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An intergenerational perspective on migrant senses of identity and belonging: The case of Greek-Cypriot families in South West England, UK

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**AN INTERGENERATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON MIGRANT SENSES OF IDENTITY AND
BELONGING: THE CASE OF GREEK-CYPRIT FAMILIES IN SOUTH WEST
ENGLAND, UK**

by

Gina Kallis

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

An intergenerational perspective on migrant senses of identity and belonging: The case of Greek-Cypriot families in South West England, UK

This thesis takes an intergenerational perspective to investigate how senses of identity and belonging are constructed in a Greek-Cypriot community in the UK. This aim is particularly necessary given increasing rates of migration and mobility worldwide, which has resulted in growing acknowledgment across a number of disciplines of the need to explore the everyday lives of migrants and how ethnic identities are reconstituted across all generations. Despite this acknowledgment, research on the third-generation remains limited. This thesis addresses this gap by exploring how three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants express feelings of identity and belonging and engage with translocal spaces. It does so through exploring findings from forty-eight qualitative interviews and participant observations undertaken in an ethnographic setting. The results reveal how constructions of ethnic identity change across the generations as successive generations are situated between a number of competing cultural reference points. The importance of the family in creating a feeling of belonging is also revealed as well as the fluid and evolving nature of familial relationships. The thesis also identifies the significance of space and place in identity formation and argues that the importance of *trans-local* spaces should not be overlooked in favour of the *trans-national*. The research makes a valuable contribution to geography by enhancing understandings about the everyday lives of migrants and the 'doings' of families. It also contributes to understandings of a relatively 'invisible' and under-researched white migrant group in the UK. Work that focuses on such 'invisible' migrant groups is particularly pertinent to broader studies of immigration into the UK.

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Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

Work submitted for this research degree at the Plymouth University has not formed part of any other degree either at Plymouth University or at another establishment.

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Publications

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Signed..... Date.....

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research context

We live in an age where issues of migration and mobility are rarely out of the media spotlight. This is perhaps unsurprising given the large migration flows, refugee crisis and the recent Brexit vote. However, the attention paid to migrant families in the media often focuses on what are seen as their problematic aspects; migrants are often viewed as a threat, different or not integrated into UK populations. Academic research has rebuffed these simplistic dichotomies and, instead, has focused on the multiple and complex ways in which identity is established by migrants. As of yet however, most work has focused on first-generation migrants and little is known about the identity formations of the successive generations of their families- particularly those beyond the second-generation.

In order to broaden our understanding in this area, this thesis presents an intergenerational study of identity and belonging among families of Greek-Cypriot descent living in the UK. It examines the intergenerational relationships that are formed between family members and the ways in which generational dynamics influence questions of agency and identity. The importance of space and place to these relationships are revealed. The findings contribute to work on ethnic identity construction and of family geographies.

This thesis is timely given increasing rates of migration and mobility worldwide. According to recent data presented by the United Nations (2016), the number of international migrants, that is the number of individuals living in a country other than where they were born, reached 244 million in 2015, thus leading writers

such as Castles and Miller (2003) to dub this era as 'the age of migration'. If we focus on the UK, statistics show that net migration to the UK hit a record high of 336,000 in 2015 (BBC News, 2015). These rising numbers have led to the growth in pertinence of immigration issues in the media and popular discourse (Todd, 2016), and in particular, in relation to the 2016 Brexit referendum. Indeed, advocates of the 'Leave' campaign suggested the rising totals reflected a 'Borderless Britain' and called for the prime minister to tighten controls on migration to the UK from European Union (EU) countries. This resulted in 'moral panic' surrounding the issue of immigration and the EU (Morrison, 2016); opinion polls revealed that migration was 'a prominent issue in the hearts and minds of the voters' with 61 percent of Britons viewing immigration as the most important issue facing the EU (Vasilopoulou, 2016:222).

This was not surprising given the negative representations of migrant families in the media, which has often focused on issues such as arranged marriage and conflicts between generations (Kofman *et al*, 2011; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Hyndman-Rizk, 2016). However, there has been a growing body of academic work from a multitude of disciplines that attempts to look beyond these more general concerns and to understand the complex issues that migrants face in their everyday lives (Vertovec, 2001; Boyle *et al*, 2014; Lewis *et al*, 2015; Burrell, 2016a). For geographers in particular, the study of migration and mobility is both an important and fascinating area of study (Smith and King, 2012) and there has been a growth of interest in the topics of migrant identity formation (Valentine, 2009; Stanley, 2012; Zhang, 2014; Kaplan and Chacko, 2015) and senses of belonging (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Walsh, 2006; Antonsich, 2010; Wright, 2015).

The growing interest in these topics can be related to the rise of interest in both local and transnational identities and the need to understand and define them. Migrants and their children are involved in complex negotiations of identity that combine the local and the global as well as the existent and the 'imagined'. As they experience this process, individuals are required to renegotiate their connections and belonging.

In understanding these experiences and the reconstitution of ethnic identities, the roles of space and place are key (Dwyer and Bressey, 2008; Clayton, 2009; 2012; Tyrrell and Kallis, 2015). This is because spaces and places, at a range of scales, influence processes of migrant incorporation, integration and community building. However, in the study of migration, understandings of space and place are at once complex and contentious; they become multi-layered, personal and imagined (Phillips and Robinson, 2015). Because of its subjective nature, place must therefore be conceptualised as socially constructed (Shah, 2007; Phillips and Robinson, 2015). Conceptualising place in such a way allows us to appreciate the complex and on-going nature of identity construction and to understand how individuals experience belonging in their daily lives (Clayton, 2012). Although it has been recognised that place needs to be conceptualised in this way, this study will illustrate the significance of the more *localised* spaces of the home, the neighbourhood and the city in the everyday lives of migrants and that these dimensions should not be overlooked in favour of national and international scales.

1.2 Research gap

Despite growing interest about the impact of migration on the identity formations of later-generations, as of yet, there are few academics who have studied

migrant communities with a particular focus on generational differences between the first-, second- and *third*- generations (Scourby, 1980; Portes *et al*, 1999; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Portes and Rivas, 2011). In particular, while there has been a growth of work that explores the identity formations and senses of belonging of the *second*-generation (Cha, 2001; Min and Kim, 2005; Levitt and Waters, 2006; Zontini, 2007; Yiu, 2009; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Wessendorf, 2013), work on the *third*- (and successive) generations remains sparse. Nevertheless, as rates of migration and mobility continue to rise worldwide, successive generations of migrants¹ are expanding and playing an increasingly significant role in the social, economic and political life of their host countries and thus, they are an extremely important group to study (Vertovec, 2001; Levitt and Waters, 2006). Consequently, this research will contribute to knowledge of the narratives and experiences of different generations of migrants.

The study of three generations allows for a comparison of not only how ethnic identifications and senses of belonging vary generationally, but also of the intergenerational relationships that are formed between family members and the influence that family practices – ‘doing family’ – has on these constructions. The in-depth, qualitative study of family-life and relations between the generations among migrant families is something that has only begun to develop in the last decade or so in the discipline of geography (Valentine, 2008; Hallman, 2010; Punch, 2010; Tarrant, 2010; Kofman *et al*, 2011; Holdsworth, 2013; Long, 2014), and therefore this study will add insights to our knowledge and understandings of family geographies.

¹ For clarity, the term ‘migrant’ is used to refer to members of successive generations although they did not necessarily migrate themselves. It is recognised however that identity as a migrant is reflexive.

Second, the experiences of Greek-Cypriots are used to illustrate wider issues and to question the assumed 'unproblematic belonging' of white European immigrant groups in the UK. I argue that the study of white European immigrant groups opens up even greater theoretical possibilities due to their potential 'invisibility' within UK society (Constantinides, 1977; Fortier, 1999). As Beck-Gernsheim (2007) observes, research on migrants in the UK often focuses on those of non-European, non-Christian origin and ignores the experiences of groups such as Greeks and Italians. This is because their skin colour, religious beliefs and family forms may not be drastically different from those of the majority society, 'therefore, they probably appear less 'exotic', less 'problematic', and less interesting as objects of research (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007:27).

A number of studies have explored the experiences of white European immigrants in England, and the way their integration to the host society has been assumed because of their white skin (Campbell, 1999; Gray, 2002; Hickman, 2000; Hickman *et al*, 2005 Fortier, 2000; 2006; Ugolini, 2006; Zontini, 2015). However, these studies have illustrated how automatic assimilation and unambiguous identification with the host society cannot be assumed as there may be many other markers of difference besides skin colour, for example, accent, habits, opinions and domestic practices (Hickman *et al*, 2005; Clayton, 2012).

Greater theoretical possibilities are provided by studying these groups because the extent to which they are differentiated depends upon which of their physical and cultural features they themselves, and those they come into contact with wish to stress (Constantinides, 1977). The study of Greek-Cypriot communities develops this knowledge, especially as they are a relatively under-researched

group (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Cylwik, 2002; Burrell, 2005; Teerling, 2010; 2011; King *et al*, 2011a). While there are some earlier studies that explore the experiences of this group (Constantinides 1977; Oakely, 1979; Anthias, 1983; 1992, Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Josephides, 1988) these are scarce and mainly focus on the families of those who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s. By examining the experiences of *three* generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants living in the UK, this thesis will contribute to understandings of invisible migrants and their families, as well contributing to understandings about the more specific experiences of Greek Cypriots.

1.3 Research aims

Based on the rationale outlined above, the overarching research aim of this study is:

To take an intergenerational perspective to investigate the ways senses of identity and belonging are constructed in a Greek-Cypriot community in South West England, UK.

This aim will be addressed by exploring the experiences of three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrant families living in a UK city. The overall aim can be broken down into the following research questions:

1. How do members of each generation construct their cultural identity and express their feelings of belonging?

2. To what extent do family practices – ‘doing’ family – influence processes of identity formation and feelings of belonging?
3. What spaces and places are significant in identity formation?
4. In what ways are the concepts of intergenerationality and translocalism relevant for understanding identity and belonging of migrant communities in the UK?

As the research context and questions indicate, this thesis engages with a number of key themes that are of interest, to not only geographers, but also to sociologists and anthropologists as well. Therefore the findings of the study contribute to various research fields; these include: intergenerationality and lifecourse; family geographies; issues of identity (including ethnic identity) and belonging among migrant populations; and recent debates surrounding transnationalism and translocalism.

1.4 The study city

All fieldwork for the study was conducted in the city of Plymouth. Plymouth is located on the South coast of Devon, England (Figure 1.1) and, at the time of the 2011 census, its population was 256,384 (ONS, 2011b). This meant it was the 30th most



Figure 1.1: Map to show location of Plymouth

populous urban area in the UK (out of a total of 75 urban areas) (City Population, 2016). Plymouth, branded as 'Britain's Ocean City', is a popular tourist destination and attracts large numbers of visitors each year, particularly to the Old Barbican district (Joint, 2009).

Historically the city's economy was largely based around maritime activities, with many residents working in the defence sector and armed forces (Joint, 2009). Moreover, Devonport Dockyard in Plymouth is one of only three operating naval bases in the UK and, traditionally, the economy has been largely influenced by shipbuilding. However, since the 1980s, employment in the defence sector has decreased substantially and the city has tended towards a service-based economy (Plymouth City Council, 2008). Plymouth University is

also a notable employer and has influenced the development of the city in recent years.

In their analysis of census data for the region of the South West as a whole, Oxford University's Migration Observatory claim that 'the area has one of the smallest foreign-born populations of any of the 10 regions of England and Wales (it ranks 8th out of 10) but that this population, nonetheless, increased by 155,261 (62%) between 2001 and 2011' (The Migration Observatory, 2013). However, the spread of this increase was uneven, and some of the larger cities, including Bristol and Plymouth, saw sizeable increases in their migrant populations during this period.

According to latest statistics, 7% of Plymouth residents were born outside of the UK (ONS, 2011c). This percentage is lower than for other urban areas in Devon such as Torbay (9%) and Exeter (11%). For the UK as a whole, the proportion of the population born outside of the UK was 13% (8.3 million of 63.7 million) (ONS, 2011a). Of those Plymouth residents who were born outside of the UK, larger percentages were from Poland, India, and China (ONS, 2011c). So while the migrant population of Plymouth is fairly small in comparison to other cities, it has increased significantly since 2001.

In terms of the Cypriot population in Plymouth, it is thought that they first began to move to the city in 1935. Between 1951 and 1991 the number of Cypriots in the area rose steadily and since then has remained fairly stable. While the most recent official figures only tell us the number of *Cypriot-born* individuals living in Plymouth (this was 256 according to the 2011 census), members of the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek School committees in the city suggest there are

400-500 individuals of Greek-Cypriot descent living in Plymouth (see the following chapter for more detail on Greek-Cypriot migration to the city).

As will be discussed in Section 4.2.1, the ethnographic approach that was taken meant focusing on a single case study. Plymouth was chosen as the location for this as I felt I could use my social and familial connections, in order to access participants and that my potential 'insider' status would be advantageous in immersing myself in the everyday activities of the group. In terms of practical considerations, completing fieldwork in my hometown was the most practical option in relation to time and cost management. Moreover, as most published works on the ethnic group are based on those living in London, (Constantinides, 1977; Oakley, 1979; King and Bridal, 1982; Mavreas and Bebbington, 1987; 1988; 1990; Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Josephides, 1988; Hassiotis, 1989; Adamopoulou *et al*, 1990; Storkey, 1994; Papadopoulos, 1999; Georgiou, 2001; 2004; Tsagarousianou, 2001; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Cylwik, 2002; Papadopoulos *et al*, 2002; Gardner-Chloros *et al*, 2005) new and interesting insights could be gained from researching a community living outside of the capital that is smaller and less visible.

According to Glick Shiller and Caglar's (2009) typology, London is a 'top-scale' city (Section 2.4) and thus, the Greek-Cypriot population there has access to a greater range of organisations and institutions that have been developed specifically for them, for example churches, schools, community centres, shops selling Greek/Cypriot foodstuffs as well as access to Greek/Cypriot media forms. In contrast, Plymouth is nearer to the 'down-scale' end of the spectrum and besides the church and the school, access to such services is much more limited, therefore I wanted to investigate the idea that migrant groups who have

limited access to organisations and institutions developed specifically for them in the host society, will be less likely to retain a stronger sense of cultural identity (Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Levitt and Waters, 2006; Glick Shiller and Caglar, 2009). Because the group in Plymouth is much smaller and potentially could feel more ‘threatened’ and at risk of losing their ethnic identity, I felt it would be interesting to explore the ways in which they may attempt to retain their values and traditions and whether this was still deemed ‘important’ by members of the ethnic group. Therefore, Plymouth was considered a suitable location to conduct fieldwork.

1.5 Thesis structure

The two following chapters provide a review of the academic literature that is relevant to the study. Chapter Two discusses some of the wider ideas that position the research within the wider context of current knowledge. It does so by introducing debates within geography and migration studies regarding transnationalism and translocality, and how these have shaped knowledge about successive generations of migrants. Following this, Chapter Three focuses more on the family scale and establishes the level of existing knowledge regarding intergenerationality, family geographies and understandings of identity and belonging. Building on those that have been identified in this chapter, both of the following establish the research gaps which merit the undertaking of this project.

Chapter Four presents the methodological approach and methods that were used to conduct the research. It begins by discussing the value of an ethnographic approach as well as a consideration of positionality in this study. Following this, it outlines the methods that were used for data collection, namely:

participant observation; qualitative interviews; and arts-based activities with the child members of the sample. The approach taken to analyse data is discussed and the final section discusses the ethical issues that were taken into consideration.

Chapter Five provides a general overview of Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement in the UK. It then focuses specifically on the Greek-Cypriot community in Plymouth and outlines how the community has evolved. As the literature on this topic is limited, I add further insights by interweaving some of my own empirical material on the experiences of the first-generation of migrants. Following this, the limited literature on the second- and third-generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK is reviewed.

Chapter Six begins the discussion of the empirical material by assessing the ways in which each generation of the Greek-Cypriot migrants in the study identify themselves with regards to their ethnicity and express feelings of belonging (research question one). The range of responses that each generation presents is highlighted and attention is drawn to those who affirm more hybrid identities. We also see how individuals are able to invoke 'ethnic choice' and actively perform their ethnic identities. The chapter also discusses the fluid, changing and relational nature of identity and the way in which space and place affect identity constructions.

In relation to the second research question, Chapter Seven turns our attention more specifically to familial relationships and the ways in which generational dynamics within families affect questions of agency and identity. The gendered nature of parent-child relationships is explored and particular attention is paid to the differential treatment of sons and daughters. Following this, grandparent-

grandchild relations are investigated and we see how grandparents strive to transmit cultural values to their grandchildren. The way in which familial relationships ebb and flow over the lifecourse is illustrated as well as the dynamic nature of familial obligations, connections and practices. Linking with this, the agency of individuals and their ability to make choices about the way in which they 'do family' and negotiate their identities is explored.

Chapter Eight focuses on the transnational and translocal social spaces that individuals in the study city engage with and the role these spaces play in creating senses of belonging and community (research question three). The chapter specifically investigates the spaces of the Greek Orthodox Church and adjoining Greek School; the home; and local businesses. The intergenerational perspective highlights the way in which engagement with and attitudes towards transnational and translocal activities changes through the generations. The chapter also asserts the value of a translocal perspective and calls into question understandings of community; indeed the plurality of experiences of community is highlighted.

In the concluding chapter (Chapter Nine) the key findings are summarised and the insights drawn in the preceding chapters are drawn together. In doing so, the relevance of the concepts of intergenerationality and translocalism for understanding identity and belonging is reviewed (research question four). The research questions that were set out in Chapter One are revisited and I outline how these have been addressed. I also reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the research, and directions for future research are provided.

Chapter 2. Exploring identity and belonging in the context of transnationalism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews key strands of literature to position the research within the *wider* context of current knowledge. It emphasises the importance of *trans-local* spaces in identity constructions and argues that these should not be overlooked in favour of the *trans-national*. It also develops the idea that the significance of the translocal/transnational changes across the generations and reveals that there is still a lack of understanding in this area regarding the third-generation of migrants. A focus on family and identity/belonging allows these issues to be addressed.

Section 2.2 outlines how the concept of transnationalism is understood in this study. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 synthesise the geographical literature on the spaces of the home, the local and the city and how migrant identities and belonging are understood at these scales. Section 2.5 discusses the debate surrounding the meaning of 'community', and outlines how ethnic communities both work to bring people together and also exclude. This is followed by a discussion of translocalism in Section 2.6 and why this is a valuable lens through which to explore identity and belonging.

2.2 Transnationalism

The concept of transnational migration has gained major importance in migration research (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). It recognises that migration cannot be seen as a one-way process as ties are frequently maintained across borders.

(Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004; Levitt and Waters, 2006; Ho, 2008). Elaine Ho (2008:1287) argues that transnationalism recognises 'that sending and receiving societies should be understood as constituting a single field of analysis, given the multiple attachments and multi-stranded social relations experienced by migrants towards their societies of origin and settlement'.

The term 'transnationalism' has come under increasing scrutiny, with critics arguing it has been used to describe 'everything under the sun' (Levitt and Waters, 2006:5). For the purposes of this thesis, transnational practices are understood as the 'economic, political, and sociocultural occupations and activities that require regular long-term contacts across borders for their success' (Levitt and Waters, 2006:8). In many cases, migrants lead a way of life that lies somewhere 'in between' and links their sending and receiving societies. The networks that emerge as a result of these interconnections- 'of a social, political, economic and cultural kind...are what we call transnational social spaces' (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007:276). Furthermore, Pries (2001:69) defines transnational social spaces as 'pluri-local frames of reference that structure everyday practices, social positions, employment trajectories and biographies, and human identities [that] simultaneously exist above and beyond the social contexts of national societies'. Hence, it is evident that transnational social spaces affect and are affected by the daily lives of many migrants around the globe.

It must be pointed out, however, that not all migrants engage in transnational practices or are influenced by transnational social spaces (Burrell, 2003). Moreover, a common presupposition is the association of transnational living with complete un-rootedness and transience. As Leung (2004:9) acknowledges,

transnationals are often viewed as 'constantly on-the-go, jet-setting so to speak, being here and there, cruising around the world with the bearable lightness of homelessness'. She suggests that transnational transactions can be anchored and understood as 'very concrete activities' (Leung, 2004:9). It is these 'concrete activities' that are explored in this study and the spaces and places that individuals interact with that are both situated and connected to other locales (Brickell and Datta, 2011a). As Brickell (2011) observes, people can remain spatially local, yet their lives can be shaped by cultural imaginaries beyond those of the immediate locality; indeed, this does not apply only to migrants.

