indicated that a much broader range of definitions of perceptions of success in older age were embraced, and these included "enjoyment of diet, physical appearance, sense of humour, spirituality and sense of purpose" (Bowling & Dieppe, 2005, p. 1549; McCann Mortimer et al., 2008). Henceforth, there has been a concomitant growth in the awareness of having imposed definitions of successful ageing that have been primarily monocultural in perspective (Fernandez-Ballesteros et al., 2010; Torres, 1999; Torres, 2009). Local Australian research such as that conducted by Tan, Ward and Ziaian (2010 & 2011) has contributed to redressing this bias in the literature by examining the views of successful ageing among older Chinese immigrants who are ageing in Australia. It is hoped that the present study may, in turn, shed some light on how older Greek immigrants themselves define well-being as they are ageing in Australia.

The projected changes in the age structure and ethnic composition of the population of Australia present a number of challenges to society, families, health care providers and policy makers to search for ways in which to meet the needs of an ageing ethnically diverse population. Much of gerontological research and practice across disciplines has endeavoured to minimise age-related losses through health promotion efforts, most of which is centred on theories of 'ageing well'. The literature on notions of ageing well is fraught with a lack of consistency or clear definition of what constitutes 'a good old age' (Bowling & Dieppe, 2005; Fry et al., 1997; Hilton, Gonzalez, Saleh, Maitoza & Anngela-Cole, 2012). Theorists who have promoted an operational definition of 'ageing well' have become subjected to criticism on the grounds that they have been

developed without including the views and perspectives of older people themselves, with the result that its universal applicability has been questioned.

2.12.2 From 'Euthanasia to Eugeria': Tracing the Origins of the Concept of 'A Good Old Age' in Ancient Greece

Contemporary accounts of the history of Greece as a modern nation such as that produced by Herzfeld (1986, 2002) and Faubion (1996) have attributed attempts to trace a continuity of ideas from ancient Greece to modern Greece as being tantamount to 'nation-building'. Such perspectives have hence been critical of historiographical attempts to erect idealised or romanticised notions of Greece as a modern nation. Nonetheless, a number of researchers have attempted to explore the origins of the concept of 'ageing well' in order to trace the continuity and thread of ideas that can be argued to have developed from antiquity through to the modern age (Danforth, 1982; Finch, 2010; Fry et al., 1997; Mystakidou, Tsilika, Parpa, Katsouda & Vlahos 2005b). This is particularly pertinent in our understanding of the evolution of belief systems prevalent among the older Greek migrants of today. It also facilitates an understanding of the extent to which current beliefs about old age, the role that external factors play in health, a sense of agency and what constitutes 'a good old age' may be traced back to ancestral beliefs about old age, the caring role, attitudes and belief systems that have evolved about death and dying (Mystakidou, Tsilika, Parpa, Katsouda & Vlahos, 2003).

The notion of 'a good old age' or 'ageing well' can be traced back to the ancient Greeks and was embodied in the term *'εὐθανασία'* or *'euthanasia'* (Mystakidou et al., 2005b). Mystakidou, Parpa, Tsilika, Katsouda & Vlahos (2005a, p. 96) explain that the concept of *'euthanasia'* has evolved from Homerian epics, the meaning of which stems etymologically from the ancient Greek *'eu'* which means 'good' and *'thanatos'* which means 'death', the amalgamation of which means: 'a good death'. Hence, notions of 'ageing well' were inextricably interwoven with notions of 'dying well' and this was already evident in ancient Greek thought.

Mystakidou et al. (2005a, p. 97) note that the meaning of the term 'euthanasia' has assumed a semantic shift from its ancient Greek etymological origins. The term has become analogous to the modern day concept of '*eugeria*', the literal meaning of which is 'ageing well' or 'happy ageing', as encapsulated in the modern Greek expression: 'καλά γεράματα' ('kala yeramata'') (Ritchie, Ledésert & Touchon, 1993; Batrinos, 2008). Hence, for the ancient Greeks, the term 'euthanasia' inferred an old age devoid of illness and debilitation and also of a death which comes about naturally as a result of the ageing process. Conversely, a death that eventuates after prolonged illness, debilitation or pain was regarded by the ancient Greeks as the ultimate curse and was to be avoided at all costs. Indeed, death by suicide, or a life truncated by passive euthanasia, was not discouraged or regarded as blasphemous. In fact, passive euthanasia was practised by the ancient Greeks in cases where a person was afflicted with a disability, with the emphasis of medicine being on prolonging a healthy life rather than that of an unhealthy one.

The ancient Greek concept of 'euthanasia' or '*eugeria'* started to change during the rise of Byzantium when Christianity, Christian values and ideas began to spread and gradually overshadow the paganistic beliefs and traditions that preceded them (Batrinos, 2008; Finch, 2010; Mystakidou et al., 2005b). During this period of history, the central Christian idea of the transcendence of death through the resurrection of Jesus Christ began to supplant the idea that one could predetermine one's own fate or destiny. Central to the Greek Orthodox Christian tradition is the idea that the soul remains immortal through resurrection (*Ἀναστασία'* or *'anastasia'*) and that the moment leading up to death and death itself belongs to, and is known only to, God. Hence, in this historical context, the very notion of 'euthanasia' would have been regarded as a form of hubris, since it is a voluntary decision by humans in an attempt to steer a fate that is considered to have been sanctified or pre-determined by God. Since life was considered to be a holy gift from God, it was therefore thought as anathema, if not sacrilegious and beyond human capability, to decide on when and how one will die, irrespective of one's health status. Consequently, a suicide in Greece during the middle ages would generally have been considered to be a sin. Exceptions to this notion partly depended on the

context within which a suicide was carried out. Many Greeks were said to have used suicide as a means of avoiding capture and conversion to Islam under the Ottomans (Mystakidou et al., 2005b). Suicide is reverberated in the ancient Spartan notion of *'καλος θανατος' ('kalos thanatos')*, meaning a 'good death', then regarded as an honourable and noble act during battle against an enemy and a supreme example of the veneration and pursuit of freedom from domination and enslavement.

Finch (2010) contends that modern Western notions of individual choice in determining one's health in older age departs significantly from the ancient Greek belief system, which is rooted in the idea that one's life span is predetermined and unable to be changed or controlled by human will or desire. The idea that a human life and the ageing process is in the hands of God and unable to be changed or controlled by human action is central and has persisted in its paramountcy in the belief system of Greek people today (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013a). The concept of 'fate', which in Greek is referred to as *'Μοῖραι' ('moira')*, also known as *'Τύχη' (or 'tyche': chance, fate)*, is seen as 'pre-written', and death was seen as the great equaliser which lies beyond the human capacity to control or change. Despite this central belief system which has persisted through the millennia, Finch (2010) contends that some concessions by the ancient Greeks can be traced - if indirectly - to the idea that one's health in later life could at least partly be determined by diet and lifestyle. Evolving concepts of health and ageing have demonstrated a decreasing emphasis on the role of the supernatural and an increasing acknowledgement of the role of environmental and lifestyle factors. Diet, for example, was seen as the main differentiating factor that accounted for the greater lifespan of mortals and immortals (man and God).

On the other hand, if the Gods took offence at human actions, the ancient Greeks believed that the Gods could order death and destruction as punishment, and this mindset needs to be understood as central to both ancient and modern Greek views on health and ageing (Finch, 2010). References to Christian beliefs of an old age devoid of illness and debilitation was said to be predicated on according respect to the Gods as well as to one's earthly parents (Finch, 2010). Doing good deeds in one's youth or early life was also thought to be rewarded with longevity and ageing gracefully in

later life. There is also evidence to suggest that the superiority of one people over another was measured by longevity over and above other markers such as wealth and military superiority (Batrinos, 2008; Efklides, Kalaitzidou & Chankin, 2003; Finch, 2010).

Although old age was dreaded and considered to be a burden, there were many institutions in ancient Greece that reflected a respect for older persons, their knowledge and wisdom by honouring them with positions of authority, an example being the Spartan Assembly of men over 60 years of age named the *'γερουσία'* (the *'gerousia'*: a council of elders). Other manifestations of the reverence of older persons in ancient Greek culture that has been transmitted through the ages is reflected in the expectation of filial responsibility of sons toward ageing parents. Sons were expected to "provide for their elderly fathers with food and housing, protect them from violence and provide proper funerary rites … " (Constantakos, 1993; Finch, 2010, p. 363) and represents the earliest civic code of the welfare of the elderly. Within the contemporary Greek migrant context, such responsibilities, particularly in regard to caring for ageing parents during illness or debilitation, largely falls with, and is expected from, female family members, mostly involving adult daughters, reflecting the extent to which it has become a gendered role (Constantakos, 2001; Cylwick, 2002; Morse & Messimeri-Kianidis, 2002; Walker, Newman, Tsianikas, Panagiotopoulos & Hurley, 2013).

Despite the pre-eminence of the idea that supernatural forces are at play in determining one's fate in older age, the notion that human intervention may make a difference to an individual's health in old age was to some extent explored in the ancient Greek world. Finch (2010) provides the example of the Hippocratic use of medicines, diet, exercise and drink to aid in the ills of old age and to promote longevity. This, in turn, led to the exploration of nature using empirical tools. However, it is equally important to recognise that the point at which individual health habits and the divine force of nature were thought to have influenced health outcomes were not clearly understood or defined by the ancient Greeks (Finch, 2010). To some extent this mirrors the modern-day equivalent of the nature versus nurture debate. On the one hand, it throws open the question of the role of

inherited genes, over which a person has no control) as opposed to the influence of 'epigenetics', and 'environmental' and lifestyle factors over which an individual is able to exercise some choice and which have been shown to have demonstrable effects on the process of ageing and longevity.

Importantly, Modern Greek attitudes and beliefs regarding death and euthanasia are generally understood as being an amalgamation or synthesis of both ancient Greek belief systems and Greek Orthodox Christian traditions. The continuity of ancient Greek belief systems can be discerned in contemporary practices of elaborate lamentations and mourning rituals of the dead that continue to be practised within some regions of rural Greece such as the Mani peninsula of the South Eastern Peloponnese (Danforth, 1982; Dubisch, 1995; Holst-Warhaft, 1992). On the one hand, the Greeks of today are said to have inherited their unflinching engagement in a direct confrontation with death from their ancient Greek ancestors. On the other hand, the Christian belief system that has evolved during the Byzantine era has relegated the concept of 'euthanasia' and any of its variations to the realm of sacrilege and condemnation given its inherent rejection of both the canons of the Greek Orthodox religion, and as abject denial of God's gift of life (Danforth, 1982; Mystakidou et al., 2005b). However, it has been argued that changes to the family unit and societal attitudes toward death and the dying in Greece today are reflected in transformations of the manner in which terminal care is treated (Argyriadou et al., 2001). Moreover, the gradual diminution of the family unit has resulted in less extended family connectivity and community involvement toward the end stages of a person's life and has, in turn, eventuated in the greater institutionalisation of the dying (Davison et al., 2017; Ftanou, Pascoe & Ellen, 2017; Mystakidou et al., 2005b). By contrast, there is mounting evidence to suggest that for the Greeks of the global diaspora, particularly those of the immigrant or first generation who have largely retained their traditional cultural values, this assumption cannot necessarily be upheld (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2012b; Constantakos, 1993; Cylwik, 2002; Efklides et al., 2003; Panagiotopoulos, Walker & Luszcz, 2013). Greek migrant women of the first generation in Australia, for example, continue to play a prominent role in paying respect to the dead and in enacting the rituals of respect in memory of family members who have passed away

(Haland, 2012; Panagiotopoulos, Walker & Luszcz, 2013; Papadelos, 2017). Many Greek women, for example, continue to wear black as a symbol of mourning and respect for a loved one well after their death, a tradition that has continued among many members of the immigrant or first generation of the global diaspora of Greek migrants today (Papadelos, 2017).

Haland (2012) examines the persistence of death rituals of rural Greece as a manifestation of a broader phenomenon that can be found in many parts of the Mediterranean, including the Balkans, North Africa and the Middle East. Greek death rituals that continue to be practised in Modern Greece have strong parallels with the death cults of the Ancient Greeks and by definition those that were pre-Christian and pagan in origin. In so doing, Haland (2012) illustrates that the similarities that exist between the death cult that is dedicated to the worship of deceased mediators in both ancient and modern Greece is manifested through, for example: death rituals; ritual laments and mourning; the manner in which the corpse is treated; the burial procession; the burial itself; and the memorial rituals that continue to be practised. Hence, the death cult is not only dedicated to the deceased person themselves, but also to that of an important person or saint and, therefore, concurrently becomes the cult of newly deceased persons and formerly dead heroes or heroines (Haland, 2012). This is because the hero or deceased person of importance is seen as a mediator between human beings and that of the supernatural, or that of the sacred and that of the profane. Moreover, this mediator is perceived as being imbued with the powers of the underworld and these powers could, in turn, be mobilised for the benefit of the living world. Death rituals of rural Greece are still seen as exotic esoteric practices that are shrouded in mystery. This is because they remain in sharp contrast to the generally sanitised Western church services and funeral practices that have largely been stripped of their sanctity and mysticism.

The two most important religious festivals in the Greek Orthodox calendar are those of the Virgin Mary, which is celebrated on 15th August, and the Easter festival, which is dedicated to the death and resurrection of Christ. Haland (2012) notes that Greek religious festivals are commonly dedicated to a dead person together with a deity – most often a vegetation God. These festivals

illustrate the connection and continuity of popular beliefs relating to fertility, death cults and regeneration between ancient and modern societies. Danforth (1982, Haland (2012), and Holst-Warhaft (2002) note that death rituals are highly emotional in nature and have been traditionally performed in the Mediterranean where there exists the remnants of elaborate lamentations and practices that have traditionally been performed by women. The Mediterranean expression of emotion is usually overt, intense, and is performed with the intention of eliciting a direct encounter with the dead. Women are seen as being the purveyors of suffering and pain by virtue of female embodiment through procreation and the pain of childbirth and the powers with which they are perceived to be imbued are considered inherent to such physical endowments through the ages. Parallels between ancient and modern Greek society can be clearly seen given that it is the women who continue to perform death rituals and are seen as exemplifying how to enact the virtues and special powers of womanhood (Dubisch, 1995; Haland, 2012; Holst-Warhaft, 2002). Throughout the ages, women were thought to have a greater capacity to express emotion. This was seen as a strength in being able to arouse an emotional response from the listener in the context of delivering a funeral lament. Within this context, the non-verbal performative mode of expressing grief over the death of a loved one is of equal importance to the verbal mode of expression.

2.12.3 The Development of Contemporary Notions of 'Ageing Well'

A review of the literature on the development of contemporary notions of 'ageing well' revealed that theoretical perspectives underpinning notions of 'successful ageing' reflect a confluence of psychological and biomedical approaches (Bowling & Dieppe, 2005; Rowe & Kahn, 1997). The biomedical approach places an emphasis on the prolongation of life expectancy and the minimisation of illness and debilitation, with the MacArthur studies of successful ageing representing the most widely published model incorporating the three main dimensions of: 1) low probability of disease; 2) high cognitive and physical functioning, and 3) an active engagement in life (in Blazer, 2006, p. 2). Indeed, Rowe and Kahn (1997) placed an emphasis on the concept of successful ageing as being more than the mere absence of illness and the maintenance of functional

capacities but an active engagement in life in whatever form that may take. Although Rowe and Kahn's (1997) model offers the most widely used definition of successful ageing, it has also been acknowledged that it fails to take into account the fact that few older adults will reach an older age devoid of illness. This also remains at odds with the view that as much as up to 50 per cent or more of older adults consider themselves to have aged successfully, despite not meeting the objective criteria as set out in the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model.

2.12.4 Deconstructing Assumptions of Universality Underpinning Notions of 'Ageing Well'

Bowling and Dieppe (2005) and Martin et al. (2015) have commented on the dearth of research examining lay perceptions of 'successful ageing' and what it means within the general community, much less within specific cultural groups. Bowling and Dieppe (2005) conducted a survey of the perceptions of successful ageing among a random sample of 854 people aged 50 years and over living at home in Britain and found that 75 per cent rated themselves as ageing successfully. The most commonly held perception was to have good health, the capacity to remain actively involved in society, and to savour life's enjoyments. Given that high social functioning, for example, is considered an important part of successful ageing and life satisfaction in later life, the encouragement of social activity and social networks is envisaged to be central in facilitating a person's capacity to age successfully. A greater realisation that older people are not a homogenous group, but vary considerably both at an individual and a cultural level, highlights the need to adopt a multidisciplinary, as well as a cross-cultural, perspective to better understand older age. It is suggested that the concept of successful ageing should not be abandoned, but rather that it is developed within the context of a more nuanced understanding of the subjective experiences and perceptions of ageing according to a larger cross section of older people themselves (Martin et al., 2015; McCann Mortimer et al., 2008; Phelan, Anderson, Lacroix & Larson, 2004). Health professionals need to accept that older peoples' perception of successful ageing may not always correspond to existing medical or psychosocial models of 'ageing well' which are themselves implicitly based on a set of cultural values and assumptions that reflect those of the dominant

societal norms. Moreover, it is argued that the conceptualisation of successful ageing is better placed on a continuum of achievement rather than being seen in simplistic either/or success or failure terms (Bowling & Dieppe, 2005; Martin et al., 2015; Rowe & Kahn, 1997).

A common unifying theme among the criticisms that have been levelled at most of the existing conceptualisations of successful ageing have revolved around the fact that most researchers have overlooked or bypassed the perspectives of older persons themselves. In studies where researchers have attempted to canvass the ideas that older people themselves have about ageing well, they have often raised factors that have not been included in academic models of successful ageing (Hilton et al., 2012, p. 185). Phelan et al. (2004) are among those researchers who have reiterated the importance of developing a definition of successful ageing that encompasses older peoples' beliefs, as this would enable the development of policies and the provision of person-centred care that would improve the range of services available. It has also been recognised that older peoples' expectations about ageing in turn influences their health-seeking behaviour. However, existing validated measures of beliefs about ageing largely centre on life satisfaction and well-being and, hence, do not encompass a broader conceptualisation of what ageing well means.

Phelan et al. (2004) set out to explore the extent to which older adults' perception of successful ageing differed from researchers' definitions, with the aim of applying further research to develop a measure of older adults' perception of successful ageing. A random sample was drawn from a base population in the Seattle area of Washington, U.S.A., who were 65 years of age and older and were primarily white, middle class and well educated. The researchers found that the older adults' views of successful ageing were more multidimensional and complex than had previously been suggested, based on former research. A common theme was the importance of psychological health. Most people viewed psychological health as being synonymous with successful ageing, as was social health, the ability to adjust to circumstances, to focus on positives rather than negatives, and to appreciate what one has. The researchers concluded that, importantly,

future research needs to include all four dimensions of successful ageing: physical, functional, social and psychological health.

A further key criticism of Rowe and Kahn's (1997) model of successful ageing is that it lacks an acknowledgement of the impact of socioeconomic status, for example, and diet, level of education and other life opportunities on health in later years. Such determinants are particularly pertinent when considering their impact on older Greek migrants as they find themselves increasingly confronted with educational, cultural and language barriers during the latter part of their life in Australia. McCann Mortimer et al. (2008) have additionally suggested that the model fails to take into account the role of religion to the well-being of older people. McCann Mortimer et al. (2008) addressed these gaps in the research by examining the views of late mid-life to older women about what it meant to age successfully in light of their own subjective experiences of ageing. Their findings revealed that multidimensional views were expressed that did not conform to a uniform response or monolithic understanding as to what constitutes successful ageing. Several themes emerged using a thematic analysis of data of the interviews of 14 women between the ages of 60 and 89 years. These themes suggested that personal agency, positive relations with others, including social, political and religious networks, were among the factors that influenced well-being in later life. Significantly, McCann Mortimer et al. (2008) also noted that the fear of losing one's identity, for example, as well as the quality of life toward the end of one's life, and the level of control and autonomy that is able to be exerted in deciding on how and when one's life will end, was central to the concern of these participants and hence were seen as closely intertwined with notions of successful ageing.

2.12.5 How Well Do Notions of 'Ageing Well' Fit With Cross-cultural Understandings of 'A Good Old Age'?

There is a growing acknowledgement that models of successful ageing fail to take into account cross-cultural differences in the conceptualisation of ageing well and the structural barriers that

often impede a person's ability to 'age successfully' (Beyene, Becker & Mayen, 2002; Fernandez-Ballesteros et al., 2010; Fry et al., 1997; Hilton et al., 2012; Tan, Ward & Ziaian, 2011). Hence, much of the existing literature on ageing successfully has been criticised on the grounds that it is implicitly reflective of the values endorsed by the researchers themselves, who tend to be of a particular socio-cultural milieu; i.e., predominantly male, middle class, and well-educated.

The purpose of Hilton et al.'s (2012) study was to pilot the use of Phelan's quantitative measure of successful ageing with older Latin Americans (or 'Latinos') with a view to determining whether it fully encapsulates their constructs of ageing well. This was supplemented with a semi-structured in-depth interview in order to fully explore their perceptions of ageing well as was understood and articulated by the participants themselves beyond the pre-determined constructs of the quantitative measure itself. Among the main themes that were extracted from the interview data included self-care; acceptance; positive attitude; cognitive functioning; financial well-being; and spirituality. It was acknowledged that these themes were not fully captured by the Phelan 20-item measure. They provided the context within which to better understand the meaning that the participants ascribed to them. Most significantly, Latinos mentioned that although there are inevitable changes that occur in later life, they believed that these changes must be accepted rather than controlled or managed at an individual level. Cognitive health was described not merely as a feature of successful ageing, but as integral to the meaning of successful ageing. In addition, financial security was mentioned as being very important in affording security in later life; however, this was notably absent as a factor in the Phelan measure. Finally, spirituality emerged as very important and integral to their understanding of ageing well. For example, the sense of being grateful, a reliance and faith in God, helping others, volunteer work, and feeling joyful were all understood as being fundamental to spirituality or a spiritual life. The researchers concluded that spirituality was a very important dimension of ageing for their Latino participants and that their relationships to others were based on a sense of community rather than an individual form of support.

A seminal study by Fry et al. (1997) represents one of the first attempts to explore what 'a good old age' means to older persons from seven different communities around the world, with the intention of linking these experiences to the cultural, socio-economic and societal structural contexts that they inhabit. Fry et al. (1997) also set out to explore to what extent 'a good old age' was perceived to be inherently paradoxical as a construct among the participants that were interviewed. Using a mixed method approach, the researchers explored changes and concerns associated with ageing during the course of late adulthood using samples of individuals in the United States, Ireland, Africa (Ju/'hoansi & Herero) and Asia (Hong Kong).

Fry et al. (1997, p. 114) found that the three pillars of 'a good old age' across these cultures were: 1) physical health; 2) material security; and 3) family relationships. When one of these was missing, the prospect of 'a good old age' became severely compromised. A fourth factor that was considered important, but which differed significantly across cultures in terms of its sources and content, was 'sociality'. However, it was also considered to be 'a double-edged sword' in that it was associated with both successful and difficult ageing, depending on the context in which it was experienced. The Irish respondents, for example, differentiated between what was normatively considered to be 'a good old age' as opposed to their personal experiences of it. Significantly, 'sociality' as a dimension of 'a good old age' was not mentioned by the African groups.

The researchers concluded that while the concept of a 'good old age' was not considered to be inherently contradictory, the answers provided by the participants as to how it was construed and experienced depended on both their cultural values and the family and societal structures from which they came. For example, in Africa and Hong Kong, the family was seen as the central institution in people's lives, and the kinship network was regarded as the safety net upon which older people could rely upon in times of illness or debilitation in their old age. However, what was striking was the relative low frequency with which family and kin were mentioned as a determinant of either a good or a bad old age by participants in the Irish and U.S.A. samples (Fry et al., 1997). This was attributed to the financial independence and emancipation that was afforded to the

individual by state-managed funds such as Social Security and Medicare to support older persons in countries such as Ireland and the U.S.A. By contrast, the researchers found that in Hong Kong, the government assumes that the family will play a central role in taking care of older people and, hence, has largely avoided income transfer or state-funded programs for older people (Fry et al., 1997).

2.13 Summary

The increasing diversity of the ageing population and the fact that Greek migrants are projected to be the second largest migrant group of older persons of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in Australia leading up to 2026 (AIHW, 2018; Gibson, Braun, Benham & Mason, 2001) points to a sense of urgency in the need for further research that focuses on this segment of the older population. An exploration of existing models of successful ageing and notions of ageing well enable an examination of how well these align with conceptualisations of 'a good old age' as articulated by older Greek migrants themselves. Little is known about the impact of migration and culture on the psychological well-being of first-generation Greek migrants in Australia and their notions of ageing well. An exploration of these constructs provides the potential to shed further light on the perceptions and expectations of ageing well among older Greek migrants and related end of life concerns (Leonard, Horsfall, Noonan & Rosenberg, 2017; Rodin, 2017). The present research has begun to address this gap in the literature and, in so doing, it has questioned the universality of notions of ageing well as encapsulated in accepted models of successful ageing. It has also elucidated culturally specific concepts of ageing well, death and dying, care and needs in later life.

Few studies have employed qualitative approaches to examine the impact of culture and migration on the identity and psychological well-being of older Greek immigrants as they are ageing in Australia. International studies conducted by Lock and Wakewich-Dunk (1990) and Loizos and Constantinou (2007) used qualitative approaches with first-generation Greek immigrants

living in Canada and Greek Cypriot refugees living in Cyprus who had become displaced within their own country. In so doing, they were able to demonstrate the power and utility of these approaches in being able to generate insights into the participants' experiences of forced migration and how this impacted on their sense of identity and well-being. This, in turn, raises the question of whether a qualitative approach to the research design may be more effective in uncovering and analysing 'culture' and the migratory experience. Chapter 4 on: 'Cultural Identity and Psychological Well-Being of Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia' uses an inductive thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with older Greek migrants to explore how they define and construct their personal and cultural identity and how their experiences as an older migrant living in Australia has impacted on their psychological well-being.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The present research aims to explore the factors that influence the social and emotional well-being of first-generation Greek immigrants in Australia as they find themselves ageing away from their place of birth or native homeland. It focuses on their experiences of ageing in Australia, a place that many have come to regard not only as the place to which they have migrated, but also have adopted as their newly found home. For others, however, Australia continues to be regarded as a 'foreign' place, or 'Xenitia'. Moreover, the psychological struggle to establish a sense of being anchored to a place within which one feels at home persists, and this can continue for many years subsequent to their arrival.

Research examining the prevalence of psychological morbidity among older Greek immigrants of the first generation in Australia has generally found higher levels of depression and anxiety when compared to their Anglo-Australian counterparts. This was concomitant with poorer health status (Kiropoulos et al., 2012; Kiropoulos et al., 2004; Stanaway et al., 2010). Kiropoulos et al. (2004) found that first-generation Greek immigrants in Australia are among a cohort of elderly immigrants who experience higher levels of depression and anxiety as manifested in higher scores on measures of anxiety and depression when compared to Anglo-Australians. The quantitative research findings that have emanated from the Victorian Transcultural Psychiatry Unit by Kiropoulos et al. (2004), for example, have indicated that elderly Greek-born residents experience higher levels of depression and anxiety than Anglo-Australian residents on measures such as the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-2) and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI). Much of the variance between the groups was accounted for by a number of social determinants. These included ill-health, higher levels of reported stress and low educational and occupational levels. However, there remained additional variance to the presenting symptomatology which raised the possibility that 'culture' and other immigrant factors may have contributed to the symptomatic differences

between the groups. While these studies have presented empirical evidence indicating that there are higher rates of anxiety and depression among older Greek immigrants in Australia, there appears to be a dearth of studies utilising a qualitative approach to enable a further exploration of the impact of 'culture' and the migratory experience.

3.1.1 Research Aims

This research aims to explore how older Greek migrants define and construct their sense of well-being and how their experiences as an older immigrant living in Australia has affected their personal and cultural identity and sense of well-being. This will become an ever-pressing issue given the current and projected proportion of older immigrants of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in the Australian community, with Greek immigrants constituting the second largest group within this cohort.

3.1.2 Research Questions

The current research focuses on the following questions:

- **a.** What are the experiences of older Greek immigrants as they are ageing in the migrant diaspora in Australia?
- **b.** How do older Greek migrants define and construct their sense of well-being?
- **c.** How have their experiences as an older immigrant living in Australia affected their personal and cultural identity, their concepts of what it means to 'age well' or to have 'a good old age', and their sense of well-being?

3.2. Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives

The study has adopted a critical cross-cultural theoretical framework in the understanding of mental health and has used Narrative Inquiry as a primary method of conducting research. Narrative theorising recognises that telling stories is a natural and universal human activity and a means by which people express their understanding of events and experiences (Howitt, 2016; King, Horrocks

& Brooks, 2018). The telling of a story or narrative account of one's life occurs as a result of the interaction between two persons whereby meaning is created mutually and is arrived at through an inter-subjective transactional process. In this sense, the current research is located within the interpretative or constructivist paradigm in acknowledging that within the context of human exchange and interaction, value-free knowledge is not able to be attained, but is constructed on the basis of an interpretation of the lived experiences of individuals interacting with one another. The constructivist tradition can be contrasted with positivistic traditions within psychology, which place an emphasis on the search for objectivity, measurability and causality (Bruner in King et al., 2018; Howitt, 2016). However, narrative inquiry and narrative theorisation is increasingly being used whenever the research involves the meaning that people make of significant events in their lives that have resulted in major change, upheaval or trauma (Crossley, 2000). It is an approach that is interested in the stories that people tell themselves and others about their everyday experiences (Bruner, 2004). It is also interested in the shared narrative accounts of the families, communities and societies in which people have become socialised and that have given shape to their lives, their values and their identities. Importantly, for the purposes of the current research, it is an approach which embraces a tendency that many older persons have exhibited in expressing a desire to transmit their life experiences through the age-old tradition of storytelling: 'Elders have also been the storytellers, the reporters of the groups' past, and often their moral compass' (Bruner, 1999; Cozolino, 2008, p. 188). The Greek culture, in particular, is steeped in oral tradition, mythology and story-telling. It has traditionally venerated the role of elders in transmitting important cultural values and knowledge through their life histories and experience for the benefit of successive generations (Georgakopoulou, 1994 & 2006). In the present research, a thematic analysis was adopted to interpret and analyse the narrative accounts of older Greek migrants to examine the role that language, culture and identity may play in their social and emotional well-being as they are ageing in Australia.

3.2.1 Narrative Research within the Interpretative Paradigm

Narrative theorisation is firmly positioned within the interpretative paradigm and can be located within the social constructivist tradition (Howitt, 2016; King et al., 2018; Neisser & Fivush, 1994; Willig, 2013). Social constructivist approaches place a strong emphasis on the importance of understanding the extent to which the sense of self is influenced by the linguistic and social practices of everyday life. The sense of 'self' is argued to be inextricably intertwined with the linguistic and cultural contexts of which it is a part. However, on one end of the spectrum of social constructivist approaches, as exemplified by some discursive interpretations using discourse analysis, in particular, the existence of a self-consciously reflexive subject independent of these structures is denied. Crossley (2000, p. 531) argues that it is this lack of a coherent unitary sense of self that has led to 'the death of the subject' among social constructivist approaches. This stands in contrast to approaches such as social cognition, which largely ignore the external constituents of the sense of self such as gender, language and culture. Crossley (2000) argues that, epistemologically, the narrative approach lies at the junction of the critical realist and social constructivist position. That is, it recognises that there exists a unitary and independent experiencing self. However, it is also an approach which is couched in a theoretical position that simultaneously acknowledges the sense of self as socially constructed in that it is influenced by the social and cultural contexts of which it is a part.