It is important to distinguish 'transnational' from 'diaspora' and the different ways the terms are deployed because, at present, both are used to describe how globalisation challenges social organisation and identity construction (Levitt and Waters, 2006). Gardner (2012:894) argues that although the term 'transnational' covers a wide range of relationships, practices and perceptions and is in danger of becoming indistinguishable from other overused terms such as 'diaspora', it remains helpful because of the way it 'draws attention away from the binaries of 'sending' and 'receiving' contexts, and towards relationships, linkages and flows'. Often, 'diaspora' is used to refer to individuals living in different locations around the world, but who identify collectively with one another and with their host societies (Safran, 1991). It can also be used to describe a 'type of social consciousness that locates individuals in multiple cultural and social spaces' (Levitt and Waters, 2006:6), with a 'homeland' that is not necessarily a real place to visit, but often a place that is more *imagined* by individuals (Gardner, 2012).

On the other hand, transnational fields tend to refer to a smaller number of places that are historically linked for several generations, through economic, social and cultural means (Gardner, 2012). However, rather than viewing them as divergent terms, Christou (2011) suggests that transnationalism and diaspora should be seen as conceptually overlapping as 'they highlight not only the spatializing practices of migrant subjects but also their temporalizing practices in how migrants forge social ties within and beyond the space-time of nations' (p.148).

Transnational social fields produced by migration can encompass all facets of social life (Levitt and Waters, 2006). They often result from economic ties between migrants and non-migrants at first; this commonly takes the form of the sending of remittances (Yang, 2011). However, other ties soon emerge based on religious, political and social connections. The more layers of connections that exist and the more diverse a transnational social field is, 'the greater number of ways it offers migrants to remain active in their homelands' (Levitt and Waters, 2006:10). Furthermore, the more institutions and organisations that evolve based on these relationships (i.e. religious or political organisations), the more likely it is that individuals will become involved in the transnational field.

It should also be acknowledged that the intensity and frequency of transnational practices can vary greatly, as does the extent to which migrants engage with them (Levitt and Waters, 2006). For example, it is possible to distinguish between 'core transnationalism' (Guarnizo, 2000) and 'broad transnational practices' (Itzigsohn *et al*, 1999). 'Core transnationalism' refers to those activities that form an integral part of an individual's life, that take place on a regular basis and have some routine to them (Guarnizo, 2000). In contrast,

'broad transnational practices' are not very well institutionalised and involve only occasional participation (Itzigsohn *et al*, 1999). Individuals may engage in core transnational practices with regard to one aspect of social activity, and only broad transnational practices with regard to another. For example, some migrants engage with political and religious transnational practices on a daily basis, but only occasionally, or possibly never, send money back to family members in the host country (and vice versa). Those who participate in transnational practices involving many arenas of social life are described as engaging in 'comprehensive transnational practices' while those involved in more limited-reaching activities engage in 'selective transnational practices' (Levitt, 2001; Levitt and Waters, 2006). It is important to remember however, that an individual's engagement with transnational activity can be fluid and change at different points in time.

The key point is that little is known about how these practices change through the generations, especially with regards to the third-generation. As is discussed in Section 3.3, a key area of debate in this area is the extent to which transnationalism will persist and also change among later-generations, as well as what the consequences of this will be (Kelly and Lusia, 2006; Levitt and Waters, 2006).

2.3 Transnational homes

Over a decade ago, Gardner and Grillo (2002) argued that transnational practices at the domestic level were still poorly documented. Since then a number of studies have explored the transnational activities and practices that take place within the domestic sphere among migrant families (Parreñas, 2005; Levitt and Waters, 2006; Walsh, 2006; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Haikkola, 2011;

Benítez, 2012; Hoang *et al*, 2012; King-O’Riain, 2014). It is important to explore transnational practices at the household/family level if we want to understand fully the meanings and implications of transnationalism for ordinary people (Gardner and Grillo, 2002). Consequently, this study explores the different transnational (and translocal) activities that Greek-Cypriot migrant families engage in in the home, as well as the rituals that are performed both at the domestic and community level. It seeks to understand the meanings and significance that individuals ascribe to them and whether they contribute to the maintenance of a ‘cultural identity’ (Charalambous *et al*, 1988).

Increasing attention has been paid to the effects migration has had on feelings of home and belonging, particularly with respect to transnational homes. Important questions have been raised such as: where is home? When does a place become home? And what does it mean to feel at home? (Ahmed, 2000; Brah, 1996). Such questions destabilise the concept of home and unsettle its fixity and singularity (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). In some postcolonial literature, the relationship between home and away is represented as oppositional, with home being perceived as a secure and safe place and the destinations migrants travel to as new and strange lands (Mallet, 2004). However, writers such as Ahmed (1999) reject this oppositional perspective of home and away, claiming that home can encompass movement and the unfamiliar and is not necessarily a singular place. Thus the distinction between ‘here’ and ‘there’ becomes blurred, as individuals both imagine and physically experience different spaces as ‘home’ (Ahmed *et al*, 2003).

Research on transnational home-making brings what are seen as typically mundane and routine domestic practices to the forefront of analysis as they are

recognised as an important aspect of research and significant in making home meaningful (Walsh, 2006). Cieraad (2001:11) argues such practices may be related to a range of aspects of home-life including 'its material structure, like decorating, renovating, and moving house, or to domestic activities like cooking and cleaning, raising children, or gardening, or the psychological and narrated practices of remembering and dreaming'. It is these activities that give a house its identity and make a house a home (Walsh, 2006).

As Ahmed *et al* (2003) point out, feminist geographers have taught us it is important to pay attention to the gendering of domestic spaces and often the task of making home is designated as 'women's work'. A number of studies focus on the gendering of transnational home-making and explore how diasporic homes can be 'sites of both containment and potential liberation for women' (Blunt and Dowling, 2006:214). This is interesting to consider, as early studies tell us that the first-generation of Greek-Cypriot migrants brought over their patriarchal social structures from rural villages in Cyprus when they migrated to the UK and the ideology that women were responsible for domestic tasks (Josephides, 1988).

Thompson (1994) explores the potential of the home as a site for the expression of personal power for migrant women from the Arabic, Greek and Vietnamese communities in Australia. She argues that, for some migrant women, the home 'has become a place where difference can be displayed and acted out' and it acts as a symbol of personal identity (p.37). She observes that the women felt the home was a safe place to speak their first language and encouraging children to learn and speak their parents' first language was also a priority for them. The internal decoration of their homes reflected cultural and

religious heritage, thus illustrating the opportunities afforded by the domestic space for cultural expression and the 'appropriation of power' (Thompson, 1994:38).

While Thompson's study, as well as more recent work (see for example Tyrrell *et al*, 2014; Kim and Yoo, 2015; Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015), begin to explore intergenerational familial language practices, this work can be built upon to consider other familial practices, for example parenting, and how they change across the generations. In turn, investigating these practices from an intergenerational perspective allows for an exploration of the ways senses of identity and belonging change among successive generations.

Similarly, the preparation and consumption of food are highlighted as important aspects of diasporic home-making as food is recognised as a medium through which self and community identities can be reconstructed (Bell and Valentine, 1997). Often, but certainly not always, women are seen as responsible for shopping for, preparing and cooking 'proper' meals for the family so food therefore becomes an important element in the construction of gendered ethnic identities (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002) . Kneafsey and Cox (2002) explore this idea with regards to Irish migrants to England, who are identified as often maintaining 'traditional' family structures (Walter, 2001). Their study finds that 'food consumption practices can help to reflect and constitute Irishness and people choose particular foods both because they are Irish and they know those foods from home, and because they want to restate that Irishness, usually within the domestic sphere of the home' (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002:13). Within this particular diaspora, women are mainly responsible for 'making home' in a new place.

Similar ideas are raised by migrants from a number of countries to Sydney, who grow and prepare what they perceive as 'authentic' homeland foods, often triggering feelings of nostalgia and allowing them to dwell in both the homeland and country of residence (Morgan *et al*, 2005). Once again, food symbolises the reworking of traditions and cultures by migrants living in diaspora (Law, 2001; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Rabikowska, 2010; Brown 2011; Janowski 2012).

As well as food, particular domestic objects have been examined as playing a significant role for migrants living in transnational homes (Walsh, 2006; Tolia-Kelly, 2004). Specifically, Walsh examines the importance of material objects found in British expatriate homes in Dubai. She argues that certain belongings illustrate how 'the home is experienced simultaneously as both a material and immaterial, lived and imagined, localized and (trans)national space of belonging' (p.123). This is encapsulated by the way particular objects come to have presence as well as hold important memories for individuals. In some cases, migrants feel the need for continuity in their new homes, and thus hold on to possessions they do not necessarily use, but that still evoke feelings of nostalgia for past times (Baldassar, 2008). This analysis of domestic material culture demonstrates how 'transnational and local belonging is interwoven in everyday life in the notion of home' (Walsh, 2006:139).

Similarly, visual cultures may also hold importance in securing a sense of being and belonging within migrant households (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Tolia-Kelly (2004) argues that visual cultures of landscape, for example, photographs, fabrics, pictures, and paintings, hold significant meaning and value for South Asian women living in the UK. Migrants use multiple sources within the domestic sphere to strengthen the foundations of their residency in the UK,

perhaps to a greater extent when loss and forced expulsion has occurred (Parkin, 1999). Visual cultures are just one of these sources and 'are shot through with memory of 'other' spaces of being', enabling 'other' landscapes to be imported into the British one (Tolia-Kelly, 2004:676).

The studies of transnational home-making help us to better understand some of the multiple ways in which a sense of belonging can be created by members of migrant families. While they provide a basis for understanding the significance of such practices and the meanings that are attributed to them, there are few in-depth studies that investigate the way in which these practices are passed on and change from an intergenerational perspective. Existing work can be built upon in order to understand the significance of these practices for each generation and how this potentially changes and/or diminishes.

2.4 Transnationalism beyond the home: the local and the city

As well as the practices that take place at the household level, transnational activities also occur on a greater scale and extend beyond the household as wider communities attempt to reproduce homeland culture. This occurs with certain types of rituals; they may take place within migrant households, but they can *also* be enacted at the wider level of ethnic and/or religious communities (Gardner and Grillo, 2002; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010). In this context, ritual refers to the 'purposive and expressive ceremonialized performances' which mark and often celebrate major transitions in the lifecourse: namely birth, marriage and death (Gardner and Grillo, 2002:183). As well as this, everyday routine activities, for example, drinking coffee, may be seen as ritualistic and are worthy of study as we aim to find out what they 'do' and 'say' for individuals in different contexts (Al-Ali, 2002). Such rituals may be religious or secular or a mixture of both.

Rituals are a significant focus of investigation as they may reveal how migrant groups attempt to carve out a specific identity in a new location and cultivate a sense of belonging (Fortier, 1999; Sullivan, 2012; Zontini, 2015).

Rituals can also be examined in relation to their importance for families as they attempt to maintain family traditions (Mason and Muir, 2013). For example, a wedding may bring together globally dispersed family networks, and Olwig (2002) argues they illustrate the complex social, economic, emotional and cultural relations that are involved in the construction of 'home'. Moreover, transnational rituals are often gendered and males and females will be engaged to different extents and in different ways. Exploring rituals and the meanings attributed to them reveals not only how particular transnational groups attempt to reproduce traditions, but also how these traditional practices may have changed or been altered over both time and space. Although gender has been examined in relation to ritual, age and generation have been explored to a lesser extent (Gardner and Grillo, 2002). As this research takes an intergenerational perspective, it will aim to gain some insight into the experiences of ritual for each generation and their involvement with them. The focus on the family context will also add to our understanding of how the family is used to maintain cultural practices and traditions among later-generations.

Phillips and Robinson (2015) also assert the significance of looking beyond the household level in the study of mobility, settlement and place. They suggest that both the city and neighbourhood remain 'key sites of arrival, settlement, encounter, and attachment' and bring further insights to the matters of the reconfiguration of home and the re-working of identities (Phillips and Robinson, 2015:412). In relation to the city context, Phillips and Robinson (2015:412)

observe there are a number of studies on migrant identities that 'reveal the urban contextuality of migrants' lives and situatedness of their community building and belonging' (see Back, 1996 and Ehrkamp, 2005; 2013 for examples). They also draw attention to Glick Shiller and Caglar's (2009) work on migrant incorporation and city scale; the latter propose that cities can be positioned along a continuum of power and influence and that this positioning influences migrant incorporation. 'Top-scale' cities (i.e. London) are at one end of the spectrum and they offer the widest scope for migrant incorporation and transnational connections. 'Down-scale' cities are at the other end, which are identified as having limited opportunities for integration and where migrants' skills and cultural heritages are less highly valued.

There is a need for more work that investigates how smaller migrant groups located in 'down scale' cities retain a sense of cultural identity and whether they feel more 'threatened' and at risk of losing this as opposed to larger groups located in 'top-scale' cities. Little academic work to date has explored the differences between the two and the potentially differing ways that these groups attempt to retain their values and traditions.

In relation to neighbourhood places, Phillips and Robinson (2015) argue that 'local (in particular, ethnographic) studies can provide rich, agent-centred accounts of individual experiences, behaviours, and trajectories' (p.413). A key theme of previous local studies concerns the relationship between the composition of the established population and community relations; it is suggested that socially and culturally diverse places are more likely to adapt well to new migration and to foster a positive integration experience for migrants (Robinson *et al*, 2007; Netto, 2011; Hickman *et al*, 2012). Such neighbourhoods

can provide access to a range of local services and resources that promote inclusivity.

Another key theme 'concerns the relationship between the local social, political, historical, and material context of arrival, settlement, and community formation' (Phillips and Robinson, 2015:413). Migrants can often experience isolation and alienation upon arrival in a new neighbourhood. One response to this has been 'place-making' by migrant populations, which helps to cement new identities and empower marginalised communities. One way this is achieved is through the ongoing negotiation between transnational ties and local lives (Ehrkamp, 2005).

Linking with this, Kong (1999:578) draws our attention to the production of cultural landscape signatures including 'residential architecture, houses of worship, recreation and commercial establishments, and street signage' that migrants may utilise in an attempt to reproduce memory and experience. These landscapes have given rise to distinctive enclaves in some instances, for example, names such as 'Little Italy' and 'Little Haiti' have been imposed by some host societies to describe such enclaves (Kong, 1999). Within these enclaves, migrants attempt to recreate traditions from home countries by engaging in activities like celebrating festivals, importing food and business practices (Kong, 1999; Wiles, 2008). Furthermore, within these spaces, immigrants have the opportunity to converse with others in their native language and build social networks with other migrants from the same country, thus helping to build both a real and 'imagined' sense of community (Kong, 1999) (see the following section for more discussion on 'community').

For example, in their study of Greek-Americans and Greek-Germans, King and Christou (2014) describe their participants as often living in a Greek 'bubble' whereby they grow up in a diaspora with limited interactions with other individuals of different migrant groups and races. They speak Greek within the home and the 'strength and cohesion of the family alongside language, food, religion etc' is frequently emphasised by participants (p.3). In this example, a strongly inward-looking diasporic life is painted, however this is by no means the case for all migrant communities (Charusheela, 2007). Jenkins *et al* (1985) argue that these immigrant associations assist migrants with the adjustment process and ease them into life in a new destination- although it would be too simplistic to claim that this is the case for all migrants.

At the local level, community organisations and places where community activities take place have also been identified as playing an important role in the cultivation and reproduction of cultural identities and social networks among migrants (Waters, 1990; Leung, 2004; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Sullivan, 2012). If following Faist's (2000) typology whereby transnational communities 'imply the emergence of public institutionalized practices that involve mobilization of collective representations and the emergence of a sense of solidarity based on ethnicity, religion, nationality, or place of origin' (cited in Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002:769) it would be suitable to describe these organisations as 'transnational spaces'.

In their study of Caribbean communities in the UK, for example, Goulbourne *et al* (2010) find that language schools and black churches are significant in retaining ethnic identities. Similarly, Leung (2004) argues that overseas Chinese language schools are an important tool for the construction and maintenance of

Chinese culture. They also offer a space where collective memory and nostalgia can be experienced and where migrants can enact and experience collective affective belonging abroad (Nagar and Leitner, 1998; Leung, 2004; Fortier, 2006). In later chapters we shall see how the local Greek Orthodox Church and Greek School play a significant role in the maintenance of the Greek-Cypriot identity for certain members of the community in the study city- however this is not the case for all of them.

Furthermore, there is some debate within the field of migration studies as to whether heightened transnational practices and greater involvement of migrants with them reduces assimilation into the host country (Waters, 1990; Levitt and Waters, 2006). Assimilation itself is a highly contested concept; early notions of immigrants gradually 'blending culturally' into host countries have been critiqued on a number of levels (Scott and Cartledge, 2009). One of the main criticisms is that the concept implies a homogenous cultural and social structure within which individuals incorporate, however this is not true for any community (Kaplan and Chacko, 2015). Over time the theory has been modified; Scott and Cartledge (2009:63) suggest that the idea of "segmented assimilation", whereby migrants assimilate into different cultures rather than a single "melting pot" is an important modification to the theory (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Portes and Zhou, 1993). Nevertheless, some scholars would dismiss the idea of assimilation altogether and it has been linked with particular political and normative views (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013). Over time, integration has come to be used as a normative description of a middle ground somewhere between multiculturalism and assimilation (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013).

With regards to the relationship between transnational practices and assimilation of migrants, one could imagine them as positioned on opposite ends of a spectrum, with migrants being nearer to one end than the other. It could be assumed that the immigrants in King and Christou's (2014) study who speak of living in a Greek 'bubble' are less assimilated into the German and American societies they live in due to the strong emphasis of traditional Greek culture in their lives. However a number of studies have shown how strong transnational ties can co-exist alongside assimilation into the host society.

For example, Smith (2006) argues that, for second-generation Mexicans living in New York, assimilative pressures actually foster transnationalism by giving these young people a reason to want to redefine their 'Mexican-ness' in a new culture. Members of the Ticuani Youth Group, a second-generation transnational institution, aim to fight against negative images of Mexicans as poor and uneducated and strive to be upwardly mobile. Some members describe how the group shows them a 'different way' of being Mexican and rather than being involved with gangs, shows them different models to follow. Many of the second-generation also want to keep the 'immigrant bargain' with their parents (Louie, 2012) whereby they prove their parents' migration has not occurred in vain and they make something of their lives in New York, while at the same time showing they have not forgotten their roots (Smith, 2006). Thus going to school and retaining links to the Ticuani culture 'is an important part of settlement and assimilation and sets the stage for transnationalization' (p.161). The young people who participated in the study illustrate how transnational life is rooted within processes of migration on the one hand, and processes of settlement and assimilation on the other.

Although there has been a growth of research on the relationship between assimilation and transnational activities, especially among migrant communities in the USA, there is a need for more research on the ways in which smaller migrant groups located in 'down-scale' cities attempt to maintain cultural values and traditions and whether these differ to those of larger groups/ those located in 'top-scale' cities.

2.5 Imagined communities

Throughout the chapter the notion of 'community' has been referred to on a number of occasions, however no real attempt has been made to define it as of yet. Nevertheless, the term deserves more explicit attention and I will therefore explore its meaning in greater detail in this section. One may ask, what exactly is a community? Cohen (1985) observes that the meaning of community is largely taken-for-granted in everyday society, while it is simultaneously the subject of vigorous debate within academic circles.

In an attempt to define community, I will follow Cohen's (1985) suggestion that a 'community' is composed of 'members of a group of people [that] (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups' (p.12). As Connor (2014) observes, it is significant that Cohen's understanding of community is not bounded to a specific space or place. This is because, as Cohen (1985) later suggests, 'the boundaries that develop are symbolically constructed and open to individual interpretation and constant renegotiation' (Connor, 2014:529). In this sense, community is a social imaginary, not a substantive sociological 'object' or whole, which exists only insofar as its members maintain it through

the symbols that mark its boundaries (Cohen, 1986; Leontidou *et al*, 2005; Christou, 2011).

Anderson (1983:6) applies this notion of communities as imagined to the nation-state; he argues the nation-state 'is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'. Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' has been employed by academics in a number of disciplines, including geography and migration studies, where the concept has been applied to immigrant and/or transnational communities (Dwyer, 1999; Kong, 1999; Wiles, 2008). Such communities may be characterised by shared culture, customs, and place of origin and may be defined in opposition to an assumed homogeneous hegemonic national community (Dwyer, 1999).

However, as Dwyer (1999) observes, it is important not to think of ethnic communities as 'existing in an organic wholeness with self-evident boundaries' (p.54), but rather their imaginary nature should be emphasised due to their fluid and changing nature. Indeed Yuval-Davies (1991:59) acknowledges that the boundaries, structures and norms of such communities 'are the result of constant processes of struggles and negotiations'.

Work within migration studies has explored how ethnic communities may be brought together as they attempt to reproduce the culture of the homeland. For example, in her study of Singaporean migrants working in China, Kong (1999) argues that migrants both *reproduce* homeland culture and *(re)invent* traditions; through these actions they establish boundaries of similarities and differences which reinforce their identities as Singaporeans. This not only allows them to

sustain a sense of home, it also constructs a sense of community for migrants that is both 'real, in the sense of actual social interaction, as well as imagined, in the sense of perceived bonds' (p.578). The perception of such bonds means that individuals make claims of a close-knit community where there is a sense of mutual help and where individuals will 'pull together' in times of need.

Linking with this, a number of writers acknowledge the key role that community organisations play in constructing an imagined community for minority populations (Dwyer, 1999; Leung, 2004; Fortier, 2006; Wiles, 2008), and that they also play a role in creating a sense of mutual help and of 'pulling together'. The positive role that ethnic communities can play in fostering the creation of social bonds has been explained through the concept of 'ethnicity as social capital' (Zhou, 2005; Shah, 2007). Moreover, a distinction can be made between *bonding* social capital i.e. 'ties to people who are like me in some important way'; and *bridging* social capital i.e. 'ties to people who are unlike me in some important way' (Putnam, 2007:143). Although there has been a tendency to focus on bridging exclusively in relation to ethnicity, it is important to acknowledge that other factors, for example class and gender, may be equally or even more important in certain contexts (Ryan *et al*, 2008).

However, it is important to acknowledge that, as well as the positive aspects of communities and the way in which they may be seen as a form of social capital, they may also have a more negative side; Dwyer (1999) refers to this as the 'contradictions of community'. Following the advice of Goulbourne *et al* (2010), one should consider the 'tensions and conflicts, alienation, and some of the negative consequences of collective belongingness and cultural identities' (p.136). Based on their study of Italian communities in the UK, Goulbourne *et al*

argue that individuals can feel pressured to conform to the perceived norms of a community and failure to do so can result in conflict and/or alienation. They give the example of a young lady who fought to convince her parents to allow her to move away to university (rather than marrying and settling within the local community), and whose parents, despite allowing her to go, were never supportive of her choice. This was because they believed it 'put them in a bad light in the eyes of their community' as it went against their perceived norms and moral code of behaviour (p.143).

This links to feminist work within migration scholarship that refers to women as the 'keepers of culture' and highlights the pressure they may experience to adhere to prescribed norms of appropriate gendered behaviour (Dwyer, 1999; Shah, 2007; Ziemer, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2013). Because of this pressure on the female members of the community, their behaviour comes under greater levels of scrutiny than their male counterparts and is monitored by both their immediate family members and people beyond; namely, other members of the ethnic community.

An intergenerational perspective is valuable here, as Shah (2007) argues, ethnicity not only intersects with gender, but also with generation and age (as well as 'race' and class) and thus, these factors should also be considered in an analysis of experiences within the ethnic community. However, Shah (2007) also suggests that it is not only members of the immediate family and ethnic community that play a role in regulating the social lives of younger members of the community, but the influence of other social groups should also be acknowledged, especially that of peer groups and teachers. Moreover, while much of the literature has focused on the experiences of young women within

ethnic communities, there has been less discussion of those of young men (see Hopkins, 2007 and Hopkins *et al*, 2011 for exceptions).

2.6 From transnationalism to translocalism

As was mentioned in Section 2.2, a common presupposition is the association of transnationalism with complete un-rootedness and transience. However the studies discussed above illustrate the need to focus on the more 'grounded' transnational transactions that individuals partake in at the more localised levels of the home, the neighbourhood and the city. A focus on these more 'concrete' or 'grounded' transnational activities at these scales is referred to by many writers as translocality. Translocality, a term first coined by Appadurai (1996a; 1996b), draws our attention to the significance of local-local connections during transnational migration and insists on viewing processes and identities as place-based rather than exclusively mobile or uprooted (Oakes and Schein, 2006).

Interest in the concept of translocality has emerged 'from a concern over the disembodied understanding of transnational networks' and research in this area explores how 'social relationships across locales affect transnational migration networks, economic exchanges and diasporic space' (Brickell and Datta, 2011a:3). Therefore, a consideration of translocality ensures we do not lose sight of the importance of localities and the way in which the local is situated 'within a network of spaces, places and scales where identities are negotiated and transformed' (Brickell and Datta, 2011a:5).

Although translocality has come to be widely seen as a form of 'grounded transnationalism' Brickell and Datta suggest that translocality needs to be

understood in other spaces, places and scales beyond the national. They understand translocality as ‘groundedness’ during movement’ which includes everyday movements that are not necessarily transnational; the authors call these ‘translocal geographies’ as they take the view that ‘these spaces and places need to be examined both through their situatedness and their connectedness to a variety of other locales’ (Brickell and Datta, 2011a:4). Spaces, places and connections are the key components of translocality and the concept has received increasing attention for its ability to ‘capture the essence of mobility without losing sight of the importance of place and place-based associations’ (Phillips and Robinson, 2015:411).

Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) suggest that this shift towards a focus on ‘groundedness’ has been long overdue, not least because previous research on transnational migrant communities has shown that migrants’ everyday social practices are informed by their localised experiences (Ferbrache and Yarwood, 2014). Their local-to-local interactions are therefore of key significance and a valuable topic of research (Smith, 2001; Núñez-Madrado, 2007). This shift has also meant that scholars have been able to move away from examining migrant subjectivities as increasingly linked to structural limitations, for example in the case of asylum seekers or refugees (Koser, 2007), and focus instead on the social agencies that migrants exert in everyday spaces (Brickell and Datta, 2011a).

Building on the concept of translocality, Conradson and McKay (2007) assert the term *translocal subjectivities* ‘to describe the multiply-located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields’ (p.168). A key element of this conception is the idea that the formation of migrant selfhood is often more

closely related to localities *within* nations than to nation-states themselves. They argue that national citizenship is typically a second-order framing of identity that comes to the fore when dealing with officials or relative strangers in international settings. For example, a lecturer from Cyprus working in the UK is likely to still identify with and maintain emotional affiliations to friends and family in their home village, while at the same time, they are identified as 'Cypriot' by co-workers and students at the university.

Thus, at the level of everyday experience and practice, it 'makes as much sense to think of trans-*local* as trans-*national* subjectivities' (Conradson and McKay, 2007:169). Another element of Conradson and McKay's translocal subjectivities are the emotional and affective states that accompany mobility. They acknowledge the significant emotional labour that is linked to international mobility which has been illustrated in feminist scholarship on the topic (see Yeoh *et al*, 2005 and Ho *et al*, 2015 for examples) and argue that the range of feelings that migrants experience as they move through and settle within places is a central area of study.

Following the structure used by Brickell and Datta (2011b) in their edited volume on translocal geographies, the studies discussed in earlier sections have drawn our attention to the importance of the everyday spaces of the home, the local neighbourhood and the city in the exploration of transnational/translocal activities. Migrant homes are connected to past, present and imagined 'homelands'; perspectives that Brickell and Datta (2011a) suggest locate the home in a range of localities. Therefore, the migrant home can be understood as translocal (as well as transnational) in the way it is shaped by consumption, social networks, home-building and a range of connections to

homes in other localities. Although focusing on return migration, Hatfield (2011) also advocates the significance of the physical home when researching the everyday lives of migrants, however she also emphasises the intertwining of home and family. She suggests that the relationship between home and family is often taken-for-granted, but that 'it is important to stress the significance of the physical locations' in which family relationships are 'created, maintained and developed' (p.65). Thus, more research is needed that focuses on family relationships and practices within the space of the home.

As we have seen, a number of studies have illustrated the significance of the neighbourhood (Ehrkamp 2006; 2013; Friesen *et al*, 2005; Burrell, 2014; 2016b). In relation to the translocal, Brickell and Datta (2011a) argue that neighbourhoods 'are not just localized receptors for transnational processes; they are substantive social forms in which local subjects are produced' (p.15). As was mentioned in Section 2.4, this can especially be seen in the development of distinctive enclaves by migrant communities as well as their appropriation of the local streetscape (Hall and Datta, 2010; Wise, 2011).

Following on from this, the third space that Brickell and Datta (2011a) engage with as sites of translocality are cities; they assert that 'cities are critical to the construction of migrant landscapes and the ways in which they reflect and influence migratory movements, politics, identities, and narratives' (p.16). As Christou (2011) acknowledges, a focus on everyday urban experience is essential in an exploration of the collective sense of belongingness of migrant communities. Indeed, cities can be viewed as sites of encounter between oneself and those who are different from oneself ('others') and therefore provide spatial contexts in which attitudes and behaviours towards others are developed

and practised (Brickell and Datta, 2011a). Thus, we need to move beyond more obvious spaces such as 'Little Italy' or 'Little China' to understand neighbourhoods that may be more hidden or nuanced and less obvious.

While the studies discussed in earlier sections mainly refer to the 'transnational', they draw our attention to the significance of the spaces of home, the neighbourhood and the city in the exploration of migrants' daily lives. For the most part, they explore these spaces as both situated and connected to other locations; a central element of a translocal approach. They focus on the activities and practices that migrants are involved in in the host society, but which are influenced by the mobilization of collective representations and imaginings of ethnicity, religion, nationality, or place of origin (Faist, 2000). The emphasis here is on viewing spatial processes and identities as place-based, rather than exclusively mobile, uprooted or 'travelling' (Oakes and Schein, 2006:20).

2.7 Summary

This review has identified some of the key ways in which understandings about migrant identities and belonging could be advanced. I have argued that there is much that can be learned from the study of transnational practices at a number of scales, including the home, the neighbourhood and the city; it is suggested that exploring these spaces as both situated and connected to other locations, that is exploring them as 'translocal', can add to our understandings of migrant lives and experiences. This will also add to our understanding of how particular spaces and places are significant in migrant identity constructions and formations (research question three).

I have also argued that there is a need for more research that investigates the engagement of migrant communities located in 'down-scale' cities with translocal social spaces and activities. Little academic work has explored how such communities attempt to retain their values and traditions, and whether they feel more at risk of losing their cultural identity compared to larger groups located in 'top-scale' cities. This thesis aims to advance our knowledge in this area using a Greek-Cypriot community as an example – a further under-researched group. An exploration of the family context provides one way of addressing these issues. It is to the family context that the following chapter now turns and what can be learned from exploring the concepts of identity and belonging at this level.

Chapter 3. Exploring identity and belonging in the context of the family

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter argued for the importance of transnational and translocal space in understandings of contemporary migration and identity. Further, it observed that work on migrant communities located in 'down-scale' cities, particularly of more 'invisible' populations, is relatively underdeveloped. In this chapter, I review work that has taken an intergenerational perspective in the study of identity and belonging and argue for a family-centred approach to this work. I also argue for the value of 'weak theory' as a way to deepen understandings of identity and belonging; this theory is particularly useful when conceptualising these ideas as fluid, open and changing, as I will demonstrate in the following sections.

Section 3.2 will discuss how an intergenerational approach has proved to be useful in studies of human geography. Following this, work on the second- (and to a lesser extent the third-) generation of migrants is discussed, and I identify the gap in relation to our understandings of third-generation migrant identities/belongings and their interactions with the transnational/translocal. I then outline one of the key areas in geography where an intergenerational approach has been taken, namely family geographies, and also how the sociological literature has informed work on families in geography. Section 3.5 then explores the two key concepts of the thesis, identity and belonging, and outlines how understandings of both have developed in the discipline. Finally,

Section 3.5.3 will discuss how 'weak theory' has been used to inform conceptualisations and to promote more fluid and hybrid thinking.

3.2 An intergenerational perspective

Over the past decade there has been increasing consensus that lifecourse 'matters' within the discipline of human geography (Bailey, 2009). Bailey (2009:1) suggests that lifecourse scholarship is interested in the often banal practices of everyday life and contributes to describing the 'structures and sequences of events and transitions through an individual's life'. Such transitions may include birth, death, partnering, separating and, with direct relevance to this project, migration events (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015). In addition, research that incorporates lifecourse perspectives is interested in how individuals and groups organise themselves in relation to others and, thus, how individuals' lives become linked (Bailey *et al*, 2004; Smart, 2005; Bailey 2009).

An appreciation of the linkages and entanglements of how lives are lived is particularly important when studying the family context; for example, co-ordinating the lives of multiple individuals within a single family unit may enable or delay the timing of migration (Bailey *et al*, 2004). The appreciation of these linkages and interactions goes some way in explaining why work that takes a lifecourse approach has become increasingly popular within family and migration studies in recent years (Kley, 2011); this section will take a chronological approach to briefly outline how the literature in this area has developed.

Almost ten years ago, research within lifecourse scholarship began to be criticised for tending to focus on the very young and, to a lesser extent, the very

old (Vanderbeck, 2007). Hopkins and Pain (2007:287) claim this is a typical tendency within geography whereby researchers tend to 'fetish the margins and ignore the centre'. To overcome this tendency, Hopkins and Pain argue that more relational geographies of age are needed, for example, more work on family linkages and interactions, as well as complexities and entanglements (Bailey *et al*, 2004; Hörschelmann, 2011). They go on to claim that 'intergenerationality is a keystone of these more relational geographies of age' and therefore, for the purposes of this study, an intergenerational perspective will refer to a focus on 'the relations and interactions between generational groups' (Hopkins and Pain, 2007:288). It is also important to remember that these relations and interactions, as well as their outcomes, are dynamic and can be studied at a number of scales; for example, from the level of the family, to wider public spaces/arenas (see previous chapter for discussion of these wider scales).

Moreover, intergenerationality can be viewed as an aspect of social identity and such identities are dynamic as interactions between different age groups or generations may vary (Edmunds and Turner, 2002). Intergenerationality is important in the way in which it helps us to understand how identities are socially constructed, for example, by acknowledging that what it is to be a child, is affected by individuals of other age groups. It is also important because it suggests that identities are 'produced through interactions with other age/generational groups and are in a constant state of flux' (Hopkins and Pain, 2007:289). Hence, by studying the interactions between different generational groups within the family and other settings, new layers can be added to our understandings of various social and cultural processes (Hopkins and Pain,

2008); including the construction and negotiation of identities. Therefore, it is anticipated that taking an intergenerational perspective in this study will yield interesting and valuable insights regarding senses of identity and belonging.

Since Hopkins and Pain's (2007) assertion that more intergenerational perspectives are needed in geographical research, a growing body of work has begun to address this gap (Pain, 2005; Holdsworth, 2007; Punch, 2007; Tarrant, 2010; Hopkins *et al*, 2011; Hörschelmann, 2011; Ní Laoire, 2011; Valentine *et al*, 2012; Mulder and Smits, 2013; Foner, 2014; Punch and McIntosh, 2014; Tyrrell *et al*, 2014; Cook and Waite, 2015; Powell, 2015; Vanderbeck and Worth, 2015). Tarrant (2010) advocates the usefulness of relational geographies of age, but argues transitions in later stages of the lifecourse still remain under-researched. To help move forward with intergenerational geographies, her research focuses on grandfathers and the relationships they form with their grandchildren. The findings reveal that these relationships are intersected by space and place and that an individual may 'negotiate their identity in different contexts' (Tarrant, 2010:194). For example, some of the grandfathers in her study articulate how their grandchildren make them feel young again and Tarrant (2010) suggests that this can contribute to a positive construction of an aged identity. It is noteworthy however, that a 'positive' construction entails feeling young again; this illustrates how youth remains the 'preferred' stage of the lifecourse for some. Furthermore, grandfathers who live at geographical distance from their grandchildren describe using alternative social spaces, for example, email and phone calls, to overcome the distance barrier and this becomes an important aspect of intergenerational interactions (Tarrant, 2010). This can also be linked to the growth of the use of information communication technologies (ICTs) in

facilitating transnational networks and communication. Tarrant argues that this study illustrates how geographies of lifecourse, family, identity and intergenerationality can be drawn together in a relational way to add to our understanding of these topics.

In relation to migration studies, a number of scholars have taken a lifecourse approach to explore both the decision-making processes before migration (Bushin, 2009; Clark *et al*, 2009; de Groot *et al*, 2011; Kley 2011; Stockdale *et al*, 2013; Mulder and Malmberg, 2014; Wagner and Mulder, 2015), as well as the consequences of immigration for families (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004; Baldassar, 2007; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Foner and Dreby, 2011). As was discussed in the previous chapter, one consequence of immigration has been the development of increased transnational ties between families in an attempt to maintain contact and intimacy across great distances (Yeoh *et al*, 2005; Eade and Smith, 2011; Boccagni, 2012). Analyses of transnational families highlight how linkages and interactions may occur through extended kin and family networks (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007), with more recent studies acknowledging the role that ICTs and social media play in this process (Panagakos and Horst, 2006; Benítez, 2012; Madianou, 2012; Tyrrell and Kallis, 2015; Baldassar *et al*, 2016).

The growing body of work on transnational families and interactions between the generations illustrates how intergenerationality has become a valuable tool through which the on-goings within migrant families and communities can be assessed and analysed. Despite the growth of interest in the interactions and relations between the generations however, there is still a need for more work on the third-generation, as the following section discusses.

3.3 The second- and third-generations

In earlier work, Vertovec (2001) observed that there were many unanswered questions surrounding the identities of second- and third-generation migrants in transnational contexts. It was noted that the 'processes and patterns conditioning the intergenerational succession and reproduction of transnational ties' still remain largely under-researched and under-theorised (Vertovec, 2001:573). While there has been an increase in work in geography and migration studies that goes some way in rectifying this gap and focuses on the second-generation (Cha, 2001; Min and Kim, 2005; Levitt and Waters, 2006; Levitt, 2009; Yiu, 2009; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Portes and Rivas, 2011; Wessendorf, 2013), work on the third-generation remains sparse.

One of the main topics of debate in this area is the extent to which transnationalism will persist among the second- (and to a lesser extent the third-) generation, and with what consequences (Kelly and Lusia, 2006; Levitt and Waters, 2006). As the second- and third-generations are expanding and are playing an increasingly important role in the social, economic and political life of their host countries and, in some cases, the countries that their families came from as well, they are a valuable group to study (Vertovec, 2001; Levitt and Waters, 2006).

Although the second-generation are raised in the host society, their home life may be largely shaped by the social and cultural norms of their parent's homeland. This hybrid mix of influences means there has been increasing interest in the identity formations of the second-generation (Dwyer, 2002; Hopkins, 2006; Christou, 2006; Mavroudi, 2010) and their involvement in transnational activity. Drawing on the work of Yiu (2009), Wessendorf (2013)

observes that work on second-generation transnationalism can be divided into two types of approach: the 'practice approach' and the 'process approach'. The 'practice approach' is largely focused on measuring the extent of transnational engagement among the second-generation and has employed mainly qualitative measures to do so. Generally, scholars have concluded there is declining transnational engagement among the second-generation, although a small minority continue to be involved (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Kasinitz *et al*, 2006; Rumbaut, 2006).

Alternatively, the 'process approach' is 'less interested in the extent of regular transnational activities', and has started to explore how the transnational lives of the second-generation's parents and co-ethnics shape their upbringing and their sense of belonging, as well as how members of the second-generation go through different stages of transnational involvement during the lifecourse (Wessendorf, 2013:2). This study will build on works that take a process approach by investigating the transnational and translocal engagement of not only the second-generation, but also the third- and whether their upbringings and the ways in which they achieve a sense of belonging change generationally.

Taking a process approach, Levitt (2009) explores how the transnational engagement of parents shapes their children's upbringings. She argues that transnational attachments are not necessarily confined to the first-generation of migrants, and when children are raised in households that are regularly influenced by 'people, objects, practices and know-how from their ancestral homes, they are socialised into its norms and values' (Levitt, 2009:1225). Her research on immigrants living in the Boston metropolitan area reveals how second-generation migrants are often raised in settings that reference the

homeland ideologically each day, and the first-generation use this national backdrop to construct gender norms and morals. This illustrates how the second-generation is situated between a number of competing 'generational, ideological and moral reference points, including those of their parents, their grandparents and their own real and imagined perspectives about their multiple homelands' (p.1238).