A narrative theoretical framework recognises that the narrative form of knowing is the fundamental means by which people make meaning and come to understand themselves. It adopts a life history approach in encouraging the participants to narrate their biographical experiences, thereby locating a significant event or events within their broader life course perspective (Billig et al., 1988; Taylor & Littleton, 2006). It emphasises meanings as created and experienced by individuals in conversation with one another. As such, it draws on the view that human action takes place in a reality of understanding that is created through social construction and dialogue. Hence, it is an approach that recognises the researcher as a co-constructor of meaning and acknowledges the role of language as the medium through which culture may be understood (Phoenix, Howarth &

Philogène, 2017; Phoenix, Smith & Sparkes, 2010). By adopting a narrative approach as a theoretical framework within which to understand and interpret the experiences of social and emotional well-being and psychological distress among first generation older aged Greek-born immigrants, the present study accepts the subjective or 'intra-psychic' reality of these experiences while concurrently adopting the view that this reality is 'constructed and mediated by culture, language and politics' (Ussher, 2011, p. 11).

3.2.2 Rationale for using Thematic Analysis of Narrative Accounts

The present study uses a thematic analytical approach that may be seen as lying at the junction of the "critical realist/ essentialist" and "constructivist paradigms" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 81, 85). Braun and Clarke (2006) have coined the term "contextualist method" to describe this analytic approach. The contextualist method is an approach which simultaneously recognises that there exists a unitary and independent experiencing 'self' while being grounded in a theoretical position that firmly acknowledges the sense of self as socially constructed in as much as it is influenced by the social and cultural contexts of which it is a part (Crossley, 2000).

3.3 Method

This study was conducted using semi-structured in-depth interviews that enabled the development of a personal narrative relating to the theme of the migratory experience, settlement in Australia, cultural identity and adjustment, return visits to the country of origin, sense of identity and belonging, and the experiences of ageing and needs in later life among Greek migrants of the first generation in a South Australian community. The interviews were supplemented with the use of the Greek version of the Geriatric Depression Scale short form (GDS-SF) (Sheikh & Yesavage, 1986; Yesavage, 1988; Yesavage et al., 1982) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS) (Marin & Gamba, 1996; Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal & Perez-Stable, 1987) which was translated by the researcher verbatim into Greek. A description of the GDS and MAS and the purpose for which they were used is provided in section 3.4.2.

3.3.1 Participant Selection and Recruitment

Participants were recruited with the aid of a cultural informant who assisted in the identification of persons within the Greek community, as well as from the researcher's own personal and familial networks. The informant played a central role as cultural intermediary to inform each participant of the purpose of the study, to outline the kinds of questions that would be posed during the interview, to obtain verbal consent for the interviews, and to arrange an appointment for the interviews to take place. All interviews were conducted in the participants' own home. The informant was instrumental in being able to identify members of a local Greek community, all of whom were residing within the inner North Eastern suburbs of Adelaide and living independently within their own homes. The participants were known both to the informant and the researcher and were also members of the North Eastern St Anthony's Greek Orthodox Parish Community. The informant was able to provide vital information regarding the region that they originated from in Greece, their general life circumstances, and significant events that had occurred in each participant's life. This enabled the researcher to contextualise the information provided by the interviewee and to use some prompting and key questions to enable the interview to unfold. The informant then arranged an appointment for the interview to take place. In a minority of interviews, the informant remained present during the interview, at the request of the interviewee, in order to reiterate the purpose of the study. In addition, the informant was able to re-word any questions that may not have been clear, and to alleviate any concerns or anxiety that the participant may have held in answering any questions posed. It also enabled the researcher to be able to detect any discrepancies, incongruities or significant omissions between the life accounts provided by the participants and the prior knowledge of the participant's life circumstances that were held by the informant. It is important to emphasise that this information was by no means used in an investigative or interrogative sense. It was used as a means of understanding any inconsistencies that may have emerged between what was told and what was known about the participant. In this way, the researcher was able to make some extrapolations or cultural inferences in order to shed light on the potential reasons for any

such inconsistencies. The majority of the interviews were conducted between the researcher and the participant on a one-to-one basis, except where spouses and the cultural informant were present during the interviews. The researcher observed that whereas all of the female participants were interviewed alone on a one-to-one basis, irrespective of whether they were widowed or not, all six of the male participants had their wives remain present with them during the course of the interview. This observation may reflect an adherence to the unwritten rules regarding male/ female interactions, as consistent with Greek cultural norms that govern male/ female etiquette and behaviour.

3.3.2 Ethics

The present study was reviewed and approved by the Human Research Ethics Subcommittee of the School of Psychology, University of Adelaide. (Code Number 12/64).

Given that a number of participants voiced a reluctance to provide signed consent to participate in the present study, the researcher obtained prior approval from the Ethics Committee that obtaining verbal consent from the participants would be sufficient for the interviews to take place.

3.3.3 Exclusion Criteria

Exclusion criteria were applied to preclude those with a clinically diagnosed mental health disorder or dementia-related illness, in addition to those living in an Aged Care Facility (ACF).

3.3.4 Participants

Sixteen participants took part in this study and were interviewed over a three-month period from March to June, 2013. There were six males and ten females. Although the aim was to interview an equal number of males and females, four males declined to participate in the study. Six of the females were widowed and living independently within their own homes, whereas all of the male participants were married and residing with their spouses. Participants were members of the Greek

community residing independently in their own homes within the inner metropolitan suburbs of Adelaide, South Australia. They reported having arrived in Australia during their late teens/early adulthood between 1954 and the 1963. The participants were aged between 70 and 85 years when the interviews were conducted.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below provide some descriptive data for both the male and female participants of the current research, such as their year of arrival in Australia, their age upon arrival, etc., as well as their scores on the GDS and the MAS

Table 3.1

Summary of demographic details: male participants

ID	Year of Arrival	Age on Arrival (Yrs)	Age	Years of Residences (Australia)	GDS	MAS
M1	1962	28	77	51	0	15
M2	1963	23	74	50	2	15
M3	1965	24	72	48	3	14
M4	1961	40	85	45	7	16
M5	1962	30	80	51	5	16
M6	1963	30	81	50	6	19
Mean		29.17	78.17	49.17	3.83	15.83
SD		6.08	4.79	2.32	2.64	1.72

GDS=Geriatric Depression Scale (0-15); MAS=Marin Acculturation Scale (0-60)

Table 3.2

Summary of demographic details: female participants

ID	Year of Arrival	Age on Arrival (Yrs)	Age	Years of Residences (Australia)	GDS	MAS
F1	1959	27	84	54	8	16
F2	1954	24	84	59	5	12
F3	1960	18	71	53	4	22
F4	1962	28	79	51	2	15
F5	1956	20	77	57	2	22
F6	1961	17	70	52	2	22
F7	1957	23	80	56	4	15
F8	1958	19	74	55	0	15
F9	1961	18	73	52	3	23
F10	1954	19	78	59	1	26
Mean		21.30	77.00	54.80	3.10	18.80

SD	3.94	4.97	2.90	2.28	4.68

GDS=Geriatric Depression Scale (0-15); MAS=Marin Acculturation Scale (0-60)

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 indicate that the participants reported having arrived in Australia when they were between 17 and 40 years of age. The males ($\bar{x}$ = 29.16, SD = 6.08) were about 7 years and 10 months older than the females ($\bar{x}$ = 21.30, SD = 3.94) upon arrival. Their length of residence in Australia was on average 49.17 years for the males and 54.80 for the females; that is, about 5 years and 8 months shorter for the males. In addition, at the time of interview, the females were, on average, one year and two months younger than the males. Notably, the female participants scored, on average, 0.7 points lower on the GDS and 3 points higher on the MAS.

3.4 Procedure

3.4.1 Data Collection

Interviews were conducted in the Greek language by the researcher, who is herself of Greek background and fluent in the use of the Greek language. The relatively small sample size enabled the present researcher to conduct in-depth semi-structured interviews on a one-to-one basis with each participant and generated data that was dense, rich and multilayered.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to enable the development of a personal narrative relating to the theme of the migratory experience (for example, settlement in Australia, cultural identity and adjustment). The researcher's ability to speak Greek rapidly facilitated the establishment of rapport and was considered crucial to the development of a degree of intimacy and the engenderment of trust and openness between the researcher and the participants. The researcher is a practising registered Psychologist with extensive experience in the provision of counselling, therapeutic interventions and assessment services with persons of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds across all age ranges.

Data was collected from face-to-face interviews with 16 participants, 10 female and 6 male participants and 1 key informant. The interviews were of 1½ hours duration on average and were

recorded using a digital recorder. Basic demographic details were obtained prior to the interview, such as the year of birth; which part of Greece they originated from; when they migrated to Australia; and the reasons for having migrated. Upon conclusion of the interview, each participant was administered the Greek version of the GDS and the MAS. The Greek version of the GDS was developed by Fountoulakis et al., 2003b and Fountoulakis et al., 1999.

A series of open-ended questions were used that sought to explore the way participants construct their identity; how they talk about their relationship to Greece and Australia in light of their experiences of having returned to Greece repeatedly during the course of their lives in Australia; and how these experiences have affected their sense of identity and belonging both to their ancestral and adopted homelands. The interviews followed stages or pivotal turning points and events across the lifespan during the course of their life as a migrant. These details stemmed, for example, from their memories of life in Greece prior to migration; their impressions of Australia upon arrival; their experiences in adapting and adjusting to life in Australia; their hopes and aspirations for a new life in Australia; their experiences of ageing in Australia; their needs in later life; and their conceptions of what it means to age well.

The participants were informed of the purpose of the interview and the research project both by the informant during the process of eliciting their consent to participate in the research, and by the researcher who reiterated the purpose of the interview. The following questions were asked to guide the interview process, commencing with closed questions and then merged into questions that were more exploratory and open ended:

- Where were you born/ which part of Greece do you come from?
- When did you come to Australia?
- How did you come to Australia?
- How old were you when you came to Australia?
- How old are you now? / How many years have you lived in Australia?
- Tell me a little bit about your life before coming to Australia?

- What were the reasons that prompted you to decide to migrate to Australia?
- Did you migrate willingly/ voluntarily?
- What were your first impressions of Australia upon arrival?
- What were your hopes for a new life in Australia?
- Tell me about your life in Australia since you came here … finding work, building a new life, family, etc.
- What has your life been like since having migrated to Australia?
- Have you had the opportunity to return to Greece since having migrated?
- If so, tell me about your experiences during your return visit(s)? What are your feelings toward Greece now? What are your perceptions of Greece now?
- Do you or have you regretted leaving your country/ town/ village to live in Australia?
- Do you consider Greece or Australia to be your homeland?
- Do you see yourself as Greek or Australian?
- How do you see your life now as you are getting older in Australia?
- What does a good old age mean to you? What does it mean to have a good old age?

3.4.2 Description and Purpose of Instruments Used to Supplement In-Depth Interviews

The interviews were supplemented with two questionnaires which were administered at the conclusion of each interview. These were: the Greek version of the Geriatric Depression Scale – 15 (GDS-15) (Fountoulakis et al., 1999; Yesavage, 1988) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS) (Marin et al., 1987), a language-based acculturation scale.

Below is a more detailed description of these measures:

i. The GDS-15 is a closed questionnaire that explores the presence of depressive ideation and is used as a basic screening measure for depression in older adults. The Short Form version of the scale was used in the current research and contains 15

question items that require a Yes/ No response. This makes it relatively easy to administer and has been demonstrated to have high internal consistency and test–retest reliability (Fountoulakis et al., 1999). A study of the short form of the Geriatric Depression Scale in Greece by Fountoulakis et al. (1999) found that a score of 6 or 7 on the GDS–15 was the best cut-off point for diagnosing depression in older persons in Greece. It was also found to manifest high internal consistency with Cronbach's Alpha being 0.94 (Fountoulakis et al., 1999). For the purposes of the present study, a score of 5 and above was considered to be indicative of expressed depressive ideation. This is supported by a study conducted by Dias et al. (2017, p.276) and Weeks, McGann, Michaels and Penninx (2003) which found that the GDS – 15 accurately screened major depression in community dwelling subjects aged ≥ 75 years using the 4/5 cut off score.

ii. The MAS is a language-based acculturation scale and indicates the social and language preferences at home and in the wider community. It was originally developed for use with the Hispanic population and consists of 12 closed-ended items utilising a five-point response scale. Respondents are asked for their preferences with respect to speaking their native language at home or otherwise, and their preferences for who they will socialise with in a wide variety of contexts (Gupta & Yick, 2001). There are 3 sub-scales:

1. **The Language Use sub-scale**: This includes five items to assess respondents' proficiency and preferences for speaking a given language in a variety of settings.
2. **The Media Use sub-scale**: consists of three items to evaluate respondents' preferences for media in a particular language.
3. **The Ethnic Social Relations sub-scale**: consists of four items to measure whether respondents predominantly socialise with people of their own ethnicity.

Scores are then summated and averaged to calculate a general acculturation score, with the scores ranging from 1 to 60. Higher scores reflect a higher level of acculturation and lower scores reflect a lower level of acculturation within the dominant or host society. A score in the middle indicates a bicultural adaptation to both the dominant and the participant's own language and culture. Marin and Gamba (2003) reported an alpha coefficient of .92.

3.4.3 Rationale for use of GDS and MAS

The administration of the GDS–15 (Greek version) and the MAS enabled the researcher to use independently derived sets of data in order to distinguish common themes that emerged among participants who were identified as experiencing higher levels of expressed depressive ideation. The Greek version of the short form was used for the present study and was administered by the researcher given that all of the participants indicated that they preferred to have the questions read out to them in the Greek language, rather than reading and completing the form themselves. This may reflect the level of under-confidence of the participants in being able to read and complete the questionnaire in hand-written form. In addition, it allowed an opportunity for the participants to ask questions for clarification and a reiteration and re-phrasing of individual questions by the researcher where the terminology used was unclear or difficult. It explored to what extent this may be reflected in the narrative accounts of their life history, migratory experiences and adjustment to life in their newly adopted homeland. It also enabled an exploration of how social and emotional well-being is defined and expressed among members of the Greek immigrant community and how this may be related to their sense of identity and degree of acculturation within the dominant culture. These instruments were used to supplement the main qualitative interviews that generated the data corpus. They were not intended to be analysed statistically as part of a quantitative study. Rather, the use of these instruments was intended to be an integral part of achieving 'triangulation' and served to aid in the achievement of greater consistency, rigour of interpretation and intersubjective reliability. This has been frequently cited as one of the main criteria for good qualitative research (Harper & Thompson, 2012; Tracy, 2010).

In summary, there were some independent sources of information that were used to strengthen the present researcher's conclusions. These included the aid of an informant to assist in recruiting suitable participants and her knowledge of their personal histories. A professional interpreter/ translator's level of knowledge and expertise in the Greek language and culture was used to aid in the transcription of the interviews into the Greek language, as well as the interpretation of specific idiomatic terms of expression. Finally, the administration of inventories such as the GDS and the MAS were used to supplement the in-depth interviews.

3.5 Analysis and Interpretation

3.5.1 Preliminary and Descriptive Analysis

The interviews were transcribed by the researcher and translated with the assistance of a bilingual mental health professional/ cultural consultant who has experience working with the Greek community to aid in inter-rater consistency in the understanding and interpretation of the transcripts. A preliminary analysis of the general themes and value orientations that emerged from each narrative account facilitated an exploration of the following central questions:

1) How do first-generation Greek immigrants articulate and construct a sense of who they are, their identity and their life story through a recount of significant events in their lives? How do they evaluate their life's meaning and worth?

The secondary focus of the present research involved the identification and selection of those participants who indicated high scores on the GDS scale for depression and low scores on the acculturation scale.

This enabled a further exploration on the question of:

2) How do first generation Greek migrants construe their current predicament, challenges and constraints? Where are they now? How do they see their situation now?

In this context, a secondary level of analysis entailed an examination of any constraints to a narrative account of life events or how the narrative may have become blocked. A person's life account may have become constrained by certain conditions such as age, ailing health, a death in the family, an accident resulting in lifelong injuries, or gender role expectations. During the course of the interview, it was possible to identify and explore whether an account indicated a temporal disruption or discontinuity and whether this reflected if the person being interviewed had become bereft of a sense of future possibilities or options. In such instances it was important to track common themes through their identity construction and articulation of their current predicament as consistent within cross-cultural theorisations such as the individualist or collectivistic framing of issues; religiosity; a sense of shame or guilt in relation to their predicament; a sense of agency or passivity and how this may be related to the development of depression; gender roles and constraints; and socio-economic status given that the overwhelming majority of the participants came from rural Greece with an agricultural labouring background and a limited opportunity to receive a formal education.

The Greek migrants of the first generation who were interviewed for the purposes of the present research represent a relatively small and homogenous group given the commonality of their language (Greek), socio-economic background (largely originating from various regions of rural Greece), religion (Greek Orthodox) and level of education. In particular, the overwhelming majority of participants have not had the opportunity to progress beyond primary school level. All of the participants of the current study migrated under similar circumstances, having settled in the inner-city suburbs of Adelaide, have been retired for several years, continue to live independently within their own homes, and prefer to speak Greek both domestically and in the wider community. This affords the ability to make some generalisations about their experiences based on the commonality of the demographic, socio-economic, linguistic and cultural dimensions of their experience.

3.5.2 Translation and Interpretation of Interview Transcripts

Each interview was transcribed orthographically from spoken Greek to written Greek by the researcher, with the assistance of a professionally qualified Greek speaking bilingual linguist/ interpreter /translator. The bilingual linguist/ interpreter/ translator was a native Greek speaker from Greece with extensive experience in working with the Greek community, both in Greece and Australia, and also had prior experience in working as a lecturer and researcher in an academic institution in Greece. This level of skill was able to be brought to bear in both facilitating and enhancing the level of rigour and inter-rater consistency in the understanding and interpretation of the transcripts. The interpreter/ translator's level of skill and knowledge of the Greek language and culture played a central role in being able to distinguish various idiomatic expressions and uses of the Greek language where there was no direct equivalent in the English language.

It is important to take into account the considerable limitations in being able to offer a direct translation from Greek to English. Not only are these limitations attributable to the lack of equivalence between the Greek and English languages with respect to syntax, semantic and idiomatic expression, but also in terms of the specific intonations that are an inherent part of any given language (Panou, 2013). These factors defy an easy transcription and the ability to render an accurate or literal representation of an interview extract using a Jeffersonian transcription, for example (Potter & Hepburn, 2005; Skukauskaite, 2012). Hence, given the difficulties as outlined, it was decided that using Jeffersonian transcription to represent segments of an interview was rendered difficult in the current context (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). This is because the original meanings and intonations of the Greek language would have inevitably become lost in translation (Temple & Young, 2004). Only the extracts that were used to illustrate a particular theme were translated into English by the researcher, and these were checked by the professional translator for accuracy and equivalence in meaning where possible.

The current researcher/author refrained from translating the Greek interview transcriptions into English in order that the subsequent coding and analysis of the interview data would be based as close as possible to, and derived from, the primary data (Nikander, 2008; Temple & Edwards,

2008). This was considered of paramount importance, given that each language carries specific nuances and idioms of expression that often lack semantic equivalence between languages (Panou, 2013, p. 2; Van de Vijver & Tanzer, 1997). The specific 'dialects' of the various regions of Greece were preserved in the transcriptions in instances where a participant used the vernacular, character and specific intonations of spoken Greek of a specific region; for example, in Northern Greece where spoken Greek differed in subtle ways from the standard Greek. This assisted in bringing to life the animated dialogue that had developed in its most authentic, unadulterated form by preserving the vernacular used by a participant, rather than being sanitised into the standard Greek. It is important to note that differences in the manner of pronouncing certain words and the idiomatic expressions used by some of the participants did not constitute dialects according to the strict meaning of this term. Moreover, the form of spoken Greek that was used was for the most part intelligible to the current researcher.

3.5.3 Thematic Analysis

A Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to evaluate the main themes emerging from the interview data. Braun and Clarke (2006) have proposed a 6-stage approach in analysing qualitative data. The first stage involved a thorough immersion and familiarisation with the data. Subsequent stages of the analysis involved coding the entire data set, identifying themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and then producing a written report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

As part of the first stage, each interview transcription was read repeatedly and comprehensively and then coded and re-coded into English directly from the original Greek transcription. Notes were made based on the researcher's impressions, observations and familiarity with the participants, emotions that were expressed in response to a particular question, topic or event, as well as recurring patterns within the entire data set. The codes of each interview were then used to develop a mind map of themes which were later re-grouped as sub-themes under dominant or overarching themes. The process was predominantly inductive; that is, the themes were derived from the coded

interview data rather than being extrapolated according to a pre-formulated code or a particular hypothesis or theory. Hence the emergent themes were interpreted both in terms of their semantic or surface meanings and also in relation to their broader meanings and significance in light of previously conducted research.

3.6 Methodological Reflections and Limitations

3.6.1 The Researcher and the Role of Reflexivity

The researcher/author/interviewer of the present study is a practising registered Psychologist with extensive experience in the provision of counselling, therapeutic interventions and assessment services with persons of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In particular, the researcher has extensive experience in the provision of assessment services with Indigenous Australians, as well as recent and established immigrants and refugees within a Social Security context (Commonwealth Department of Human Services). Although born in Australia, the researcher/author/interviewer is herself a member of the Greek community in Adelaide. She was well positioned to undertake this research given her fluency in the Greek language and her degree of knowledge and familiarity with the Greek culture. This was considered important given that the overwhelming majority of the participants indicated that they preferred to speak Greek within their homes and in the community.

3.6.2 Insider or Outsider Status?

The extent to which the characteristics of the researcher matched that of the participants, such as having a common language, religion, culture, and prior familiarity with some of the participants and their family, can be seen as strengths that rapidly enabled the development of rapport and a shared understanding and worldview. The researcher's 'insider' status as a member of the Greek community and her ability to speak the Greek language arguably facilitated a greater openness and enhanced the ability to achieve a degree of intimacy, insight and understanding that perhaps would

not have been as accessible to a researcher who was not of the same background (Song & Parker, 1995). However, the researcher also differed in some important ways from the participants with regard to level of education, age, employment status, place of birth and level of English language proficiency. This simultaneously raises the question of whether the researcher can be regarded as an 'insider' or an 'outsider', or both (Jones, 2010; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006). While it is generally accepted that a researcher having an 'insider' status is advantageous, it is increasingly recognised that our multiple identities defy categorisation within such a rigid dichotomous understanding (Couture, Zaidi & Maticka-Tyndale, 2012). For example, the current researcher's multiple identities as a Greek Australian Psychologist of the second generation marks both her differences and commonalities with the participants of the current research (Potter, 1996; Wetherell, 1994). It can equally be argued that there were advantages and disadvantages to those aspects of the current researcher's identity that mark her as an 'outsider'. However, post-positivist perspectives of the research endeavour are increasingly acknowledging that the insider/ outsider binary fails to grasp the complexity and fluidity of a researcher's identity. Instead, most scholars are now recognising that the relational and interactive nature of the research process has challenged the essentialist and reductionist claims of insider/ outsider status (Couture et al., 2012).

3.6.3 The Impact of Social Desirability on Disclosure

In the present research, the researcher observed that some of the participants responded to the questions that were asked in a manner demonstrating a compulsion to maintain social desirability. This is more likely to be the case when the participants are members of a collectivistic culture where an emphasis on the maintenance of social desirability becomes particularly evident when entering subject areas that are considered taboo (Johnson & Van de Vijver, 2003; Triandis, 1989;). Members of the first generation of Greek migrants continue to harbour strongly internalised notions of honour and shame (Loukatos, 1964; Péristiany & Peristiany, 1966). These represent cultural values and codes of conduct that may constrain that which is likely to be disclosed or openly talked about (Campbell, 1966; Herzfeld, 1980). This was particularly evident with issues pertaining to

family matters and the influence of cultural norms such as ‘saving face’ as reflected in sanctions against the ‘airing of dirty linen’ (Fisher, 1993; Nederhof, 1985). To this extent, the current study presents data that may underestimate the levels of anxiety and depression that are truly reflective of that which has been demonstrated in the wider CALD community, particularly among older persons.

Equally, high levels of stigma continue to persist in the broader community with regard to openly discussing issues pertaining to mental health, and this also applies to members of the Greek community. The extent to which the GDS contains constructs that have cultural equivalence also raises the question as to the extent of its applicability to this cohort of Greek migrants (Fountoulakis et al., 2003a & 2003b; Incalzi, Cesari, Pedone & Carbonin, 2003). This is because low literacy levels and cultural differences in the understanding of mental health may accentuate the likelihood that they will provide answers that are socially desirable rather than being a true indicator of their degree of psychological distress (Kieffer & Reese, 2002).

3.7 Implications and Conclusion

The impetus for the present research stems from the author’s personal interest in the subject matter as a member of the second generation of Greek Australians who was born in Australia and a daughter of Greek-born immigrants of the post-World War II period. The author’s observations of her own parents’ experiences of ageing away from their country of origin, and the impact that this has had on their general social and emotional well-being, laid the foundation for a broader exploration of the migratory experiences of Greek migrants of the first generation. Also of interest was the way these experiences have influenced their sense of identity and belonging to a place that represents ‘home’, and how existing language and cultural barriers have affected their needs and expectations as they enter the latter stage of their lives.

The philosophical framework of social constructivism from a social realist perspective best lends itself to giving voice to the subjective reality of participants while acknowledging that this is

necessarily shaped by, and couched within, the traditional values that participants imported from their country of origin. Since little is known about the subjective ageing experiences of Greek immigrants to Australia and given the researcher's personal interest in the topic, this theoretical framework allowed for a richly detailed exploration of their immigration experiences and of the impact that this has had on themselves and their families as they are ageing away from their place of origin.

However, a central characteristic of qualitative research using thematic analysis is that it enables an in-depth exploration of the dominant themes that have emerged from the individual narratives of the participants that can be linked back to theorisations and empirical findings of research relating to this cohort of older migrants. Most importantly, it gives voice to the members of an ethnic minority whose concerns, thoughts and perspectives would otherwise have remained silent and largely unknown. In this regard, the present study makes an important contribution to research that has endeavoured to shed light based on interviews with the participants who are the focus of the study and who are the subject of the research itself. This stands in contrast to research that uses secondary sources or bases its assumptions about a particular ethnic group on research that has been conducted on members of the wider community. In this sense, this research is deeply participatory and by definition democratic in its approach and underlying methodological framework (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). It achieves this by having conducted the interviews in the native language of the participants themselves by virtue of the current author being proficient in the Greek language and who is also a member of the same community to which the participants belong. This has afforded an opening to in-group knowledge at the most intimate level and enables the researcher to obtain an important and otherwise difficult to access reservoir of information and knowledge. However, while some broad assumptions may safely be made with regard to this cohort of Greek migrants based on their common language and culture, the present researcher has remained cognisant of the importance of appreciating the uniqueness of each narrative account. This

is particularly important given the implications of recognising the diversity of needs and expectations of each individual in the provision of aged care services.

Chapter 4: Cultural Identity and Psychological Well-Being of Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia

4.1 Preface

The current chapter presents the richly multilayered accounts of the migratory experiences of members of a Greek community residing in the inner-city suburbs of Adelaide, South Australia, to examine their experiences of arrival and adjustment to their newly adopted homeland. It explores the subsequent transformations that have occurred to their sense of identity and relationship both to their native and adopted homelands over time. Greek migrants of the Australian diaspora have preserved language and cultural practices that have remained uniquely distinctive from that of the mainstream or dominant culture, hence providing the context to enable a focus on older Greek migrants' conceptualisation and experience of identity and belonging. This will provide the context within which to further explore their sense of 'homeness' or what it means to have found a place to which they belong. This, in turn, is explored within a context of a shifting relationship both to their country of origin (Greece) and their adopted homeland (Australia) as they enter the latter stage of their life. It paves the way for a subsequent examination of their experiences of ageing, and how this aligns with their conceptualisation of 'ageing well' which will be discussed in the next chapter. As their attachment to the mother country becomes disrupted as a result of the migratory experience and the gains and losses that it entails, the significance of the transformation to their sense of identity as a consequence of the fragmented nature of the relationship both to their country of origin and their adopted homeland is the focus of the present Chapter.

The question of how identity may be related to social and emotional well-being, particularly as it concerns the subject of migrants ageing 'out of place' or in a place other than their country of origin, is also discussed. Given that Greek immigrants constitute the second largest group of migrants in Australia, the question of identity and belonging assumes specific salience. As Greek migrants are an ethnic group noted for their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, this has

implications for their coping and well-being as they are ageing within a society in which they are a cultural and linguistic minority.

4.2 Aims and Rationale of The Present Research

Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton and Wong (2002) maintain that although constructs such as ethnic identity, acculturation and cultural orientation are similar and are often used interchangeably in the literature, it is important to note that they are also distinct in a number of ways. For the purposes of this research, it is argued that an 'ethnic identity' can be differentiated from the aforementioned constructs in that it requires a conscious endorsement of the values of a particular culture (Tsai et al., 2002). Hence, while a person may be well acculturated and orientated into their host or dominant society, it does not necessarily follow that they will have endorsed or completely identified with the dominant culture. Therefore, 'ethnic identity' as a construct warrants careful consideration in a migrant population in terms of how this intersects with their level of cultural acculturation and orientation within their host society. It also enables an exploration of the way the central aspects of their cultural identity are preserved or may have changed inter-generationally. Moreover, it is suggested that during the latter stage of one's life, a person's ethnic identity may assume greater importance (Akhtar, 1999a; Alexakis & Janiszewski, 1995). This is because it provides a link to the earlier stages of their life and may assume a central role in their ability to cope with adverse life events or bereavement due to the loss of a relative or spouse (Evergeti, 2006; Tsai et al., 2002). It has also been found that place of birth has a significant impact on an individual's cultural orientation. This has, in turn, been demonstrated to be correlated with psychological well-being (Tsai et al., 2002). For example, the loss of an older immigrant's ability to speak the language of the host society and a greater reliance on family members to be able to negotiate their needs in later life is likely to accentuate a state of 'ageing out of place', and this has direct implications for their well-being (Evergeti, 2006; Tsianikas et al., 2011; Walker et al., 2013).