The influence of these competing reference points is further exemplified in Hopkin's (2006) research with second-generation young Muslim men living in Scotland. They describe the feeling of being caught between two cultures- the modern world of school and the traditional world of the home (Knott and Khokher, 1993). Like the young women in Dwyer's (2002) study (see Section 3.5.1), the young males find themselves negotiating a variety of competing identities in their everyday lives as they attempt to please their parents while also fitting in with others their age.

There has also been a certain degree of interest in the second-generation of Irish in England; that is the children of Irish-born parents. Particular attention has been paid to this group because, by some, they have been classed as an 'invisible' ethnic minority group (similar to Italians and Greeks in the UK), largely due to their 'white skin, local accents and assumed cultural similarities' (Hickman *et al*, 2005:161). These factors have led some to assume that the Irish migrant population easily assimilate and identify with the white English² population of the host country (Campbell, 1999; Hickman *et al*, 2005). This is not the case for the first-generation of migrants who are Irish-born, and whose

² I am aware that there is some contention regarding the use of the terms 'British' and 'English'. While 'British' is generally used in this thesis when discussing the academic literature, 'English' is used regarding the study of Irish migration to England. In discussion chapters, I have tried to reflect the language used by participants, and therefore the term used depends on whose narrative is being discussed.

strong accents and place of origin makes them more distinguishable within the host society.

Some of the research on the second-generation of Irish migrants has been concerned with the agency of individuals, exploring how they are engaged in securing their identities and not just as the recipients of wider structural processes (Hickman *et al*, 2005). As Campbell (1999) notes, much of the work on the second-generation of Irish migrants prior to his study had neglected to consider the possibility of these individuals possessing cultural *agency* and had focused on their cultural *passivity*. He argues that the notion of cultural passivity could be viewed as an inherent feature of the assimilationist theory, in that it 'assumes that the host culture will *act upon* the immigrant group (for example, by assimilating or incorporating them), while overlooking the possibility that the immigrant group may not only resist this, but that they may also *act upon* the host culture' (p.273).

Another study on the same generational group also challenges the assumption that Irish migrants have easily assimilated into English society. Participants in Hickman *et al*'s (2005) study discuss how they became aware of 'difference' in different social contexts and as children this difference was marked by 'accent, artefacts, habits, atmosphere, opinions, food, hospitality and sociability' (p.169). However, it is these cultural practices that are defined as distinctively 'Irish' and are often celebrated by participants. Nevertheless, a number of them struggled when they were asked how they would identify themselves and many of them affirmed half-and-half identities (half-Irish and half-English/British): a phenomenon termed 'hyphenated identities' (Giampapa, 2001; Belanger and Verkuyten, 2010; Raffaetà *et al*, 2016).

In an attempt to analyse the identifications of participants, the authors argue it is important to understand the multiple positions from which the second-generation Irish speak and rather than claiming they are 'caught between two cultures' they suggest that they are at 'the *intersection* of two hegemonic domains of rootedness, nation and authenticity with themselves constituted by their parents' migrancy and their own duality located in particular places' (p.173). These two domains are Ireland, which is represented by their upbringing and family-life, and England, which is represented by education, employment and locality (Hickman *et al*, 2005). The reference to their own duality as 'located in particular places' illustrates the notion of translocality (as mentioned in Section 2.6) and the way in which identities are often place-based, rather than exclusively mobile (Brickell and Datta, 2011a).

A phrase that is common among studies of the Irish second-generation is 'plastic Paddy'. The term came into popular use in the 1980s and was frequently articulated by new middle-class Irish migrants in England, who used it to refer to the English-born children of the previous wave of Irish immigrants (Campbell, 1999; Hickman *et al*, 2005). It highlights the view that if you are not born in Ireland, your claim to Irishness lacks authenticity and may be ridiculed. This essentialist monitoring of ethnic boundaries is not unique to the Irish though and there is evidence of this occurring among other ethnic groups (Charalambous *et al*, 1988). However as Morley and Robins (1993) rightly note, 'there can be no recovery of an authentic homeland...in a world that is increasingly characterized by exile, migration and diaspora' (p27). Hence it is now impossible for anyone to claim to be a 'pure' Irish or a 'pure' British.

Although the studies on Irish immigrants above have focused on the UK context, the second-generation of immigrants (from a number of countries) in the USA have arguably received the most attention in academic scholarship, especially within sociology (Foner and Dreby, 2011). A focal point of study has been intergenerational relations between the first- and second-generations in immigrant families and how these change over time. Studies have explored intergenerational conflict, which may be caused by a range of issues including: parental worries about the corrupting nature of mainstream American culture (Gibson, 1988; Lopez, 2003; Espiritu, 2001); parental pressure to marry within the ethnic group (Foner and Kasinitz, 2007; Kasinitz *et al*, 2008); high academic expectations of parents, reported most often in research on East Asian families (Wolf, 1997; Zhou, 2009); and the dependency of non-English parents on their children to be cultural brokers for translating and interpreting (Menjívar, 2000; Orellana *et al*, 2003; Orellana, 2009).

However, it must be acknowledged that an exploration of intergenerational relationships in immigrant families cannot be confined to a focus on conflict and the strong emotional ties that are created between family members must also be explored. As Foner and Dreby (2011) suggest, while some young people resent parental constraints, at the same time, they may feel a 'complex combination of affection, loyalty, gratitude, responsibility, and a sense of duty to their immigrant parents' (p.548). Moreover, many second-generation young people feel a sense of pride in their parents' culture of origin and admiration for the struggles their parents went through in order to make a better life for themselves and their children in the host society (see discussion in previous chapter (Section 2.4) regarding second-generation Mexican youth in Smith's

2006 study for an example). This cultural pride may be reinforced by involvement in ethnic community organisations (D'Alisera, 2009; Zhou, 2009).

The migration and sociological literature is increasingly analysing intergenerational relationships as fluid and changing, both according to changes in circumstances and changes across space, rather than as fixed or static (Kofman, 2004; Foner and Dreby, 2011; Cook and Waite, 2015). However, this is where there are still gaps in our understanding because, as Foner and Dreby (2011) observe, many members of the second-generation today are still young children, teenagers and young adults and hence, 'little has been written on relations with their immigrant parents as they move through the life course and set up families and households of their own or, in some cases, continue to live with their parents in extended family households' (p.549-550). This study aims to develop our understandings in this area, as several of the second-generation participants were adults who had both set up their own families and/or continued to live with their parents. It also investigates the relationships that develop among three co-resident generations, another gap identified by Foner and Dreby, and the relationships formed between grandparents and grandchildren in immigrant families.

Arguably the most distinct gap that this study goes some way in rectifying is the lack of research on the third-generation of migrant families. Because there are so few studies that take into account the experiences of the third-generation (Scourby, 1980; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Alba *et al*, 2002; Hammarstedt, 2009; Portes, 2009; Forero and Smith, 2011; Kim and Yoo, 2015) there is much that can be learned from the in-depth qualitative approach that this study takes to explore their life experiences and intergenerational family relationships. As

well as investigating the ways that family is 'done' across all *three* generations, it also explores the ways in which the third-generation construct their cultural identities and engage with transnational and translocal social spaces.

While research has focused on the extent to which trans-*national* engagement persists among later-generations, there has been less concern with their interactions with the trans-*local*. As was discussed in Section 2.6, the formation of migrant selfhood is often more closely related to localities *within* nations than to nation-states themselves (Conradson and McKay, 2007). It is these localities that are likely to be much more prominent in individuals' lives at the level of everyday experience and practice. Thus, while it has been assumed that transnational activity diminishes generationally (Portes, 2009), my empirical findings show how this is a complex issue that can both be challenged and supported and that the engagement of later-generations with trans-*local* activities and spaces must also be taken into consideration.

3.4 Family geographies

A key place where intergenerational relationships are played out is within families. As Vanderbeck (2007) notes, it is in studies of family migration that familial senses of intergenerationality finds expression perhaps most notably. However, the family has not always been at the forefront of geographical debate; indeed, Valentine (2008) argues that the family has remained an 'absent presence' within the wider discipline of geography. Up until this point, geographical work on the family was mainly focused on the role of women as mothers/carers and how this was affected by their growing participation in the formal labour market (England, 1996; Duncan and Smith, 2002; Pratt, 2003), although some advancements were being made in the study of family migration

(Halfacree, 1995; Boyle *et al*, 1999; Bailey and Boyle, 2004; Smith 2004; Mulder, 2007; Cooke, 2008). For example, earlier studies drew attention to the pluralistic nature of the family migration event (Halfacree, 1995) and this was followed, firstly, by an expansion of the study of family migration outside of the US context (Boyle *et al*, 1999; Smits, 1999; 2001) and secondly, by an examination of the temporal interdependencies between migration decision-making, employment and lifecourse events (Bailey and Cooke, 1998; Cooke, 2001; Bailey *et al*, 2004).

Building on Cooke's (2008:262) suggestion that studies of family migration 'should embrace the family as a central component of migration', Smith (2011) also calls for a spatial turn within family migration scholarship that investigates the 'intersectionalities of space, place, gender and other social relations' (p.2). Understanding the way these social relations interconnect is of fundamental importance to the study of family mobility. As was outlined in the previous chapter, this thesis aims to contribute to geographical understandings by taking into account the more *localised* spaces and places of the home, community and the neighbourhood and the ways in which members of migrant families engage with them. These localised spaces were chosen in order to examine individual interactions with *translocal* practices and activity, although they are viewed as both situated and connected to other locations.

Furthermore, linking with the work of Phillips and Robinson (2015), I suggest that place is not fixed and objective, but rather subjective and practiced, as well as personal to its users. Places must not only be understood as physical locations, but also as spaces with symbolic attributes; thus they are multi-layered, personal and imagined. Therefore, place can be conceptualised as

constructed and experienced through the lens of a number of factors, for example gender, ethnicity and age. Focusing particularly on the latter, an intergenerational perspective is valuable as 'construction and experiences of place are entangled with age and stage in the life course' (Phillips and Robinson, 2015:410). This perspective will therefore reveal whether there are differences in the way each generation of family members engages with local spaces and places. For example, young people may experience the space of the home very differently from the way older generations do.

While the studies of family migration mentioned above largely focus on the event of migration itself and the decision-making process that accompanies it, there has been a growing body of work within geography that is centred on the *everyday* interactions and practices that take place at the family scale (Harker and Martin, 2012; Pratt, 2012; Hall, 2016; Lulle and King, 2016). Hallman (2010) acknowledges that, although seemingly mundane or trivial, the activities of the everyday are 'inherently geographical' and 'rarely occur in isolation' (p.1) and that the ones we are most likely to interact with when conducting these activities are other family members. When contributing to a family geography centred on the 'web of family and community relations' (Aitken, 1998:17), Hallman (2010) suggests the aim is not to make universalising claims, but rather illuminate the complex and dynamic nature of families, and how 'the examination of the interactions between family members and the spaces and places of everyday life can inform our thinking about the interconnections between social, economic, and political relations across geographic scales' (p.2).

Thus, there is a need to investigate the everyday activities of family members and their interactions with other family and community members. These should

not just be limited to those between parent and children. Valentine (2008) asserts that there is a considerable gap in our knowledge regarding relationships between 'adult children and their adult parents; siblings; grandchildren and grandparents; and wider familial networks of aunts/uncles, cousins and step children/step parents' (p.2101). While some studies have begun to explore relationships between adult children and their parents (Hjälms, 2012; Feng *et al*, 2013; Gorman-Murray, 2015), grandchildren and grandparents (Tarrant, 2010; 2012; 2015; King-O'Riain, 2014; Zeng and Xie, 2014; Siordia, 2015; Kolk, 2016) and siblings (Punch, 2008; 2010; King, 2013), there still remains a dearth of studies that explore *wider* familial relationships and networks that include aunts/uncles, cousins and also godparents.

Earlier studies have illustrated the fluid and dynamic nature of ties between relatives (Ryan, 2011), both living in the same geographical destination and dispersed, and the ways in which family members provide help and support in many aspects of daily life such as caring for young children (Bailey *et al*, 2004) and the elderly (Baldassar, 2007; Powell, 2015), and providing information which helps to inform migration decisions (Boyd, 1989). However, there is still a need to understand the role that *wider* familial networks play in this context and how family networks operate at different stages of the lifecourse, and as Ryan (2011) observes, 'involving varied combinations of relatives' living both 'here and 'there' (p.84).

In the last decade, interest in the family has flourished in sociology, with a growing number of smaller-scale studies focusing on this area (Carling *et al*, 2002). Particular attention is paid to the diverse ways of living together, as many have digressed away from the 'traditional' nuclear family form since the 1960s

(May, 2011a). Often, migrant families are treated as one of these diverse forms due to the fact that members are likely to represent a social group that is geographically dispersed (Kofman *et al*, 2011; Ryan, 2011). This has led migrant families to be theorised as 'highly relative' rather than 'fixed entities' (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002:19), with members' notions of their family encompassing a range of relatives including distant cousins as well as fictive relatives such as godparents (Ryan, 2011). As Ryan (2011:84) asserts, these notions do not 'conform to simplistic constructions of the family as a conjugal unit', and thus, there is a need to examine these wider networks of kinships that individuals potentially place high value upon.

An important development in sociological research on the family is the focus on the 'doings' of family (Finch, 2007; Ryan *et al*, 2009; Ryan, 2011; Morgan, 2011; Holdsworth, 2013). Like Hallman's (2010) work within geography, this approach emphasises the importance of the everyday and the family practices that take place at the micro-level; this could include childcare arrangements, the preparation and consumption of food, as well as engagement with family traditions and rituals (Mason and Muir, 2013). It also asserts the idea of 'family' as a verb rather than a noun (Morgan, 1999), instigating a 'more fluid, ambiguous and transitional language around family' (Perlesz *et al*, 2006:176). Exploring the changing power relations between men and women (Thi Thao and Agergaard, 2012) as well as the changing relationship between family and religion (Bulanda, 2011) in this study can offer valuable insights into the diverse ways in which family is 'done'.

As well as this, according to sociologists such as Beck (1992) and Giddens (1992), Western societies have entered a 'late modern' era of 'de-

traditionalisation' and 'individualisation' that has led traditional social structures, such as gender, class and the family, to lose much of their influence (Duncan and Smith, 2006). As a result, individuals have become 'disembedded' (Giddens, 1991) from traditional roles and local contexts, leaving them with more freedom to choose how they wish to live their lives (May, 2011a). There are fewer fixed roles to follow and individuals are freer to choose with whom they wish to associate; to use Beck's phrase, individuals in contemporary society are free to construct a 'do-it-yourself' biography (1992). Holdsworth (2013) also asserts that, in an era of increased mobility, some writers have assumed an oppositional approach to family and mobility whereby the latter contributes to family decline.

These perspectives are part of the 'individualisation thesis' (Gillies, 2003; Holland *et al*, 2003; Smart, 2007; Holdsworth, 2013), part of which focuses on the formation of personal relationships, and Giddens (1992) argues that traditional close relationships based on kin and community obligations are being replaced by the pursuit of 'pure relationships'. According to Giddens (1992), these are based on romantic love, openness and trust and are entered into as part of the individual's pursuit of happiness, therefore they only last as long as they satisfy and are fulfilling for both partners. For example, there is less pressure on couples to get married in order to live together or have children and divorce is now a real option for married couples who are less obliged to stay in unsatisfactory relationships (Valentine, 2008; May, 2011a). All of these factors have led to moments of 'moral panic' in Western societies that the extended family has lost its significance (Mason, 2011).

One criticism of the individualisation thesis is that it fails to attend to empirical evidence which shows that, on the contrary, extended families still appear to play a very important role in people's personal lives and 'people do not 'float free' from their kin' (Mason, 2011:61). A number of studies have illustrated how relationships between and within households are highly important, with resources, care and support passing between relatives (Edwards *et al*, 2006; Milardo, 2010). Holdsworth (2013:4) also argues that an oppositional approach to family and mobility 'places too much emphasis on the social significance of propinquity and co-presence' and that mobility does not necessarily reduce social bonds between people, but rather creates, transforms and retains them. The ways in which these bonds are transformed and retained by members of the families in this study are explored in later chapters, particularly in Chapter Seven. As Valentine (2008) notes, family still remains a form of relationship that most people strive to achieve and are still attached to and the significance of intergenerational relations across the lifecourse should not be marginalised by Giddens' (1992) theory of 'pure relationships'.

While work within human geography that aims to understand familial connections, obligations and practices has started to grow, this study aims to add to our knowledge of intimate familial relationships; both in how they may ebb and flow over the lifecourse and have different meanings to different generations. As well as investigating familial relationships, it also aims to understand the 'doings' of family and how these practices influence identity formations and senses of belonging; indeed, this is not just a one-way process and one could argue that to understand family there is a need to understand

identity. It is to this concept that our attention is now turned and the ways it has been theorised by geographers.

3.5 Theorising identity and belonging

3.5.1 Cultural identity

The 'cultural turn' in geography started in the late 1980s and continued to gain disciplinary purchase in the following decades. While the signature concern of cultural geographers was the politics of representation and identity (Whatmore, 2006), towards the end of the 1990s the spatial concerns of cultural geographers became more central to cultural studies, as did the language of performance and performativity (Nash, 2000). The notion of performance is especially significant to those concerned with understanding the construction of social identity; indeed Gregson and Rose (2000) assert that it is 'crucial'.

Focusing on the study of identity, recent works have stressed the idea that an individual's identity can be defined by how people see themselves and how they perceive they are seen by others (Stanley, 2012; Krajewski and Blumberg, 2014). There may be inconsistencies between the two, leading one to negotiate their identity in different spatial contexts. With regards to 'cultural identity' more specifically, while it is not possible to provide a single, overarching definition of the term, I will follow Hall's (1996:2) suggestion that cultural identification is 'constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal'. In this sense, identities can be performed, and because this performance is dependent on the social and spatial context, they are also relational (Butler, 1990; 1993; Bell, 1999). As Ehrkamp (2005) asserts, individuals (and indeed migrants) are active

agents who are able to constantly negotiate their identities in relation to multiple spaces.

Many of the writings on identity and performativity are inspired by Butler's (1990; 1993) work on the body and her theories of the performance of gender and sexuality. She problematises the notion that one belongs to a sex or gender, because gender is performatively produced (Bell, 1999). Butler (1990:25) argues that gender is 'always a doing' and she goes on to exemplify this with the exploration of the use of language and specifically with reference to the term 'woman'. She suggests that 'woman is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end' (p.33).

Furthermore, she expresses how the repeated performances of expected behaviours establish regulatory practices for individuals and with regards to gender, it is the 'repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being' (Butler, 1990:33). Hence, gender is an identity which becomes instituted by the repetition of these acts and the 'reiteration of a norm or set of norms' (Butler, 1993:12). Drawing on Butler's theory of the performance of gender, Bell (1999:3) reiterates the notion that 'identity is the effect of performance and not vice versa'.

While a number of studies on the performance of gay and lesbian identities have drawn on Butler's theoretical framework (Bell *et al*, 1994, Valentine, 1993), more recent work has begun to think about the performance of nationhood and ethnic identities (Nash, 2000; Sullivan, 2012). These recent studies pay particular attention to the performance of belonging and the ways in which belonging can be viewed as an achievement (Bell, 1999). Fortier (1999)

explores the effects of forms of performative belonging within an Italian community in London, and the ways in which they can work to 'maintain religious affect and community' (Bell, 1999:3). Just as Butler de-naturalises or problematises gender, Fortier (1999) argues that she too wants to de-naturalise ethnicity. Her work ties in with other studies on migrant communities (Ehrkamp, 2005; Ziemer, 2010), and the ways in which they strive to create a sense of belonging in their host country; these studies and the 'process of belonging' are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Similarity and difference are key components of identity; similarity suggests certain groups share 'common identities' while they are different to other groups at the same time (Hopkins, 2010). Moreover, van Hoven (2004) suggests that it is more suitable to imagine that there are multiple identities of a person, depending on who is giving the definition. Drawing on Hall's (1989:73) exploration of identity, I would suggest that it is not something that is done 'once and for all', but is constantly negotiated and renegotiated. Thus it does not remain fixed and static, but is fluid, changing and relational (Dwyer, 1999; Walter *et al*, 2002; Leyshon and Bull, 2011; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; Scully, 2012; Zhang, 2014; Kaplan and Chacko, 2015).