In alignment with these findings, Tsemberis and Orfanos (1999) have emphasised that both internal and external dimensions of acculturation need to be taken into account when examining the effect of immigration on psychological well-being. Their findings suggest, on the one hand, that the 'external' manifestations of acculturation, such as acquiring proficiency in the dominant language and customs, have resulted in improvements to well-being. On the other hand, it was the 'internal' indices of acculturation such as attitudes and values which were found to be instrumental in maintaining well-being, particularly among Greek American women (Tsemberis & Orfanos, 1999). Tsemberis and Orfanos (1999) contend that their study points to the need to explore immigrants' changing sense of ethnic identity and acculturation across the life span.

Despite remaining an elusive concept in terms of its genesis, development and phenomenology, a number of disciplines have attempted to operationalise the concept of identity to allow for comparative analyses between varying sub-types of identity and how these may correlate with levels of acculturation between and within cultures. One such study by Ward, Ng Tseung-Wong, Szabo, Qumseya and Bhowon (2018) examines the construction of the Multicultural Identity Styles Scale (MISS) and the validation of its Hybrid Identity Style (HIS) and Alternating Identity Style (AIS) sub-scales. The purpose of this study was to attempt to discern how these identity sub-types may be correlated with degrees of acculturation and psychological well-being in diverse samples of immigrants of the first and second generations from New Zealand, Mauritius, and Israel. Ward et al. (2018) found that the HIS was more characteristic of members of the second generation of immigrants of their respective samples than that of their first-generation counterparts. Conversely, the AIS was more commonly found among members of the first generation, as indicated by a less integrated and more fragmented identity style and was predictive of poorer psychological adaptation and greater cultural identity conflict. These findings stand in contrast to research that has found that a strong sense of identity was positively correlated with well-being in first generation Greek migrants (Anagnostou, 2003; Close et al., 2016; Tsemberis & Orfanos, 1999). This research highlights the tenuous and often contradictory nature of the relationship

between levels of acculturation and identity and points to the need to examine the mediating influence of cultural identity, language and culture on social and emotional well-being.

The following section focuses specifically on the identity formation of first-generation Greek migrants living in a South Australian community, many of whom have lived in Australia for more than 40 years. This section explores the way they construct their identity in relation to their ancestral and adopted homelands, and how this may have changed over time. An examination of what are the salient features of their identity and how this may be related to their social and emotional well-being as they are ageing in Australia is discussed.

4.3 Method

The current research used in-depth semi-structured interviews that included a series of open-ended and closed questions with 6 male and 10 female members of the first generation of Greek migrants in a local South Australian community. The interviews were conducted between March and July 2013. This coincided with the period that Greece had entered the height of an economic crisis that endured from 2008 until 2018. During this period, the European Union required Greece to adopt austerity measures and became mired in a recession that did not end until 2017. This provides some additional context for much of the participants' references to Greece and the management of its debt crisis.

The present research sought to explore how participants construct their identity, as well as the way they talk about their relationship to Greece and Australia in light of their experiences of having returned to Greece repeatedly during the course of their lives in Australia. In addition, it explores how these experiences have affected their sense of identity and belonging both to their ancestral and adopted homelands. The migratory journey of each participant and their experiences of settlement and adaptation are given a brief mention as it is not the intention of the present study to present a life-long narrative account of each participant. Rather, the researcher has chosen to focus on the salient aspects of the migratory experience as it pertains to the effect on their identity and sense of

belonging. The study considers how this may correlate with their subsequent well-being as it was being experienced by each participant during the current stage of their life as ageing migrants in their adopted homeland.

Specifically, the following questions provided the context in which the subsequent themes relating to identity, transformation of identity subsequent to return visits to the motherland, and effect on sense of home and belonging, were generated:

- What were your first impressions of Australia upon arrival?
- What has your life been like since having migrated to Australia?
- Have you had the opportunity to return to Greece since having migrated?
- If so, tell me about your experiences during your return visit(s)? What are your feelings toward Greece now? What are your perceptions of Greece now?
- Do you consider Greece or Australia to be your homeland?
- Do you see yourself as Greek or Australian?

The interviews were supplemented with the use of the Greek version of the Geriatric Depression Scale – Short Form (GDS-SF) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS). Please refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2 for a full description of these scales and the purpose for which they were used.

4.4 Results

The results of the measures Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS) that were used to supplement the interviews are followed by an analysis of the main themes that emerged from the in-depth interviews:

4.4.1 Correlations of The GDS And MAS With Participant Characteristics

In addition to the description of participant characteristics in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 of Chapter 3, Table 4.3 shows the correlation matrix which includes GDS scores, MAS scores, age at interview, age on arrival and years of residence in Australia.

Table 4.3

Pearson intercorrelations between variables for whole sample

	Age on arrival	Years of residence	GDS	MAS
Age	.72**	.07	.64**	-.39
Age on arrival		-.60*	.56*	-.50*
Years of Residence			.24	.25
GDS				-.20

*p<.05;**p<.01 GDS=Geriatric Depression Scale (0-15); MAS=Marin Acculturation Scale (0-60)

Table 4.3 indicates that the participants who were older on arrival were also older at interview time (r =.72, p<.01, but had been in Australia for the shortest time (r = -.60, p<.05). This can be explained by the differences between females and males in age on arrival and time of arrival, as, shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 of Chapter 3 where males were older on arrival, were still older at the time of interview, and had been in Australia for the shortest time.

4.4.1.1 GDS and Participant Characteristics.

Older participants consistently expressed higher levels of depressive ideation and scored significantly higher on the GDS (r = .64, p<.01), as did the participants who were older at the time of arrival (r = .56, p<.05). These correlations reflect that men were older on arrival and scored higher on the GDS, as shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, in spite of the fact that a Chi square test performed on GDS by gender (Table 4.4) did not show a statistically significant difference between females and males., due to the small numbers involved (less than 5 for 3 out of 4 cells).

Table 4.4:

Proportion of males and females with expressed depressive ideation on the Geriatric Depression Scale

GDS Score (0-15)	Males N=6	Females N=10	*Marginal Row Totals*

GDS<5	3 (4.12) [0.31]	8 (6.88) [0.18]	11
GDS>5	3 (1.88) [0.68]	2 (3.12) [0.4]	5
Marginal Column Totals	6	10	16 (Grand Total)

The chi-square statistic is 1.5709. The p-value is .210075. Not significant at $p < .05$.

The chi-square statistic with Yates correction is 0.4848. The p-value is .486234. Not significant at $p < .05$.

4.4.1.2 MAS and Participant Characteristics.

It is also of interest that participants who were older on arrival scored lower on the MAS ($r = .50$, $p<.05$), suggesting that older persons find it more difficult to adjust, and, in particular, to learn a new language. In this group, the GDS and MAS scores do not correlate significantly.

4.4.2 Qualitative Interpretation of GDS and MAS Scores

4.4.2.1 Males With High GDS Scores.

Table 4.4 shows that three out of six males had GDS scores that were equal to or greater than 5 as compared to two out of ten females. Hence, there were a greater proportion of males whose GDS score was 5 or greater, indicating a higher degree of expressed depressive ideation than the female participants. Notably, all of the males were living with their spouses in their own home. By contrast, six out of ten females were widowed and living on their own.

Males with high GDS scores were on average older ($\bar{x}$ = 82) than males with low GDS scores ($\bar{x}$ = 74). Males with high GDS scores expressed persistent feelings of disillusionment and alienation, a fragmented identity, and a corresponding longing to return to their homeland that did not diminish with the passage of time. Males with high GDS scores also expressed a greater sense of dissatisfaction with their spousal and other relationships within their family. This finding is consistent with research indicating that it is the quality of spousal and familial relationships rather than social support networks *per se* that is the critical variable in the maintenance of well-being (Stanaway et al., 2010). For example, the following participant (M6) who obtained a score of 6 on

the GDS, provided a poignant expression of loneliness in the midst of family, and indeed, despite their presence. This may be discerned in the following remarks whereby he indicated that relationships within his family had fallen short of the level of care and support that was in accordance with his cultural and individual expectations:

> *My need for assistance and support is missing … As well as love and compassion … (nervous cough) … now … I feel alone … (M6, aged 81).*

Males with high scores on the GDS expressed a high degree of conflict and disappointment within their family relationships. In turn, this intensified their desire to return to Greece to regain a sense of connectedness and belonging with remaining family members of the motherland.

4.4.2.2 Females With High GDS Scores.

Prominent among females with high GDS scores was the concern that their mobility had become considerably reduced, hence limiting their ability to remain independent and self-sufficient with respect to being able to maintain household duties. For example, the following female participant recalled having suffered multiple health problems emanating from a traumatic journey on a migrant liner. These traumas resulted in life-long health difficulties and had culminated in leg paralysis and immobility:

> *I cannot stand on my own two feet so that I can do my work on my own. We were cheated by 'xenitia' (the 'foreign land'), my nerves have shattered … What can I do!!! (F1, aged 84)*

Immobilisation and loneliness were mentioned by the other:

> *I cannot go anywhere … only to church and a friend. The TV keeps me company. What can I do? You lose hope when you are alone. (F2, aged 84)*

Two out of ten of the females with high GDS scores were widowed and living on their own, suffering multiple health problems resulting in restrictions to their mobility. Notably, they disclosed having become heavily reliant on their adult daughters for assistance. These included support with

household chores, as well as help with shopping and transport to be taken to their local church and cemetery. They described enacting the rituals of tending to the gravestones of their husbands and children who had passed away prematurely due to terminal illnesses. These participants emphasised that their inability to speak English and an increasing reliance on their children as conduits between themselves and mainstream society further accentuated a feeling of displacement as they are growing older. Such cases underscore the importance of life stage considerations when emotional responses to identity, home and belonging matter in the attempt to achieve emotional stability during the latter part of one's life (Christou, 2009b, 2011 & 2013). When this is compounded by threats to the integrity of the family, a disappointment or a fracturing of relationships within the family unit, this can contribute to a further de-stabilisation of identity and a sense of belonging.

4.4.2.3 Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS).

The results of the Marin Acculturation Scale indicate that all participants consistently reported low levels of acculturation across all three sub-scales, including 'Language Use', 'Media Use' and 'Ethnic Social Relations'. With regard to 'Language use', all participants reported that they preferred to speak Greek both at home and socially. Correspondingly, most participants talked about their lack of English language proficiency as being a barrier to their ability to become fully integrated within mainstream society. Consequently, they needed to turn to their adult children for assistance in completing forms and in being able to access services within the general community. With respect to 'Media Use', there was an even spread of participants who indicated that they preferred to watch specific Greek News and current affairs programs on satellite television. However, many mentioned that they also accessed an equal number of mainstream news channels, films and documentaries in English. For the 'Ethnic Social Relations' sub-scale, all participants specified a preference to almost exclusively socialise with friends and family within the Greek community. However, with respect to the question of whether participants preferred to preserve their children's inter-ethnic relations, most participants indicated that they were unable to control who their children chose to socialise with and saw it both as unrealistic and undesirable to do so.

4.4.3 Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data

Using the principles of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), seven main sub-themes were collated under the four overarching themes of 'Shock of Arrival', 'Identity and Belonging', 'Transformation of Identity' and 'Relationship to the Homeland'. They were as follows:

1) *Shock, Disillusionment and Alienation upon Arrival.*
2) *Greek Identity as Core and Immutable.*
3) *Nostalgia and Emotional Ties to the 'Patrida' (ancestral homeland).*
4) *Negative Experiences of Returning to Greece.*
5) *Feeling like a Foreigner/ Stranger in both the 'Patrida' and Adopted Homeland.*
6) *Transformation of Identity and Belonging.*
7) *Locus of Identity and Belonging is the Family.*

These themes will be examined both in terms of their explicit and surface meanings as well as attempting to theorise the significance of their broader meanings in relation to previously conducted research. The following provides a description of the themes, with some translated verbatim examples to illustrate them. As each interview was conducted in the Greek language and transcribed directly into Greek, only the excerpts that were used to illustrate each theme were translated into English. Given the differences in semantics, syntax, intonation, and use of idiomatic expressions between the Greek and English languages, the interview excerpts are presented in English using conventional textual punctuation.

4.4.3.1 Shock, Disillusionment and Alienation Upon Arrival: " … It Was A Dark Place".

Much has been documented about the adaptation, settlement and subsequent contributions of the Greek migrants who arrived in significant numbers to Australia after World War II (Damousi, 2015; Tamis, 2005). These migrants were a relatively homogenous group in that they arrived with Greek and foreign shipping lines sponsored by the Inter-Governmental Committee of European Migration (ICEM) (Tamis, 2005). Most were unskilled, unemployed labourers from the rural regions of Greece, and mainly arrived with little or no capital and limited education. They were

predominantly young and had little experience of travelling outside of their native villages (Tamis, 2005). Their unfamiliarity with Australian laws and tradition, together with the significant language and cultural barriers that they encountered, in many cases engendered feelings of insecurity. However, all expressed a desire to work hard, often taking more than one job, with a view to being able to return to Greece once the political turbulence within Greece subsided. Nevertheless, the desire to return to Greece became thwarted when it became apparent that it was not financially possible for many of them to be able to do so. Furthermore, once they started building a family, their priorities changed toward creating the best possible opportunities for the future of their children. The arrival accounts of the participants of the current research testify to the initial culture shock that many experienced upon entering a 'foreign land' and of the difficulties that they encountered with the often harsh physical demands of the jobs that they undertook. The following is a brief extract from an interview with a 78-year-old female participant. She provided an account of the exploitative nature of her work experiences at Bonegilla (a former military camp that was later converted into a migrant hostel), approximately 400 kilometres north-east of Melbourne – during the first year of her arrival in 1954:

> *I did not have a problem with the job … I worked for 16 hours per day. The workers and the bosses would eat separately. The wife of the boss told me when morning tea was to be served. I was to ring a bell to summon the workers when the meals were ready. I would then clean up after them when they finished. On the weekends I would prepare tea and lunch for the bosses when they played tennis. It was a very hard job … there were no dish washers back then! When some of the Greeks and Italians saw how busy I was … and one day when I was reduced to tears out of sheer exhaustion, they offered to help with drying the cutlery and dishes and put them away. (F10, aged 78)*

Another participant's overwhelming urge to immerse himself in work may be seen as an attempt to cope with the disorientation and shock of arrival. His comments, as exemplified here, included remarks of his first impressions of Australia as being 'a dark place'. It may be seen as

descriptive of the psychological impact of arriving in a place which would have appeared hostile and starkly different to that of his motherland:

> *I didn't like it here ... it was a dark place ... Everything ... it was very different ... everything ... all of it ... yes ... That's why I told Uncle George to find me some work straight away. (M6, aged 81)*

The following 71-year-old female participant described her frustration in being unable to comprehend the English language as rendering her into a state which she described as akin to being deaf, dumb and mute:

> *I was very young when I arrived here and I found that things were ... let's say, very different here. When I first arrived, the one thing that I could not get used to at all was the language. The language. They spoke to me and I thought that I had become deaf; I did not understand what they were saying and I thought that there was something wrong with my hearing. (F3, aged 71)*

This 70-year-old female participant recalled the added difficulties of adapting to a new life in Australia without the benefit of family members to provide support and assistance:

> *It was hard to find work, we had difficulties with the language, we didn't have any family members here, everything was black ... err ... life was very difficult and it took a long time for us to get used to it. (F6, aged 70)*

The image of 'darkness' and 'blackness' as evoked here was mobilised once again as a metaphor for the psychological anguish, difficulties and initial hardships that were endured by these participants in describing their first impressions of Australia and the nature of the work that they undertook as newly arrived migrants. While the difficulties of adapting to a 'foreign land' were numerous, these experiences are unlikely to have been unique to Greek migrants. Such challenges are commonly faced by many immigrants, particularly those whose language and culture differ from that of the country into which they are received. Despite the difficulties that they encountered

in learning the English language and adapting to a different culture and unfamiliar environment, the first generation of Greek migrants are perhaps notable for their unyielding desire to preserve their faith, language and culture inter-generationally. They also have largely remained traditionalists in their national identity and sentiment. The following section delves into how the participants of the present study talked about their identity, how is it constructed, and what it means to a sense of who they are and the community to which they belong. It also examines the manner in which their identity has become transformed over time. It explores how return visits to Greece has changed their relationship both to their motherland (Greece) and to their adopted homeland (Australia). This will be discussed in terms of how their return visits may have affected their sense of belongingness and 'home' as they are ageing in their adoptive homeland, Australia.

4.4.3.2 Greek Identity as Core and Immutable – "I Am Greek and This Will Not Change".

The majority of participants viewed themselves as irrefutably 'Greek', and this was construed as an integral and core part of their identity that is immutable. In some cases, this was stated emphatically and with considerable emotion:

> *I am Greek … I cannot say that I am Australian … I cannot under any circumstances say that I am an Australian … (F6, aged 70)*

> *Mmmmm … my Greekness has not left me … my Greekness has not left me … (F3, aged 71)*

Deeply interwoven within the Greek identity is the Greek Orthodox religion and this has come to be synonymous with what it means to be 'Greek'. The Greek Orthodox Church is one of the main institutions that has been instrumental in reinforcing and maintaining a distinctive ethnic identity and belonging within Greek diasporic communities across the globe (Alexiou, 1993; Constantinou, 1999; Georgiades, 2010 & 2014; Panagakos, 2003). What is noteworthy is that for

some of the participants, their Greek identity was seen as pervasive, irrefutable, homogenous, and one which has remained intact across each generation:

I cannot change the fact that I am Greek ... I am an Orthodox Greek ... I am not Australian, neither are my children and grandchildren ... even though they were born here ... I cannot say that I have become Australian, no ... I cannot say that for as long as I live ... (F9, aged 73)

Now me being Greek has not left me ... I am Greek ... yes I am Greek ... but I am also Australian ... it doesn't matter to me ... it doesn't matter to me ... but I feel more Greek from within ... yes ... (F7, aged 80)

For some, a Greek identity was attributed to the fact that Greek is the language that they continue to use within their family and in wider social circles, given that they predominantly socialise within the Greek community. Indeed, a number of participants consciously remarked on the incongruity of perceiving themselves as being Australian given the fact that they are unable to speak English:

Well look, on account of the fact that we cannot communicate well, I am Greek. If I find an elderly person that I can communicate with, I am happy because I can talk to him, you know, this is our life now ... (M1, aged 77)

Well I haven't ... it's not as if we have socialised with Australians so as to feel Australian. You see, wherever we go, we speak Greek. We have not associated with Australians ... so again you remain Greek. Whatever way you look at it, that's how it is. (F2, aged 84)

4.4.3.3 Nostalgia and Emotional Ties To The 'Patrida' (Ancestral Homeland).

All of the participants spontaneously mentioned their initial intention to return to Greece within a few years of living in Australia, reflecting a degree of involuntariness in the decision to leave their country of origin. Three of the male participants talked about their failed return

migration to Greece during the early part of their life in Australia. This resulted in a 'lost dream' owing to the lack of jobs, poor wages, poor conditions and political turmoil in Greece, forcing their return to Australia.

> *I liked it a lot in Greece … I liked it because I could return to the place where I grew up … (nervous cough, becomes emotional) … the nostalgia you know … I liked it on account of my friends being there, my relatives were there, and due to my house (of birth) being there … and the way of life is better than here. Here it is more secure, more spacious/ easy, but there isn't … something … is missing. (M6, aged 81)*

> *I love Greece, I love Greece because this is the place where I was born. It isn't possible to not love the place where you spent your childhood. The place where you lived as a child, these experiences remain indelibly imprinted in your mind … one cannot change this. (M3, aged 72)*

A deep nostalgia for Greece and all that it represents in the collective Greek migrant imagination was evident for most of the participants. Many of the participants were unable to completely relinquish their continued bond to the 'patrida' (motherland) and cherished their childhood memories and formative years there. However, they no longer had the desire to return to Greece:

> *No … well look, I long and feel for Greece because this is where we were born … this is where we have passed through all of our childhood memories … with our siblings, with our friends, I remember all of these things … but as we said, for me to say that I will return, I cannot … but at the same time I cannot say that I have forgotten Greece … no, I remember Greece because it is 'the patrida'. (M5, aged 80)*

For a minority of the participants, however, a perpetual indecision and ambivalence about where to live fuelled the desire to return to Greece repeatedly, remained ever-present, and represented a continual source of psychological and emotional anguish, loss and unhappiness:

... there are many who are fortunate to be able to make the decision ... 'this is it ... I will live here ... this is where it ends' ... such people are more ... If you have one foot in one boat and the other in another boat ... you can't ... this is what has happened to me. (M6, aged 81)

Others expressed persistent feelings of disillusionment and alienation, as well as a fragmented identity and a corresponding longing to return to their homeland. These feelings did not diminish with the passage of time:

You see what they say ... the 'step-mother' (Australia) may be good, but it's your 'mother' (Greece) that you ... long for ... (M6, aged 81)

All participants had satellite television and this was a means of keeping in touch with Greek news, reflecting a continued interest in Greece's economic and political affairs with the benefit of being able to follow it in their native language. A minority expressed a concern for the welfare of their compatriots during the economic crisis in Greece and talked of sending money and goods as a means of assistance:

I see it and I cherish her ('patrida' or 'motherland'). And how do I demonstrate this? When I hear that they are suffering over there, I feel uneasy ... some might say that 'it serves them right' ... I can't say this, I don't say this because ... because we are human beings and our suffering is the same ... and through the community we have tried to collect eleven thousand dollars so that we can help them. (M3, aged 72)

One of the participants, an 84-year-old widow living on her own, likened the television to a companion that brought her closer to the events of the homeland. The television was also described as salutary in that it provided companionship to fill a void and to be able to cope with loneliness:

I often worry about myself, because you lose hope when you are alone ... If I didn't have the TV ... I have a friend who comes to visit me and she says: 'That TV!' but I tell her

that: 'You may not like the TV, but I like it because I can listen to the Greek news' ... It keeps me company ... (F2, aged 84)

4.4.3.4 Negative Experiences of returning To Greece – "Greece and The Greeks Have Changed."

All participants remarked that Greece had changed dramatically based on their impressions during their return trips since having migrated to Australia. Many of the participants commented on the material wealth within which their compatriots lived their lives, in contrast to their own life as it was both prior to their migration to Australia and in comparison to their current standard of living. These accounts were often qualified with statements that suggested that these material and economic benefits appeared to be illusory given the perception that their compatriots were for the most part living on borrowed money and were heavily indebted both individually and as a nation. Many also commented on the increasing divide between themselves and their compatriots in Greece and constructed an identity that was based on the customs and traditions that they grew up with during an era which was wracked with poverty and political turmoil in rural Greece. Consequently, they saw their identity as having diverged considerably from the Greeks in Greece under the European Union. Some of the participants expressed a poignant and profound sense of disillusionment that their ancestral land had changed beyond recognition. They could no longer relate either to their relatives in Greece or to the Greeks in general within the context of an irrevocably changed nation. Consequently, nostalgic memories become fractured, but the romantic idealised memories of their youth remained vivid. This intensified feelings of estrangement in some participants and of being displaced and alone. The sense of displacement became reinforced by the fact that even when they returned, Greece was no longer the place that they remembered. This became further amplified when life in the adopted homeland had not fulfilled expectations, or when family relations had become conflictual or non-supportive both in Greece and in Australia:

We (meaning Greeks in Australia) here are more close to one another and more loving toward one another ... we visit each other more often ... (F6, aged 70)

I am not nostalgic for Greece, no. Because, consider this, what worried me when I returned after 30 years (of living in Australia) is that things were no longer comprehensible over there … when men would pass by our apartment, they would shout obscenities … I didn't like this; they would use coal instead of wood for warmth, unlike the way it was when I grew up; couples who were engaged to one another would sleep together - I didn't like this at all because this is not the way we were brought up. Everything … everything has changed. We were brought up strictly and we were subjected to corporal punishment by our parents if we shamed the family. (F4, aged 79)

It wasn't as good as the first time (of having returned to Greece) … there were no jobs … there are a lot of xenoi (foreigners), people have retreated into themselves, they weren't going out as much as they used to … ahhh … it wasn't so good … and now it's even worse … worse … (M6, aged 81)

It is noteworthy that some of the participants made reference to 'the foreigners' *('xenoi')* who are now inhabiting Greece in unprecedented numbers. This accentuated their feeling of displacement and of Greece as having changed unrecognisably from the time that they had left to migrate to Australia. The perception of themselves as exemplary migrants who had learnt to economise and who had retained the customs and traditions of their native land was often contrasted with that of the Greeks who had remained in Greece. This relationship was often constructed in dichotomous terms:

They are not the Greeks … they are not the Greeks with the habits, customs and traditions of the older culture that we were a part of. They have changed completely. We are the Greeks … the Greeks who knew of an older era, the poorer Greeks. (M3, aged 72)

I did not like it … I did not like it at all. I didn't like it because, look, in Greece they have learnt other ways … they would grab their wallet and run to the shops every morning to do the shopping … I had learnt differently and I would go to the wholesale store to do the shopping … and they would tell me: 'Hey you Australian, you have a lot of money.' 'I don't

have a lot of money' I would tell them, 'but I have a routine and learnt to be economical in Australia with what I had'. (F2, aged 84)

Here, parallels can be drawn with the experiences of second-generation Greek-American return migrants. During their return visits to their parental homeland, they found that Greece was no longer the 'homogenous Hellenistic' society of their imagination, as portrayed by their parents of the Greece that they left behind (Christou & King, 2006, p. 816). Christou and King (2006) found that these return migrants of the second generation constructed their own family's experience of migration and identity in positive terms. Furthermore, this was contrasted with their shock encounters with the new immigrants in Greece whose influence was predominantly construed in negative terms, as is inherent within the notion of 'xenoi' or 'foreigners'.

4.4.3.5 Feeling Like a Foreigner/ Stranger in Both The 'Patrida' and Adopted Homeland – "In Australia I Am a Greek and in Greece a Stranger."

A sense of estrangement was expressed by all of the participants when recounting their experiences of having returned to Greece since migrating to Australia. These feelings were described as having intensified with time due to the pace of change within Greece and of the changing nature of the relationships with members of their family. Being treated with scepticism, suspicion and/ or indifference by their relatives in Greece were talked about as feeding into their feelings of having become 'xenos' of 'xeni' (a 'stranger' or 'foreigner') in their motherland:

Well my impressions were good, they had fixed (i.e. modernised) everything, but afterwards, I didn't feel … because if you haven't lived with them, then you build your own world and you don't … how can I put it … as long as my parents were still alive we would go and see them and they would welcome us and all that … but later … it was as if I was a foreigner … yes … you understand? (F6, aged 70)

Yes, I had gone for a holiday after 15 years … I saw my mother, my siblings and they were happy to see me, as I was to see them, but my friends had changed … they were

indifferent … they did not ask me: 'How is your life in Australia, how are you going' … not at all … nothing!! When I saw them, I felt like a stranger … they all looked at me and I said to myself, no-one recognises me because they did not talk to me as before, and this really upset me. (M5, aged 80)

The concept of 'a stranger' in Greek is embodied within the word 'xenos', which has complex multilayered connotations of being 'a foreigner' and 'a stranger' or 'an exile'. Within this context, some of the participants quoted a line in a Greek song in which this sentiment is aptly expressed: "In Australia I am a Greek and in Greece a stranger".

… sometimes it is just their behaviour towards you which is hurtful when you go over there … it is hurtful when they behave in a certain way … that's why the song says that: 'In Australia I am a Greek and in Greece a stranger'. In Australia they tell you that you are Greek. When you go to Greece, they tell you that you are a foreigner … so in both places you are a stranger/ foreigner. (M3, aged 72)

This is paralleled by an increasing sense of becoming displaced within their adopted homeland within which their broader social networks have gradually diminished since retirement. As a result of this, they have begun to lose the often tentative command of English that they had previously acquired. A destabilisation of identity and belonging is experienced as the participants express their bewilderment over the manner in which they have been received by remaining relatives during their return trips to the motherland and the development of a sense of estrangement upon the realisation that their homeland had changed.

Significantly, one of the 84-year-old female participants remarked that during a return trip to Greece, her relatives saw her as being unequivocally Australian. She noted that her preference to return to live in Australia was seen as evidence of 'xenomania' (Ξενομανία). Etymologically, the term 'xenomania' is derived from the ancient Greek, and literally means a passion for everything that is foreign (Pilchin, 2015, p. 46). Here a profound sense of disillusionment and bewilderment becomes evident as the participant expresses her confusion over the extent to which she has become

estranged in her native land. This confusion is accentuated by her treatment as a 'foreigner' by remaining family members who scorned and derided her preference to live in a 'foreign land'. Being labelled as such was perceived as nonsensical by the participant on the grounds that she was unable to learn the English language:

> *In Greece, they told me that I am Australian and that I have xenomania. 'How can it be that I have xenomania?' I told them, 'As I have not learnt the (English) language.' (F2, aged 84)*

Indeed, for the majority of the participants of the present study, a lack of fluency or, in some cases, the inability to acquire English as a second language, was described as a source of embarrassment and regret and hindered their ability to become fully integrated members of the wider community:

> *My English is not good, here is where I am most embarrassed … this is a problem that has stigmatised me. It has remained within me and I don't feel good about this psychologically. (M3, aged 72)*

Here, a sense of psychological anguish is palpable. The participant has expressed an acute awareness of how the inability to acquire proficiency in the English language has prevented a sense of self-efficacy and a fuller integration within mainstream society. In addition, it suggests an erosion of his sense of self and psychological well-being, particularly since his level of education (completion of secondary school) by all accounts may have afforded him an advantage in being able to acquire a second language over that of his cohorts.

4.4.3.6 Transformation of Identity and Belonging - "Australia Is My Homeland Now."

While unable to completely relinquish their emotional bond to 'the patrida', some participants stated that Australia is their homeland now. A strong allegiance and sense of gratitude was expressed for their adopted homeland in which they perceived a higher level of security, a superior

health and welfare system and more civil behaviour on the part of members of the broader community (i.e. 'Australians'):

> *My wife still loves Greece, but unfortunately, I have come to loathe her … I don't have anything to envy Greece about. Nothing. They do not have good systems, they do not look after people. When I was dismissed from work, they gave me six months' worth of unemployment benefits. Six months only … from there on, you could cut your own throat and they wouldn't have cared … but here, Australia does not leave you without any money … you do not become disadvantaged easily. (M4, aged 85)*

> *The Australians were very good to us … always with 'please' … yes, they never hurled insults at us … never … and you should know that Australians are a civilised people … they are not like the Greeks … no … they are not like us, and they took care of us. No-one has ever insulted me … no … no … and as I told you, I love Australia … it is my homeland … yes. (F7, aged 80)*

Some of the participants used the term 'step-mother' (Μητριά) as opposed to 'mother' (Μητέρα) to refer to their adopted homeland and motherland, respectively. Others expressed a divided allegiance between their ancestral and adopted homelands. Only a minority of the participants saw both Australia and Greece as their homes:

> *Because our patrida is our patrida … whatever we do … our patrida is our patrida. I now love this patrida, the step-mother. This is our step-mother … Greece will never be able to offer me what Australia has given me up until now and Greece will not be able to give me what I expect Australia to be able to provide for me. (M2, aged 74)*

> *I tell some people that I was born here!! (laughter) … That's what I say to some people when they ask me … Well, considering that I have lived here for 56 years … so can I say it? … My homeland is Australia. Well, what? I am here aren't I? Greece is also, I can't say that it isn't, but I feel better here. (F5, aged 77)*

I came here when I was 24-25 years old ... so which is my homeland? ... Australia!! The fact that I haven't learnt the language (English) ... at first when I worked at Omega where I was packaging goods, I had learnt a bit of English. But afterwards, I closed in on myself and I have since forgotten everything. I have forgotten because I did not go to school and so I cannot read in my native language. (F2, aged 84)

Some participants were conscious of the transformation that had occurred to their identity and sense of place and belonging over the course of many years of living in Australia. As such, many of the participants reflected on the inconsistency in maintaining that Greece was their homeland. They stated that they had no regrets in having migrated to Australia, with the majority regarding Australia to be their homeland now. The majority of participants had consequently retreated into their families and the Greek community as their primary means of socialisation with others. During periods of ill health, some have commented on an increasing reliance on their adult children for assistance and support in being able to navigate the health system.

I like Australia because this is my country now. My life is here, everything is here. Isn't that right? ... That's how it is, we can't say otherwise, everything is here now. What will Greece do for me? Will she feed me? When I left, did anyone bother to ask me why are you leaving for Australia? No-one!!! ... It is here now, my homeland is here. How can I say that it is Greece? Because it is here. (F1, aged 84)

What can I do, I haven't seen anything good come out of Greece. What, nothing! No!!! ... it is only my family there who I long for and miss, but as for the others, they can go and jump!! ... aren't I right? What have they done for us? Have they helped us? What have they done for us in Greece? Nothing. (F1, aged 84).

4.4.3.7 Locus of Identity and Belonging Is The Family.

All participants stated that their personal identity and place of belonging was anchored and located within the family. For some, their emotional attachment to Greece remained alive only in so

far as they had family members who continue to reside there and hence the sole reason that perpetuated their desire to return to Greece. The majority of the participants remarked on the importance of their families as the basis from which they derived emotional and practical support. Consequently, this was perceived as fundamental in both shaping and containing their sense of place and belonging. All participants remarked on their children and grandchildren as being integral to their psychological and emotional well-being and as providing a reason and purpose to their life:

> *Well now my siblings have passed away so I do not have the urge to go … and when I went there last time, my mother had passed away … now everyone has gone … all of my siblings have passed away … three brothers, two sisters, my mother, all of them have gone now, my brother-in-law … I only have one brother-in-law now and one sister-in-law … yes they have gone. (M5, aged 80)*

> *Now what reasons are left for us to go to Greece? We neither have a house, or siblings, or mothers, we have nothing left there, so we are happy where we are … we have our children and their families, and in this way we will remain with our children and grandchildren here in Australia and this is where we will spend the rest of our lives … anyone is free to leave for Greece if they are not happy here … but what will happen to the children? … the grandchildren? … this is what we mostly live for … when I was gone for 6 to 7 months, I went crazy … I didn't see them, I longed to see them and play with them … that's how it is. (M1, aged 77)*

A sense of disquiet was expressed by some participants in recounting their experiences of the changes that they perceived to have occurred within the family unit in Greece and of the nature of their family dynamics and relationships with remaining family members within the context of a modernised Greece. Others reflected on the changing nature of their family relationships and experiences of estrangement in Greece. They compared this to the relative stability of their family unit within their adopted homeland, which they perceived as offering them a level of security that the motherland could not.

I much prefer to remain here (Australia) than to be in Greece … because here is where all of my children are … in Greece I am a stranger … no, no … why should I go to Greece now? I have lived here for 55 years … the people that I had in Greece have all passed away and others have left … there isn't anyone left in the village … in my village … if I go there now, there are members of the younger generation in their fifties and they do not know me … how would they? If they see me, they would say: 'A foreigner has come to town', they wouldn't know me … I am a stranger. (F8, aged 74)

Well, all of my family is in Greece. Whether I like it or not, because all of my siblings are still there, I am here on my own … I don't have anyone. I had brought my brother and my sister here, but they didn't stay, they left. They had left years ago … it has been thirty years, and more … My husband passed away 9 years ago … now I don't think of Greece, I think of my siblings … I say to myself, will I ever see them again? (F2, aged 84)

4.5 Discussion

To date, there has been a shortage of published studies that have qualitatively examined the identity constructions of first-generation Greek migrants and how this may be related both to levels of acculturation as may be gauged by English language proficiency and their subjective experiences of social and emotional well-being as they are ageing in Australia. A discussion of the seven main themes that were extracted from the interview data is followed by the results of the quantitative measures that were used to supplement the in-depth interviews.

Seven main themes were elicited from the primary interview data, vis., 1) *Shock, Disillusionment and Alienation upon Arrival;* 2)*Greek Identity as core and immutable; 3) Nostalgia and emotional ties to the 'patrida' (ancestral homeland); 4) Negative experiences of returning to Greece; 5) Feeling like a foreigner/ stranger in both the 'patrida' and adopted homeland; 6) Transformation of Identity and Belonging and 7) Locus of identity and belonging is the family.*

The combination of culture shock and the inherent upheaval and loss that the migration process entails can often result in a de-stabilisation of identity. Akhtar (1999b) suggested that the intra-psychic turmoil that it creates mobilises a kind of perpetual mourning process that remains unresolvable. This has been likened to the childhood separation - individuation phase during the first phase of identity formation as conceptualised within psychodynamic theory. Akhtar (1999b) proposes that four tracks of identity transformation may be correspondingly discerned both at the intrapsychic intrapersonal level, and at the interpersonal and metaphorical level. The sharper the cultural changes that a migrant encounters between their country of origin and that of their adopted homeland, the greater the likelihood that this experience will challenge and test an individual's resilience (Triandis, 1993). Grinberg and Grinberg 1989 (in Akhtar, 1999b, p. 79) have coined the term 'disorienting anxiety' to encapsulate the inner conflict and division that a migrant may experience between two countries. They refer to that of the fatherland or 'patrida', and that of the new country, which in the present study has been referred to by a number of participants as the 'adoptive step-mother'. It is suggested that this experience is akin to enduring the aftermath of parental divorce in that a migrant begins to experience a split allegiance between the 'patrida', or the motherland, and the 'adoptive step-mother'. At first, a process of rejection of the adoptive 'step-mother' typically occurs before a healthy level of adaptation may be reached with the passage of time. The initial rejection that is felt by the motherland and the negativity associated with the new adoptive or host country is expressed within the notion of 'xenitia' itself. This contains the semantic connotations of hostility, abandonment, estrangement and being in a state of exile. Correspondingly, the initial rejection of the new country is often experienced in parallel with the increasing idealisation of the country of origin. Such polarisation and splitting between a migrant's two countries is mirrored in their conflictual self-representations and can become accentuated when an immigrant moves from an 'Eastern' to a 'Western' culture or vice versa (Triandis, 1988 & 1993).

For the majority of the participants of the present study, the sense of being Greek was perceived as being at the core and basis of identity, regardless of how elusive attempts at defining

this identity may be. The sense of being 'Australian', where it was thought to be admissible, was expressed only on the condition that it had been affirmed as complementary to a predominant 'Greekness' or a Greek identity first and foremost. An Australian identity, when it was at all acknowledged, was often seen as peripheral and was entertained only upon suggestion or as an afterthought. Akhtar (1999b) argues that a hyphenated identity is the result of a synthesis between two self-representations and the capacity to maintain a healthy ambivalence between the country of origin and the country of adoption. Such an identity may lack a firm anchoring in either country's history and identification with the culture but may afford a more multi-dimensional and universal embrace of one's identity. This appears to have remained elusive for the majority of the participants of the present study, both because of the residual strength and tenacity of their identification with the mother country, their almost exclusive socialisation with members of the Greek community, and the lack of opportunity to become fully proficient in the English language. While this has hitherto resulted in the retention of a largely mono-ethnic identity and, by extension, an ability to preserve a degree of cohesion and belongingness within their local community, a number of the participants expressed a perpetual angst and ambivalence that continued to plague their sense of identity and belonging. This may become more discernible as they enter the latter stage of their life when other factors may compromise the ability to sustain their native self-representations within their adopted country. This has been poignantly captured in a poem by Poet Iftikhar Aarif as quoted by Akhtar (1999b):

> There are few who have been so cursed
>
> To wander all one's life and never arrive at home.
>
> (Aarif 1983 in Akhtar 1999b, pp. 85-86).

While the tyranny of distance between the country of origin and the adopted homeland can be bridged by a migrant's ability to revisit their country of origin, the capacity to travel becomes compromised as a migrant comes to terms with increasing infirmity that comes with advanced age.

This may prohibit or compromise their capacity to cope with the level of energy and stamina that travelling long distances entails.

Most notable was that the overwhelming majority of participants conceptualised an identity that is homogenous ethnically and culturally. That is, they saw themselves as being 'Greek' or 'mostly Greek'. Only three out of sixteen participants saw themselves as 'Australian' or 'both Greek and Australian'. This was explained both in terms of the length of time that they have lived in Australia and qualified with comments that it would be tantamount to an act of ingratitude to insist that they were 'Greek', given the opportunities that Australia has been able to provide for them. However, a hyphenated or syncretic identity (i.e. 'Greek–Australian' or 'Australian–Greek') was not articulated by any of the participants within this cohort as is commonly found within the discourse relating to the ethnic identities of members of the second and third generations. The two main distinguishable features of ethnic and cultural identity, as was articulated by most of the participants, were the Greek language and an exclusive socialisation within the Greek community. This was also consistent with the results of the Marin Acculturation Scale. The MAS revealed that all of the participants indicated that they preferred to speak Greek both at home and within the broader community. In addition, they almost exclusively socialised with family and friends within the Greek community. The perceived incongruity of constructing an identity as 'an Australian' was attributed to not being able to speak English and not socialising with 'Australians'; that is, members of the broader community. The role of language, therefore, rather than simply being a marker or distinguishing feature of identity, as has been argued by Alexiou (1993), Constantinou (1999), and Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985), may be seen as fundamentally constitutive of identity and the medium through which a person's worldview is shaped, as well as being a determinant of social and ethnic positioning. Being 'Australian' is implicitly seen as synonymous with being able to speak English. This has important implications for the extent to which members of the first generation of Greek migrants feel a sense belonging and an ability to become fully integrated members of mainstream Australian society (Ali & Sonn, 2009).

A palpable nostalgia and longing to return to the motherland ('patrida') and all that it represents was poignantly expressed by some of the participants. Indeed, none of the participants talked about their 'patrida' in neutral terms. Many expressed a sense of shock and derailment upon reflecting on the changes that have occurred in Greece since they have migrated. A longing to return to the motherland was met with profound disillusionment upon the realisation that Greece has changed beyond what they were able to recognise and have cherished within the romanticised memories of their childhood. Dreams of re-living these childhood memories became thwarted upon the realisation that Greece is no longer the place that they remember. Remarkably, most of the participants fervently adhered to the idea that the motherland continues to represent their 'patrida', despite the fact that they have been living in Australia for many years. Return trips to Greece have come with the realisation that their motherland has changed irrevocably as reflected in the modernisation of foundational societal structures and the influx of 'foreigners' in unprecedented numbers. Some participants reflected on the resultant transformations to the demographic landscape of the Greece that they remembered, and spoke with considerable dismay about the changing nature of the traditional family unit and the changing dynamic of their relationship with family members in Greece. Being met with suspicion, a lack of compassion, indifference and judgement by their remaining family members had, in many cases, intensified a feeling of displacement and of having become 'xenos' or 'xeni' (stranger /foreigner) in the land in which they were born. The metaphor of the plight of the migrant as never fully belonging to one place or another or never being able to 'come home' was mobilised to invoke a sense of ambiguity and loss of place and belonging. Two participants spontaneously quoted the lyrics of a Greek song by singer Stelios Kazantzidis to capture the sense of having become perpetually transformed by their migratory experience and the resultant fragmentation to their sense of identity, place and belonging: *'In Australia I am a Greek and in Greece a stranger'***.** The concept of the stranger, or exile, as embodied in the Greek meaning of the word 'xenos' has, in turn, become a perennial theme when discussing a migrant's sense of double loss, both within their native and adopted homelands (Hionidou, 2012). This loss is two-fold

in that a migrant becomes torn between two identities, two countries, and two homes. In this sense, a migrant is forced to relinquish the possibility that they may become fully integrated members of the society into which they have migrated. For many, return visits to Greece has entailed a profound sense of disillusionment upon realising that the place that they once considered to be their home has now become foreign, distant, and irrevocably transformed. At the same time, they are denied the ability to 're-inhabit' their place of origin or the place that they once imagined to be their 'true' home.

Similarly, Christou (2006b, p. 1044), in her study of the individual and collective identities of second-generation Greek-Americans who return to the ancestral land of their parents in search for an authentic 'Greekness' found that:

> … for most participants, there was a clear feeling that 'Greece had changed' and it was not exactly the place of their imagination or of their parents' memories, or even of their own memories of homecoming visits. Detailed narratives of their intense emotional reaction to this change capture this severe disappointment. For the most part this disappointment relates to their perception of how Greece has transformed from the homogenous, safe, authentic ethnocultural homeland of their childhood memories and their (grand)parents' storytelling into a modernized, multicultural, expensive country of materialist consumption and fast-paced lifestyle.

As the nostalgic and romanticised memories of their motherland become fractured, this was further reinforced by the perception of a growing divide between themselves as migrants of the diaspora and their family members who have remained in Greece. This was paralleled by a corresponding fondness and nostalgia with which some of the participants talked about their memories of growing up in Greece. This is later reversed when, with the passage of time, some of the participants begin to experience the advantages of living in their adopted homeland. As a consequence, praise is given to the superior health system in Australia in contrast to the level of disorganisation, lack of infrastructure and social security in Greece. A rejection of the home country can be discerned in comments which conveyed the sense of disillusionment, betrayal and rejection

by the motherland. This creates a tension and an internal conflict and can be experienced as an affront to the immigrant's self-representation.

An analysis of the narrative accounts of participants who had repeatedly returned to the motherland revealed that negative comparisons were frequently made between their native country and that of their adopted homeland. Most central to their observations was the apparent disintegration of traditional values and customs that they experienced within their families in Greece, and the level of personal integrity, social and cultural cohesiveness that they have been able to preserve within their adopted homeland. Any apparent positive changes that were observed, such as the material wealth and benefits that family members or compatriots appeared to be enjoying, were often negatively framed and denigrated as illusory given their evaluation that they were living on borrowed money and were heavily indebted. Remarks that the Greeks in Greece are 'rude', 'impolite', 'ungrateful', 'spendthrifts' and 'uncivilised' and that the lifestyle in Greece has 'turned upside down' where 'everything seems wrong' underscore the perception that their compatriots in Greece have, for the most part, adopted ways of living, behaving and interrelating that has become increasingly foreign to them. Within this context, some of the participants talked about the relative superiority of the health and education systems of their adopted homeland. They also expressed enormous gratitude and allegiance to the 'step-mother', where they saw themselves as living the remainder of their lives and which they now call 'home'.

The results of the quantitative scales that were used to supplement the qualitative interviews, vis. The Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS), indicated that the majority of the participants did not express depressive ideation at a level that would have suggested clinical symptoms of depression. However, of those whose scores indicated the possibility of clinically significant levels of depression, there were a higher proportion of males than females. The predominant themes that characterised the accounts provided by the males with higher GDS scores included having experienced fractured family relationships, a longingness to return to Greece, and an ambiguity with respect to a sense of home and belonging. The females indicating clinically significant scores on the

GDS reported a lack of transport, physical frailty and health problems, and a greater reliance on their adult children for assistance.

The results of the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS) indicated that all participants preferred to speak Greek at home and in the community. They showed an overwhelming preference to continue to socialise largely with family and friends of their own ethnic group. This reflects the fact that most Greek migrants of the first generation, including the participants of the current research, have not been able to acquire full proficiency in the English language. Consequently, they have expressed greater ease and comfort in being able to continue to use their native language. To the extent that a migrant's ability to acquire a second language may be indicative of their level of acculturation within the dominant culture, this cohort of Greek migrants may be considered to have demonstrated low levels of acculturation. However, their scores on the other dimensions of acculturation that were examined on the MAS, namely the 'Media Use' sub-scale and the 'Ethnic Social Relations' sub-scale were mixed, with the respondents reporting an equal use of mainstream and ethnic media channels. Of note also is that the majority of participants had acknowledged that their children had befriended people outside of their ethnic group This was largely perceived as a positive and natural consequence of having become socialised within the wider community and was understood as being inevitable given the multi-ethnic and multicultural composition of Australian society.

4.6 Concluding Comments

An examination of the narrative accounts of participants of the present study indicate that Greek migrants of the first generation have constructed an ethno-cultural identity that is traditional and homogenous. This was often used as a point of positive comparison with that of their remaining family members and compatriots in Greece who were perceived to have become modernised and have largely dispensed with the cultural norms and values that they hold dear. It is evident that Greek migrants within this cohort have been able to reproduce and re-enact a 'Greekness' within

their adopted homeland through the reproduction of familiar ethno-cultural institutions, such as the family, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Community.

Fundamental to their sense of identity were a set of values. For example, they talked about their interconnectedness with their family and community as being of central importance, and their relationship to their children. They talked about other experiences that have shaped them: for example, experiences of economic hardship as a consequence of the ravages of World War II and civil wars in Greece; limited schooling opportunities; and parental loss and family separation prior to their arrival to Australia

The experience of a de-stabilisation of identity and belonging was expressed by most of the participants during their return trips to Greece. Greek migrants have collectively attempted to transfer and resurrect an ethnic identity in the adopted homeland in an effort to preserve, maintain and perpetuate their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. This is the very process of re-negotiating an identity that is not necessarily static or impermeable. It is nonetheless an identity that re-asserts a reproduction of the self within the state of being a migrant when the threat of dispersal, fragmentation and displacement has occurred. (Hall, 1996; Hall & Du Gay, 1996). This goes to the heart of the diasporic condition, which involves a struggle to belong and clarify where ‘homeness’ exists (Christou, 2006b & 2006c; 2009a).

Chapter 5: Concepts of Ageing Well among Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia

5.1 Preface

To date, there have been few studies that have directly canvassed the views and perspectives of older Greek migrants on their definitions of 'ageing well' and their constructs of 'successful ageing' according to their cultural values and orientations. The intent of the present research is to examine the accounts provided by older Greek migrants on their experiences of ageing and what it means to age well. This chapter explores how their cultural values, value orientations and experiences of ageing have shaped their constructs of ageing well and needs as they are ageing. The following is a review of the research that has directly explored concepts of ageing well among Greek migrant populations within an international context.

5.2 Exploring the Meaning of 'καλά γεράματα' ('A Good Old Age') in Greek Migrant Populations

Constantakos (1993) and Avgoulas and Fanany (2013a) have undertaken qualitative studies to examine Greek migrants of the second generation and their attitudes of filial obligation toward their ageing parents. Specifically, they examined attitudes of the transmission of health beliefs and practices of Greek migrants across three generations within a New York metropolitan Greek community as well as within a segment of the Greek community of Melbourne Australia, respectively. The researchers argue that the Greek community has maintained traditional beliefs and practices that constitute a 'memory culture' that has been transmitted to successive generations. These may have an impact on conceptualisations of health, health behaviour and the corresponding utilisation of health services. These culturally accepted belief systems often depart from accepted norms and scientifically validated procedures within the medical profession. They are representative of an accumulation of culturally specific wisdom that has become culturally embedded and drawn upon to guide the beliefs and practices of Greek migrant communities within different diasporic communities.

Avgoulas and Fanany (2013c) conducted a study of three generations of Greek Australians living in Melbourne in which conceptualisations of health and adjustment to chronic illness were explored. The researchers found that members of the immigrant (or first generation) of Greek-born adults over 60 years of age commonly attributed ill health to an aspect of their God-given 'luck' or 'fate', which in the Greek language is referred to as: *'την τύχη της μοίρας'*. Their meaning is linguistically and culturally specific and may be seen as reflecting a continuity with ancient Greek beliefs regarding health and well-being. Avgoulas and Fanany (2013c) found that all participants perceived good health as paramount to well-being and was regarded as 'a gift from God'. Similarly, ill health was understood as being determined by the will of God and hence external to one's control or ability to change. Ill-health was seen as part and parcel of 'luck' or 'fate' – both concepts which the researchers argue embody a different set of meanings and connotations within the Greek language. Hence, the unpredictability of illness was expressed within a belief system in which it was perceived as being outside of a person's ability to change or counteract. A person's vulnerability to illness was seen as a matter of luck or fate rather than as something that could be influenced by their actions. Avgoulas and Fanany (2013a) argue that this tightly held belief is often at odds with Western medical perspectives that place an emphasis on health behaviours as strong determinants of health outcome and the exercise of free will and choice in the management of ill-health. Although many of the participants implicitly understood the inherent benefits of a good diet and exercise to their overall health and well-being, the researchers reported that many of their participants found it difficult to depart from a deeply held cultural norm of accepting their 'fate' or 'luck in life' (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013a). Although such a belief is often equated with a diminished sense of agency in regard to the regulation and management of health behaviours, Avgoulas and Fanany (2013a) argue that such a belief system appears to facilitate an acceptance of the challenges and obstacles that life presents, and hence the possibility that it may have a salutary effect on their social and emotional well-being during the ageing process.

Furthermore, Avgoulas and Fanany (2013a) present interview data to illustrate that many of the participants regarded ill health as an intensely private matter. These participants exhibited a reluctance to share this publicly. This potentially curtailed the extent to which they were able to disclose their experiences of ill health and hence raised the possibility of friction with, and/or induced the concern of members of the medical profession. It has been argued that the sense of taboo and the reluctance expressed by many to disclose aspects of ill health often results in the consignment of matters of health within the realm of the family. Accordingly, it was regarded as something to be dealt with within the privacy of the family rather than with members of the medical profession (Avgoulas, 2016; Constantakos, 1993; Cylwik, 2002; Efklides, Kalaitzidou & Chankin, 2003; Panagiotopoulos, Walker & Luszcz, 2013).

Human beings will naturally tend to try to make sense of significant events or experiences in their life, particularly when those experiences have resulted in significant disruption or trauma (Crossley, 2000). Culture provides a framework for understanding and conceptualising both health and illness, which may, in turn, influence a person's behaviour and the coping mechanisms that they resort to in managing their illness (Andary et al., 2003b; Csordas & Harwood, 1994). In the event of an illness, it has been noted that Greek people will often congregate around a loved one to offer their help and support. This response is often to the point of breaching a hospital's protocols for visitor numbers and times allowed. This is consistent with their cultural values and expectations that place a strong emphasis on family unity, care and cohesion (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2012a; Constantakos, 1993; Efklides et al, 2003; Cylwik, 2002; Morse & Mesimeri-Kianidis, 2002). Avgoulas and Fanany (2012a) explain that this may in some instances result in the disruption of the ability of hospital staff to carry out their duties in caring for the patient in question.

A number of researchers have emphasised the role of religion as being particularly important for this cohort of older Greek migrants of the first (or immigrant) generation. The role of religion mirrors the experiences of other significant minority groups sharing similar cultural values, such as older Latinos in the United States. In other words, religion is integral to their collective identity as

migrants with a distinctive linguistic and cultural background (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2012b & 2013c; Beyene et al., 2002; Fernandez-Ballesteros et al., 2009; Panagiotopoulos et al., 2013). Religion can be seen as the framework through which the experiences of illness are understood. As such, it is a vital dimension through which to understand the means of adaptation and coping mechanisms that this cohort of Greek migrants will often resort to in the event of a life crisis or significant event.

In reporting their findings, Avgoulas and Fanany (2012b) noted that many of the members of the Greek community who were interviewed perceived an illness as a major challenge, was unexpected and often associated with isolation and loneliness. These perceptions were not significantly different from the way in which their counterparts within the mainstream community commonly respond to an illness. On the other hand, it is argued that older Greek migrants hold differing cultural values and understandings of the aetiology of an illness and how to best respond to it (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013c). The affliction of an illness was not seen as random or unable to be explained, but was often construed as an act of God over which the actions of humans made little or negligible difference. Far from seeing the implied fatalism and reduced sense of agency and control as being maladaptive, Avgoulas and Fanany (2013c) argue that this level of resignation to the plans that God has in stall for them enabled an acceptance and resolve to make the most of their existing resources. Hence, good health in older age was seen as luck and good fortune rather than as a reward for purposeful effort in the maintenance of good health or the exertion of free will to enable the implementation of changes and to determine the course of one's destiny.

The extent to which an illness had impacted on their psychosocial well-being was nonetheless clearly expressed and mattered in so far as it limited their ability to continue to remain actively socially engaged within their families and within their respective communities. In fact, Avgoulas and Fanany (2013c) argue that the continued ability to partake in social activities within the family and community took precedence over their health needs and compliance with medical advice. A sense of 'hidden resilience' was displayed by many of the participants in this regard given their

acceptance of what was 'written' and their intent on remaining involved in the social activities of their respective families and communities. The term 'hidden resilience' has been coined by some researchers to connote a sense of adaptation to extreme life events through an acceptance and endurance that comes about with the understanding that little can be done at an individual level to change the course of events, as reflected in oft-repeated expressions such as:

Greek expression:	**English translation:**
«τι μπορουμε να κανομε;»	"what can we do?"
«δεν μπορουμε να κανομε τιποτα»	"there is nothing we can do"
«ετσι θελει ο θεος» or «οτι θελει ο θεος»	"it is God's will"
«ειναι γραμμενο»	"it is written"

(Luthar, 1999; Ungar, 2004 in Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013c, p. 47).

These researchers have argued that the unquestioning faith in God has been steadfastly maintained and has been transmitted through the generations. This goes to the heart of the role of faith in facilitating an acceptance of the will of God and of enabling resilience. It also provides a source of emotional support in coping with the negative aspects of their illness as supported by the literature on the role of faith in the elderly and their ability to cope with illness (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013c; Beyene et al., 2002; Constantakos, 1993).

Cylwick (2002) explored the everyday lives of older Greek Cypriots living in an outer London borough. Cylwick (2002) conducted 53 structured interviews with first-generation older Greek Cypriots and their children in order to examine intergenerational patterns and value expectations of care between members of each generation. Cylwik (2002) argues that the family as an integral unit offers a framework of care and affords a greater role and importance on its members to offer care and support for each other as their needs increase with age. Although it is assumed that

these roles and expectations toward ageing family members can be generalised across all cultures, these will differ between cultures, depending on the values and expectations that are placed on the family as a focal point of care both as site for giving and receiving care. Cultural values and expectations are also reflected in the extent to which these roles and obligations have become gendered. Within the Greek culture, it is suggested that the bond between parent and child is considered sacrosanct. This bond represents one of the closest and strongest of all relationships, perhaps even more than that between husband and wife. It is suggested that while these relationships may be considered to be 'primordial', they are also culturally shaped and culturally manifested. Cylwyk (2002) asserts that there is a dialectical relationship between the discourses relating to the role of children in caring for the elderly and the influences that this may have in directing policy regarding caring for the elderly. As caring involves a reciprocal relationship between that of 'the carer' and 'the cared for', Cylwik (2002, p. 601) notes that most of the participants fell in the former category. Only two participants fell in the latter category, both of whom were widowed women who received help from their children with activities of daily living.

The findings suggested two distinct factors that characterised this cohort of Greek Cypriot migrants. These were:

> 1) the intensity of their relationship with their children, with very few of the participants reporting that they had become estranged or separated from their children. This relationship was described as being largely 'interdependent' in that the majority of the participants both gave and received help from their children (Cylwik, 2002, p. 602), and:
>
> 2) The help received by most of the participants was highly gendered, with more women than men being both the givers and the recipients of care. The help provided by both the male and female participants to their adult children was predominantly in relation to caring for the grandchildren. The help that they in turn received from their adult children was mainly in the form of assistance to be able to access services, accompanying them to the doctor or hospital, or dealing with correspondence.

Cylwik (2002) cites research demonstrating that the bonds between women have been found to be more frequent, reciprocal and less dependent on circumstances than that of men. Additionally, daughters were very often found to be closer to their mothers than sons. This is not a given but is culturally determined and it is suggested that this reflects the traditional role expectations of women as carers and nurturers within the Greek culture. Cylwik (2002) also notes that the very close ties between children and their parents do not diminish with time. It was remarked that this was often metaphorically expressed in the giving and receiving of food.

Remarkably, both male and female participants of the first generation spontaneously mentioned that their daughters could be counted on to keep in regular contact with them and to look after and care for them if and when needed. Sons, by contrast, were seen as more egocentric, with their lives revolving around that of their own nuclear families. Hence, the relationship with their daughter-in-law was rarely perceived as being analogous to that of their own daughters. Cylwik (2002) argues that this, in turn, highlights the extent to which caring roles have become gendered in traditional Greek culture. It reflects the feminisation of caring roles, as has been substantiated by more recent research within the Australian context (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2013; Papadelos, 2017).

Cylwik (2002) notes that the parent-child relationship is viewed as a dyad so that the devotion of the parent toward the child holds the implicit expectation that this will be reciprocated when the child grows into adulthood. Conversely, the feelings of responsibility that a parent has toward their adult child does not cease when they leave the parental home. One of the most central and enduring tropes that emerged among the participants of the first generation was that children always take priority. This meant that they did not want to become a burden on their adult children, placing the focus and priority of their children's needs above that of their own needs. Correspondingly, family status and accomplishment are gauged by the degree to which parents are able to provide for their children and not by their own material acquisitions.

Cylwik (2002) expands on an analysis of the nature of the mother-daughter relationship in Greek culture by indicating that it is one of the most intimate relationships, akin to a close

friendship or peer. In fact, this relationship was described by one of the female members of the first generation as being central to her well-being, even though it was acknowledged that the line between a child as dependent and as peer can become considerably blurred. Cylwik (2002) illustrates the pre-eminence of children to well-being and morale in later life by providing vivid examples of what her participants had revealed about their relationship to their children and its importance and meaning. For example, a number of them had indicated that their grandchildren represented their lifeblood and lifeline, making a difference between whether life was worth living or not, particularly in instances where a parent-child relationship had become severed or estranged.

Importantly, Cylwik (2002) comments on the fact that for many of the Greek Cypriot migrants for whom the migratory process had resulted in a gradual shrinkage of kin networks owing to the loss of family members or existing family members having remained within their original homeland (Cyprus), their adult children and grandchildren often assume an even greater centrality and focus in their lives in older age. That their children are their world is perhaps not an exaggeration but is underpinned by an unconditional lifelong dedication and love that manifests itself in affective, practical and sometimes even financial ways. Correspondingly, for most of the participants, it was considered to be an anathema to accept financial assistance from their children and would be regarded as shameful to do so. This may also help to shed light on the inherent paradox with their avowed assertions of not wishing to become a burden or encroach on their children's ability to get on with their lives. There nonetheless remained the implicit expectation their adult children will at least exhibit a continued involvement, interest, and care throughout their lives. On an emotional level, however, a transformation of the parent-child relationship becomes evident with age. The adult children of the first generation of Greek migrants very often assume a greater role as confidantes and intermediaries between their parents and mainstream society as they age. This occurs as a result of the language and cultural barriers that they encounter and the difficulties that this presents in being able to access and navigate mainstream health systems and services:

> As this group ages and become frailer, a cultural predilection for putting children first is likely to influence expectations of what constitutes 'reasonable' and 'burdensome' help from their children. As a group, they want and expect their children to care about them but not to care for them (Cylwik, 2002, p. 611).