The notion of identity as fluid has become particularly relevant to contemporary studies of migration and the increased rates of migration and mobility, at multifarious scales, have resulted in heightened awareness of issues that migrants face in relation to identity formations. In migration scholarship on identity, the extent to which the cultural identity of the 'homeland' is maintained across successive generations after resettlement of the first-generation has become a key area of interest (Dwyer, 1999; 2000; 2002; Hopkins *et al*, 2011;

King *et al*, 2011b). However, while there is a vast body of work on the identity constructions of the second-generation of migrants, scholarship on the third-generation remains sparse. Therefore, this thesis builds on the existing literature by providing an in-depth exploration of the construction of the cultural identities of *three* generations of families. To date, our understanding of the identity formations of the third-generation is still limited.

An important idea to consider in the investigation of the identity constructions of the second- and third-generations is that of 'ethnic choice'. Waters (1990) argues that the ethnicity of individuals of later migrant generations and of mixed ancestry does not necessarily have to influence their lives unless they *want* it to- because they are able to invoke 'ethnic choice'. Following the work of Herbert Gans (1979), she suggests that 'later-generation white ethnics may have merely a "symbolic identification" with their ancestry' and that this can be viewed as 'more or less a leisure-time activity' (Waters, 1990:7). She gives the example of individuals who identify as Irish on specific occasions such as Saint Patrick's Day. In this sense, ethnicity becomes a subjective identity that can be invoked at will by the individual (Waters, 1990).

This notion of 'ethnic choice' has been taken up by Sullivan (2012) who explores the role of performance and performativity in the construction of ethnicity amongst learners of the Irish language in North America. Participants in his study may be removed from their ancestor's migration experience by many generations, yet they continue to 'construct and maintain an Irish identity' (Sullivan, 2012:431). This is achieved by learning the Irish language and participating in what is perceived to be authentic and traditional Irish activities, such as music, dance and Catholic mass (Sullivan, 2012). In this sense,

participants are consciously 'performing' their Irish identities, and these performances are based on a 'discourse of Irishness constructed from the repetition of the mundane and everyday activities of Irish ethnicity that are embedded in an individual's unconsciousness' (Sullivan, 2012:431). The participants are invoking 'ethnic choice'; that is, they are *choosing* to emphasise their ethnic identity, despite the fact they come from mixed ancestries, and sometimes even erase other ethnicities from their memory that may have existed in the past.

This manipulation of an ancestral past links with Hall's (1990) suggestion that cultural identities are not fixed, but rather dynamic processes that are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power (Sullivan, 2012). Hall (1992:291) is particularly concerned with national identities and asks 'what is happening to cultural identity in late modernity?' His argument is that we are not born with national identities; they are formed and transformed in relation to representation. A nation is something that produces meanings, for example, we know what it means to be British because of the way this is represented- it is a 'system of cultural representation' (Hall, 1992:291).

Hall's argument emphasises the notion of identity construction as a dynamic process; this is noticeable in earlier work as he states 'cultural identity...is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being"' and he draws attention to the way in which identities do not already exist, rather they 'come from somewhere' (1990:225). This suggestion that cultural identities are emerging and often in transition has gained traction within migration studies. Hall (1992) uses the notions of 'tradition' and 'translation' to conceptualise this idea. 'Tradition' refers to an individual's roots and the lifestyle of their homelands, whereas 'translation'

describes the identity formations of people who have been dispersed from their homelands (Hall, 1992). Such people must adjust to the new culture that they inhabit yet often they retain strong links with the traditions of their homelands.

Linked with this idea, Gilroy (1987) argues these individuals are the products of the new diasporas which are created by migrations. According to Walter (2001:206) diaspora 'involves feeling "at home" in the area of settlement while retaining significant identification outside it'. In this sense, diaspora is a type of social consciousness, locating individuals in multiple cultural spaces (Brubaker, 2005; Levitt and Waters, 2006; Mavroudi, 2007). Whilst dispersed peoples are separated from their homelands geographically, 'modern technologies of transport, communication, and labour migration' make the possibility of increased border relations with the old country much more achievable (Clifford, 1994:304). As well as connecting multiple communities of a dispersed population, Clifford (1994) argues that, through the 'continuous circulation of people, money, goods, and information' (Rouse 1991:14), separate places effectively become a single community. Diasporans can also recreate their imaginations of the homeland in various ways; there is much research that explores how food is ritualised by individuals, for example, in order to recreate the imagined homeland whilst living in diaspora (Rabikowska, 2010; Brown 2011; Janowski 2012).

Gilroy uses the example of black culture within the UK to explore diaspora cultures. He observes that while 'blacks have been structured into the mechanisms of this society in a number of different ways,' they have also contributed to urban British culture with their style of music, dress, dance and fashion (Gilroy, 1987:154). This highlights how they maintain links with their

roots – their ‘tradition’ – while adjusting to life in the UK, their identities become ‘translated’. As roots *and* routes are both blended together, Gilroy (1987) suggests that alternate public spheres are constructed; these are forms of community consciousness that maintain identifications outside of the national space in order to live inside, but with a difference (Clifford, 1994).

Hence the black diaspora in the UK is striving for different ways to be ‘British’; to be British *and* something else that is related to Africa and the Americas, ‘to shared histories of enslavement, racist subordination, cultural survival, hybridization, resistance, and political rebellion’ (Clifford, 1994:308). This example illustrates the political struggles that diasporic communities may experience due to their historical context of displacement (Clifford, 1994). Thus it is no longer sufficient to speak of a linear narrative of migration with a simple ‘homeland’ and host country, rather this distinction between here and there becomes blurred as cultures become hybridised or indeed transnational (Ahmed *et al*, 2003).

Hybrid identities are perhaps more significant for second- and third-generation migrants. In more recent migration research, a growing number of studies have examined the ways in which younger first- and second-generation migrants in the UK negotiate their identities in everyday life (Campbell, 1999; Dwyer, 1999; 2000; 2002; Walter *et al*, 2002; Hickman *et al*, 2005; Hopkins, 2006; Hopkins, 2007; Hopkins *et al*, 2011; King *et al*, 2011b). The identity formations of such individuals are not necessarily fixed within one national space, but are characterised by ‘complicated crossovers and cultural mixes’ (Hall, 1992:310).

As was mentioned in Section 3.3, this mix of cultural influences has led members of the second-generation to re-work discourses of belonging so that

they affirm 'hybrid' or 'hyphenated' identities (Giampapa, 2001; Belanger and Verkuyten, 2010; Raffaetà *et al*, 2016). In her study of British-born daughters of parents who migrated from Pakistan, Dwyer (2002) explores the notion that specific identities may be prioritised, depending on the situation. She discusses the ways in which the 're-imagining' of 'new' British Muslim identities has 're-worked discourses of belonging' for second-generation migrant teenagers (Dwyer, 2002:186). Her interviewees affirm 'hybrid' identities for these young people, where they assert that they are both British and Asian, without simply choosing one or the other (Dwyer, 2000; 2002).

The term 'hybridity' has been used within a number of academic arenas, ranging from sociology to performance studies (Kraidy, 2005). Indeed from a sociological perspective, Anthias (2001) notes that the term hybridity (and also diaspora) opens up new spaces within the exploration of ethnicity and migration. This is achieved by an emphasis on linking the past and present experiences of transnational migrants and critiquing 'static notions of ethnicity and culture' (Anthias, 2001:620).

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the notion of hybridity is controversial and has been critiqued on a number of counts (Young, 1995; McDowell, 1999; Anthias, 2001). Ahmad (1995) points out that intellectual discourses of hybridity sharply contrast with the daily lives of millions of people whose efforts are concentrated on securing the basic conditions to survive in. Moreover Kraidy (2005) notes that, as hybridity has been used within such a vast range of disciplines, it now means many different things to many different people in many different contexts. When this occurs, a concept no longer retains any meaning

and it could be argued that 'hybridity's extreme polysemy has in effect morphed it into a floating signifier' (Kraidy, 2005:66).

Yet, despite this criticism, hybridity still appears to be an appealing concept for migration scholars, as is evidenced by the number of academics continuing to use the term in their work on the identity formations of migrants and their children (Boltagici, 2004; Kraidy, 2005; Plaza, 2006; Smith and Leavy, 2008; Hattatoglu and Yakushko, 2014; Van Laer and Janssens, 2014). McDowell (1999) acknowledges the criticisms of 'hybridity', but still describes it as 'provocative' due to its emphasis on transformation and the possibility of the formation of new identities. As Young (1995:26) notes, hybridity makes 'difference into sameness and sameness into difference... inducing them into 'an apparently impossible simultaneity'.

So while there is a growing body of literature that views the identities of the second-generation as hybrid and mixed, as well as performed and performative, less is known about the ethnic identities of the third-generation. This study will develop understandings by exploring the extent to which the homeland identity is maintained across three generations and whether members of the third-generation also affirm hybrid and/or hyphenated identities; the ways in which these are constructed; and how they are performed.

3.5.2 Migrant belongings

While the home was discussed in the previous chapter as an important space where transnational activity occurs, it is also an important space in which identity is performed (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Holton and Riley, 2016). Indeed, the family home is the starting point of forming ethnic identities (Georgiou, 2001)

with its 'family relations and moral values' (Evergeti, 2006:352). Thus the movement of migrants means that home is often re-established 'as senses of belonging and identity move over space and are created in new places' (Blunt and Dowling, 2006:2). This movement over space and cross-over of cultures may lead migrants to feel the need to negotiate their multiple, and sometimes conflicting, identities in their everyday lives. Such ways of thinking about identity and belonging challenge the concept of home as fixed and static (Dwyer, 2002), with the places migrants have come from, gone to and travelled through being recognised as having importance (Bushin *et al*, 2007).

In a number of disciplines, there has been a rapid growth of research on the experience and meaning of home in the past three decades (Blunt and Varley, 2004; Mallet, 2004; Blunt, 2005; Walsh, 2006). The home is more than just a material space, it does not merely exist; home is something that is created by humans through social and emotional relationships (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). As Holton and Riley (2016:626) observe, 'the home is a place in which a variety of social and spatial practices are carried out, from intimacy, closeness and desire to isolation, brutality and fear'. Often a distinction is made between public and private spaces, but the home is a site where these two spheres intersect and a move beyond their separation must be made (Blunt and Varley, 2004). Home is experienced by people in many different ways; 'as concrete fixed locations, as specific practices and routines, as social relationships, or as emotional connections and symbolic concepts' (Wiles, 2008:122). Individuals may experience one or more of these forms of home at different points in their life, thus highlighting the need for a more mobile conception of home (Rapport and Dawson, 1998).

Closely related to the concept of home or perhaps inseparable from it, is the feeling of belonging, or what Walsh (2006:126) calls, 'a sense of home'. Walsh (2006:125) argues that home can be used to describe both a 'space of imagined belonging' as well as a lived space. The term belonging encapsulates an individuals' longing for some form of attachment, 'be it to other people, places, or modes of being... a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than positing of identity as a stable state' (Probyn, 1996). Once again, in a world of movement, a narrative of identity is used where it is not perceived as stable or fixed, as individuals are constantly yearning to achieve this 'sense of home' and thus, linking back to the idea that identities are constantly in transition, as being made and re-made (Hall, 1992). As Rapport and Dawson (1998:8) note, feelings of home and belonging bring together 'memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global'. Their point emphasises the different scales of home and how feelings of belonging can be connected to different spaces, from a household to a nation, or in the case of migrant families, this feeling of belonging may stretch across transnational space (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Blunt and Varley, 2004).

In their study of the performance and practices of belonging, geographers have highlighted the complex link between belonging (or not-belonging) and space or place (Ehrkamp and Leitner, 2006; McCreanor *et al*, 2006; Valentine and Skelton, 2007; Nelson and Hiemstra, 2008). For example, Ehrkamp (2005; 2006; 2013) explores the ways in which Turkish immigrants living in the German neighbourhood of Duisburg-Marxloh create places of belonging. She suggests that we must conceptualise the identities of migrants as constantly negotiated in

relation to multiple places in order to recognise them as agents who are able to 'forge their belonging and multiple attachments' (Ehrkamp, 2005:348).

Ehrkamp (2005) turns her focus to the 'new places' that immigrants create in their transnational and local practices and how they can transform the urban landscape of contemporary cities. She observes how the landscape has been transformed by the transnational consumption practices of the group via stores selling Turkish products, for example, and communal places such as mosques and teahouses. These transformations reflect transnational ties as well as an attachment to the local neighbourhood through immigrants' investment in it (Ehrkamp, 2005). Moreover, Ehrkamp (2005) suggests that a focus on place reveals the differences and conflicts that may exist between individuals and/or groups with opposing political and cultural views.

There has also been an emergence of writings on belonging within feminist scholarship as well as a very critical literature on the home and family (Lawson, 2007; Gibson-Graham, 2011). In more recent work, Ehrkamp (2013) has focused on the experiences of younger migrant women and how they manoeuvre public and private spaces in their everyday lives, while both challenging and affirming the patriarchal and gender norms imposed on them by their families. None of the young women interviewed experienced explicit prohibitions imposed on them by immediate relatives, but fear of embarrassing their families and being the subject of gossip among older women in the community deterred them from behaviour which could be deemed as 'inappropriate' (Ehrkamp, 2013).

Similarly, the Armenian girls living in Russia who participated in Ziemer's (2010) study describe similar experiences of gossip being used as a social control and

it is argued that this highlights the importance of gender identity in their everyday lives. Young women are viewed as 'keepers of the culture' and thus their behaviour comes under 'intense scrutiny' from other members of the Armenian society (Ziemer, 2010:693). Both Ehrkamp's (2005; 2013) and Ziemer's (2010) studies link back to earlier discussion on the performance of identity (Butler, 1990; 1993) (Section 3.5.1) and in particular we can see the performance of ethnicity and belonging by migrant individuals. The young women behave in a way that is deemed appropriate and thus they repeatedly perform expected behaviours.

As mentioned earlier, Fortier's (1999) exploration of the performative acts of an Italian community in London brings together some of the ideas relating to the ways in which immigrants can create a sense of belonging in their host country. Her study is based on daily life at St Peter's Italian church, which Fortier (1999) argues, plays a key role in the formation of an Italian presence in London. Leaders of St Peter's set themselves the aim of 'preserving' the community and therefore they vocalise its enduring presence (Fortier, 1999). The highly ritualised movements that individuals perform at Catholic mass and the repetition of acts help to cultivate a sense of belonging (Bell, 1999; Fortier, 1999).

Once again, gendered ethnicities become apparent as well as a patriarchal regime of knowledge; the universality of male authority naturalises the different positions of men and women and forms the foundations for deeply held beliefs about gender differences and responsibility (Fortier, 1999). Furthermore, the different positions of men and women become evident at an annual procession and during first communion ceremonies. For example, in a booklet circulated at

the 1993 procession in honour of the Madonna, a section of text expresses how the 'location of 'woman' is not a thing of her own', but is contingent on that of a father, husband and son (Fortier, 1999:51). Fortier goes on to suggest that the individual bodies that circulate St Peter's are 'projected into a structure of meaning that precedes them and re-members them into gendered definitions of identity and becoming' (1999:59). Thus gender is an ongoing practice, one that is always a doing (Butler, 1990).

This thesis builds on the existing literature by examining the ways in which *three* generations of migrants forge their multiple senses of belonging and attachments and how this may change across the generations. Moreover, while the works that are mentioned above have illustrated how young women from the first- and second- generations may both challenge and affirm the patriarchal and gender norms that are imposed on them by their families and members of the wider community, this study will investigate whether women in the third-generation have had similar experiences or whether the value placed on traditional patriarchal norms has begun to diminish.

3.5.3 Conceptualising identity and belonging

As the previous section has shown, in an era of transnational migration, issues of belonging are back on the agenda (Antonsich, 2010). Belonging is particularly important in work that tries to conceptualise place and migrant identities in a more integrated way (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015). And as the previous chapter illustrated, transnational and translocal approaches have been particularly helpful in 'foregrounding concepts such as 'belonging' and 'home' that allow the relationship between place and immigrant identity to be understood in more nuanced ways' (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015:84). This has

been helpful in overcoming what Antonsich (2010) identifies as the uncritical conflation of the concept of belonging with the notion of identity.

More recently, Wright (2015) has drawn attention to the complexities of belonging and suggests the term is 'at once slippery and axiomatic, flexible and self-evident' (p.391). She suggests that in order to deepen understandings of belonging, while remaining open to its contradictions and inconsistencies, we should use 'weak' or 'minor' theory (Tomkins, 1963; Katz 1996, Stewart, 2008). Weak theory sees things 'as open, entangled, connected and in flux'; rather than closing down matters and striving to get things 'right', it is open to possibilities and surprises; it 'ponders connections and trajectories, and wonders what ways of knowing, of heeding and caring about things, are possible' (Wright, 2015:392).

Although discussing it in relation to rural studies, Cloke (2006) argues that such theories are valuable because of the way that they are 'less totalizing, less judgemental, less certain, more fluid' (p.26). That is not to say that minor or weak theory means 'no' theory, but is to suggest that they are more open to the ambiguities and complexities of notions such as belonging and identity, which call for them to be understood in more nuanced ways (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Wright *et al*, 2016). Hence weak (or minor) theory offers scope for more 'effective theoretical hybridization' which allows for a range of perspectives to be combined (Cloke, 2006:26).

Wright (2015) goes on to argue that drawing on weak theory in the study of belonging has several implications. Firstly, weak theory, with its focus on emotion and affect, suggests a need to attend to the emotional dimensions of belonging and how belonging is constituted through emotional attachments

(Antonsich, 2010; Wood and Waite, 2011; Yuval-Davis, 2006; 2011). It must be stressed that emotions are relational (Ahmed, 2004) and 'exist between people both as individuals and collectives, between people and things, and between people and places' (Wright, 2015:398). Because of this, belonging as an emotion is crucial in bringing people together (and apart) and, as a result, establishing the collective through shared sentiment.

Secondly, weak theory points to the more-than-human processes of attachment through which belongings are constituted (Stewart, 2008; Wright, 2015). This points to the importance of processes of belonging as well as the performance of belonging (Wright *et al*, 2016). In this sense, belonging is 'actively created through the practices of a wide range of human and more-than-human agents, including animals, places, emotions, things and flows' (Wright, 2015). This draws our attention to the everyday practices that migrants engage in and, similar to the way identities are performed (Section 3.5.1), how belonging is performed in different contexts (Bell, 1999; Fortier, 1999; Adams, 2009; Mee and Wright, 2009).

Because this study draws together a range of conceptual ideas and perspectives, and is interested in the less bounded and more ambivalent processes of identity and belonging, weak theory is used as a theoretical framework to guide ideas in later chapters. It allows for a more fluid and open approach to the study of these concepts and is therefore more accommodating to the unexpected (Cloke, 2006; Stewart, 2008).

3.6 Summary

This chapter has focused in on the concepts of identity and belonging by tracing how understandings of them have evolved in geography. I have argued that, in order to allow for the complexities and ambiguities surrounding the notions to emerge, and in an attempt to capture the ways in which they are both performed and a becoming, weak theory can be used as a valuable theoretical framework. I have also asserted that a focus on the family allows for a range of issues to be addressed in relation to identity and belonging. However I have suggested that, while understandings of familial connections, obligations and practices has started to develop in the discipline, there is still much scope to expand our knowledge of intimate familial relationships and the diverse ways in which family is 'done'. Linking back to my second research question, this study will therefore investigate how these family practices influence identity formations and senses of belonging.

Taking an intergenerational perspective in the study of the family is valuable as it allows for these connections, interactions and complexities to emerge. It is also valuable because it reveals the way in which these practices change across the generations. The chapter has argued that, although there is a growing body of work on the second-generation, there is still a lack of research that takes into account the *third*-generation of migrants; there is a need to develop our knowledge regarding not only their cultural identifications and feelings of belonging (research question one), but also their engagement with transnational and translocal activity and social spaces. The following chapter will now turn our attention to the methodological approach that was taken in order to explore these themes.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach that was taken in order to achieve the aim of the thesis. While the overarching aim was to investigate the ways senses of identity and belonging are constructed in a Greek-Cypriot community, the research questions also aimed to explore the extent to which family practices influence this as well as what spaces and places become significant in the process. It was decided that an ethnographic approach was best suited to meeting this aim and this chapter provides a detailed description and evaluation of the methods used to collect, analyse and present data.