5.3 Aims of the Present Research

A number of studies have demonstrated that perceptions of ageing largely develop from a complex interaction of social and cultural processes. These, in turn, significantly influence belief systems, socially constructed meanings of ageing, and culturally specific norms and expectations (Beyene et al., 2002; Fry et al., 1997). Fry et al. (1997), for example, found that the conceptualisations of a 'good old age' among older people from different cultural backgrounds and their experiences of ageing largely depended on their cultural values and the family and societal structures from which they came. The intent of the present research is to analyse the accounts provided by older Greek migrants residing in a South Australian community about ageing well and the meanings they attach to a sense of well-being during the latter stages of their life. It explores how their cultural values, value orientations and their experiences of ageing have shaped their constructs of ageing well and their needs as they are ageing.

Specifically, among the questions that were asked were:

1. What does 'ageing well' ('καλά γεράματα') mean to you?
2. What are your needs in your current stage of life?

5.4 Analysis and Discussion

Seven main themes emerged from 16 in-depth interviews that were conducted with Greek elders in response to the questions above. They were as follows:

1. The notion of 'ageing well' – an oxymoron?

2. Fatalism or acceptance? – the role of religion in the management of health and the attainment of 'a good old age'.
3. "A quick and painless death" – an integral part of 'a good old age'.
4. Preserving autonomy and independence.
5. Family closeness as central to notions of well-being and 'ageing well'.
6. Keeping socially active and interconnected.
7. Resilience and the zest for life.

These themes were considered within the context of the experiences of Greek-born immigrants of the first (or immigrant) generation as they are ageing in Australia. These will be examined individually, both in terms of their explicit and surface meanings as well as attempting to theorise the significance of their broader meanings and their relation to previously conducted research. The following provides a description of the themes with some translated verbatim examples to illustrate them.

5.4.1 The Notion of 'Ageing Well' – An Oxymoron?

The question of how the notion of 'ageing well' was understood by Greek elders in some instances elicited a sense of incredulity, and perhaps a measure of irony and cynicism. The following spontaneous response highlights the extent to which such a concept was believed to be inherently absurd and incongruous, and hence became instantly dismissed as a state which is both implausible and unattainable:

> *Ageing well?? … Ageing well doesn't exist!!!! (laughter)*
>
> *Unfortunately, the idea of ageing well is not a reality!!! (M6, aged 81)*

The above remark was subsequently tempered with a qualifying statement indicating the extent to which the participant had internalised the more normative view that ageing well equates to

the absence of illness or of a level of deterioration that can otherwise be expected during the ageing process:

'Ageing well?' ... you know, they say that some people suffer from stroke ... others suffer ... these things are the worst from my point of view. (M6, aged 81)

For me what does it (ageing well) mean? Err ... it means not to be afflicted by a major illness resulting in not being able to walk, or not being able to go to the toilet, to not be able to ... and so on, that is what it mainly means. (F6, aged 70)

Health above all – to have one's health until the end. We're grateful to God for allowing us to reach the age we are now. (F3, aged 71)

The only desire is to have one's health and avoid having falls ... When I go to church the only thing I pray for is my health and that of my husband's, and for my children to be well- that's all. (F4, aged 79)

The notion of 'ageing well' proved elusive for some, given that it was easier for many of the participants to explain what it did not include rather than what it did include, as is evident in the above statements. For many of the participants, notions of 'ageing well' did not extend beyond the preservation of good health and were only meaningful when seen as synonymous with the absence of illness. This tends to suggest a passive approach to the maintenance of health rather than an active engagement in activities that are thought to be health preventative and health promoting. The extent to which a passive attitude to health might be indicated here may, in turn, highlight the ethnocentric nature of Western liberal notions of 'ageing well'. These are encapsulated in the concepts of mastery, productivity and individuality that are inherent within dominant constructs of 'ageing well' (Ranzijn, 2010).

5.4.2 Fatalism or Acceptance? – The Role of Religion in the Management of Health and the Attainment of 'A Good Old Age'

For the majority of the participants, notions of 'ageing well' remained within the confines of an understanding that suggested a preservation of health rather than an active orientation toward health management. This begs the question as to what extent a 'fatalistic' versus an 'active' approach to the management of health was embraced. Many of the responses indicated that the process of ageing was perceived as involving a downward spiral of deteriorating health and diminished capacity which was both expected and inevitable, and over which one has little control or ability to change. In response to the question of "How do you see your life now?", one participant exclaimed:

> *Ha … ha … now, how would I see it? Now? - forget it!!! If you reach 80 years and older … what can I say? … I don't know … what can I say? … I don't know what to say … (M6, aged 81)*

Another participant stated:

> *It doesn't change. When you think about it, life doesn't change. I go to bed, fall asleep, and my mind is constantly on my children, my grandchildren, my husband and my daughter. It doesn't go anywhere else … this is my life. (F2, aged 84)*

Further responses by the same participant, specifically in relation to the question of "What does ageing well mean?" included:

> *That would be desirable, that would be desirable, but God does whatever (he) wants. Even if my time were to come now, I don't mind. (F2, aged 84)*

> *No one knows what's waiting around the corner for them … God does not make an exception for anyone. (F9, Aged 73)*

Another participant responded in the following manner:

> *It means to have one's health above all … this is what worries us, but … does anyone know how we are going to go? Do we know? How do we know that? … only the 'Goddess of Strength' knows this. How do we know how we are going to end up? … Given that we are now approaching 80 years of age, how much longer are we going to go for? (F4, aged 79)*

The invocation of a higher power, namely 'God' and the 'Goddess of Strength' in the above two statements illustrates that good health is seen as a gift from God, with many of the participants stating that their existing health at an advanced age was not something to be taken for granted. Good health was attributed, in large part, to the will and grace of God, as was reflected in the oft repeated expression that prefaced many of their statements: *"δόξα τω Θεώ"* meaning *"Glory to God":*

> *We should say "Glory to God" that we have been able to reach such an age. (F3, aged 71)*

> *What life holds in store for us is in every person's fate … what will happen to each person … is written in their fate for the rest of their lives. We can't have … we can't have everything that we wish for in life. (F9, aged 73)*

The attribution of good health and longevity to a higher deity can be seen as reflecting a religious belief system that has been influenced by ancient Greek ideas about ageing well that have been transmitted through the ages by Greek Orthodox Christianity. On the surface, such a belief system appears to reinforce an externalised locus of control, the corollary of which tends to suggest a diminished sense of agency and personal responsibility over how the ageing process is managed. Instead, Greek elders appear to exhibit an overwhelming sense of gratitude and appreciation of their life, despite many having become afflicted with physical ailments and chronic illnesses as they are entering the latter phase of their lives. Such a belief system also appears to have facilitated a greater acceptance of the limitations of human intervention and an ability to balance the relationship between their religious beliefs and what is considered to be the natural state of the ageing process, given the benefit of hindsight that time and longevity afford. These findings are commensurate with existing research on Latino elders in the United States. There it was found that religiosity played a significant role in engendering an appreciation of life and an ability to come to terms with that which can be changed as opposed to that which cannot be changed, and the wisdom to know the difference (Beyene et al., 2002; Hilton et al., 2012). Religious beliefs, when viewed within a

negative and reductionist framework, are sometimes thought of as little more than a manifestation of a deterministic belief system that results in the corresponding dissolution of personal agency and responsibility. Instead, these researchers have emphasised that religiosity appears to facilitate an ability to accept that ageing will often bring limitations that is beyond a human being's capacity to influence or transcend. Similarly, Torres (2006 & 2009) found that a surrender to nature and the inevitability of the process of decay were seen as the natural state of the ageing process among a cohort of Iranian immigrants residing in Sweden. This was part of a study that attempted to investigate their constructs of successful ageing. Whether this implies a passive surrender to the will of God or a realistic grasp of the inevitability of the ageing process and the limitations of human action over nature and its forces is a matter for conjecture. The psychological benefit of surrendering to the will of God and the forces of nature during the process of ageing has nonetheless been argued by some researchers to have facilitated an acceptance of the vicissitudes of ageing and growing older, without necessarily resulting in a diminished sense of agency or responsibility for the maintenance of health (Avgoulas & Fanany, 2013a; Beyene et al., 2002; Hilton et al., 2012; Torres, 2006).

5.4.3 "A Quick and Painless Death" – An Integral Part Of 'A Good Old Age'

Among the Greek elders interviewed, it was apparent that notions of a 'good old age' were not thought of as separate from considerations of the manner in which death was to be encountered during the final phase of life. End of life concerns, expectations leading up to the anticipation of death and quality of death considerations in many cases became conflated with notions of 'a good old age':

> *To (age well) is what everyone desires … to have a good ending … to not end up bedridden, in others words, it means for a person to die in peace – without pain … that's what we desire … to sleep at night and to wake up without aches and pain, that's what we desire now. (M5, aged 80)*

Well, what can we do? ... That is life ... but, Glory be to God ... to allow us to stop (end) in exactly the same state that we now find ourselves in. (M1, aged 77)

We will all get older, all of us. It's nature law that we are born and then we will die. And so we will die ... but the best thing would be if death came swiftly, uneventfully, and without pain. A poet is known to have said": 'I want him to find me on a branch', (he was talking about death) ... 'I want him to find me on a branch, like a bird perched on a branch that is singing happily and then suddenly, after being shot, falls to the ground, completely unaware that it is falling to its death ... (M2, aged 74)

A powerful metaphor for the desirability of a quick and painless death is evoked here that speaks to the central concern that envelops many Greek elders' notions of a 'good old age'. That the quality of death and dying not only mattered to older persons themselves, but were considered to be constitutive of their definitions of successful ageing has hitherto been given cursory or at best peripheral mention within the body of literature concerning the formulation and development of models of successful ageing. Notably, the concerns of the Greek elders who were interviewed departed significantly from the notions of 'successful ageing' that are embodied in the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model, in which a strong emphasis on the here and now has largely excluded end of life considerations and the contemplation of death and dying. A study by McCann Mortimer, Ward and Winefield (2008) found that among women between the ages of 60 and 89 years, personal agency, positive relations with others, including social political and religious networks, threats to autonomy due to frailty, and a fear of losing one's identity were clearly central to their definitions of successful ageing. Moreover, McCann Mortimer et al. (2008) found that for this cohort of women, quality of death considerations were inextricably intertwined with quality of life considerations. For a number of the Greek elders interviewed, end of life concerns were thought to be ameliorated if death was able to be met peacefully and without pain. However, the emphasis for Greek elders was less on the ability or the right of an individual to exert choice over quality of life considerations and more about an expression of hope that death will be met quickly, mercifully, and

without prolonged suffering or pain. Indeed, the canons of the Greek Orthodox religious doctrine would generally exert a prohibitive influence on members of this generation of Greek elders to consider euthanasia in its modern sense as an option if beset by a terminal illness, for example. Their concerns appeared to be less related to the fear of death itself and more related to the prospect that old age will bring illness, debilitation and suffering. In this sense, 'a good death' devoid of pain and suffering was seen as synonymous with 'a good old age'. Significantly, the word for 'end' or 'ending' as used by the participants above, is *'télos'* or *'τέλος'* in the Greek language. The etymological origin of the word *'télos'* carries two meanings in the Greek language: that of termination, but also the final goal of life. Hence, what may be inferred from the comments made by the participants is a wish for a quick and pain-free death following old age without the burden of a serious illness. Mystakidou et al. (2005b) argues that among the ancient Greeks, this was the ultimate goal to aspire to and has been considered to be one of the greatest virtues since antiquity. Mystakidou et al. (2005b, p. 25) traces the origin of this idea as stemming from Homer's *Odyssey*, in which the citizens of the utopic island of 'Sirii' were bestowed with the privilege of a quick and painless death:

> They did not suffer from any diseases or poverty, but when they were growing old, the ancient Greek God Apollo arrived in their island to hasten their death with arrows.

Hence, a continuity of beliefs may be discerned between the modern-day preoccupation with a quick and painless death among the Greek elders of today and that of their erstwhile ancient Greek ancestors.

5.4.4 Preserving Autonomy and Independence

A predominant theme to have emerged in answer to the question of what constitutes 'a good old age' was the importance of prudent management of daily life, forward planning, preserving autonomy, and being in charge of one's affairs for as long as possible. An old Greek proverb was

mobilised by two of the male respondents to convey the importance of investing in a good old age rather than spending it wastefully during one's youth:

Κάλλιο καλά γεράματα, παρά όμορφα νιάτα,

a translated version of which is:

It's best to invest in making sure that you age well rather than to have spent a wonderful time during your youth. (M2, aged 74)

While not entirely congruent with the notions of successful ageing that are embodied within the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model, it nonetheless imparts the idea that planning, investment and preparation for the latter years of one's life is likely to bear fruit. This is likely to assume greater importance during a time when one is least equipped to anticipate or to cope with hazardous or adverse events that may be expected during the process of growing older. A fear of becoming incapacitated physically or losing one's mental faculties was expressed by both the male and female participants:

The most important ... the most important thing is to have my mind (i.e. retain my mental faculties) so that I can be in charge of myself and so as not to become a burden on my children. (F3, aged 71)

For now, I don't have any complaints. I can still walk, I can still go to the shops ... I can still go to church ... but I can no longer climb a ladder to clean up high because I get dizzy ... and I can't do the cleaning like I used to be able to. (F4, aged 79)

For a number of participants, the overriding fear of losing one's autonomy meant that longevity was rendered less important and even meaningless when matters of health, independence and quality of life were at stake. For others, the importance of command and control, forward planning and the ability to economise in the management of day-to-day affairs was of paramount importance in the ability to age well:

I love life but I don't care if I die now … I don't care, you know? If you ask me what do I prefer, to live up to 80 or 90 years of age and not be able to do anything? I would prefer to die now!! (F8, aged 74).

A good old age means to be in command … in other words, let's say that yesterday I received the pension … let me not put it in my pocket because the water bill is waiting to be paid. Then the electricity bill will arrive. So this is how much I will put aside so that I can manage with X and with Y. (M1, aged 77)

For me a good old age means to have less health problems … because an old person doesn't need either luxury things or special food. We are able to survive on one olive so to speak, especially us Greeks, but when health is compromised … so it means to be in control of yourself. (M3, aged 72)

Many Greek migrants of the first generation pride themselves in having economised and invested their money securely in the knowledge that this will pay off in an hour of need. This was also reflected in accounts highlighting the view that most people of their generation worked solidly all their lives, often taking more than one job with a view to saving and becoming self-sufficient economically. This generation of Greek migrants have adopted a philosophy of frugality and economic management, having learnt the value of careful budgeting and having to make do with less as migrants in a 'foreign' country. Mastery for these migrants is equated with self-sufficiency and the need to remain financially independent. This frugality results from the historical and political devastation of World War II, the Civil War and the military junta in Greece from which the first generation of Greek migrants have emerged as survivors. Greek migrants have subsequently yearned to build a future for themselves and their children. By necessity this involved self-sacrifice and making ends meet with the little they had. Greek elders here can also be seen to have interwoven their identity within a familiar narrative in which they are positioned as working-class migrants. They have prided themselves in having sacrificed their life by working hard, economised and invested not only to provide for their children, but also to have benefitted from the fruits of

their labour in a 'foreign land' wherein little support was expected or provided. The importance of self-sufficiency and frugality was emphasised by all of the participants and can be seen as central to their definition of successful ageing:

> *Here (in Australia), we have all saved and invested our money aside. There isn't one Greek person who hasn't worked and scrimped and saved their money, except maybe those who have frittered it away at the races or those who play cards at the Kafenio, or in other similar situations. (M4, aged 85)*

For a number of Greek elders, the fear of losing one's autonomy that was often associated with ageing was accompanied by a deep-seated fear of loneliness, remaining alone, and the prospect of spending the latter stage of their life in a nursing home. In two instances, such a fear was expressed by the wives of the participants who were being interviewed:

> *Now in my situation with my husband, he will need to go walking a little bit more … a little exercise so that we don't end up in a nursing home that our children will have to bear the cost for. If you end up in a nursing home, the family, the entire family becomes sick … our children will come to see us, to feed us, etc., but as for me, even though I'm in pain, I don't give up because I don't want to end up in the bed of a nursing home. (wife of M4, aged 85)*

> *Ageing well for me means to be in command of yourself … and of course, to not end up alone, yes (in response to wife's comment). This plays a huge role … For me this is natural and it will happen to all of us and it might also happen to me. That one person dies first and the other is left on their own … in the event that I end up on my own … for me, I think that this will be the end. (M3, aged 72)*

The prospect of being placed in a nursing home or remaining alone in the event of the departure of one's spouse caused by ill-health or death was seen as tantamount to remaining bereft of a reason to continue living for some of the male participants. It was even equated to death itself for others:

If my son puts me in a car and takes me to a nursing home, from that moment on, I'm as good as dead. Believe me. (M2, aged 74)

That's how I see it, I'm not sure. It may be that when the time comes you may overcome it and you may say well, that is how it is. But to remain, if I were to remain alone in my house … to remain alone would be very bad. (M3, aged 72)

It was also evident that for many Greek elders, ageing well mattered primarily to the extent that becoming ill or debilitated with age meant that they would inevitably turn to their adult children for care and assistance. A strong emphasis was placed in the hope that old age would not introduce an unexpected interference or additional burden on their adult children. It indirectly conveys the expectation that it is their children who would ultimately bear the burden of care in the event that they became beset with illness.

5.4.5 Family Closeness as Central To Notions Of Well-Being And 'Ageing Well'

That the primary concern and focus for Greek elders at the prospect of becoming incapacitated in later life owing to illness or disability centred on the potentially detrimental impact that this may have on their adult children highlights the importance accorded to the unity of the family, family closeness, involvement and reciprocity of care. The family is undeniably the locus of care and represents a microcosm of Greek foundational values both within Greek society in Greece and within Greek diasporic communities outside of Greece. Kinship ties are seen as fundamental and as the basis for the giving and receiving of care. Expectations of family care in old age were not only regarded as normative, but were seen as integral to notions of ageing well. This was perhaps most adeptly and succinctly expressed by the following female participants in response to the question of what well-being in later life means:

More generally, it means for the family and all the relatives to be well, so when I can see that the family is well, that is what I derive my strength from … I am satisfied and happy when I see that the family is well. (F6, aged 70)

With my life, all is well ... glory be to God, but now that we are getting older we can expect many illnesses to come our way ... that's it ... but if you have your children close to you, well, what else do you want? (F3, aged 71)

Conversely, a sense of well-being during the latter stage of one's life was seen as having become significantly compromised when family members had passed on. This becomes more pronounced and acute when cumulative losses result in a greater sense of social isolation and loneliness:

Yes yes ... now in the afternoon, I don't have anywhere to go, I don't have anyone. If you have some companionship, it is a little better, yes ... because many ... well, a number of the members of the family ... have left ... things are more difficult as time passes on ... you don't have ... (M6, aged 81)

Yes yes ... eerr ... well ... I see my life as a bit difficult because the people that I loved very much are now gone ... (F7, aged 80)

Yes yes yes ... now I am happy. I have my children ... it doesn't matter that they are far away because I have my grandchildren and my great grandchildren and I always look forward to seeing them. But when you lose someone and you have no family member left who is close to you ... when my husband died, that is what happened to me ... what will I remember of those years? ... for me they were bleak dark years. (F9, aged 73)

It is evident that for the majority of Greek elders, social and emotional well-being in general was seen as contingent on the well-being of their family and reflects an interdependent rather than an atomistic sense of self. Efklides et al. (2003) argue that this can be understood as demonstrating the degree to which Greek elders have endorsed traditional collectivist values that have endured particularly within the rural regions of Greece from which they came. Indeed, Efklides et al. (2003, p. 180) contend that the focus on 'marital status' alone risks overlooking the fact that for many Greek elders, 'the family' is considered to be fundamental and core to a person's sense of identity,

belonging, and interrelatedness. It is also the domain from which people derive their sense of support in both an emotional and a practical sense. The extent to which Greek elders are preoccupied with, and have invested in, caring for their children carries with it the expectation that this will be reciprocated at a time of need. Kin and kin relations are seen as the sole reason for being and the reason for the continued meaning and purpose of life itself:

> *Whoever wants to leave for Greece is free to do so. But what will happen to the children and the grandchildren? I was away for six to seven weeks and it drove me nuts! I had not seen them and it drove me nuts! In other words, I was in a constant state of worry. To not be able to play with them, to do whatever with the children … that's how it is. (M1, aged 77)*

> *Given that I made the decision to come here (Australia), at least I can see that the children are all sorted. What else am I in need of? … To help the children … the time came and they got married, more or less we gave them everything we had to help them and to set them up for life. (M1, aged 77)*

> *We do not expect a lot from our children. They have their own families and their own children … but we do expect a good word: 'How are you dad? How are you going?' This is the best injection of life that can be given to an elderly person. You know how there are some injections that can make you feel happy? 'How are you dad? … Are you in need of financial assistance?' … even if he knows that I'm not in need. 'Yes son, can you do this for me?' (M2, aged 74)*

It can be discerned from the above accounts that although the overriding concern for Greek elders was not to impose or become a burden on their adult children, there is nonetheless an implicit expectation that they will remain involved enough to demonstrate a continued interest in their well-being, even if help was not actually necessary or required. It is the very love, care and concern of their children that was metaphorically described as the necessary 'injection of life', especially as they are ageing. These findings converge with Cylwik's (2002) study in which intergenerational value expectations and patterns of care between members of the first and second generation of

Greek Cypriots living in an outer London borough were examined. Reciprocity of care between members of the first and second generation was often most potently symbolised on an everyday basis in the giving and receiving of food. That care giving was gendered was also supported by the current study, with several of the female participants mentioning that it was their daughters that they turned to for help when needed. The sons were regarded as not as attentive, perhaps as a reflection of the extent to which they tend to gravitate toward their nuclear families within which their wife's needs usually take precedence:

> *On Saturday, my other daughter arrives, the younger one, and we go to the cemetery so that we can light the candle, we will then pay our respects, then when we arrive home, my daughter will help me to empty the vacuum cleaner because I am unable to open it … my hands no longer have any strength, things fall out of my grip because they are riddled with arthritis and the pain has become unbearable … she will then re-fill the bottle with oil again for the candle. I will have made something for us to eat, we sit down to eat together and then she will leave to carry on with her own work as she works all week … What can we do? … this is what our life consists of. (F2, aged 84)*

Although the above participant, aged 84, has one son and two adult daughters, it is her adult daughters who have assumed the primary responsibility for providing care. Consequently, they have taken turns to assist their elderly mother with transport to the cemetery to carry out mourning practices and to assist with shopping and household chores. This conjures up an image of a cohesive family unit in which the caring role is clearly gendered. It culminates in the sharing of a meal that has been pre-prepared by the participant herself, demonstrating a closeness and reciprocity of care, as symbolised by the giving and receiving of food.

The above interview extract (F2, aged 84) also demonstrates that death rituals and mourning practices continue to be carried out largely by women, most of whom were widowed within the context of the present study. This pays testimony to a tradition that stems from antiquity in which the maintenance of the death cult was seen as falling within the female domain. The tending of the

tombs and the offering of gifts are important aspects of the death cult and continue to be carried out by most of the widowed women who were interviewed for the present research. The idealised statues of the Kouros and the Steles graves of Ancient Greece have given way to photos of the deceased and small enclosures on the tomb into which an icon, an oil lamp and flowers are now placed (Danforth, 1982; Papadelos, 2017; Pentaris, 2012). In modern Greek traditions, it continues to be the case that the women will wear black mourning clothes, especially leading up to the fortieth day memorial ritual and subsequently for the next three years.

Another of the widowed female participants who was interviewed for the present study, for example, mentioned that she was in the process of baking goods and preparing food as offerings to the dead during 'Ψυχοσάββατο' or 'Psycho-Sabbato'. 'Psycho-Sabbato', when translated from the Greek, means 'All Souls Saturday'. It is celebrated at the end of Winter and again at the end of Spring when it is thought that the souls of the dead are continuing to wander among those of the living. By offering food to the cemetery during 'Psychosabbata', the priest performs a blessing, after which the food is eaten so that the souls of the dead may be appeased and forgiven (Alexiou, 2002; Danforth, 1982; Haland, 2012).

5.4.6 Keeping Socially Active and Interconnected

For some participants, remaining socially active and contributing to the community was seen as synonymous with well-being in older age and considered a vital part of being able to age well. For female participants, this took the form of keeping in contact with female friends, often united by their common ethnicity, widowhood and their inability to speak English. Many of the female participants also placed a strong emphasis on the importance of giving to the community. This was done through baking goods to donate to their local church, bartering among each other, transport to the local cemetery, and helping with cooking, catering, and cleaning in the hall behind the church after a funeral or other major social function. They also mentioned generally keeping an eye on

friends who were in need of transport, help with shopping, looking after the house and other such activities:

Yes … especially when I get together with the other ladies … this helps tremendously … I love working hard … I interact with others, this is very satisfying and has helped me tremendously … it is what has saved me. I love doing something for the community … for the people who have died and their relatives … and this gives me strength. (F10, aged 78)

I do a lot of things and even don't have enough time to rest because I go to church; when someone has passed away, they will call upon us to make the coffee; one day you will clean a room of the house, or I will make something – paximadia or almond bread and I make them in large quantities and give them away and I am very happy that I am able to make this and they are enjoyed … in other words the day is not long enough!! (F10, aged 78)

Each Sunday I go to help the elderly, on Mondays I will go to my exercise group … my day gets eaten up, you know? … On Tuesday I might go out to town to have a coffee with a friend … Thursdays I will go to help the elderly next to church, Saturdays I will pay a visit to the cemetery and Sunday to church … there goes the week!!! (F8, aged 74)

The male participants mentioned frequenting their local Kafenio as a means of socialising with other men of their age and having friends around for a banter or to engage in playing cards or other games:

In the morning we meet at the Kafenio.

If it wasn't for that, I would have gone crazy …

In Greece they talk politics, one person teases the other … but it doesn't matter … (M6, aged 81)

Within this context, some of the participants spoke with considerable nostalgia for the past at a time when families would merge and enjoy family outings together. Some lamented the changing nature of the family unit, the disintegration of extended family interconnectedness, socialisation and

involvement. A gradual shift in values, due in part to heightened individualism, the impact of technology, greater material comfort, the general stress of daily life, and the individuation of the family unit, appear to have threatened the benefits and need for extended family involvement and interconnectedness:

> *People don't come around much anymore because of TV … I don't like TV … I just watch it for the weather and a soapie that helps me to relax … on Tuesdays my son and his family will come around for tea and so I have to prepare a meal and then they help me to clean up. (F10, aged 78)*

> *People have become estranged from one another, we are not close to one another like we used to be during the early years of our arrival. For my husband's name day I used to have 50 people around each year … I used to prepare everything and it didn't bother me at all, oh no! I enjoyed it! (F4, aged 79)*

For many Greek elders, this has corresponded to a loss of a broader social interconnectedness that perhaps heightens the need for an increasing dependence on their adult children as they get older. Extended family connectedness was normative and vital when Greek migrants first arrived in Australia. As these connections have gradually dissipated with time and families have become more insular, this can result in a greater sense of displacement and alienation. This can result from the adverse impact that busy modern lifestyles can have on the societal fabric that has resulted in a diminution of the social connectedness and the level of social interaction that they had enjoyed and benefitted from in the past. Significantly, since having retired and left the workforce, many of the participants talked about the gradual loss of their often-underdeveloped English language skills. Consequently, this has left them less able to access services and to become fully integrated members of mainstream society without an increasing reliance on their adult children:

> *A car is the best thing for a person … to be able to go where you want to visit others … because now I have become closed in … alright I do go to the local church, but this means*

only socialising with other Greeks and hence I have also lost my English language skills. (F10, aged 78)

The only complaint that I have and think about day and night is that I don't drive, and I cannot speak English well. And so I bother my daughter-in-law and my son instead … I can get on with everyday insignificant things. But if it's something important, e.g., going to hospital, I cannot. Also loneliness … there are three things … not being able to drive, speak English and loneliness. (F10, aged 78)

5.4.7 Resilience and The Zest For Life

A pervasive theme emerging from the interview data was the importance of remaining positive in the face of life's difficulties, particularly when confronted with the fact that the ageing process presents challenges at many levels, including physically, financially, socially and emotionally. Many of the participants displayed a remarkable resilience, verve and zest for life, with the greatest resourcefulness and determination displayed by those expressing defiance in the face of hardship, or in those who experienced triumph over death as a consequence of having survived cumulative losses and tragedy that had befallen them throughout their lives. Some talked about the importance of facing life's difficulties with courage and the strength to "keep going" as an antidote to anxiety and as the key to preventing oneself from becoming despondent or absorbed with self-pity. A deep appreciation of life and its precariousness was vividly described by one participant. She had experienced a close encounter with death as a passenger in a serious car accident resulting in the instantaneous death of her first husband, leaving herself and her then two-year-old daughter with severe injuries. Subsequent losses for this participant included the death of her second husband to cancer and the sudden unexpected death of her granddaughter to an epileptic seizure during sleep. Remarkably, this participant expressed an intensified zest for life as a result of having been confronted with her own vulnerability in the face of death. This experience appears to have enabled

an acute awareness of the fragility of life, which has, in turn, facilitated a fuller engagement with life and an annihilation of the fear of death itself:

> *I have been to Charon's spoon … I've been to Charon's spoon, and so I know what life is … No no … I'm not afraid at all … I'm not afraid either of death, of sickness, of nothing … I say to myself that if it comes, it comes … why should I think about it now? (F8, aged 74)*

> *Why should God make me an exception and make everything rosy for me? … And I have never said: … 'aaaahhh why should my husband have died and have left me on my own?' … no I have never thought this way. (F8, aged 74)*

Here, the participant invokes a powerful and compelling metaphor of being on the verge of death as personified by "Charon's spoon". The Greek language has embedded within it references to Greek mythology that provide a repository of representations and meanings with which to make sense of everyday experiences and struggles. According to Greek mythology, *'Charon' (Χάρων)* was a man who lived in the underworld. His task was to carry newly deceased souls across the river Acheron and Styx (https://www.buzzle.com/articles/who-was-charon-in-greek-mythology.html). The word *'Charon' (Χάρων)* continues to be used in the modern Greek language as a euphemism for death. A composite form of this notion is included in the frequently used expression: *«χαροπαλεβω» or 'Charopalevo'* which is descriptive of the struggle, agony and suffering of human existence itself and literally means that life is a constant struggle ('palevo') with death ('Charon').

This participant recalled doctors having told her that her chances of surviving the accident were minimal. However, with considerable pride and defiance, she stated that she had not only survived the accident but revelled in the miracle that she is still alive today. This gave her considerable strength to move on and face any further difficulties that she has had to confront. This was expressed as having both met and cheated death at the same time, having emerged with a greater resilience, stoicism and resolve that enabled her to face further difficulties that she has since encountered in her life:

They predicted that there was a 99% chance that I would die, but it's not in me to die !!! (laughter) ... But I am happy nonetheless, because, you know, one person has this and the other person has that ... life is a wheel and continues to turn ...

It isn't possible to be happy all the time!!

I don't want life to turn into drudgery ... no!!!! I continue to wrestle ('Charopalevo') with life!! Even though I'm like this, I still keep going and I'm happy ... sometimes I say to myself, why shouldn't I be happy? Now that we have come here, you cannot do anything, you cannot look back, you must look forward!!!! (F8, aged 74)

I go to church every Sunday, sometimes I read, and the night lamp ('Kandili') is on day and night. (F8, aged 74)

I have been to Charon's spoon and back, so I know the value of life!

I love life but I don't care if I die today either. (F8, aged 74)

The 'kandili' or candlelight that remains alight day and night and the 'wheel of life' as referred to by this participant can both be seen as metaphors for hope, perpetuity and regeneration. In spite of difficulties in being able to walk and manage household chores, another 84-year-old female participant spoke of an irrepressible zest for life and of a sense of humour as vital in the ability to age well. This participant expressed an overwhelming urge to dance when hearing Greek music being played:

Well, if you were to say to me: 'Get up and dance, koukli mou (my little doll)', even if I'm lame, I will still clap my hands! My hands will clap even though my legs are useless! At the hospital, further up here where I was admitted once, they took out the radio, we had gathered to eat, and it beckoned you to get up (and dance) – (claps her hands)!! We laughed our heads off!! (F1, aged 84)

In any case, I am happy. In talking nonsense and rubbish about anything ... whatever company I'm in, I can't resist indulging in nonsense and puns. My daughter sometimes tells

me off: 'Oh mum!' 'Oh get out of here, I tell her. We have to say these things! How else will we be able to have a laugh?' (F1, aged 84)

The key motivators to "keep going" for many Greek elders centred on the following:

- the continued nurturance of their family from which they derived considerable sustenance;
- continued involvement in helping their children and grandchildren, and pride in their ability to continue to provide for their children at an age when it becomes more difficult to do so;
- remaining in frequent contact with their children and grandchildren and maintaining close ties with them;
- structuring their lives around a routine;
- keeping busy with domestic chores;
- remaining active in church and their local community;
- helping one another, especially among the females;
- accepting limitations gracefully;
- a belief that God's plans are not to be questioned;
- an acceptance of one's fate and mortality;
- maintaining a relationship with members of the family and relatives who have passed on.

The upkeep of mourning rituals to enable the fulfilment of social obligations that are consistent with Greek cultural mourning practices continue to be carried out by the female participants, most of whom are widows.

5.5 Summary and Conclusion

To date, few studies have attempted to elicit an understanding of how older persons define a sense of well-being during the ageing process. This study represents one of the first attempts to bring to

light some of the ways in which Greek migrants residing in a local South Australian community understand concepts of 'ageing-well'. This enables the development of an enriched and broader conceptualisation of what constitutes a 'good old age' that has greater cross-cultural validity as well as expanding upon the bounds of that included within the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model of ageing-well.

Seven main themes were elicited from the primary interview data regarding conceptualisations of ageing well among the participants interviewed. These were

1. The notion of 'ageing well' – an oxymoron?
2. Fatalism or acceptance? – the role of religion in the management of health and the attainment of 'a good old age'.
3. "A quick and painless death" – an integral part of 'a good old age'.
4. Preserving autonomy and independence.
5. Family closeness as central to notions of well-being and 'ageing well'.
6. Keeping socially active and interconnected.
7. Resilience and the zest for life.

Participants' accounts of ageing well and the ageing process are grounded in an understanding and acceptance of the inevitability of decay, death and dying. For many of the participants interviewed in the present study, this appears to have simultaneously enabled an acceptance of the reality of ageing and an ability to remain grateful for the life that they have been granted. Old age is to be cherished and enjoyed as a gift and was considered to be an exceptional state of being rather than the rule. This was encapsulated most exquisitely in the expression of having been brought to Charon's spoon, which metaphorically captures the state of being at the liminal space where life meets death, of being at the edge of life and having had a close encounter with death, as personified by Charon himself. Intertwined with this is the religious notion of an acceptance of the grace of God and the gift of life, but equally, a resignation to the inevitability of pain, illness and suffering that life itself carries and that each person must confront. The Greek language and culture are replete

with references to death as personified in the Charon and the elaborate lamentations that continue to be performed as part of the death rituals that are practised in many parts of Greece. Such practices have remained intact within the Greek communities of the diaspora and enable a confrontation, articulation and expression of the dread, ambivalence and deep fear that it evokes. Within the confines of the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model of successful ageing, such beliefs may be construed as signifying a degree of fatalism or a failure to take an active role in the management of one's health. It may imply a passive resignation over what fate holds, reduced agency and control, and a sense that one is beholden to God's will and what is 'written'. Alternatively, however, what has emerged from the interview data is that Greek elders displayed a pragmatic acceptance of what fate has in stall for them. For them, it is tantamount to a form of hubris to presume to be able to change the destiny that has been predetermined for them by a higher being. This has in many cases accentuated a heightened appreciation of life, of being alive and being in the present moment. Merely being alive in one's late years was regarded as a privilege that was gracefully accepted. It is for this reason that having one's health was regarded as a precondition for a good life and was often regarded as sufficient reason to rejoice and be grateful. Hence, notions of 'successful ageing' for many of the Greek migrants interviewed here rarely extended beyond the preservation of existing health. The aim to strive for more at an advanced age was seen as being excessively demanding and unappreciative of what one has.

Notions of 'ageing well' were seen as inherently contradictory. A deep-seated fear and dread in getting older was expressed by some of the participants. In contrast, others asserted that embracing life wholeheartedly enables the ability to transcend the limitations of declining health, an acceptance of death, and a paradoxical annihilation of the fear of death itself. For all of the participants interviewed, health was paramount and it remained a truism that without health, nothing else was considered possible or meaningful.

A continuity of beliefs regarding death and dying can be discerned from the ancient Greeks to the belief systems of Greek people today. Most notably, while modern day notions of 'eugeria', or

how to age well, can be traced back to ancient Greek concepts of 'euthanasia', such beliefs have been moderated by the influence of Greek Orthodox Christianity since the Byzantine era. The idea of human intervention exerting influence over one's pre-ordained fate or destiny has become anathema and a transgression of the basic tenets of Christianity, which are firmly anchored in the idea that our destiny is 'written' and has been pre-determined by a higher being. Similarly, ancient Greek notions of ageing-well or a 'good old age' were closely tied to a 'good' or painless death. A powerful metaphor that was used by a male participant about death overcoming a bird suddenly, abruptly and completely unaware is perhaps a supreme example of such a belief and a wish signifying the ideal attainment of a pain-free death as the ultimate exoneration from the fear of death itself.

Haland (2012) and Papadelos (2017) note that within the contemporary context, Greek widows will continue to wear black mourning clothes for the rest of their lives. The majority of widows interviewed for the present study wore black and accorded great importance to their ability to continue to tend to the gravestones of their husbands, sons or daughters at the very least on a weekly basis for the rest of their lives. Where there was an impediment in being able to do so due to lack of transport, some of the women mentioned accepting a lift by a female friend who could drive and had a car in order to be transported to the cemetery to carry out this most important duty.

Caring for the gravestones is seen as falling within a woman's domain and is considered critical in their role of serving as the mediators between the world of the dead and the world of the living. The tending of the dead and the family grave is evident in ancient written sources. By continuing to wear black mourning clothes well after a family member has died, it not only signifies a widow's continuing relationship to the dead relative, but also represents the family and social relations between the deceased and the living within the society as a whole (Haland, 2012). These traditions can be linked to ancient times when women continued to display their grief by dressing in black clothing. In this respect, the female body becomes the nexus of social symbolism and social meaning that is mirrored in public performances within a variety of contexts.

Lamentations are the female response to death and symbolise the relationship to life and death of the society at large. Lamenters hold an important function in carrying the memory of the deceased and keeping it alive in the memory of the living. Female lamentations have persisted though the ages despite attempts to suppress the dangerous transgressions that they represent to the laws of the polis and later, to the canons of the Greek Orthodox Church. As such, the female lament represents the power and perpetuity of the identity of the individual and the family above that of the state. Haland (2012, p. 140) concludes that: 'without their public performance of lament, death is silent and unmarked for the deceased.'

In conclusion, for all Greek elders, notions of 'a good old age' were synonymous with good health. Indeed, health was seen as a precondition for a 'good old age'. Health was considered paramount, beyond which it was regarded as futile to strive toward 'optimal functioning', given that possessing one's health was sufficient grounds for remaining grateful, particularly at an advanced age. Good health was to be cherished and was seen as overriding all other considerations, given that nothing is deemed possible without it. Moreover, the preservation of good health well into the latter stage of one's life was considered to be God-given and the ideal state in which to meet life's end. Correspondingly, it can be seen that for Greek elders, notions of 'a good old age' were inextricably intertwined with end of life considerations, with some participants openly and spontaneously discussing their hopes for a death devoid of pain and suffering. The extent to which this was seen as not being entirely within an individual's ability to control reflects an acceptance of the canons of nature and a resignation to the will of God.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Preface

The present chapter is focused on the integration of the findings, discussions and conclusions of the two main thematic chapters – Chapter 4 on the 'Cultural Identity and Psychological Well-Being of Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia' and Chapter 5 on 'Concepts of Ageing Well among Greek Migrants Ageing in Australia'. The potential implications that this research holds for policy, service and care for older Greek migrants of the first generation are discussed, along with the strengths and limitations that such a study entails.

6.2 Overview of the Present Research

The present research aimed to explore the nature of cultural identity of members of the first generation of Greek migrants living within a South Australian community. Specifically, the present research aimed to investigate culturally specific conceptualisations of social and emotional well-being from the perspective of older Greek immigrants in Australia. In addition, the research aimed to determine how this may be related to their subjective experience of migration, personal and cultural identities, level of acculturation, and experiences of ageing in a place other than their country of origin. The second phase of this research set out to examine conceptualisations of what constitutes a 'good old age' as articulated by the Greek migrants who were interviewed for the present study and how this may be related to their experiences of ageing, a sense of well-being and needs in later life.

In order to address these aims, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher in the Greek language to examine identity constructions and relationship to the country of origin (Greece) and adopted homeland (Australia) and later explored notions of 'ageing well' in the context of their needs in later life. Interviews were conducted with 16 Greek-born immigrants to Australia with ages ranging from 70 to 85 years. Six males and ten females were interviewed and these were supplemented by the administration of the Greek version of the Geriatric Depression

Scale (GDS) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS). The GDS provides an indication of the presence of depressive ideation and the MAS establishes the social and language preferences of each participant at home and in the wider community.

6.3 Research Questions

The specific research questions that were asked attempted to elicit how participants construct their identity, as well as how they talk about their relationship to Greece and Australia in light of their experiences of having returned to Greece repeatedly during the course of their lives. The research also asked how these experiences have affected their sense of identity and belonging both to their ancestral and adopted homelands. Further questions that examined the factors that influence perceptions and meanings of a 'good old age' and a sense of well-being among older Greek migrants were also included.

6.4 Overview of Research on The Relationship Between Migration and Mental Health

In reviewing the literature on the relationship between culture and immigration from 1979 until 2002, Orb (2002) notes that there appears to be a dearth of research that examines the health issues affecting elderly migrants of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. Specifically, the literature examining the mental health of older migrants of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds is fraught with contradictory findings. Some studies indicate that there is no difference in the prevalence of mental health issues between elderly CALD migrants and older persons within the general population. However, others suggest that there are several social determinants, such as differences in socio-economic and educational background, as well as the psychological impact that the migratory experience entails, that may render this group more vulnerable to developing mental health problems in later life (Jayasuriya et al., 1992; Livingston & Sembhi, 2003). Perhaps the most significant issues affecting older migrants that have been well documented in the literature includes a lack of English language skills and concomitant difficulties;

such as social isolation, limited access to services, and a reliance on the Age Pension as the main source of income (Diwan, 2008; Leung, 2002; Rao, Warburton & Bartlett, 2006).

Australian immigrants came to the forefront as an issue of public concern during the 1970s when Australia began to accept larger numbers of refugees and migrants from CALD backgrounds (Australian Greek Welfare Society, July 2014; Gibson et al., 2001). Reports on the relative health disadvantages of immigrants of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds is poorly documented and lacks grounding in solid research. While some studies indicate that immigrants report lower rates of health and well-being, such findings have henceforth come into question when they have been based on surveys and questionnaires that may lack cultural validity and sensitivity (Andary et al., 2003b). Other studies have demonstrated the lack of consistency and equivalence in the meaning and conceptualisation of health concepts across cultures, particularly with regard to mental health (Incalzi, Cesari, Pedone & Carbonin, 2003; Mui, Kang, Chen & Domanski, 2003). In this respect, of central concern is the validity of the instruments used in such research, with many questionnaires having been translated into several languages without necessarily demonstrating that they are measuring the same concepts – or in being able to demonstrate what is termed 'cultural equivalence' (Andary et al., 2003b; Minas, 1990). Moreover, there has been an overriding concern that much of the literature has been largely mono-cultural in its general perspective. Where minority cultures have been taken into account, there tends to be an overriding assumption that diverse cultures may be compared to each other without regard to the enormous diversity in the experience and understanding of mental health among people between and within different cultures (Quine & Quine, 1999). In this respect, prevailing assumptions that ethnic groups constitute a categorical 'other' has become highly problematic. These assumptions are likely to result in erroneous conclusions given the enormous diversity of values and experiences that members of different cultures hold. This has resulted in the realisation that an approach that examines intra-group differences can yield rich data that focuses on the unique cultural values and perception of a specific

cultural group and their needs. Hence it has given rise to research utilising qualitative methodologies (Howitt, 2016; Willig, 2013).

There is also an increasing acknowledgement of the fact that a mainstream health system that has predominantly remained mono-cultural may need to adopt culturally inclusive approaches to cater for the needs of an increasingly diverse ageing population (Hurley et al., 2013; Ziguras et al., 2003). This has been the impetus for research that has increasingly shifted its focus on the conceptualisation of health and well-being of an increasingly diverse ageing population (Kuo, 2014; Livingston & Sembhi, 2003). There has been a lack of cross-cultural studies of the health perceptions of migrants in general, and, more particularly, that which examines the issues affecting culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) older persons (Menezes et al., 2011; Minas et al., 2008).

According to the *Caring for Older Australians: A CALD Perspective, Submission to the Productivity Commission Draft Report* (FECCA, 2011), older migrants of a CALD background are considered to be the most disadvantaged among Australians, with the exception of the Indigenous population (Dolk, 1985; Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia, March 2011; Pate, 2014). Since the early 2000s, research into the factors affecting the mental and psychological health of older immigrants has demonstrated that the losses associated, for example, with the circumstances of migration render ageing migrants more vulnerable to experiences of emotional turmoil, disorganisation and crisis. The research includes: the experiences of adjustment to a new culture; language barriers; familial and intergenerational conflicts; economic and social disadvantages; greater social isolation; and a lack of social support (Akhtar, 1999a; Kuo, 2014; Livingston & Sembhi, 2003). There are an increasing number of studies that have revealed greater vulnerability to developing mental health problems among older persons of diverse cultural backgrounds (Aichberger et al., 2010; Bhugra & Jones, 2001). For example, the National Survey on Mental Health and Wellbeing (NSMHWB) represented a major attempt to understand the prevalence of mental disorders in the Australian community (Gonçalves, Pachana & Byrne, 2011).

However, the NSMHWB excluded surveying members of the CALD community owing to their low English language proficiency (Kiropoulos et al., 2004; Stanaway, Cumming & Blyth, 2017). Hence, they concluded that older persons, in general, experience lower levels of anxiety and depression when compared to that of the general population. However, a study by Kiropoulos et al. (2004) was among the first studies that sought to redress the under-representation of CALD elderly in the NSMHWB by surveying a group of Greek-born immigrants living in Melbourne. They set about comparing a sample of elderly Greek-born residents in Melbourne with a comparable sample of Anglo-Australian residents on measures of anxiety and depression using the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) and the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI). Overall, they found that Greek-born residents' responses yielded higher scores on depression and anxiety than their Anglo-Australian counterparts. They suggested that these results could be due to cultural and immigrant status factors that were not able to be defined or further elucidated within the constraints of the methodology that they were using. This study also demonstrates that the longer, settled, established migrant communities, such as the Greek-born in Australia, cannot be assumed to be psychologically healthy, considering that the majority of Greek immigrants in Australia have been resident in Australia for 30-50 years (Damousi, 2012).

Much of the recent research on the relationship between mental health and migration in Australia has focused on refugees (Bhugra & Jones, 2001; Cole, Espin & Rothblum, 1992). There is a relative dearth of studies that focus on established migrant communities that may be facing challenges in adapting to the late stages of the lifespan: such as declining health; reduction of social networks through death and emigration of peers; and intergenerational conflicts with their children as it is assumed that they will have adopted more assimilative lifestyles within the dominant culture. As such, the study by Kiropoulos et al. (2004) represents one of the first studies that highlight the importance of suspending the assumption that the findings of a study that was based on the general population is necessarily able to be applied to all cultural groups. Instead, Kiropoulos et al. (2004) have demonstrated that findings that are specific to a cultural group can challenge prevailing

assumptions that have emerged from studies that have based their findings exclusively on the general population.

The following section examines the results of the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) and Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS) that were used to supplement the interviews with the participants of the present research. It also explores the possible implications for male and female differences with respect to their social and emotional well-being among those participants who took part in this study.

6.5. Interpretation of The Results of Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) and Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS)

6.5.1 GDS Results - Males

As reported in Table 4.4 of Chapter 4, the results of the *Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS)* revealed that three out of six males had GDS scores that were potentially indicative of the symptoms of depression (i.e., ≥ 5) as compared to two out of ten females. Hence, there were a greater proportion of males whose GDS score was 5 or greater, indicating a higher degree of expressed depressive ideation than the female participants. The correlations in Table 4.3 reflect that men were older on arrival and scored higher on the GDS, in spite of the fact that a Chi square test performed on GDS by gender (Table 4.4 of Chapter 4) did not show a statistically significant difference between females and males due to the small numbers involved. This finding, while not able to be generalised due to the small sample of participants that were interviewed, nonetheless supports research that has indicated higher psychological morbidity rates among older immigrants who migrated at a relatively older age (Aichberger et al., 2010; Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia, 2015; Khoo, 2011).

Males with the highest scores for expressed depressive ideation on the GDS expressed a greater sense of dissatisfaction with their spousal and other relationships within their family. This finding further substantiates research indicating that it is the quality of spousal and familial

relationships, rather than social support networks *per se*, that is the critical variable in the maintenance of well-being (Stanaway et al., 2010; Stanaway et al., 2011)). Within this context, perceived social support plays a significant role in the degree to which an individual experiences acculturative stress. Such support has been shown to be a stronger predictor of mental health than an individual's actual social embeddedness with a social network. The current research has revealed that for Greek migrants of the first generation, family relationships are of central significance in influencing well-being. However, as Stanaway et al. (2010) have demonstrated among older Italian men of the first generation, the crucial factor in influencing well-being is the quality of relationships within the family network. This is in contrast to the extensiveness of the social network that the family structure provides. Another factor that appeared to influence higher scores in males on the GDS was a higher degree of ambivalence toward the 'patrida' or the country of origin. Two such participants, M4 and M5, both of whom scored ≥ 5 on the GDS, expressed a strong sense of betrayal by the mother country, as exemplified in an over-emphasis in the declaration of their love for their newly adopted homeland and its superior systems and institutional care. Conversely, participant M6 who scored 6 on the GDS, expressed a persistent and unrelenting longingness to return to his motherland. This yearning was fuelled largely by his level of dissatisfaction with his spousal and family relationships, a divided allegiance between his country of origin and his adopted homeland, as well as the deep nostalgia and sentimentality with which he regarded his 'patrida'.

Common to all of the male participants, however, was their ability to continue to socialise with other men at the equivalent of the 'Kafenio': a traditional meeting place for men in Greece. It has remained an exclusively male domain in which the men will gather to banter and discuss politics over a coffee at a local shopping centre. Such socially segregated gatherings continue to be practised by the men of the older generations in Greece and has continued among the male members of the first generation within their adopted homelands. Many of the male participants of the present study have indicated that they attend a 'Kafenio' which was located at their local shopping centre. A number of the male participants of the present study remarked that this means of socialising has

had a salutary effect to their sense of connectedness outside of the family unit and to their social and emotional well-being.

6.5.2 GDS Results – Females

As reported in Chapter 3 and in Table 4.4 of Chapter 4, the results of the *Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS)* revealed that only two out of ten females had GDS scores that were potentially indicative of the symptoms of depression (i.e., ≥ 5) as compared to three out of six males. While all of the males were living with their spouses in their own home, six out of ten of the females who were interviewed reported that they were widowed and living on their own. In addition, at the time of interview, the females were, on average, one year and two months younger than the males. Notably, the female participants scored on average 0.7 points lower on the GDS and 3 points higher on the MAS.

These findings suggest that despite the fact that more females were living on their own as a result of having become widowed, fewer reported symptoms that were indicative of depression. Most of the widowed females that were interviewed reported that they had compensated for the loneliness that widowhood can bring by becoming more intensely involved in the rearing of their grandchildren, socialising with other women of similar backgrounds and circumstances, becoming involved in their local church, and regularly tending to the graves of their husbands and other family members who had passed away.

The impact of gender on the ability of a migrant to adapt to their host country after migration has been shown to play an important role. Akhtar (1999b), Cordella (2015) and Tastsoglou (2009), for example, contend that women are often better able to adapt to the host country than men and this is in a large part attributed to their greater capacity for close affiliations with other women with whom they can share the experiences of motherhood and being a grandmother. In the present study, a qualitative analysis of the data indicated that the state of widowhood was among the main factors that have drawn the females together in an attempt to find solace in their grief and to help cope with

loneliness and social isolation (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2013). Similarly, many of the female participants of the present study shared experiences of having developed lifelong friendships in which many benefits are enjoyed, including: assistance with transport; sharing of meals; enjoying outings together; helping in paying respect toward loved ones in death and mourning rituals; baking goods for the church; assistance with shopping; and other chores.

The women of the present study, the majority of whom were widows, emphasised the importance, for example, of actively socialising with other women; involvement within the community and church activities; the upkeep of mourning practices; and their role as the transmitters of age-old knowledge and traditions of their ancestors. Hence, for the majority of the female participants, meaningful engagement and involvement in the community was seen as an antidote to depression and loneliness. Notably, those who had suffered the greatest losses and had encountered the greatest obstacles in life also displayed the greatest resilience and positivity.

6.5.3 Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS) Results and Implications for levels of Acculturation among First-Generation Greek Migrants in Australia.

The results of the MAS indicate that all participants consistently reported low levels of acculturation across all three sub-scales, including 'Language Use, 'Media Use' and 'Ethnic Social Relations'. Specifically, however, Table 4.3 of Chapter 4 indicates that participants who were older on arrival scored lower on the MAS ($r = .50$, $p<.05$), suggesting that older persons find it more difficult to adjust, and, in particular, to learn a new language.

With regard to 'Language use', all participants reported that they preferred to speak Greek both at home and socially. Correspondingly, most participants talked about their lack of English language proficiency as being a barrier to their ability to become fully integrated within mainstream society. Consequently, they needed to turn to their adult children for assistance in completing forms and in being able to access services within the general community. Section 4.5 of Chapter 4 highlighted the factors that have been instrumental in preserving a degree of homogeneity with

respect to the cultural identity of the members of the first generation of Greek immigrants living in Australia. In this respect, this cohort of Greek migrant elders can be seen as being distinctive in having retained core elements of their identity. This departs from subsequent generations in which a greater level of fluidity and hybridity has been demonstrated in alignment with greater levels of acculturation within mainstream society.

Akhtar (1999b) postulates that the greater the difference between the host country and the mother country from which the immigrant departed, the greater the likelihood that the immigrant will need to surrender or at least significantly compromise aspects of their culture and identity. The concept of acculturation refers to the process of adaptation and change that arises as a result of two or more individuals or groups from different cultures coming into contact with one another (Berry, 2005). The level of stress that this process of adaptation may engender is made more likely when there are greater relative differences between the culture of the host country and that of the refugee or migrant's culture of origin (Akhtar, 1999b; Berry, 2005; Triandis, 1989 & 1993).

Greek migrants of the first generation have largely coped with adaptation into mainstream society and the inevitable loss and adjustment that this entails. This was achieved by preserving the institutions that have enabled almost exclusive socialisation within the Greek community and the ability to attend their own church and to speak their own language (Anagnostou, 2003; Panagakos, 1998). Indeed, this is substantiated by the fact that the results of the MAS indicated that 100 per cent of the participants of the present study prefer to speak Greek both at home and socially. This has been instrumental in preserving the core elements of their identification with their culture and can be argued to have provided a psychological buffer between them and the broader community. However, this becomes at risk of unravelling during the latter stage of life when there is a greater likelihood that one might face the loss of second language, even if rudimentary, loss of independence with diminished health, and a greater likelihood of succumbing to illness or disability. This may result in a greater probability that a migrant will turn to their adult children for

assistance, as the majority of the participants had, indeed, indicated during the present research (Walker et al., 2013).

6.5.4 The Role of Native and Acquired Languages in Acculturation and a Sense of Belonging

> If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart. (uncertain origin, attributed to Nelson Mandela)

One of the major but often overlooked factors that enables a migrant to achieve a greater sense of integration, competence and self-sufficiency is the degree to which they are able to acquire an idiomatic fluency in the language of their adopted homeland. For the majority of the Greek migrants interviewed in the present study, the acquisition of the English language has become elusive. This was not through a lack of a desire to do so, according to many of the participants, so much as due to the difficulties in being able to juggle the demands of a number of jobs at the same time. For the females, much of the challenge was made greater by the dual responsibilities of work and motherhood. Notwithstanding the fact that there were secondary gains in largely adhering to their own language and culture, there were nonetheless real barriers to enable most Greek migrants to be able to gain full proficiency in the English language. The main barriers in being able to do so included low socio-economic status and low levels of education. Moreover, in some cases, illiteracy in their native language became prohibitive in enabling the acquisition of a second language.

It appears that the attachment to the mother tongue and all that it represents is poorly understood (Akhtar, 1999b). Speaking one's language carries with it all of the emotional ties to the mother country; namely, the native culture into which one was born. These ties include a shared world view, and an immediate understanding and bond that develops since language carries with it idioms and expressions that are unique to that culture and, indeed, is the very medium through which a culture may be understood. The ability to transition from monolingualism to bilingualism is made more difficult when the languages and culture in question are distinctly different (Triandis, 1989). The migrant at first carries with him or her the belief that full self-expression is only able to

be achieved most comprehensively in the mother tongue. This is most acutely felt at an emotional level. It is this dimension that is often overlooked whenever language is mentioned as a barrier to the achievement of full integration within the dominant society. The sound and connotations of the mother tongue has a deeper resonance subconsciously. For this reason, it often becomes idealised. Meanwhile, the newly acquired language is devalued and may be seen as impoverished and 'second best' in being able to convey the richness of meaning that is comparable to the migrant's native tongue. Notably, one of the female participants, (F3), commented on the strangeness and sense of alienation that she felt in attempting to learn the English language. Her experiences were likened with deafness or akin to being hard of hearing and rendered mute upon hearing the sounds of spoken English around her. Akhtar (1999b) argues that it also adds to a further splitting of the two conflicting internal self-representations. In other words, it is, on the one hand, an identity which is closely aligned with that of his/ her mother tongue, and on the other of a new identity that emerges with the newly acquired language and, it is suggested, holding the promise of developing a new identity for the first time (Akhtar, 1999b).

From the current study, it is unclear as to whether the progression from a state of a largely monocultural identity progresses or shifts to a new hybrid identity in instances where a migrant has been able to acquire even a minimal level of English or simply as a result of the sheer length of time that they have resided within their adopted homeland. The interview data suggests that, in reality, most of the migrants reported the preservation of a predominantly mono-ethnic self-representation. Only a minority of the participants conveyed the possibility of having developed a semblance of hybridity or bicultural self in terms of a cultural or ethnic identity at the individual level. This is reinforced by the fact that Greek continues to be the main language that is spoken and has resulted in an almost exclusive socialisation within a culturally and linguistically homogenous sub-section of the broader community and a primary allegiance to Greece as the motherland. Nonetheless, with the passage of time, the emergence of a divided allegiance between the newly adopted country and the motherland becomes apparent during a process in which a transformation of identity can be

discerned to have taken place. Indeed, many of the participants of the present study verbalised an increasing fondness and attachment to the host country, bringing with it a means of comparing the 'old' and the 'new' country. For some of the migrants interviewed, this has developed into an increasing allegiance toward their adopted country (Australia) when coming to terms with the relative advantages that their new country affords. Many migrants expressed this sentiment when discussing social security benefits and the corresponding sense of security and stability that is afforded within the heath system and other social institutions. These were often perceived in a comparatively favourable light vis-à-vis the lack of stability and predictability of the political and social institutions within Greece. For a minority of the participants interviewed, this has even resulted in a complete reversal of allegiances such that a corresponding sense of betrayal was expressed toward their country of origin:

> Instead of positing unified, discrete cultures and nations to which we can all someday claim to belong, recent works suggest that we are bound to have fragmented allegiances and dissonant voices within ourselves that name our world … instead of completion or closure, there is the anxiety of partial identities as well as the challenge of ongoing process. (Copelman in Akhtar, 1999b, p. 103).

Maintenance of the connection to the language of origin is of particular significance to an immigrant. This is because it represents the deepest and most direct link to the culture into which s/he was brought up and through which the basis of their identity became formed at the most organic and visceral level. It is only through speaking the mother tongue that a person is able to get in touch with the inner core of their identity and provides the means with which to bond to another through a shared understanding and worldview. Akhtar (1999b) argues that the greater the magnitude of differences between the adopted country and the motherland or country of origin – for example, in food, language, values, religion, political ideologies and value orientation – the greater the likely impact of the mourning process and adaptation consequent upon immigration. The responses of the current cohort of migrants on the MAS overwhelmingly indicate that all of the migrants interviewed continue to speak Greek and socialise almost exclusively within the Greek

community. Although this may be seen as a marker of failure to adapt and integrate within the general community, it has nonetheless enabled the preservation of a strong sense of cultural identity and belonging. However, it is increasingly clear that this becomes somewhat problematic in later life when an often-tenuous grasp of a second language in instances where it has been previously acquired may become altogether lost. As a result, there is a greater reliance on their adult children to be able to access services within the broader community of their adopted homeland.

6.6 Summary of Dominant Themes Emerging From Interview Data

Among the aims of the current research was to examine the question of how personal and cultural identities may be related to culturally specific conceptualisations of social and emotional well-being among Greek migrants, their migratory experience and levels of acculturation. The inductive thematic analysis of the interview data found that only a minority of the participants embraced a hybrid or Australian identity, with the majority assuming a mono-ethnic identity as 'Greek'. This was attributed to Greek as their spoken language and almost exclusive socialisation within the Greek community.