The fieldwork was carried out over an extended period in the city of Plymouth, from June 2014 until October 2015, although interactions with the community under study are still on-going (see Section 4.2.3). During this period I immersed myself in community life by attending Sunday Liturgy³ at the Greek Orthodox Church and staying behind afterwards for coffee and cake; helping out with Greek School classes on Saturdays and attending other events organised by the two institutions, as well as visiting family homes for dinner/birthday parties when I was invited. These occasions offered an insight into some of the social practices and interactions taking place among the local ethnic community, and provided a more in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of individuals.

³ I alternate between the terms 'Liturgy' and 'service' to refer to the 'Divine Liturgy' which is held by Orthodox churches on Sundays. It is the primary public form of Orthodox Christian worship and when the Eucharist is celebrated- Holy Communion with God in Christ (Russian Orthodox Church of Three Saints, 2016).

As well as the participant observations at the above settings, qualitative interviews were conducted with both adults and children. My overarching aim was to interview members of three generations of each family (the issue of defining 'generation' is discussed in Section 4.3.3). Qualitative interviewing was considered most suitable for exploring participants' experiences and perspectives, and the wider webs of meaning and social structures they are located within (Hoggart *et al*, 2002). The data collected from the observations contextualised interview narratives, but also served as the basis for discussion on several occasions and thus, the two methods complimented each other well and each enhanced the information that was derived from the other.

Throughout the chapter, I highlight my position as both a researcher and a third-generation Greek-Cypriot female. I feel a number of interesting methodological points arose during the completion of the research project in relation to the negotiation of 'insider' status (Merriam *et al*, 2001). These shall be detailed throughout the chapter in an effort to provide a reflexive account that aims to understand the effect that I, as a researcher, have had on the data that were collected.

4.2 Ethnography and positionality

4.2.1 An ethnographic approach

In an attempt to understand what ethnography is and how it can be geographical, Cloke *et al* (2004) observe that it is useful to return to its Greek roots (this is also rather fitting with regards to my own specific project!). While geography translates to 'earth-writing', ethnography literally means 'people-writing' (Hoggart *et al*, 2002) and it typically involves the researcher participating in people's daily lives for an extended period of time 'watching what happens,

listening to what is said, asking questions- in fact, whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:1).

These close observations of the group's daily activities aim to unearth actions and processes that the group takes for granted (Herbert, 2000). Mason (2002) argues that such an approach is both exciting and important because we are engaging with matters that really matter. As Hine (2000) observes, the popularity of qualitative methodologies like ethnography 'is based on their strong appeal as ways of addressing the richness and complexity of social life. The emphasis on holism in ethnography gives it a persuasive attraction in dealing with complex and multi-faceted concepts like culture, as compared with more reductive quantitative techniques' (p.42). Thus, an ethnographic approach is highly suited to the aim of this thesis, which seeks to investigate the complex notions of cultural identity and belonging as well as the social practice of 'doing family'.

Ethnographic research may involve a variety of possible methods; Cook and Crang (1995) identify four of the most popular as participant and non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, group discussions, and documentary materials. There are some writers, however, who claim that participant observation is the pivotal point of ethnographic research (Herbert, 2000; Bryman, 2016) and class interviews as a separate qualitative method. This highlights the complexities involved in pinning down a precise definition of ethnography. For clarity, ethnography is used in this thesis to refer to in-depth interviewing and participant observation.

As well as a first-hand experience of people in their everyday lives, two of the other key features of ethnographic studies are that they take place in 'everyday' contexts i.e. they are not 'contrived or modified by the observer' (Sherman and Webb, 1988:80) and the participants 'include a small number of cases, a group of people or single cases' (Simpson, 2014:105) in order to facilitate a rich and detailed account of those being studied. These characteristics are acknowledged in this study; the research was conducted within the local Greek Orthodox Church and School and to some extent, within family homes. These could be described as 'natural' settings insofar as they were not contrived or modified by the researcher, however my presence there would undoubtedly have had some influence over some actions. Immersing myself in these settings allowed me to gain insights from first-hand experience and my participants constitute a small group of people.

These settings were also chosen because numerous works have asserted the role that communal organisations and places play in constructing and maintaining ethnic identities (Nagar and Leitner, 1998; Georgiou, 2001; Leung, 2004; Fortier, 2006; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010). As well as this, it has been observed that they also offer a space where collective memory and nostalgia can be experienced and where migrants can enact and experience collective affective belonging abroad (Leung, 2004). Therefore I felt that, to understand fully how members of the ethnic community construct their cultural identity and senses of belonging, it was essential to spend time at such communal places and to investigate the ways in which identities are reproduced and negotiated there. I am aware that such spaces both include and exclude individuals in certain ways and so I actively sought to recruit those who had little or no

engagement with these spaces as interview participants (as well as those who did) in order to gain insights into the wide range of experiences of members of the ethnic group living in the city (Smith, 2006).

In most cases, ethnographers enter the field with a *general* interest in exploring particular social phenomena, rather than with the aim of testing specific hypotheses about them (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1995; Herbert, 2000; Mason, 2002). Ethnographers often allow social order to reveal itself during the course of their extended fieldwork (Eyles, 1988) and hence, theory is built from the ground up; one specific approach which uses this inductive model of data collection and analysis is often referred to as the grounded-theory tradition (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and it was this tradition that inspired data analysis (however it has not been used fully or in its original form). In contrast to the deductive model, a simplistic inductive approach suggests an entrance 'to the research setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible' (Glaser, 1978:3).

While I aimed to take an inductive analytical approach, it must be noted that I began my fieldwork having completed a thorough search and review of the relevant literature and this theory informed the initial research questions. This theory also partly informed the deconstruction of the themes that emerged during the initial stages of analysis. However, as I was taking a 'weak' theoretical approach I tried to be as open as possible to the unexpected as well as to the ambiguities and complexities of the notions of identity and belonging. This meant I remained open to the contradictions and inconsistencies that emerged during interview narratives and observations and embraced them, rather than trying to 'shut them out' as it were. Thus, during data collection and analysis, new themes were revealed that had not emerged in the literature

review. Embracing weak theory therefore, allowed for a less bounded and less totalising conceptualisation of the key concepts. Hence, a largely inductive approach was taken (more on this in Section 4.4).

Using weak theory also prompted me to attend to two particular aspects of individual lives during data collection. Firstly, it prompted me to attend to the *emotional* dimensions of individual narratives and the ways in which belonging (both to people and places) was constituted through emotional attachments. Secondly, I was incited to attend to the ways in which belonging and identity were *performed* in the daily lives of participants, particularly in different contexts. While the in-depth interviews were helpful in revealing the former, participant observations were especially useful in revealing the latter aspect. Thus, the ethnographic approach was well-suited to attending to these particular facets of social life.

It is also important to acknowledge that ethnography is not without its critiques and to note the ways in which I have attempted to overcome what some may class as the inherent 'disadvantages' of this particular methodology. Because of its focus on a single or very small number of cases, the question of the generalisability of ethnography is sometimes raised (Herbert, 2000). As my project is focused on a single Greek-Cypriot community in the UK⁴, one may question the generalisability of my results. However my aim is not to achieve general theories with a claim to universal validity, but rather contextualised explanations which are of local applicability and focused relevance (Bude, 2004).

⁴ The community is single in the sense that it is geographically located in a specific urban area, however the notion of community is unpicked in following chapters and the idea that it is 'singular' is deconstructed.

Moreover, while there are few published works on Greek-Cypriot communities in the UK living outside of London, those located beyond the capital are still worthy of study as interesting similarities and differences may be found between these smaller communities and the larger populations living in London. While quantitative methods such as large-scale surveys and census analyses may be more generalisable, they are 'contextually impoverished; they say little about how place matters in the enaction of social life' (Herbert, 2000:561). A smaller-scale, in-depth study like the one presented here, is able to explore how broader social dynamics and processes are made real and affect the everyday lives of individuals (Mason, 2002).

Furthermore, there are some writers who claim that ethnographic research is the least 'scientific' of the research approaches (Rengert, 1997) and question whether it has the potential to produce 'value-neutral' and 'objective' social research (Herbert, 2000). They argue this is because ethnography relies on the interpretation of the individual researcher and thus contains a great deal of subjectivity (Rengert, 1997). However this critique has been very valuable as it has pushed ethnographers to be explicit about the bases upon which they make interpretive claims, which in turn helps to justify their conclusions (Herbert, 2000). Throughout the thesis and particularly in this chapter, I will engage openly with my own positionality and be reflexive about the research process (Hoggart *et al*, 2002).

My background as a university educated, young woman, raised in a middle-class family of Greek-Cypriot heritage will clearly have influenced the way I conducted the research and interpreted findings, however I will strive to be open and reflexive about the process. Besides, as Herbert (2000:558) notes,

'interpretive practices are central to *all* science' and will influence how data and theory are interrogated no matter how 'scientific' and 'objective' a researcher strives to be. It is the issues of positionality and reflexivity and the importance of both in all stages of the research process that I will now explore in more detail.

4.2.2 Insider status?

The question of positionality has been extremely topical within human geography in the last two decades (Gold, 2002; Fisher, 2015), especially when a researcher is conducting research within their own culture and across cultural boundaries (Merriam *et al*, 2001). This has led to a vast debate surrounding the notion of the insider/outsider status of the researcher (Johnson-Bailey, 1999; Mullings, 1999; Merriam *et al*, 2001; Ganga and Scott, 2006; Sultana, 2007). Before engaging in this debate I want to set out my own position in relation to the research in a little more detail than I have henceforth, as my own experiences inevitably affected the way this project was approached (Taylor, 2009).

It was my personal connection to and interest in the ethnic group that has led me to study it for this thesis. To provide a bit more personal background regarding my connection to the group, both of my mother's parents (my *yiayia*⁵ and *papou*⁶) are from a village in the north of Cyprus, as is my father's father who married a British lady when he came to the UK (see Figure 4.1). They moved to the UK before the 1974 invasion for economic reasons (like many other migrants, they had lived in poor villages in Cyprus where agriculture was the main source of income), however my grandfather on my father's side had

⁵ *Yiayia* is 'grandmother' in Greek.

⁶ *Papou* is 'grandfather' in Greek.

hoped to move back to Cyprus and was building a hotel there. This was lost, as were the homes of the families of my other grandparents when the north of Cyprus was seized by Turkish authorities.

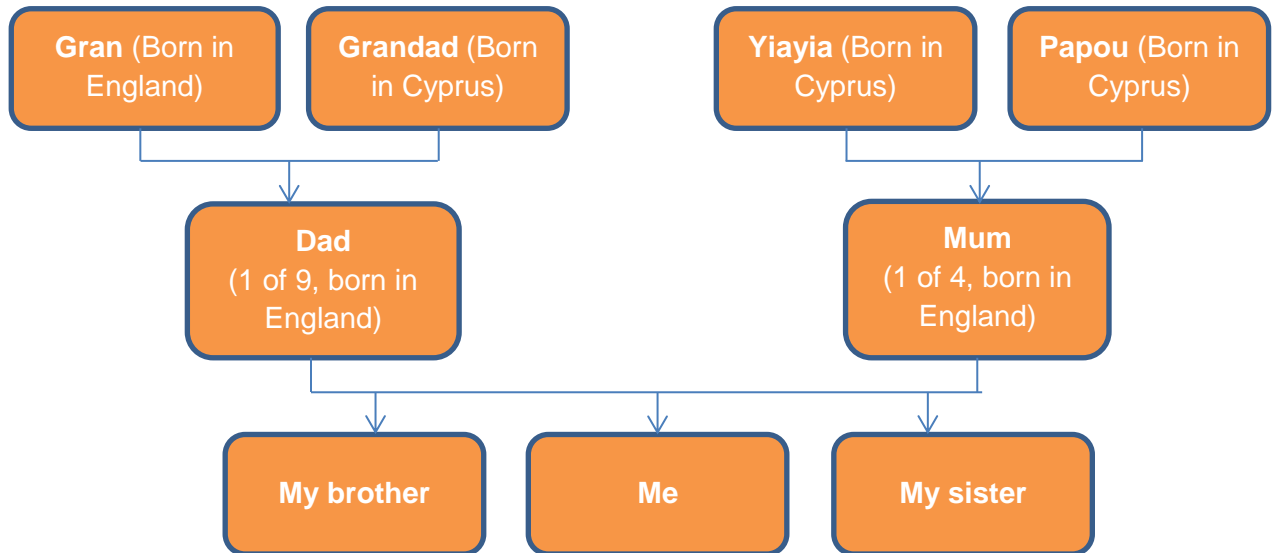


Figure 4.1: My own family tree

Growing up there was always a strong Cypriot influence in our lives. I was raised in a large but extremely close family, with an endless amount of cousins to spend time with and with food playing a central role in so many aspects of family-life. While other families had roast turkey on Christmas day, my grandparents or my father would be outside making *souvla*⁷. Sundays were marked by family get-togethers at my yiayia's home and for a period my brother and sister and I were sent to the local Greek School. Like other second- and third-generation migrants (Levitt and Waters, 2006), this was something I dreaded at the time, but could appreciate in hindsight when I could only wish that I had tried harder.

⁷ A popular dish from Cyprus consisting of large pieces of meat cooked on a long skewer over a charcoal BBQ.

Now and again we would attend the Greek Orthodox Church, most often when it was the memorial of deceased family members and this was dreaded even more than Greek School- the having to stand up for long periods and not understanding what the priest was saying. One more advantageous aspect of our Cypriot heritage was the holidays to Cyprus (and also Greece) that marked our upbringings. We were surrounded by people speaking the same language as yiayia and who were just as loud and excitable as the other members of our family.

Despite these experiences, which were a given at the time, the Greek-Cypriot element of my identity was not brought to the fore until my late teens and I started university. It seemed that during this period when I was meeting many new people, I was often asked where I was from- a question people said they asked because of my dark hair and olive skin tone. People became very interested when I explained that my grandparents were from Cyprus and I became increasingly proud to speak about their homeland and the customs and traditions that originated there, but which we continue to engage with today.

In accordance with McDowell's (1992) suggestion that 'we must recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice' (p.409) I felt that it was important to provide the above details regarding my own background. As Andrews (2007:27) comments, 'the questions which guide our research originate from deep within ourselves. We care about the topics we explore' and I believe that the experiences I had growing up as well as the discussions I had with my yiayia regarding her own experiences of moving to the UK go some way in explaining my own interest in the topic being studied. Indeed, I agree with the viewpoint

that all knowledge is 'situated' (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991) and that it is beneficial to think critically about issues of positionality and reflexivity when undertaking and writing about ethnographic research (Sultana, 2007).

So one may question whether my social positioning as a third-generation Greek Cypriot female grants me 'insider' status among the study participants? The insider/outsider binary refers to the boundary marking an inside from an outside, a boundary that circumscribes 'identity, social position and belonging and as such marks those who do not belong and hence are excluded' (Mohammad, 2001:101). However there is growing acceptance among social researchers of the complexities inherent in insider/outsider status and that the boundaries between the two positions are not always clearly delineated (Merriam *et al*, 2001). Aguilar (1981) draws our attention to the issues that arise when claiming that one 'belongs' to a specific culture; as he notes 'all cultures (including subcultures) are characterised by internal variation' (p.25).

To give an example from my own research experience, I was interviewing a second-generation female and she kept talking about how she was 'full Greek' and how it was 'in her blood' to be Greek because both of her parents were from Cyprus. She was then contrasting this with my own identity – she kept referring to my father as 'half-Greek' because only one of his parents was from Cyprus – and so she was affirming my own identity as 'half-Greek' as well. Throughout the interview she kept commenting that I had 'had it easy' while growing up because my dad was only 'half-Greek' so he had been much more relaxed with my siblings and I than other 'full-Greek' parents would have been in terms of the level of freedom we were allowed during our teen years. The extent to which my dad was 'relaxed' with the three of us was questionable and if he

was, I was not sure whether this was down to him being 'half-Greek' or because of his laid-back nature in general. Despite this, at other points in the interview, she would use language that inferred I had had similar experiences to her during my childhood and implied that I could relate to what she was saying; I felt I was simultaneously positioned as both an insider *and* an outsider. This positioning is therefore relational.

Thus it is important to acknowledge that insider/outsider status is not fixed and stable, but fluid and relational and can change depending on who the researcher is speaking to at a particular time. It is also important to remember that 'culture is not solid and that positions can shift' (Teerling, 2010:67). I have tried to remain as open as possible to these shifting positions throughout the data collection and writing-up process. Indeed I felt that they shifted a great deal- especially as I spoke to three generations of family members so there was a large age-range among participants and they all had their own unique life stories and experiences (see Tarrant, 2014, for further discussion regarding research across generational boundaries). Generally, I did feel like I was classed as an insider by many of my participants and this positioning had both its advantages and disadvantages, the details of which will be raised in the remainder of this chapter in the relevant sections.

As was mentioned earlier on in the chapter, in order to be open about the bases upon which I have made interpretive claims, the research is reflexive. I wish to point out here that being reflexive about my positionality is only one aspect of the reflexive process. Reflexivity also involves reflection on 'process, and representation, and critically examining power relations and politics in the research process' (Sultana, 2007:376). While the issues of representation and

power relations are examined in more detail later on in this chapter and in relation to ethical considerations (Section 4.5) it is important to acknowledge at this point that they have been taken into consideration and this was done so in order to open up the research to the often complex and nuanced understandings of issues under study (Sultana, 2007).

4.2.3 Researching a church community

The question of insider/outsider status also extends to those studying religion (Ferber, 2006; Chryssides, 2012; Aston, 2012); indeed Chryssides (2012) claims that ‘the Insider/Outsider problem is one of the most perennial problems in the academic study of religion’. Therefore, I wish to write about my experiences of conducting ethnographic research at the Greek Orthodox Church and how my own beliefs and values were negotiated during this time and also about some of the personal dilemmas I faced. I agree with Blanes’ (2006) suggestion that within ethnographic fieldwork, beliefs ‘are negotiated through a communicational process that is built on tensions, distances and proximities’ (p.224) and it is these tensions, distances and proximities that I will discuss in a reflexive manner in this section.

As I mentioned earlier in the chapter, I had attended the local Greek Orthodox Church on numerous occasions during my childhood, mainly to mark special cyclical events; most often these were the memorials of deceased family members, but also for more uplifting ceremonies including weddings and christenings. I had also attended the Greek School, which is located in the basement of the church, and on some days the priest would make an appearance and provide a short teaching during our break.

I have always had faith in some form of higher being, although I have always been rather ambivalent regarding the details surrounding this and have never followed any particular religion. However, I can remember being rather cynical about the teachings we received from the priest and internally disagreeing with what was being said. Nevertheless, my more frequent visits to the church and attendance at Greek School had occurred over 10 years before the start of data collection and so I decided to make a return and try to be as open as possible about the organisation. This was also motivated by the thought that I did believe in God and although I was unsure about the details, surely this shared faith counted for something?

And so in June 2014, after asking them to come along for the company (they would not attend regularly), I turned up at Sunday Liturgy with my mum and my yiayia. Despite being encouraged to attend church by the Greek School teacher (who had informed the church representatives about me and my research) no general announcement had been made to the wider congregation and so I was unsure whether to delve right in and speak about my research on that first visit. When we saw some familiar faces however, and they expressed their surprise at seeing us – it wasn't anyone's memorial after all – I felt it would be unethical not to at least mention my research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Cloke *et al*, 2000), and the fact that I was hoping to re-immense myself within the community. Therefore I decided to be open from the outset and speak about my PhD; the information was received well and there seemed to be a great amount of interest in my studies.

Blanes (2006) discusses some of the dilemmas atheist researchers may face when posed with the question 'are you a believer?' Although not an atheist

myself, I thought deeply about how I would respond if confronted with this question, particularly because I was unsure about my faith in the Orthodox religion. And although I was never asked within the church environment, some of my participants who I had accessed via the church did ask me this during their private interviews. I decided to be open and honest with them about my ambivalence and in some instances this resulted in a deep and detailed discussion about the Orthodox faith and belief in general. As is discussed in later chapters, I was not alone in my cynicism regarding the church and even some of the regular attendees shared this scepticism to a certain extent. It also did not result in any rejection of me as a person or lack of interest in my study (Blanes, 2006); on the contrary, I felt it helped to build rapport and develop the relationship between my participants and I (Hoggart *et al*, 2002; Cloke *et al*, 2004).