The second part of this study examined perceptions of ageing, sense of well-being, and needs in later life. An inductive thematic analysis of data from 16 in-depth interviews with Greek-born immigrants revealed that the perception of ageing is significantly influenced by numerous factors. These include, family closeness and interconnectedness; the level and quality of social support; a sense of security; an acceptance of the ageing process as 'preordained fate' or 'God's will'; maintaining a positive outlook; and health of the self and the family. These were seen as paramount and integral to well-being. The following section will discuss each of the dominant themes in greater depth and detail. It will attempt to integrate these findings with the results of the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) and the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS).

6.6.1 The Importance of Identity and Belonging to the Well-Being of Greek Migrants

One of the most prominent themes to have emerged from the interview data is the importance that was accorded to a strong sense of identity and the preservation of identity and belongingness to a sense of place and community. The quest for a sense of belonging and a sense of home represents a universal human need and is intimately associated with a sense of security, groundedness and psychological and emotional stability (Akhtar, 1999b; Christou, 2011). Leaving one's country represents a profound loss and often makes an indelible and lasting impact on one's identity and sense of place and belonging. The inevitable losses that migration entails and the mourning process that it mobilises can mitigate against an individual's ability to cope. It is significant during the later stages of one's life when this may become compounded by multiple losses within the family that can often result in diminished social connectedness. As Akhtar argues:

> Even under the best circumstances, immigration is a traumatic occurrence … Like other traumas, it mobilises a mourning process. (Akhtar, 1999b, pp. xi-x)

Within the present study, it is evident that the overwhelming majority of the participants held steadfastly to a mono-ethnic core self-representation and this has remained constitutive and central to their individual cultural identity. At an individual level, the preservation of a mono-cultural and mono-ethnic sense of identity among these participants can be readily understood as reflective of their lack of proficiency in the English language and their almost exclusive socialisation within the Greek community. In socio-historical and socio-political terms, on the other hand, this can be understood in the context of a nation (vis. Greece) within which its traditions, myths, and collective memories have been associated with national struggles against successive waves of invasion and subjugation. This has, in turn. played a prominent role in the development of the Greek national identity. Since the achievement of national independence, the Greek nation has been defined by its reference to a common ancestry, culture and language that in the collective imagination has carved a lineal trajectory from antiquity to the present (Triandafyllidou, 1998). The Greek national identity has projected an image of historical continuity and homogeneity that is inextricably linked to a common ancestry, cultural traditions and religion. Given the perennial threats to Greece's territory,

customs and traditions since time immemorial, ethnic diversity in Greece has tended to become suppressed through a systematic policy of the Hellenisation of its populations. Greece, among other European nations, has been said to exemplify an outlook that has been characterised as 'xenophobic' (Bozatzis, 1999, Doxiadis & Matsaganis, 2012; Xenitidou, 2011). Triandafyllidou (1998) argues that it is owing to its continual domination and subjugation by other nations that it has continued to reassert itself through the politicisation of its ethnic and cultural traditions. This is similarly reflected in the transformation of its customs, linguistic ties and religious beliefs into national sentiments.

Within the broader European context, it can be readily discerned that the oft-prophesised demise of 'the nation' instead appears to be experiencing a resurgence. This is evidenced by the turn to 'populism' and a collective call for the reinstatement of the nation state. It is also reflected in the dissolution of the Schengen Agreement which abolished the borders between countries of the European Union, and a plea for the restoration of the sovereignty and integrity of nations within the European Union (Herzfeld, 2013). There is an unprecedented influx of migrants and refugees into the European Union who are increasingly perceived as threatening the identity, sovereignty and safety of its members. This provides a topical example of how a national identity is as much defined by contrast with the out-group as it is by its in-group members. Triandafyllidou (1998) argues that the notion of 'the other' is inherent within the concept of the nation and is often propelled toward a re-examination when under threat. It is these dynamics which, in turn, hold explanatory value for the tenacity with which Greek migrants have adhered to the notion of their motherland or 'patrida'. The Greek term 'patrida' which literally means 'the fatherland', holds semantic connotations of a singularly patriotic tie to the native country and a deep emotional bond which does not easily dissipate with time. The homogenous shape that such a self-representation assumes is also reflective of an unwavering allegiance to the 'fatherland' – or the 'motherland' as it has been referred to throughout the present research. A sense of despondence was expressed by participants who recounted their experiences of having returned to Greece under Theme 4 of Chapter 4 in referring to

the '*Negative experiences of returning to Greece – "Greece and the Greeks have changed"'.* Most participants harboured patriotic sentiments and an allegiance to the Greece of the past and to the Greece that they have known. This was demonstrated when reflecting on the changing demographic landscape of Greece as a result of increasing ethnic diversity brought about by the unprecedented influx of migrants and refugees from neighbouring countries.

In an effort to extend an understanding of the tenacity with which many of the participants adhered to an essentially homogenous cultural and ethnic identity, it is necessary to further explore the notion of a 'national identity', what it might mean, and how this was expressed by the participants of the current research. Scholars have argued that nationalism and the nation itself has diversified into a number of different configurations and is in a constant state of flux and change (Connor, 1978; Smith, 1991). Given the multidimensional and complex nature of the concept of a national identity, a clear definition is often elusive. Smith (1991, p. 14) provides the following definition of the nation: '… named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories…'. Crucially, for the purposes of this study, the concept of the nation state is further elucidated with a definition provided by Connor (1978). The author argues that the very concept of the nation provides a psychological bond between its members which, in itself, constitutes the basis of its identity and the link between the individual and the collective self. Conversely, it is proposed that individuals who are nationless are unable to fully realise themselves and can become social and political outcasts. Triandafyllidou (1998) asserts that the quest for the authenticity of the national self can be understood in juxtaposition with a conception of others and is, perhaps, particularly pertinent for the preservation of the identities of members of the Greek diaspora. Smith (1991) argues that in 17th and 18th century Europe: 'identity was conceptualised as sameness'; that is, the members of a community may have dress code or language in common. However, Connor (1978) also emphasises that criteria such as language and religion are not sufficient in and of themselves to distinguish a specific nation and its co-nationals. Connor (1978) stresses that an unspoken psychological bond exists in the belief by the members of a nation that

they are of common origin and descent. Even though this is not always true in objective terms, it is this belief which unites them and which is at the basis for the formation of a dichotomous understanding between themselves and that of the other. It is in a similar vein that Carroll has stated that:

> … there is a love of country. An instinctive patriotism induces warm feelings towards the homeland and those with whom it is shared. As a consequence, the nation state is held to be the fundamental social entity, the locus of principle identification, belonging and attachment. (Carroll, 2018, p. 18)

Perhaps this provides additional explanatory value in our understanding of the deep attachment and tenacity of bond to the motherland (or literally, the 'fatherland' ('patrida')) that many Greek migrants have expressed despite having lived in their adopted country for many years. It is within this socio-historical and political context that the participants' inerasable and fundamental identification as 'Greek' and their ties to the homeland may be better understood. Recent research into the Greek national identity has revealed that far from having become diluted as a result of a broader identification with Europe as a member state within the European Union, Greece's financial crisis has resulted in a greater sense of alienation from Europe and a failure to embrace a pan-European identity. Petkanopoulou, Sánchez-Rodríguez, Willis, Chryssochoou & Rodríguez-Bailón (2018) have conducted studies to investigate the factors that mediate the specific appraisals of fear in member states within the European Union (EU) and the relationship between perceived Economic Inequality (EI) and disidentification with a broader European identity. In this study, four categories of fear appraisals were obtained in a preliminary qualitative study and were measured as potential mediators:

> losing national sovereignty, worsening of living conditions, being negatively stereotyped, and Europe losing fundamental values (Petkanopoulou et al., 2018, p. 888).

The researchers found that the Greek and Spanish participants of the study perceived their respective countries as having a lower status in the EU due to their lower EI relative to other member states (Petkanopoulou et al., 2018). This resulted in a greater disidentification with Europe

and a corresponding fear at the prospect of losing national sovereignty. The participants also expressed a fear that Europe itself will lose its fundamental values, and a greater anxiety over being negatively stereotyped, along with a gradual deterioration of living conditions (Petkanopoulou et al., 2018). This research highlighted the need to accord respect and understanding toward European citizens of nations with a lower EI such as Greece and Spain. It also shed light on the underlying reasons for their heightened need for greater national sovereignty and adherence to the fundamental values that have formed the bedrock of their national identity.

6.6.2 Immigrant or Exile? The Degree of Voluntariness in the Decision to Migrate

The voluntariness of a migrant's decision to migrate also becomes important: Did they want to migrate from their homeland or not? Did they migrate out of their own free will or not? The overwhelming majority of the participants interviewed for the purposes of the present study indicated that their decision was forced by circumstance. This was often as a result of political turmoil and economic hardship, thus dispelling the myth that most migrants have by definition arrived out of their own volition or desire. Most were ambivalent at best and expressed hopes of returning to their country of origin when financially able. The ability to return to the country of origin becomes more difficult as one gets older, but becomes an essential means of enabling the process of "emotional re-fueling" (Akhtar, 1999b, pp. 7-8). Using a psychoanalytic framework as a means of understanding the psychological dimensions of the migrant experience, Akhtar (1999b) argues that an immigrant's ability to visit the motherland enables an emotional recharging to take place, much like a child's return to the mother for emotional nurturance, comfort and security. This emotional re-fuelling is enabled not only by revisiting the country of origin, but also by other means of continual reconnection to the country of origin. These include making telephone contact with relatives that have been left behind; watching ethnic television programs; attending festivals; and watching religious services that are operated from the country of origin (Panagakos, 2003). This, in turn, highlights the distinction between 'the immigrant' and 'the exile'. Being an immigrant implies a voluntary process. Paradoxically, however, the word used by many Greek migrants to describe

their experiences of migration implies a degree of involuntariness, as encapsulated in the term ‘xenitia’, connoting a process of having become exiled into a hostile and foreign land.

The manner in which the immigrant is received by the host country also tempers their ability to adjust to their new life. The implied dichotomy between the state of ‘the immigrant’ and the state of ‘the exile’ belies the possibility that, in many instances, both realities may co-exist intra-psychically within an individual: Matters become even more complex when the intra-psychic state of being a refugee and an immigrant co-exist, with each status representing a different era of one’s life. (Akhtar, 1999b, p. 9) This can also create a schism that was evident in a number of the individuals interviewed for the purposes of the present study. On the one hand, feelings, for example, of patriotism, nostalgia, the preservation of idealised memories and a continuing attachment to the ‘motherland’ became evident. However, on the other hand, some felt a sense of bitterness, betrayal and even abandonment by a motherland that was said not to have cared enough to prevent their expulsion into ‘xenitia’.

The acculturation of members of the second generation within the dominant culture can also create a dissonance in values and expectations inter-generationally. This is particularly so between the members of the first and subsequent generations of Greek migrants who come from a culture that places an emphasis on respect and care for the elders. Disappointment results when these expectations are not met (Stanaway et al., 2010). In later life, grandchildren offer the "illusion of possessing a self that will outlast time" (Akhtar, 1999b, p. 62). Akhtar (1999b, p. 62) suggests that grandchildren offer a means of staving off the ravages of time and the inevitability of death, a chance to make amends and reparation through the genetic immortality that the grandchild represents, and a denial of imperfections of self through identification with the positive qualities of the grandchild (Cylwik, 2002).

6.6.3 A ‘Good Old Age’ and What It Means For Greek Migrants

The concepts of ‘ageing well’, as articulated by the older Greek migrants who are the focus of the present research, enables the development of a contextualised understanding of their stated needs in later life. To some extent they are interwoven with their conceptualisations of ageing well and, hence, provide a framework from which to develop policies and strategies with which to better respond to their cultural, linguistic and practical needs as they enter the latter stage of their lives.

For all the Greek elders who were interviewed as part of the present study, notions of ‘a good old age’ were synonymous with good health. Indeed, health was seen as a precondition for a ‘good old age’. It was considered paramount, beyond which it was regarded as futile to strive toward ‘optimal functioning’, given that possessing one’s health was regarded as sufficient grounds for remaining grateful, particularly at an advanced age. Good health was to be cherished and was seen as overriding all other considerations, given that nothing is deemed possible without it. Moreover, the preservation of good health well into the latter stage of one’s life was considered to be God-given and the ideal state in which to meet life’s end. Correspondingly, it can be seen that for Greek elders, notions of ‘a good old age’ were inextricably intertwined with end-of-life considerations, with a number of participants openly and spontaneously discussing their hopes for a death devoid of pain and suffering. The extent to which this was seen as not being entirely within an individual’s ability to control reflects an acceptance of the canons of nature and a resignation to the will of God, as consistent with the Greek Orthodox Christian faith.

Notions of good health and well-being were conceptualised in broader terms than that which is implicit in the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model, which suggests an atomistic rather than an interdependent sense of self. For Greek elders, notions of ‘a good old age’ were inextricable from the health of their family. This reflects the extent to which they have inherited the traditional collectivistic value orientations that are consistent with their agrarian background in rural Greece. For Greek elders, when one member of the family fell ill, it was considered to have beset the entire family, and hence it was incumbent on family members to care for one another. An acknowledgement of the limitations of the ability to exert control over one’s health at an individual

level may be understood as an acceptance of the suffering and anguish that old age can bring, rather than that of passive resignation and helplessness. In this sense, it is suggested that religiosity may play a role in facilitating the acceptance of ill health and suffering that can often accompany old age. For many Greek elders, maintaining independence, both physically and mentally, was of the utmost importance. The prospect of becoming insurmountably dependent on their children or requiring placement within a nursing home was regarded with the utmost dread. A need for security in later life was particularly important given their status as a migrant in addition to their health needs as an older person. Within this context, some Greek elders commented on existing help from the government to facilitate their ability to remain at home as being highly desirable and for which they were most grateful. The level of institutional coverage and care within the public system to be able to meet their health needs was seen as affording a level of security that was not available in Greece. The need for security within existing services was considered highly important given that they had migrated from a country in which the health system is under-resourced, fragmented and unreliable. Hence, an emergent recurring theme prevalent within the interviews concerned the level of security afforded by institutional coverage and was particularly salient among all Greek elders as they enter their twilight years.

6.6.4 The Role of the Family in the Maintenance of Well-Being

It is evident that for Greek elders, the family is the bedrock of identity, belonging and reciprocal care, and this is primarily manifested in the maintenance of a lifelong investment in their children. Family is undeniably the foundation and the font of well-being. Consequently, for Greek elders, the ability to age well is largely dependent on having a familial basis from which to derive security comfort and care. A strong emphasis on the importance of closeness and involvement with the family was evident. In this sense, conceptualisations of ageing-well were intimately tied to, and dependent on, the well-being of the family.

The cultivation of a relationship with their adult children and grandchildren, characterised by frequent contact, involvement, closeness, and care, was not only seen as desirable, but imperative in their ability to age well. In practical terms, care and assistance from their adult children was primarily needed to address language barriers, with help required to respond to correspondence and to mediate between themselves and service providers or members of the medical profession, regardless of whether an interpreter was available or not. While some Greek elders emphasised the importance of avoiding the risk of encroaching on their adult children during periods of ill health, a tacit expectation of reciprocal care in direct proportion to the time invested in the provision of parental care during their upbringing has remained. For example, some female participants, the majority of whom were widows, discussed their reliance on their adult daughters for help with domestic chores, transport, shopping, and tending to the graveyards of relatives who had passed away.

In summary, among the array of difficulties that the participants of the present study expressed concerned, for example:

- the gradual dissipation of existing social networks;
- loneliness;
- loss of family members through return migration or death;
- fear or loss of confidence in learning or re-learning the language of the host culture, often resulting in a greater reliance on their adult children for support and assistance;
- loss of a meaningful role, particularly when the grandchildren have grown up;
- loss of meaning and purpose in life, particularly within the context of the family as being core and integral to the sense of purposefulness and well-being as expressed by Greek elders;
- a deterioration of quality of life given a greater likelihood of experiencing declining health, making it more difficult to fulfil daily chores and to travel back to the mother country; and

- fear of death and dying within the context of the need to come to terms with looming end of life and quality of death considerations.

6.6.5 Gendered Aspects of Care and Support

For many Greek elders, the maintenance of independence – both physical and mental – was perceived as synonymous with the ability to age well. Within this context, a sense of dread at the prospect of not being able to manage their own affairs and a corresponding fear of becoming a burden on their adult children or being placed in a nursing home was expressed. It is evident that culture does shape their expectations of care in later life. In the present study, it became apparent that while the participants placed a strong emphasis on the need to remain independent, ostensibly so as not to burden their adult children, there persists an implicit expectation that they will nonetheless provide care and be ready to help should the need arise.

The cultivation of a relationship with their adult children and grandchildren as characterised by frequent contact, involvement, closeness, and care was not only seen as desirable, but also imperative in their ability to age well. In practical terms, care and assistance from their adult children was primarily needed to address language barriers, with help required to respond to correspondence and to mediate between themselves and service providers or members of the medical profession, regardless of whether an interpreter was available or not. While some Greek elders emphasised the importance of avoiding the risk of encroaching on their adult children during periods of ill health, an expectation of reciprocal care in direct proportion to the time invested in the provision of parental care during their upbringing remained implicit. For example, some female participants, the majority of whom were widows, discussed their reliance on their adult daughters for help with domestic chores, transport, shopping and tending to the graveyards of relatives who had passed away. This, in turn, reiterates and highlights the extent to which the caring role has become gendered in regard to contemporary expectations of care within the Greek culture. It is shouldered largely by what has come to be referred to as the ‘sandwich generation’ that is largely

made up of unpaid female carers and the adult daughters of the first generation (Morse & Messimeri-Kianidis, 2002; Tsianikas, Hurley, Skaltsas, Newman & Walker, 2011).

6.7. Practical Implications and Recommendations For Policy, Service Administration, and Professional Practice

The present investigation was based on the accounts of 16 participants' personal experiences of immigration, and therefore has very limited, if any, implications for State/Federal or general policies in the areas of immigration, ageing or other. Today, the preambles of the policy and governance statements of most governments, at the federal, state and local levels contain many and often somewhat identical statements of intention about providing culturally sensitive and appropriate services. They almost always have specified procedures and standards regarding the use of interpreters, cultural consultations with family members and significant community figures, or other advocates, to facilitate interactions between service agencies and ageing immigrants (see, for example, Health Department of South Australia, SA Health (n.d.), and their policy on *Partnering with cultural and linguistically diverse consumers*.

It can, however, provide insights and practical suggestions for health and welfare practitioners and support services staff.

Greek immigrants of the first generation are projected to continue to comprise the second largest group of ageing migrants in Australia well into 2026 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2018). This population will continue to age and therefore the subject of this thesis will continue to be relevant for some time.

To consider the policy implications of this research, it is necessary to consider the general pattern of the thesis' findings. Chapter 4 explored the sense of identity and belonging of older Greek immigrants by asking them about their life experience in Australia. From the thematic analysis, 7 main themes emerged, as described in section 4.4.2. These themes are:

1) *Shock, Disillusionment and Alienation upon Arrival.*

2) *Greek Identity as Core and Immutable.*

3) *Nostalgia and Emotional Ties to the 'Patrida' (ancestral homeland).*

4) *Negative Experiences of Returning to Greece.*

5) *Feeling like a Foreigner/ Stranger in both the 'Patrida' and Adopted Homeland.*

6) *Transformation of Identity and Belonging.*

7) *Locus of Identity and Belonging is the Family.*

These themes are presented in chronological succession and describe a psychological journey through life with the following stages:

1) Leaving home, arriving in Australia, experiencing grief at leaving relatives and friends, shock of entering a different culture, unknown laws and strange customs. Feeling anxiety and confusion.
2) Being confronted with this strangeness, experiencing estrangement: certainties about identity and belonging being challenged, resulting in feelings of anxiety, resistance, and feeling the need to reassert their Greek identity to themselves.
3) While the participants reasserted their Greek identity, feeling a sense of loss at being in "xenitia", they accepted the fact that they were in Australia to work and to afford better opportunities to their families, but harboured the hope that they would be able to return to Greece in the future.
4) When they returned to Greece, after many years, once or several times, "their" Greece had changed, the people had changed. Consequently, they no longer felt at home in Greece and felt confused, disappointed.
5) Experiencing consequent feelings of being "a double foreigner: a foreigner in Greece and a foreigner in Australia", and not belonging to either place. A sense that they had lost their 'patrida', their home and did not have another one.
6) A gradual realisation and acceptance that all they had was in Australia. Much of their life had been here: work-life, family, house and new friends, Greek and non-Greek, and had to

reluctantly accept that Australia "must therefore be home", but that Greece and being Greek was forever a part of them.

7) Their identity as a mother, father, grandmother or grandfather took precedence and this came with the realisation that their sense of belonging was with their family and community. At the same time they were still Greek, Greece was still a part of them. "Greece is my birth mother but Australia is my step-mother" (M6).

For many of the participants, it became apparent in their old age that more than any place, their home is anywhere the family is and their identity is their place and role in their family and their community. Therefore 'ageing well', the quality of their life as they age, resides largely in how they evaluate their place, status and relationships in their families and community. This is the focus of the second thematic analysis, in chapter 5, which explores the ageing Greek immigrants in their current situation. Having arrived at the last stage of this psychological as well as chronological journey, the participants were given an opportunity to reflect on and evaluate the quality of their lives. What is a 'good life'? How do they 'age well'? Thus, chapter 5 explores how satisfied they are with their lives and how they evaluate them. The central, organising force which gives meaning to their life at this stage is again the family, and the seven themes elicited in chapter 5 were all, directly or indirectly, built around considerations of the family.

6.7.1 Recommendations

While access to services has generally been the focus of all government and non-government services, it is the access to appropriate and effective services that is the real challenge facing people like the participants in this study, when they are in need of help.

An understanding of this lifespan psychological journey and the values that frame their evaluation of their lives in its later stage, must underpin the approach of health and welfare practitioners and support services staff, who may become involved in supporting older Greek immigrants in the final years of their lives. This lifespan understanding must also guide

recommendations and guidelines that may be drawn from this thesis. The comments and recommendations below, rather than the generalities that are already included in a number of departmental and service policies, attempt to address the practical issues more specifically and in a 'fine grain' manner.

Section 6.5.4. discussed the critical role of language and new language learning in acculturation and maintaining a sense of personal 'power', dignity and integrity, as well as the intimate relationship between a language and the culture in which it is used. The ability of participants to articulate their feelings in their native language is a critical factor in managing the stresses of their condition. They were able to do this in the context of their language, community, and through conversations with other Greek speakers, to verbally formulate a rationale for their adaptation to their conflicted live circumstances. Sometimes, however, ageing immigrants, Greek or other, experience levels of stress and mental health issues which need more professional assistance, because of particularly difficult life histories, war trauma, or involuntary exile. In these circumstances, they may require the support of specialist health or welfare professionals, few of whom will happen to speak their native language and have an understanding of the general context and specific circumstances of the person's life. Hence, in such instances, special provisions will be needed to facilitate a therapeutic outcome. To cater for these circumstances, some governments, states and non-government services, particularly in Canada and parts of the U.S.A., have used a version of a 'Cultural Consultation' model, pioneered particularly for mental health services by Kirmayer (for example, Kirmayer, Groleau, Guzder, Blake & Jarvis, 2003). While some other States in Australia have some limited form of a 'Cultural Consultation Service', South Australia, the home state of the participants of this study, has no comparable provision or any form of transcultural mental health service, apart from a 'Migrant Health Service' and other local initiatives. The general format of the Clinical Consultation approach is based on bringing practitioners to the assessment, who can understand and interpret the presentation from different perspectives, taking in account the language, conventional medical/psychiatric knowledge, cultural background, traditional

medical perspectives, immigration factors and personal, acculturation and medical history, as may be relevant to the particular case.

The approach is characterised by the principle of 'complementarity', which considers as independently relevant and not mutually reducible, the clinical and social/anthropological dimensions of mental health. It recruits flexibly and opportunistically, knowledge in a complementary manner from the disciplines of psychiatry, psychology, linguistics, ethnology, medical anthropology, traditional healing and medicine, social work and other relevant disciplines as they may be relevant to a particular case, at a particular time.

Recommendation 1:

That South Australia's health and welfare departments and agencies cooperate in the development of a **Cultural Consultation Network**, with a focus on mental health, to support all services dealing with immigrants, and with attention, not only to recent arrivals, but to the mental health of older immigrants. **Feasability:** The greatest, most economical and most immediately available resource is the large number of health and allied health practitioners with multilingual and cultural knowledge and skills spread around the community, in public and non-government health, education and welfare services. At the moment there exists no system of access and referral to these practitioners, they are not easily identified and located, there are no incentives, and many obstacles, for them to be accessible and engage in multilingual and cultural consultation.

Recommendation 2: Language services management: Interpreters' development and support:

Interpreters are often needed and used in the whole range of health and welfare services. They vary enormously in how useful they are depending on their experience, backgrounds, cultural/historical education and motivation. The use of interpreters by mental health practitioners, often indispensable, can also be problematic as it creates a filter and alters the relational dynamics between the practitioner and the 'client'. This 'interference' cannot be entirely overcome, but it can

be moderated by providing interpreter training in mental health interpreting. The recommendation therefore is to develop a trained mental health interpreter database/network, and records of previous interpreter-clinician matches. Identifying interpreters with potential as co-therapists/therapy assistants and explore incentive options to motivate them. This initiative should include the development and delivery of training programs for clinicians on the appropriate use of interpreters in mental health contexts.

Recommendation 3: Mental Health Practitioners Network development and liaison:

A catalogue/database and network of existing bilingual/bicultural practitioners should be developed, which will support a flexible utilisation of such practitioners through fee-for-service arrangements across private/public sectors and across child/youth/adult/older persons services. This facility should be supported and resourced by a Transcultural Practice Training program for participating practitioners in the Consultation Network, which would include cross-cultural assessment consultancy support: tests, clinical evaluation and case formulation. Technical and resources support for bilingual/bicultural assessments, particularly testing, information support on culture-specific aspects of selected clinical presentations and interventions.

Recommendation 4: The training of practitioners and the standards of professional regulation agencies, such as the Australian Health Practitioner Regulation Agency (AHPRA):

This will need to allow for and include some education on the relative usefulness of different approaches and techniques in different cultures and for people with different cultural or persona 'dispositions', rather than rigidly favour only the most 'mainstream' and 'best practice' approaches. For example, the overwhelming privileging of Cognitive Behavioural Techniques, as a primary intervention approach, should be complemented by caveats about their appropriateness and cultural acceptability, at least in their standard forms, for people of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In the case of the group studied in this research, for example, should they need some psychological support, an Interpersonal Therapy framework maybe preferable as a primary framework, but always applied with sensitivity of the particularities of the individual.

Recommendation 5: Respecting the Preference for Care by Family Members:

While professional practice traditions or guidelines strongly suggest that family members should not act as interpreters or otherwise assist in interventions, practitioners should give respectful consideration to the presence and assistance of family members when such presence or assistance is obviously desired by the 'client'. The participants of the present study overwhelmingly indicated that while they did not wish to burden their adult children, there remained the paradoxical expectation that they would turn to them for care and assistance when in need. This was partly driven by the language barriers that they experienced in being able to access services but was also consistent with their cultural values and expectations of care. Other studies have consistently shown that older Greek migrants continue to rely on informal supports such as family, friends and community rather than resorting to formal services within the broader community (Hurley et al., 2013; Morse & Messimeri-Kianidis, 2002; Tsianikas et al., 2011).

Recommendation 6: Carer support and remuneration: Carer support services to give consideration to the additional challenges of caring for elderly immigrants with little or no English and provide specialised support programs for those carers:

In the Greek community, 'carer' means overwhelmingly 'daughter'. A number of the participants who were interviewed for the present study indicated that they turned to their adult daughters for care and assistance when required in preference over their sons. This may readily be seen as a reflection of cultural expectations in which the provision of care falls largely with female members of the family and in this respect has remained gendered. More generally, there remains the implicit expectation within the Greek culture that adult children are obligated to care for elderly parents. This includes both the provision of direct care if required, help with domestic chores and transport, and also to be able to navigate medical services or services in general by acting as a mediator for support and assistance, regardless of the availability of interpreting services or not. Hurley et al. (2013) suggest that given the increasingly higher participation rate of females in the workforce, this may result in reduced availability of care for this cohort of Greek elders, with the

consequence that it may increase the demand for formal care in the long term. These facts point to the importance of considering the particular stress of carers, overwhelmingly females, and to recognize their unpaid economic contribution in the rates of carer payments.

Recommendation 7: Support Preference for Home Based Care:

Generally older persons prefer home based care to being in an aged care hostel or nursing home. A strong and clear preference for the provision of care at home and being cared for by family members was expressed by all of the participants of the present study. Correspondingly, all participants voiced a sense of dread at the prospect of being placed in a nursing home. Many saw this as akin to death itself, or a life which was doomed, given the greatly diminished quality of life that this entailed in the minds of those interviewed. Severance from the family home represents a multitude of losses and is equated with separation from the familial domain that provides the basis for independence, self-sufficiency, identity, belonging, security, love and being cared for by family members. Foremost in the minds of many of the participants was the constant comparison with the dreadful circumstances of family and friends that they had witnessed who had become bedridden due to stroke or other illnesses resulting in being cared for within a hospice or other institutional environment. The literature suggests that formal care will only be contemplated in the event of a debilitating illness or where churches or community groups have enabled the provision of ethnically, culturally and linguistically responsive services; for example, a Greek Orthodox Nursing Home (FECCA, 2015, p. 24). While these offer many advantages, such as the opportunity to communicate in Greek, eat Greek cuisine and participate in Greek religious and leisure activities, they are still perceived by most Greek people as a last resort and very undesirable option. Furthermore, the number of places in these Greek specific aged care facilities are short of the demand for them, and many older Greek immigrants end up being placed in 'generic' facilities. This recommendation is therefore to continue to support Greek 'ethno-specific' residential options, and particularly to continue to resource Greek home-based aged care support packages, with greater components of specialist staff to defer as much as possible admissions into residential aged care.

Recommendation 8: Individualised Service Provision: It is recommended that providers and practitioners look beyond the generalities or stereotypes applied to any culture or community and have strategies in place to match the provision of support services to the individual's needs and check these in advance with the older person:

The notion of 'social isolation' is a case in point. It is increasingly recognised that one of the inevitabilities of ageing is the increased risk of becoming socially isolated as social networks become diminished with family members passing away and decreased mobility due to frailty or ill health. For example, a female participant of this study (F10), who was widowed and living on her own, remarked that there were three factors that were adversely affecting her experiences of ageing: language barrier; lack of private means of transport; and loneliness. The relationship between social isolation and its impact on the mental health and well-being of older persons has increasingly been the subject of research and is likely to assume greater visibility in policy development (Pate, 2014). Research that has been commissioned by the Council on the Ageing (COTA) has found that social isolation does not necessarily lead to loneliness. This experience may be mediated by a number of subjective variables such as personality, cultural beliefs and expectations and level of satisfaction with existing relationships (Pate, 2014). It has been found, for example, that it was the quality of a relationship and the degree to which it fulfilled predetermined cultural expectations that influenced the likelihood that a person will experience loneliness rather than the extensiveness of a person's social network *per se* (Stanaway, 2011). This, in turn, explains why it was that older Greeks were found to have reported the highest levels of loneliness among older persons from a CALD background even though only a minority actually lived alone (Pate, 2014). The present research also indicates that there were gender differences with regard to the extent to which social networks were maintained. It showed that women frequently have more contact with friends and extended family than men, hence rendering older males as being at higher risk of social isolation. Furthermore, it has been found that people of CALD backgrounds are at increased risk of becoming socially isolated given the language barriers and lack of knowledge on how to access services (Pate, 2014). All of

this underlines the importance for practitioners to check their assumptions, even those they hold as most self-evident, to maximise the appropriateness of the response of the service, particularly with people such as older immigrants, who may not be aware of all options and who may misunderstand as a direction what may only be the explanation of an option or simple advice.

6.8 Strengths and Limitations

The Greek migrants of the first generation who were interviewed for the purposes of the present research represent a relatively small and homogenous group. This is on account of the commonality of their language (Greek), socio-economic background (largely originating from various regions of rural Greece), religion (Greek Orthodox) and level of education, with the overwhelming majority of participants not having had the opportunity to progress beyond primary school level. All of the participants of the current study migrated under similar circumstances. That is, they settled in the inner-city suburbs of Adelaide; they have been retired for several years; they continue to live independently within their own homes; and they prefer to speak Greek both domestically and in the wider community. This affords the ability to make some generalisations about their experiences based on the commonality of the demographic, socio-economic, linguistic and cultural dimensions of their experience. However, a central characteristic of qualitative research using thematic analysis is that it enables an in-depth exploration of the dominant themes that have emerged from the individual narratives of the participants that can be linked back to theorisations and empirical findings of research relating to this cohort of older migrants. Most importantly it gives voice to the members of an ethnic minority whose concerns, thoughts and perspectives would otherwise have remained silent and largely unknown. In this regard, the present study makes an important contribution to research that has endeavoured to shed light based on interviews with the participants who are the focus of this study. This is in contrast to conducting research that has been based on secondary sources or on the basis of research about a group. In this sense, this research is deeply participatory and by definition democratic in its approach and underlying methodological framework (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). It achieves this by having conducted the interviews in the

native language of the participants themselves by virtue of the current author being proficient in the Greek language and who is also a member of the same community to which the participants belong. This has afforded access to in-group knowledge at the most intimate level and enables the researcher access to an important and otherwise difficult to access reservoir of information and knowledge. In this regard, some broad assumptions may safely be made with regard to this cohort of Greek migrants based on their common language and culture. Nonetheless, the present researcher has remained cognisant of the importance of appreciating that accounts provided by participants were also unique, representing the diverse needs and expectations of each individual in the provision of aged care services.

The present research has also demonstrated the pitfalls of assuming that older established migrant groups have become fully integrated members of society by virtue of the length of time that they have resided in Australia. It has highlighted the extent to which proficiency in the English language is instrumental in enabling full integration into mainstream society at the most fundamental level. It has demonstrated the danger of making assumptions based on studies utilising methodologies that have excluded participants of CALD backgrounds due to cultural and linguistic barriers. When research has been conducted without using validated instruments, or when a study has been conducted by researchers who have excluded these groups on the grounds of a lack of knowledge and familiarity with the language and culture of individuals from a CALD background, the results need to be treated with caution.

By the same token, there are some limitations to the present research that require consideration. For example, most of the participants' results on the GDS indicated sub-threshold levels of anxiety and depression. Moreover, only a minority indicated levels of expressed depressive ideation that may be considered to be clinically significant. This is entirely consistent with the expectation that participants who are able to continue to reside in their own homes independently are, by definition, less likely to be physically frail and socially isolated. Furthermore, they are more likely to continue to enjoy good physical and mental health when compared to those

living in nursing homes and aged care facilities where levels of depression and anxiety have been found to be higher among older people from CALD background (FECCA, 2015; Jayasuriya et al., 1992). The 'Ageing Experience of Australians from Migrant Backgrounds' report of June 2011, however, states that the percentage of older migrants in aged care facilities is relatively small until after the age of 80 years (Khoo, 2011). After the age of 80, it was found that about 10 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women are in hospitals, nursing homes and other institutional care. Nevertheless, there are significant differences in these percentages when broken down according to country of birth. For example, the percentages of people over 80 years of age living in institutional care facilities is relatively low for the aged who come from countries such as Lebanon and Macedonia as compared to those who originate from the Netherlands or Hungary. Migrants of Middle Eastern and Southern European backgrounds were found to be much more likely to live with family members than in institutional care facilities (Morse & Messimeri-Kianidis, 2002; Walker et al., 2013).

Lumley, Katsikitis and Statham (2018) demonstrate that among the main limitations of the study that they conducted within a resettled group of Bhutanese refugees in Northern Queensland was that many of the members of this group were unlikely to be inclined to openly discuss issues concerning mental health. Similarly, in the present study, the researcher has observed that some of the participants responded to the questions that were asked in a manner demonstrating a compulsion to maintain social desirability. This is more likely to be the case when the participants are members of a collectivistic culture where an emphasis on the maintenance of social desirability becomes evident when entering subject areas that are considered taboo. Members of the first generation of Greek migrants continue to harbor strongly internalised notions of honour and shame. They represent cultural values and codes of conduct that may constrain that which is likely to be disclosed or openly talked about (Campbell, 1966). This was particularly evident with issues pertaining to family matters and the influence of cultural norms such as 'saving face', as reflected in sanctions against the 'airing of dirty linen'. To this extent, the current study presents data that may

underestimate the levels of anxiety and depression that are truly reflective of that which has been demonstrated in the wider CALD community, particularly among older persons.

High levels of stigma continue to persist in the broader community with regard to openly discussing issues pertaining to mental health, but perhaps none more acutely felt than within the Greek culture. The extent to which the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) contains constructs that have cultural equivalence also begs the question as to the extent of its applicability within this cohort of Greek migrants (Fountoulakis et al., 1999; Incalzi et al., 2003). This needs to be considered given that low literacy levels and cultural differences in the understanding of mental health may accentuate the likelihood that they will provide answers that are socially desirable rather than being a true indicator of their degree of psychological distress.

6.9 Future Directions

A review of the literature on the issues affecting CALD elderly by Orb (2002) highlights concerns that were categorised under four main themes: 1) language skills; 2) access and equity; 3) social support; and 4) dependency and vulnerability. The Better Health Commission concluded that, with the exception of Indigenous Australians, older migrants are among the most disadvantaged Australians (Orb, 2002). Although a number of studies have concluded that the needs of CALD elderly are comparable to that of the elderly population within the general community, an increasing number of studies have demonstrated that additional factors, such as English Language skills and cultural barriers, may compromise their ability to age well. Although ageing is a universal process, differences in cultural values and the migratory experience itself may create a dissonance of expectations and a strain in the ability of a migrant to age well. It has also been demonstrated that the migratory experience may predispose a person's vulnerability in developing compromised social and emotional well-being during the ageing process. This, in turn, highlights the extent to which health and illness may be seen as mediated by cultural expectations and values.

The present research has also highlighted the importance of taking into account the methodological considerations that are most conducive in being able to research and communicate the complexity of needs that older migrants are likely to encounter during the latter phase of their life. These include:

- a preference for research to be undertaken by researchers who match the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of specific ethnic groups;
- that methodologies utilising in-depth interviews that are supplemented with validated instruments be considered to enable triangulation and to facilitate an in-depth exploration of the issues that affect elderly CALD migrants;
- that the views, opinions and experiences of elderly migrants be considered first and foremost and included in the conduct of such research; and
- that special studies be undertaken that examine the type of care, whether it be institutional or home based and/ or other counselling and support services that best reflects the kind of considerations that enable the development of policy in relation to aged care.

The extent to which Greek elders held concepts of ageing well that embraced the importance of remaining healthy and socially active can be seen as universally held views. This pertains to the level of importance that they have been accorded to the ability to age well and have been encompassed in the Rowe and Kahn (1997) model of ageing well. Greek elders, however, placed a stronger emphasis on their family and religiosity as being integral to their ability to age well. These can be seen as integral elements of their conceptualisations of what constitutes a good old age. In addition, these elements are perhaps reflective of a culture which has traditionally been more collectivistic in its orientation than that of Anglo-American or Anglo-Australian cultures.

For the participants of the present research, concepts of ageing well were not seen as separate from, or able to be disentangled from, end of life considerations such that ‘a good old age’ was seen as synonymous with ‘a good death’. Notions of ageing well were seen not as separate from, but

along the same continuum as, end of life and quality of death considerations. This potentially paves the way to be able to explore the unchartered territory of cross-cultural notions of care in later life and, by implication, quality of palliative care in instances where a person has become afflicted by a terminal illness.

6.10 Discussion

Identity as a construct has been notoriously difficult to define. Akhtar (1999b) argues that a definition of identity must be based on the premise that it is a perpetually evolving process that continues throughout the lifespan from birth to death, and is shaped by a number of socio-cultural variables rather than being a purely intrapsychic phenomenon. However, as it traverses both intra-psychic and interpersonal realities, the notion of 'identity' has remained intact within psychological and psychoanalytic theoretical traditions and remains relevant as a psychic structure, particularly with the resurgent interest in working with immigrants and refugees within the context of an increasingly diverse society such as Australia.

It has been suggested that: "a healthy identity does not imply a rigid monolithic homogeneity", but an easy transition between various self–representations (Akhtar, 1999b, p. 62). In reality most of the participants of the present study exhibited a strong sense of coherence and solid inner core that was reinforced through exposure to familiar symbols, language, food, and participation in rituals (Akhtar, 1999b). In this sense, Greek immigrants of the present study exhibited what Akhtar (1999b, p. 62) terms an authentic: "crystallised identity" in which one attains a pragmatic acceptance of who one is and this emanates from a deep subconscious integration of one's identifications with one's early life experiences. Akhtar (1999b) comments that there is little desire to imitate or envy others at this stage of one's identification, being grounded in who they are, the values that have shaped them, and a pragmatic acceptance of the position in which they now find themselves. This was reflected in many of the comments that were made by the participants of the present study indicating that they do not envy others and were especially averse to comparing

financial advantage, or accumulated monetary wealth. Instead, this demonstrated an awareness of the pitfalls and meaninglessness of an accumulation of material possessions when basic needs, such as health, love, respect, and dutiful children, were at stake.

The combination of culture shock and the inherent upheaval and loss that the migration process entails can often result in a de-stabilisation of identity. It is suggested that the intra-psychic turmoil that it creates mobilises a kind of perpetual mourning process that remains unresolvable (Akhtar, 1999b). This has been likened to the childhood separation-individuation phase during the first phase of identity formation as conceptualised within psychodynamic theory. Four tracks of identity transformation may be correspondingly discerned both at the intrapsychic intrapersonal level, and at the interpersonal and metaphorical level. The sharper the cultural changes that the immigrant encounters between their country of origin and that of their adopted homeland, the greater the likelihood that this experience will challenge and test an individual's resilience. Grinberg and Grinberg 1989 (in Akhtar, 1999b, p. 79) coin the term 'disorienting anxiety' to encapsulate the inner conflict and division that an immigrant experiences between two countries – that of the fatherland or 'patrida', and that of the new country, which in the present study has been referred to by a number of participants as the 'adoptive step-mother'. It is suggested that this experience is akin to enduring the aftermath of parental divorce in that the immigrant begins to experience a split allegiance between the patrida – or the motherland, and the 'adoptive step-mother'. At first, a process of rejection of the adoptive 'step-mother' typically occurs before a healthy level of adaptation may be reached with the passage of time.

The initial rejection that is felt by the motherland and the negativity associated with the new adoptive or host country is expressed within the notion of 'xenitia' itself, containing the semantic connotations of hostility, abandonment, estrangement and being in a state of exile. Correspondingly, the initial rejection of the new country is often experienced in parallel with the increasing idealisation of the country of origin. Such polarisation and splitting between an immigrant's two countries is mirrored in their conflictual self-representations. This can become accentuated when an

immigrant moves from an 'Eastern' to a 'Western' culture or vice versa. The initial shock of immigrating to the new country was perhaps most vividly expressed in the starkness evoked upon first landing in the country. Some of the participants of the present study described their experiences as newly arrived migrants in a 'foreign land'. Examples of comments included remarks of their first impressions of Australia as being 'a dark place'. Another portrayed her frustration in being unable to comprehend the English language as rendering her into a state which she described as akin to being deaf, dumb and mute.

This was paralleled by a corresponding fondness and nostalgia with which some of the participants talked about their memories of growing up in Greece. This is later reversed when, with the passage of time, some of the participants begin to experience the advantages of living in their adopted homeland. This was expressed by giving praise to the superior health system in Australia in contrast to the level of disorganisation, lack of infrastructure and social security in Greece. A rejection of the home country can be discerned in comments which conveyed the sense of disillusionment, betrayal and rejection by the motherland. This creates a tension and an internal conflict and can be experienced as an affront to the immigrant's self-representation.

6.11 Summary and Conclusion

Overwhelmingly, however, the sense of being Greek was perceived as being at the core and basis of identity, regardless of how elusive attempts at defining this identity may be. The sense of being 'Australian', where it was thought to be admissible, was expressed only on the condition that it had been affirmed as complementary to a predominant 'Greekness' or a Greek identity first and foremost. An Australian identity, when it was at all acknowledged, was often seen as peripheral and was entertained only upon suggestion or as an afterthought. Akhtar (1999b) argues that a hyphenated identity is the result of a synthesis between two self-representations and the capacity to maintain a healthy ambivalence between the country of origin and the country of adoption. Such an identity may lack a firm anchoring in either country's history and identification with the culture, but

may afford a more multi-dimensional and universal embrace of one's identity. This appears to have remained elusive for the majority of the individuals of the present study. This may be attributed both to the residual strength and tenacity of their identification with the mother country, their almost exclusive socialisation with members of the Greek community, and the lack of opportunity to become fully proficient in the English language. This appears to have resulted in the retention of a largely mono-ethnic identity and, by extension, an ability to preserve a degree of cohesion and belongingness within their local community. However, a perpetual angst and ambivalence continues to plague a migrant's sense of identity and belonging as they enter the latter stage of their life when other factors may compromise the ability to sustain their native self-representations within their adopted country. This has been poignantly captured in a poem by Poet Iftikhar Aarif:

> There are few who have been so cursed … To wander all one's life and never arrive at home (Aarif 1983 in Akhtar 1999b, pp. 85-86).

It is argued that the tyranny of distance between the country of origin and the adopted homeland can be bridged by a migrant's ability to revisit their country of origin. However, the capacity to travel becomes compromised as a migrant comes to terms with increasing infirmity that comes with advanced age and may prohibit or compromise a migrant's capacity to cope with the level of energy and stamina that travelling long distances entails.

The reassertion of the distinctive character and ties to their homeland that many Greek migrants have demonstrated can also be seen as an adaptive and positive influence to their well-being. The preservation of identity becomes dependent on the tenacity with which the migrant is able to adhere to a homogenous or homo-ethnic identity and ties within the adopted homeland. These include, the language, food, making international phone calls, and listening to the news and the native music of their country of origin (Panagakos, 2003). In psychoanalytic terms, these are referred to as transitional objects' and 'transitional actions'. These can serve as a bridge between 'the two mothers': that is, that of the motherland and the adopted homeland respectively (or as has been termed, 'the mother of symbiosis' and 'the mother of separation') (Akhtar, 1999b, p. 86).

The celebration of memorials can also act as a powerful reminder of significant events that nurture and uphold the values and the bonds that are shared between both nations with which the migrant is affiliated. This is exemplified by the remembrance of significant events such as 'Ochi' Day or 'No' Day, held on 28 October, commemorating the rejection of the free passage of the Italian army through the Greek-Albanian border to enable the occupation of some strategic areas of Greece, and the Day of Independence on 25 March commemorating Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire. This not only helps to preserve a political link with the motherland, but enables Greek migrants of the first and successive generations to share their political stance and anger at the injustices that have been perpetrated toward them with that of the broader community of their respective adopted homelands. For Greek migrants of the first generation in Australia, this has become highly significant. It has enabled the preservation of a level of pride and certitude of their place within Australia as a nation and between the Greeks and the Australians as allies within the international community. Maria Hill (2010), a Greek-Australian historian, has discussed the importance of acknowledging the enormous sacrifices that both the Greeks and the Australians have made when fighting against the occupying forces in Europe, particularly during the Battle of Crete. She has advocated for the inclusion of their story alongside the events of Gallipoli, Villers-Bretonneux and Kokoda as worthy of commemoration. She notes that these have traditionally been overlooked as events that may be seen to have formed an equally legitimate part of the grander narrative and founding myth that has become a part of the Australian national identity (Hill, 2010, pp. x-xi).

The chasm between a migrant's native and adopted homelands is mirrored by an internal struggle between their native self-representation and their more recently emergent self-representation as a resident of their adopted homeland. Akhtar (1999b, pp. 87-88) argues that the failure to negotiate between these two sets of self-representations can result, on the one hand, in an identity that becomes rigid, insular and resistant to full integration within the broader community. On the other hand, it may result in a perverse over-compensation through a form of overreach

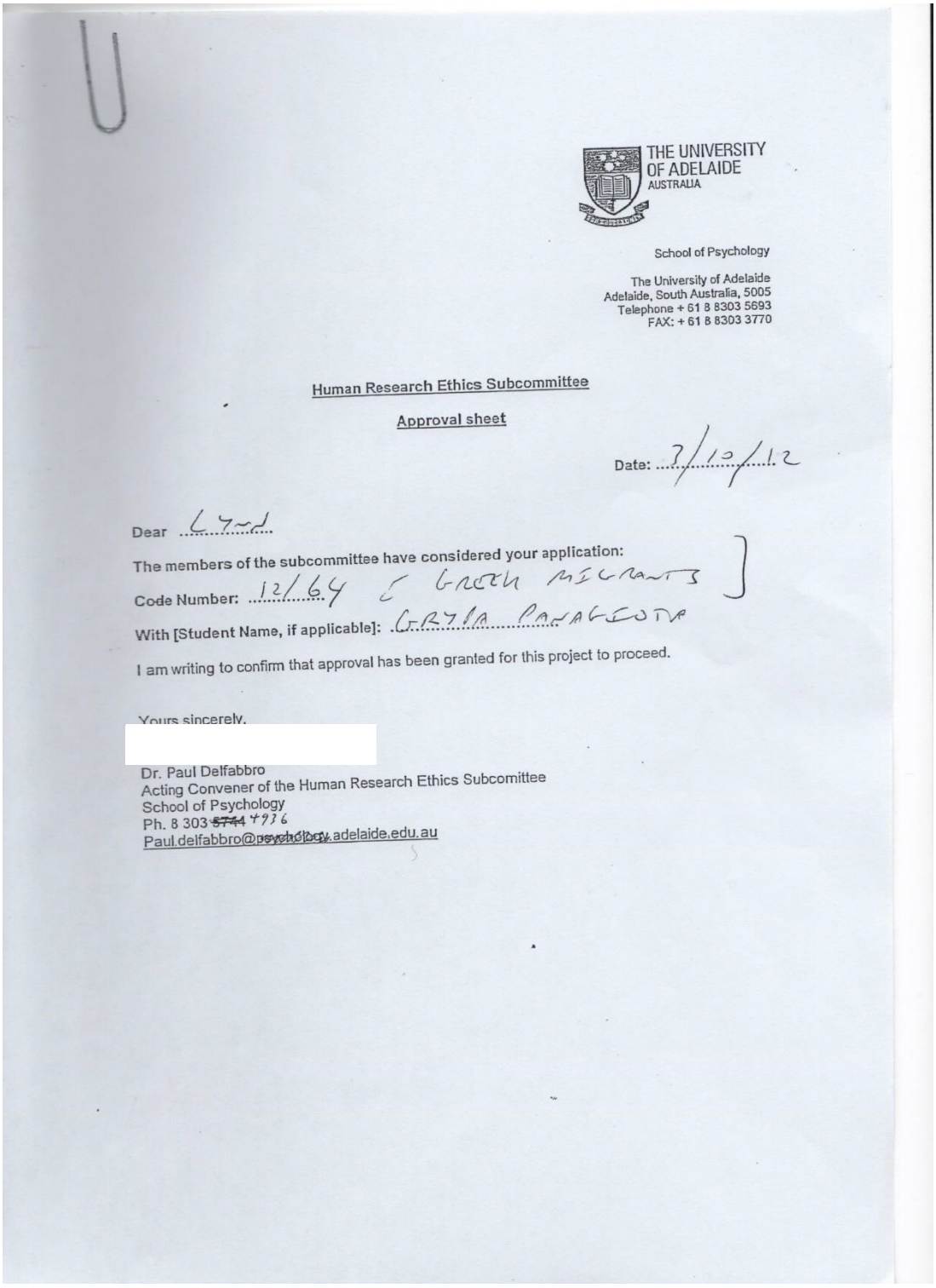
whereby the migrant may attempt to imitate and adopt the most banal and stereotypical characteristics of the culture of their adopted homeland. This may entail a simultaneous denial and rejection of their original culture – otherwise known as 'xenomania'. Although both tendencies can become maladaptive, in reality, a migrant may oscillate between two states of being and this will ebb and flow throughout the course of their lives. However, it cannot be denied that this inevitably entails a fragmentation of identity that has implications for well-being, particularly when the migrant enters the latter phase of their life. Overwhelmingly, for the migrants interviewed who indicated a higher degree of depressive ideation on the GDS, this became manifested in a fervent adherence to the idea that they will someday be able to return home, a clinging to romanticised memories of their motherland as the place of their childhood home, and of the gradual erosion of this ideal with each successive return. The realisation that this dream becomes thwarted with the passage of time, both in coming to terms with the reality that the Greece that was, no longer is, and that therefore, the ability to return home is no longer possible, both literally and metaphorically.

6.12 Concluding Comments

Section 6.7 showed the psychological progression over the years through the stages of 1) separation; 2) feelings of estrangement and confusion growing into a strong feeling of 'being Greek'; 3) coping with the tension between the loss of home (patrida) and focussing on work to support and improve the conditions and opportunities of the family; 4) returning to Greece to confront the changed culture and attitudes of Greeks and consequently losing the feeling of being at home in Greece, resulting in disappointment and confusion; 5) going through a stage of feeling like a 'double foreigner':, a foreigner in Greece and a foreigner in Australia; 6) facing the fact that the greater part of their lives had been spent in Australia, where their spouses, children, friends and close community are, and coming to the realisation that this was the locus of their identity and belonging, and finally, 7) settling in their identity as a mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, amongst their friends and community, church, clubs in Australia, as perhaps 'Greeks in Australia' more than 'Greek Australians'.

This reconciliation of finding their 'real' sense of belonging as being where their families and children are, following the many Greek home, community and religious traditions which they brought with them, provides the psychological means of transitioning from feelings of being a Greek in exile (in xenitia), to being a Greek at home in Australia. Their life satisfaction is then evaluated, subjectively, in relation to the quality of family life and quality of relationships with friends and the Greek community. Being Greek is defined by the centrality of the family life, the language, the cuisine, the lifestyle, the practice of cultural and religious traditions, all of which they have the opportunity to experience in Australia. Therefore, for them, ageing well in Australia entails the possibility of retaining their identity as Greeks, living as Greeks and speaking Greek in Australia, and in harmony with Australian society, benefitting from many of the material advantages and security that they have been able to enjoy compared to their pre-immigration condition. Conversely, difficulties in any of the aspects of 'being Greek', particularly family disharmony, language barriers and health issues, become obstacles to ageing well. Ageing well for the older Greek immigrants in the sample studied equates essentially with ageing well as a Greek.

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval



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Human Research Ethics Subcommittee

Approval sheet

Date: 3/10/12

Dear Lynd

The members of the subcommittee have considered your application:

Code Number: 12/64 [& BRETH MIGRANTS]

With [Student Name, if applicable]: GRETA PANAGIOTA

I am writing to confirm that approval has been granted for this project to proceed.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Paul Delfabbro
Acting Convener of the Human Research Ethics Subcomittee
School of Psychology
Ph. 8 303 ~~5744~~ 4936
Paul.delfabbro@psychology.adelaide.edu.au

Appendix 2 Geriatric Depression Scale

Geriatric Depression Scale - Greek version

K.N. Fountoulakis, M Tsolaki, A. Iacovides, J. Yesavage, R O'Hara, A Kazis and Ch Ierodiakonou.:

The Validation of the Short Form of Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) in Greece

published in "Aging:Clinical and Experimental Research, 1999;11:367-372"

Address for Communication: kfount@med.auth.gr

Greek Fonts and Instructions: http://www.hri.org/fonts

1	Are you basically satisfied with your life?		
	Είστε βασικά ευχαριστημένοι με τη ζωή σας;	ναι όχι	0 1
2	Have you dropped many of your activities and interests?		
	Εγκαταλείψατε πολλές από τις δραστηριότητες και τα ενδιαφέροντά σας;	ναι όχι	1 0
3	Do you feel that your life is empty?		
	Αισθάνεστε ότι η ζωή σας είναι άδεια;	ναι όχι	1 0
4	Do you often get bored?		
	Βαριέστε συχνά;	ναι όχι	1 0
5	Are you in good spirits most of the time?		
	Είστε στα κέφια σας τον περισσότερο καιρό;	ναι όχι	0 1
6	Are you afraid that something bad is going to happen to you?		
	Φοβάστε ότι θα σας συμβεί κάτι κακό;	ναι όχι	1 0
7	Do you feel happy most of the time?		
	Αισθάνεστε ευτυχισμένος τον περισσότερο καιρό;	ναι όχι	0 1
8	Do you often feel helpless?		
	Αισθάνεστε συχνά αβοήθητος;	ναι όχι	1 0
9	Do you prefer to stay at home rather than go out and do new things?		
	Προτιμάτε να μένετε στο σπίτι παρά να βγαίνετε έξω και να κάνετε διάφορα καινούρια πράγματα;	ναι όχι	1 0
10	Do you feel you have more problems with your memory than most?		
	Αισθάνεστε ότι έχετε περισσότερα προβλήματα με τη μνήμη σας απ΄ ότι οι άλλοι;	ναι όχι	1 0

11	Do you think it is wonderful to be alive now?		
	Πιστεύετε ότι είναι υπέροχο πράγμα που είστε ζωντανός τώρα;	ναι όχι	0 1
12	Do you feel pretty worthless the way you are now?		
	Αισθάνεστε άχρηστος έτσι όπως είστε τώρα;	ναι όχι	1 0
13	Do you feel full of energy?		
	Αισθάνεστε γεμάτος ενέργεια;	ναι όχι	0 1
14	Do you feel that your situation is hopeless?		
	Αισθάνεστε ότι η κατάστασή σας είναι απελπιστική;	ναι όχι	1 0
15	Do you think that most people are better than you are?		
	Πιστεύετε ότι οι περισσότεροι άνθρωποι είναι σε καλύτερη κατάσταση από εσάς;	ναι όχι	1 0

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

A general introduction outlining the purpose of the research is provided:

"I am doing a research project in which I am interested in learning about Greek immigrants to Australia and their reasons for having migrated. What were your hopes for a new life in Australia; how has your life unfolded since living in Australia; how do you see your life now after a number of years of living in Australia?"

"I will then ask some specific questions about your level of satisfaction with your life as it is now and questions regarding your preferred language."

- Where were you born/ which part of Greece do you come from?
- When did you come to Australia?
- How did you come to Australia?
- How old were you when you came to Australia?
- How old are you now? / How many years have you lived in Australia?
- Tell me a little bit about your life before coming to Australia?
- What were the reasons that prompted you to decide to migrate to Australia?
- Did you migrate willingly/ voluntarily?
- What were your first impressions of Australia upon arrival?
- What were your hopes for a new life in Australia?
- Tell me about your life in Australia since you came here … finding work, building a new life, family, etc.
- What has your life been like since having migrated to Australia?
- Have you had the opportunity to return to Greece since having migrated?
- If so, tell me about your experiences during your return visit(s)? What are your feelings toward Greece now? What are your perceptions of Greece now?
- Do you or have you regretted leaving your country/ town/ village to live in Australia?
- Do you consider Greece or Australia to be your homeland?
- Do you see yourself as Greek or Australian?
- How do you see your life now as you are getting older in Australia?
- What does a good old age mean to you? What does it mean to have a good old age?

Appendix 4: Marin Short Scale

MARIN SHORT SCALE

Please circle the number which best describes your social and language preferences

	Only	..... better than English	Both Equally	English better than	Only English
1. In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?	1	2	3	4	5

	Only	..... better than English	Both Equally	English better than	Only English
2. What was the language(s) you used as a child?	1	2	3	4	5
3. What language(s) do you usually speak at home?	1	2	3	4	5
4. In which language(s) do you usually think?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Which language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?	1	2	3	4	5
6. In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?	1	2	3	4	5
7. In what language(s) are the radio programs you usually listen to?	1	2	3	4	5
8. In general, in what language(s) are the movies, T.V., and radio programs you *prefer* to watch and listen to?	1	2	3	4	5
9. Your close friends are:	1	2	3	4	5
10. You prefer going to social gatherings/Parties at which the people are:	1	2	3	4	5
11. The persons you visit or who visit you are:	1	2	3	4	5
12. If you could choose your children's friends, you would want them to be:	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix 5: Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT:

A qualitative investigation of the impact of migration and culture on the social and emotional well-being of 1st generation Greek Immigrants ageing in Australia.

The purpose of this project is to gain a better understanding of how Greek immigrants are experiencing their life in Australia as they are getting older in the migrant diaspora in Australia. It will attempt to explore how these experiences have impacted on their personal and cultural identity and sense of well-being. For those who have indicated a higher level of social and emotional distress, it will explore what are the factors that may have contributed to their sense of well-being and how may these be addressed.

Whilst no specific benefits of the research can be assured, this research may contribute to a better understanding of the social and emotional well-being of Greek immigrants as they getting older in Australia and hence provide some recommendation as to how their needs may be addressed.

Participants will be asked to participate in an interview by the researcher in the Greek language. The interviews may take up to 1-1 ½ hours.

Questions that are likely to be asked will include:

- "Tell me a little bit about your life before coming to Australia?"
- "What were the reasons that prompted you to decide to migrate to Australia? "
- "What has your life been like since having migrated to Australia?"
- "How do you see your life now as you are getting older in Australia?"
- "Do you or have you regretted leaving your country/ town/ village to live in Australia?"

Those participants who have indicated higher levels of emotional distress may be re-interviewed at a later stage to ask more specific questions regarding the sources of their distress.

The interviews will be recorded and transcribed at a later stage of the study. The participants will be de-identified and none of the information disclosed will be disseminated to any other party without the informed and written consent of the participant. Please find the consent form attached.

N.B.: This sheet will be translated into Greek with the contact details of the investigators.

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