Nevertheless, I did face a certain degree of dilemma and discomfort with regards to the issue of participation in ritual praxis (Lauterbach, 2013). The Sunday Liturgy is marked by long lengths of standing and other symbolic rituals. While I had no problem with standing at the appropriate times during the service, I did have a problem with making the cross symbol at the relevant times⁸. The symbol of the cross and worshipping of other icons is something that I do not believe are important, however they are of key significance during Sunday Liturgy. While I felt I could avoid lighting a candle upon entering the church⁹ without really being noticed by others, I felt that my lack of participation in making the symbol of the cross was sometimes noticed by the priest and

⁸ The sign of the cross is made to show individual's belief in Christ's sacrifice on the cross as well as commitment to the love of God (Russian Orthodox Church of Three Saints, 2016).

⁹ Upon entering an Orthodox church there is always a sandbox full of lit candles; the lighting of these candles has a number of symbolic meanings, including the call to remember Jesus Christ and the remembrance of deceased loved ones (St. George Orthodox Church, 2016).

perhaps by other members of the congregation- although nobody mentioned it to me personally. The importance of the symbol of the cross was also something the priest emphasised to the children at the Greek School when he came to give teachings during Saturday classes and I was in attendance on several occasions when he spoke about this, therefore I felt that he was more likely to notice when I did not participate in this symbolic act.

Moreover, I never went up to the priest to receive Holy Communion at the end of the service or joined in kissing the icons around the church; I felt that the noticeability of my lack of participation in such practices was heightened when I attended with my yiayia and she would participate, leaving me seated alone in the pews. However, not everybody in attendance would always participate in such acts, and therefore I felt it was possible to behave in a manner that was 'coherent with my personal beliefs and simultaneously non-disruptive' (Blanes, 2006:230). As Blanes (2006) observes, while it may be possible to label a certain kind of behaviour as normative in ritual cults, it is also common for individuals to experience the service differently and not be judged for their individual response. I was constantly aware that if my lack of participation in such rituals made me stand out, I may be labelled as an 'outsider', however if anybody did notice, they never questioned me.

Another way in which a certain degree of discomfort was caused was by my inability to speak Greek fluently. Although I started taking lessons in the language as soon as I began my PhD in October 2013 and continue to do so, I did not feel comfortable addressing people in Greek when I first resumed attending church. There were several occasions when I noted in my research diary the guilt and unease I felt when having coffee and cake after Sunday

Liturgy and others were repeatedly telling me I should be able to speak Greek and how it was a shame I could not converse with them in their first language:

After church service when downstairs having coffee, everyone repeatedly telling me I should speak in Greek, feel quite uncomfortable. Can understand some of what they're saying but feel shy to speak it. (Notes from research diary, 19/10/2014)

Their disappointment was heightened by their awareness of my Greek-Cypriot heritage and for those who knew her on a personal level, the fact that my yiayia clearly felt more comfortable speaking in Greek. Over time though, as I got to know people more and felt more confident in their company, I began to greet them and exchange pleasantries in Greek. This seemed to be enough to please them, and the comments about my lack of ability in the Greek language pretty much ceased (see Section 4.3.5 for details on the use of a translator during interviews).

I also found other benefits in learning the Greek language. I was given private lessons by two different teachers, both of whom were aware of my research and the aims of my study. Therefore they became key gatekeepers¹⁰ and helped me to access several families via their own social networks. They also taught me about many of the customs and traditions that individuals participate in in both Greece and Cyprus and about some of the traditional values and beliefs they hold; much of this knowledge helped to supplement my observations and contributed to explaining some of the actions and processes I had observed.

¹⁰ While gatekeepers have been defined as 'those who provide – directly or indirectly – access to key resources needed to do research, be those resources logistical, human, institutional or informational' (Campbell *et al*, 2006:98) I agree with Heller *et al*'s (2011) expansion of the definition to include 'persons who control and facilitate access to respondents, resources and knowledge, such as interpreters, social contacts and research participants themselves' (p.73).

Furthermore, one of my teachers was a member of the Greek School committee and provided me with valuable 'insider' knowledge regarding the goings-on at the school and church and reminded me about the events that were being held at various times. I felt my observations were greatly enhanced because of her influence. There were in fact times when there was so much going on that I felt the research process was very consuming; I was attending Greek classes twice a week, Greek School on Saturdays, church on Sundays as well as interviewing individuals and visiting them in their family homes. Yet because I was engaged in fieldwork 'at home', this allowed for voluntary and involuntary distancing at different times during data collection (Blanes, 2006). Sometimes personal obligations and other social events kept me away from the field and on occasion I welcomed these breaks as they allowed me to take a step back and reflect on my observations, rather than constantly being in the midst of them. They also allowed for short periods where I was able to detach myself from the study and ensured it did not become over-bearing.

It is also important to note that the Greek School teacher at the time was also a university lecturer and part of my supervisory team. It was clear that he was well-liked and respected by many church attendees and he acted as another key gatekeeper, helping to initiate and arrange interviews for me. I felt that some of the participants would not have agreed to be interviewed had it not been for his involvement and close friendship with them, again reflecting the significance of the perceived 'insider' status. The trust and close bonds that he had established with the families whose children attended the Greek School also meant that all parents gave their consent for me to spend time with and interview their children (see Section 4.3.6 for more details on the methods with

the children) and I formed close bonds with many of them; I had invitations to their houses for tea and when they were at church they would often come and sit with me rather than stay with their parents. Indeed these bonds have been maintained even after fieldwork has ended and I still get invited to events at the Greek School and stay in touch with the children via social media.

I felt that the view of myself as an 'insider' contributed to the families' open and welcoming engagement with me as a person and also with my study. The time that I spent getting to know some of them at the school and church before interviewing them also resulted in rapport being developed and I felt this helped them to open up to me and that I gained more detailed and personal accounts of their lives as a result (Hoggart *et al*, 2002; Cloke *et al*, 2004). I did note in my research diary on two separate occasions that I had been introduced to more elderly members of the congregation during coffee time after service and that they had seemed quite distant and reluctant to speak to me; I noted that one of the ladies 'eyed me suspiciously'. However when the lady who was introducing me (a distant relation of my yiayia) told them who my yiayia was their demeanour instantly changed and they were much more friendly and willing to converse- albeit in my broken Greek. I certainly felt that my familial ties to the church were beneficial in gaining the trust of others.

Nevertheless, it would be naïve to think that my perceived 'insider' status was only beneficial. There were some times when I felt that participants may have worried I was 'too close [to the group] for comfort' (Mohammad, 2001) and there was a fear that I may report my findings back to members of my own family or theirs' or to other church attendees. I had written on the consent form and information sheet (Appendices A and B) that all matters discussed would

remain confidential and the identity of participants anonymous and reiterated this in discussions before the interview took place. However the issue was raised by only two participants who expressed that they did not want to discuss certain topics in the fear that it would get back to other members of their family and worried that the information would upset them. Although I assured them I would not share the information, I did not probe further and wished to respect their privacy (see Section 4.5.2 for more detail on the issue of confidentiality).

The close-knit nature of the church community also meant that some participants used the interview as an opportunity to moan about other members of the community/church. When this occurred I listened politely but never probed further and tried to steer the conversation away to other topics. Based on the advice I received at a study day on the 'ethics of representation,' I avoided talking about the interviews at all with church attendees in general and did not tell others who had been interviewed unless they had already been informed. I certainly did not share any information learnt during interviews with anybody else; I hoped this would contribute to maintaining confidentiality and anonymity.

There is also the issue of 'exploitation' in ethnographic enquiry and other writers have argued that researchers should avoid 'using' participants to gain information by just flipping in and out of their lives and only staying long enough to collect the information they require (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Cloke *et al*, 2000; Ferbrache, 2011). While I did feel a little guilty when I began attending church again in order to meet potential participants and learn more about community life, I did not just abruptly stop attending once fieldwork had ended and still try to go along to either church or the Greek School every so

often to stay in touch with attendees. In this sense, the relationships I formed with some participants have been maintained and I have stayed in contact with those who I formed friendships with via communications outside of the church as well. Therefore, I do not feel that participants have been 'exploited' or merely 'used' for the advantages of my study.

One way in which I felt I was able to 'give back' to the community was in April 2016, when it was feared that the Greek School may be closed down before the next academic year, due to speculation by the Cypriot Educational Mission and the Cyprus Ministry of Education that the Greek School teacher would be sent to teach at the Greek School in Exeter which was growing rapidly rather than remain in Plymouth (numbers at the Plymouth school have fallen slightly in recent years). While parents and other associates of the school signed a petition calling for the teacher to remain at the Plymouth Greek School, I was also asked by members of the school committee to write an accompanying letter to the representative at the Cypriot Educational Mission regarding my research findings and the central role the school plays in teaching not only the language, but also about the history and culture of Cyprus and the way in which it acts as a meeting point for both adult and child members of the ethnic community. It was later decided that the teacher would remain at the Plymouth Greek School for at least one more academic year.

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Participant observation

As was mentioned previously, one of the key methods used when taking an ethnographic approach is participant observation. As Bryman (2016) notes, this involves the researcher immersing him/herself 'in a group for an extended

period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions' (p.423). This method supplements that of interviewing well, as while the latter explores what people say they do, participant observation affords the researcher the opportunity to investigate what they are *seen* to do (Cloke *et al*, 2004). This method was well-suited to meet the aim of answering my third research question, *what spaces and places are significant in identity formation?*, as the sites where the observations were held, namely the church and school and in some cases, within the family home, have been identified as playing a significant role in the cultivation and reproduction of cultural identities (see previous discussion in Section 4.2.1)¹¹.

There are different categorisations of participant observation and these vary depending on the degree of participation, the role of the researcher i.e. covert or overt and the degree of structure, for example, if there is a predefined agenda (Simpson, 2014). Regarding the different degrees of participation, Junker (1960) outlines four combinations of participant and observer; complete participant, the participant as observer, the observer as participant, and the complete observer. Each of these combinations indicates a different balance between the two activities.

On the whole, I largely took on the role of 'participant as observer' because my role as participant and engagement in social interaction were emphasised over observing, i.e. I did not merely stand back and make notes, but got involved with activities at the church and school. However in reality, there were times

¹¹ In the later stages of data collection and particularly during the analysis process, the significance of local businesses in connecting members of the ethnic group emerged, however I had not anticipated this and therefore was unable to conduct observations at these sites.

when I was more observer than participant- this depended on the time and situation. Generally, my observations were overt as I had gained permission to conduct observations at the sites; however it was impossible to make every single church attendee aware of my research for example, as sometimes individuals only attended as a one-off (see Section 4.5.3 for more on the issue of gaining consent). Moreover, because many individuals perceived me as an 'insider' due to my cultural ties to the group, I did not feel that they found my presence at the sites 'surprising' and in many ways I was able to 'blend' into the group. In turn, I hoped this meant that they did not act in an 'unnatural' manner as a result of being overly aware of my role as a researcher.

Repeated visits to the church and school allowed me to observe patterns of behaviour, which in turn allowed me to understand the activity better. For instance, I attended the school most Saturdays for a period of time and assisted with lessons, taking on a sort of 'teaching assistant' role, often helping with arts-based activities (see Plates 4.1 and 4.2) and then would mingle with the children more casually during the breaks. I came to realise that the priest would give a short teaching during most of the breaks and also birthdays or name days would be celebrated if there was one on that particular weekend.

I took on a fairly 'laid-back' role with the children and felt that I got along well with them; this seemed beneficial when it came to interviewing them (see Section 4.3.6). As was previously discussed, I also attended the church on Sundays and stayed behind after service for coffee and cake. This social activity allowed me to get to know members of the community better and have more informal conversations with them. I also attended special church events, for example extra services at Easter and Christmas.

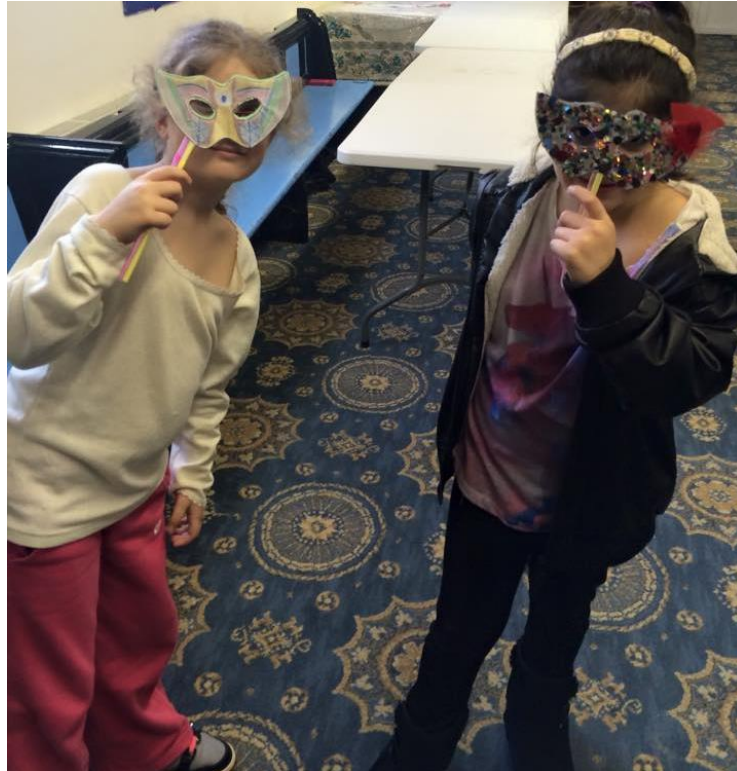


Plate 4.1: Children at the Greek School with the masks we made ready for the carnival



Plate 4.2: A sign I made with the children which says 'happy Summer'

As well as these repeated visits, I attended a number of one-off events which allowed me to observe, participate and further develop contacts. For example, I attended some rehearsals for the Greek School play at Christmas (and of course the play itself), a masquerade carnival/party at the Greek School in one of the half-terms and an extra Saturday service organised by the church for the children in honour of the Archbishop's visit from London (Plate 4.3). Generally I participated first and observed as a secondary feature, writing field notes immediately after leaving the activity. However, at the school and at times when having coffee after church, because we were seated around desks/tables anyway, I was able to take notes without it looking too obvious and making others feel self-conscious (Bryman, 2016).

I would then write these notes up neatly into a research diary as soon after as I could. These field notes were largely descriptive and reflective accounts, however they helped to prompt some interview questions at later times, as well as supplementing information derived from the interviews. As Herbert (2000) observes, 'surveys and interviews conducted with no local familiarity are useless; they can only impose an intellectual order upon the group, they cannot allow a steady unearthing of the layers of meaning attached to daily life' (p.556). I certainly feel that my observations did help to reveal some of these different 'layers' that interviewing alone would not have revealed.



Plate 4.3: A picture from the special church service given for the Greek School children when the Archbishop from London came to visit

There were a couple of instances where I was invited to dinner at the homes of people who I had become friends with from my time spent at the church and school and one participant invited me to her home on numerous occasions, one time to help her pick the leaves from her vine tree and another to make a Lebanese cake which her family in Cyprus had given her the recipe for when she went over to visit. After these visits to their homes, I found myself writing some notes in my research diary after I had left.

I soon realised how the boundary surrounding the 'field' was a blurry one. This may lead one to question 'what counts as 'the field'; where and when 'it' begins and ends, and where and when researchers should consider themselves to be 'on duty' or not' (Cloke *et al*, 2004:194). There were some times when

observations at events organised by my own family seemed applicable to the study, and although I did not use these occasions as data specifically, I felt that my role as participant observer never ceased. To some extent, because of my familiarity with the cultural group, I did try to treat it as 'anthropology strange' in order to make explicit any presuppositions I may have had (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:9) and I felt my constant observations were a result of this.

On the whole, I felt that taking part in the daily life of the community offered a chance to triangulate findings from different sources and provided a more 'authentic' experience than that of a staged interview (Cloke *et al*, 2004). When asked in the interviews about some of the cultural rituals and traditions they engaged with, participants often struggled to think of any at the time, however I witnessed their engagement with these through my participant observations at the church and within their homes. Therefore this method contributed to creating a more 'holistic' impression of their interactions with different spaces and places, as was in line with the aim of my third research question, which sought to understand which spaces and places were significant in the process of identity formation.

4.3.2 Qualitative interviews

The principle means of generating data was through forty-eight interviews with members of three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrant families (this number includes the English¹² wives of two of the Greek-Cypriot men). Fifteen of these interviews were conducted with children (between the ages of 5 and 16) therefore their structure differed somewhat to those conducted with adults; the

¹² As was previously mentioned, 'English' has been used to describe individuals where this was the language most commonly used by participants.

details of this are discussed in Section 4.3.6 However, the remaining thirty-three interviews with adult participants could be classified as in-depth, intensive interviews (Hoggart *et al*, 2002). As well as the interviews with family members, I also spoke to 'key figures' of the ethnic community in the study city: an interview was held with the president of the local Greek Orthodox Church and I had numerous informal chats¹³ with the Greek School teacher and one of the key members of the Greek School Committee.

My research aim to explore the fluid and multi-faceted notions of 'identity' and 'belonging' called for in-depth interviews, 'centred on the stories of the migrants themselves' (Lawson, 2000:174) as well as those of their children and grandchildren. I felt that intensive interviews would produce much more rich and detailed accounts of participants' views and experiences than more quantitative methods would, for example, a standardised questionnaire: such methods tend to emphasise 'the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:13). As Brenner *et al* (1985:2) acknowledge, 'if you want to know something about people's activities, the best way of finding out is to ask them', and what better way to do this than through the 'everyday activity of talk'? (p.7).

Because I was aiming to view the social world and events through the eyes of my participants (Bryman, 2016) I felt that face-to-face interactions with them would provide the closest condition of participating in their mind and seeing the world from their perspective (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Moreover, Silvey and Lawson (1999) observe that migrant voices are increasingly being interpreted as 'theoretically meaningful' (p.123) and because places are socially

¹³ These chats arose naturally during the time I spent with them and hence after, it was not felt that a formal interview was needed as well.

constructed and contingent, it is essential to try to understand how individuals interpret them differently.

Cloke *et al* (2004) suggest that there are a range of relationships that can be formed between researcher and researched and these range in intensity. At one end of the spectrum are 'robotic' relationships whereby the researcher is likely to make use of surveys conducted by others as well as using other secondary data and has no direct interaction with the researched. At the other end of the spectrum, relationships are 'involved' as in the use of reflective interviews or discussion groups and where the researcher is deeply immersed in the social setting of the conversation (Cloke *et al*, 2004). The approach I took was somewhere between these two extremes; I strived to develop a more 'interactive relationship' with participants, but perhaps remained slightly nearer to the 'involved' end of the spectrum. However, I was careful not to become too involved in order that I could still ask questions that were relevant to my research aim and questions, and steer the conversation back onto topic if I felt this was needed.

I also strove to maintain a level of critical distance in order that I was able to provide critical commentary, despite being 'close' to the community in some ways. Developing an interactive relationship meant that while I approached the interviews with a pre-determined schedule of topics to be discussed, there was room for diversion and I would answer as well as ask questions. In this sense, the questions were co-owned and co-shaped and thus, data was co-constructed by me as the researcher and my participants. I felt it was important to answer participants' questions and reveal something of myself as I was not seeking to maintain an observational distance from participants in order to reveal some

universal truth; rather the aim was to create dialogue and treat people as individuals so that the research issues could be addressed by a range of different voices (Cloke *et al*, 2004). I felt that treating participants as individuals was particularly salient when discussing personal issues such as familial and romantic relationships and thus, interactivity was essential in maintaining this aim.

While I began the interviews by taking a semi-structured approach and using an interview schedule as a prompt (see Appendix I), I soon realised that where possible, conducting more narrative interviews where I asked for participants' life stories produced much more rich and detailed accounts of both their pasts and presents. As Lieblich *et al* (1998) note, the narrative is used to reveal the character or lifestyle of specific groups in society and I felt that this approach was particularly suited to exploring the activities of the Greek-Cypriot ethnic community. Furthermore, they suggest that 'people are storytellers by nature' and 'stories provide coherence and continuity to one's experience and have a central role in our communication with others' (Lieblich *et al*, 1998:7).

Therefore, listening to individuals' life stories provides access to their identity and personality. As my overarching research aim was to explore the identity formations of individuals and the contextual factors that influence this, asking for their life stories provided rich and detailed insights on issues related to that of identity, which can sometimes be a tricky subject to discuss. As Anthias (2002) advises, it is difficult for participants to offer useful or interesting answers when asked directly about their identity, hence it is best to allow them to talk about their lives and their experiences 'and their 'identity' will emerge through this

narration' (p.492)¹⁴. This approach results in more unique and rich data that cannot be obtained from more quantitative methods such as a questionnaire (Lieblich *et al*, 1998). After participants had told me their life stories I followed up with questions on what they had said and also on topics if they had not yet been covered that were relevant to the study (Wigfall *et al*, 2012).

Before moving on, I wish to acknowledge the point that the stories people tell about their lives change and develop through time. They are also influenced by the context in which they are told and *who* they are being told to. As I will argue elsewhere in the thesis, the same can also be said for identity. Therefore both life stories and identity are subjective and constantly in flux (Lieblich *et al*, 1998). The story told in the interview is 'like a single, frozen, still photograph of the dynamically changing identity' (Lieblich *et al*, 1998:8). However, this does not reduce their value, but provides interesting insights into the culture and social world of the teller (Lieblich *et al*, 1998).

4.3.3 Interview participants

My aim was to conduct interviews with three generations of the families. A statistical classification of 'generation' was used whereby the first-generation are those individuals born in Cyprus who moved to the UK, whilst their offspring who are born in the UK are the second-generation (Skrbiš *et al*, 2007). Following on from this, the children of the second-generation are referred to as the third-generation. A number of writers have also identified the age of those classified as the first-generation as an important issue to be considered (Kertzer, 1983; Rumbaut, 2004; Loizos, 2007; Portes and Rivas, 2011). Kertzer

¹⁴ However, I wanted to avoid defining participants' identities *for* them. This is where the conversational approach to the interviews was useful in order that I ensured I was not imposing my own incorrect interpretations onto discussions.

(1983) argues that often age groupings have been overly broad and when generations are not from distinct age groupings, this has been a weakness of research. Loizos (2007) uses 'refugee generations' to illustrate how age at migration must be viewed as a key consideration; he references the Greek-Cypriot case and those who fled Cyprus during the war in 1974. He claims that they were all displaced at the same time yet they were not born at the same period, hence 'their life situations are strikingly different in terms of dependents, goals, and economic capacities' (Loizos, 2007:205). There tends to be differences in the pace of adaption to the host country between those who migrated as adults and those who migrated as children; studies have shown that those who migrate before the age of 13 find it easier to adapt to life in the host country (Skrbiš *et al*, 2007), especially in terms of learning a new language.

These factors were taken into consideration when recruiting research participants for this project so that those classed as first-generation migrants left Cyprus during adulthood or nearer the end of their teen years and certainly after they reached the age of 13. One of the participants left Cyprus at the age of six (Anthea) and therefore is referred to as a member of the second-generation. Ideally, I would have recruited families where members of the first-generation migrated to the UK in the same time period i.e. in the same decade, however it turned out that members of the first-generation were the least willing to participate (see below) and those who were willing had migrated at different times (between the 1950s and 1970s) and thus, I decided to work with the sample that was available.

Moreover, the Panas family migrated much later than the other families (Selena migrated in the 1990s and then her parents and siblings followed) and have been excluded from the majority of the discussion in Sections 6.2-6.4. This was because of their later date of migration and because the daughter migrated before the parents so I did not think their experiences were comparable to other families in relation to the issues being discussed in these sections: these issues highlight the 'messiness' of migration and how it is not necessarily a one-way, clear-cut process. All these issues illustrate how research can also be rather 'messy' (Kitchin and Tate, 2000; May, 2011b) and how not all participants will necessarily fit an ideal model- especially when recruiting families (Wigfall *et al*, 2012). Interviewee family tree maps are shown on the following pages¹⁵.

¹⁵ I have only included members of families who I interviewed on their family trees.

Key



First-generation



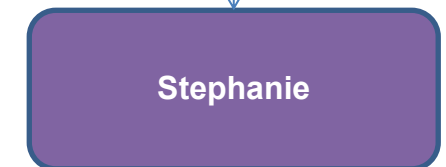
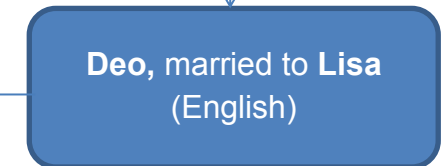
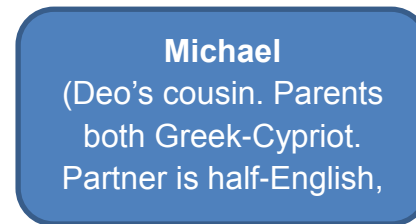
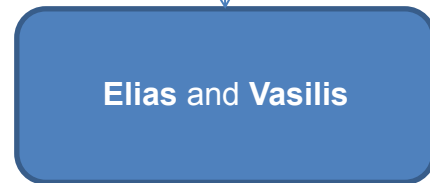
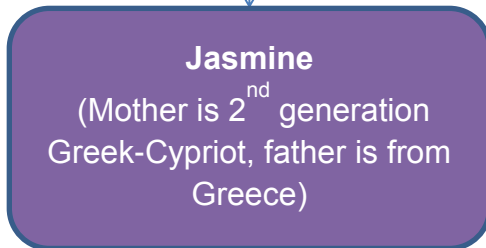
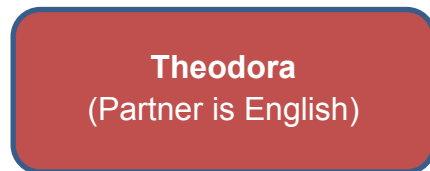
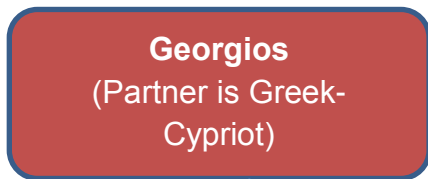
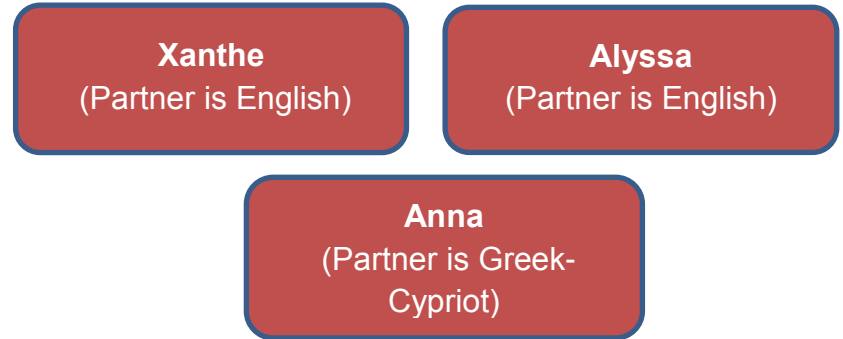
Second-generation

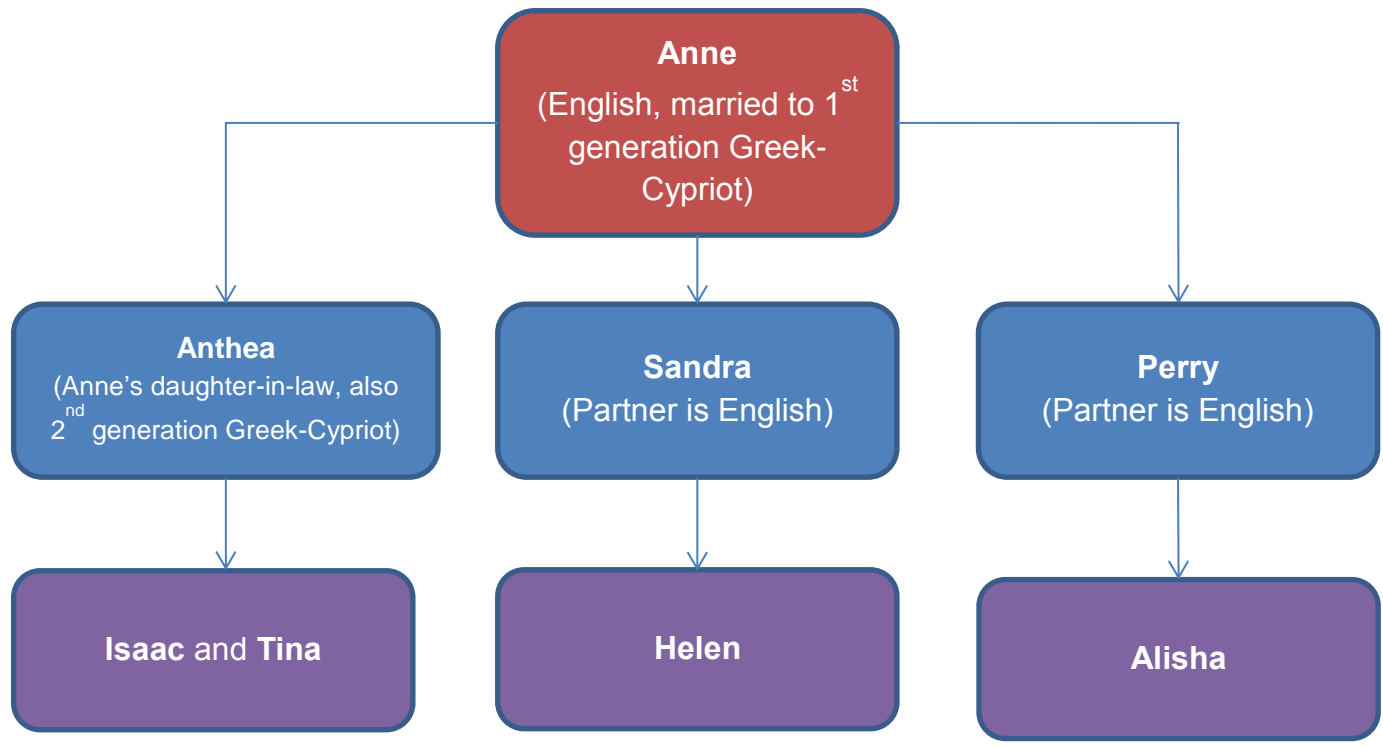


Third-generation



Those who do not fit the above classifications

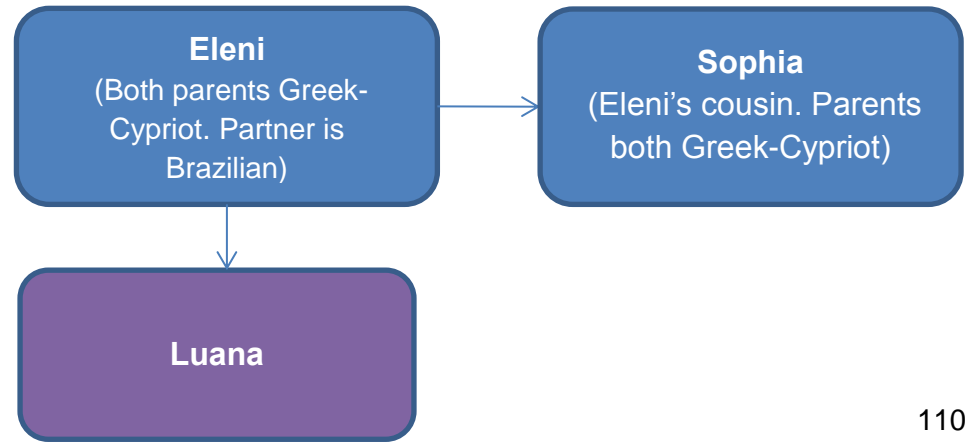


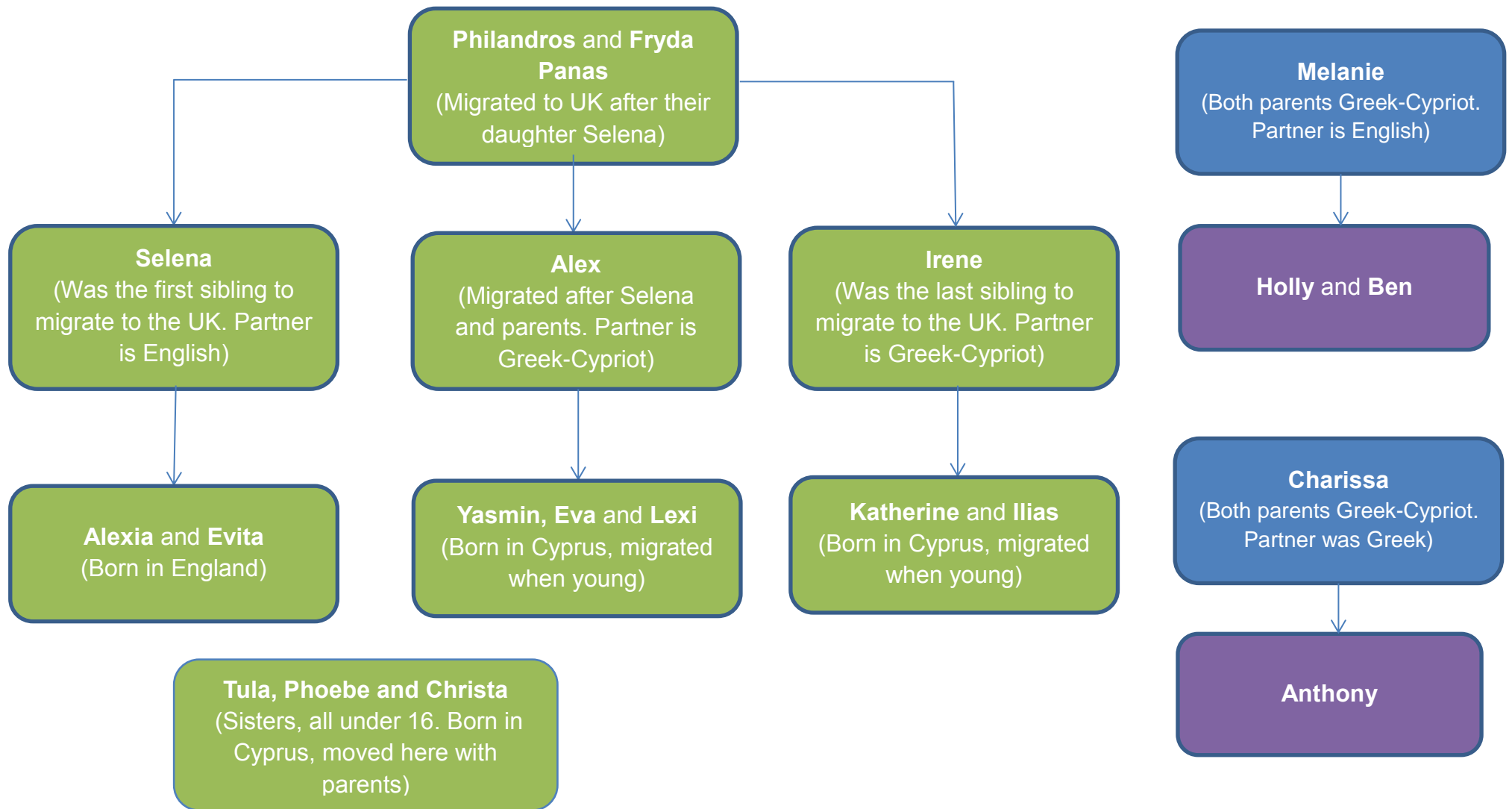


Chris
(Parents both Greek-Cypriot. Partner is Fijian)

Andrew
(Parents both Greek-Cypriot. Partner is Greek-Cypriot)

Nikki and Kara
(Sisters. Parents both Greek-Cypriot)





As Wigfall *et al* (2012) observe, little has been written about the practical difficulties of recruiting samples in studies of intergenerational families. I found it difficult to find families where members of all *three* generations were willing to participate¹⁶. However, it was important to talk to three generations of families in order to explore the changes that had taken place across them and the potential ways in which conflicts and tensions could arise between family members. In particular, members of the first-generation were often reluctant to take part, with several of them claiming they had migrated so long ago that their memories were vague. I found it difficult to convince them that their contribution would still be valuable to the study and so only conducted formal interviews with a small sample of this generation (although there were several who were happy to answer a few questions informally).

However, the individuals I *did* interview often spoke in great detail about their parents and/or children and so I still learned about the lives of those who did not participate and gained insights into their experiences. While I mainly approached individuals who I knew had other family members living in the city, there were a couple of cases where individuals volunteered themselves for interview after hearing about my study, but were the only generation of their family currently living there. I did not want to exclude their voices though, and the interviews were still valuable and have been included in the study.

Research participants were identified through a mixture of using ‘gatekeepers’ (Campbell *et al*, 2006) (Section 4.2.3), my own social and familial networks and a snowballing technique (Wigfall *et al*, 2012). On one hand, this was where I felt my ‘insider’ status and the time I had spent with the group during the

¹⁶ Six people who I asked directly (whose family members had been interviewed) declined to be interviewed.

observations were particularly valuable. To some of the participants, I had become a 'familiar face' by the time I approached them about an interview and I feel this made them more inclined to agree in some instances. There were also some cases where participants knew of my family and expressed that they were keen to help in any way they could. On the other hand, some individuals may have feared that I would share information with my family and/or other members of the ethnic community and therefore declined the request to be interviewed.

Following the advice of Wigfall *et al* (2012:603) regarding intergenerational research, I made an effort to 'win over' the first member¹⁷ of the family who I interviewed, as in many cases they became 'the sponsor for the study to other members of the chain'. I felt that if I gained their confidence and trust, they would be in a better position to convince other members of the family to participate. I was also aware that the discussion held between family members regarding the research was beyond my control and I could not 'allay any concerns' they may have had unless they expressed them to me directly (Wigfall *et al*, 2012:603).

I aimed to recruit participants who reflected the wide range of views of the ethnic group in the city and the sample included both middle- and working-class individuals. There was also a general trend of occupational and social mobility over the generations (as one may expect among a migrant community) and so the demographic profile was quite varied. While several participants were recruited through the church and school, I actively sought to also recruit those who had little or no engagement with these spaces in order to gain insights into

¹⁷ The generation of the first member I spoke to varied, so it was not always necessarily a member of the first-generation, rather the individual I happened to come across depending on the situation.

the wide range of experiences of the families living in the city (Smith, 2006). To do so, I relied on my own familial and social networks as well as snowballing and this proved to be successful in providing access to such individuals. There is also a gender bias in the sample with a male to female ratio of 7:17. This was not intentional, however it just so happened that females were more accessible. There was also a higher proportion of females in attendance at the Greek School and so this influenced the overall ratio.

I am aware that the sample is not wholly representative of the wider ethnic community in the city, but, as Valentine (2005:111) argues, 'the aim of an interview is not to be representative (a common but mistaken criticism of this technique) but to understand how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives'. Representativeness is not of key concern to the research, rather the aim was to seek in-depth insights into individual experiences and perspectives and hear the rich stories told by migrants and successive generations (Silvey and Lawson, 1999; Lawson, 2000). Moreover, while I interviewed a total of 48 members of 15 families, the number of 'voices' on the recorded interviews is slightly higher as there were several instances where other family members and/or partners were present and they joined in with the discussion at times. I only conducted formal interviews with two English women who had married 'into' the families, however I also had fairly in-depth chats with another wife and two husbands who were not of Greek-Cypriot descent.

4.3.4 Conducting the interview

All of the formal interviews (with adult participants) took place at pre-arranged times and places. I always requested that the participant select the time and location at which the interview would take place and this generally turned out to

be either their place of residence or a coffee shop in/near the city centre. However, four interviews (including two with children participants) were conducted at the home of one of my translators, as the participants were friends of hers and another was conducted at the restaurant the participant managed, in the morning before it opened to the public. There is growing acknowledgment in geographical research that the location in which interviews take place is important (Holton and Riley, 2014) and I hoped that by giving participants the choice, they would pick a location where they felt relaxed and comfortable (Elwood and Martin, 2000) and therefore more willing to chat openly. The downside of this was that when interviewing in the family homes of participants, there was potential for a wide range of interruptions and in some cases the interview had to be managed alongside other activities.

As was mentioned in the previous section, there were some instances where other family members/partners were present during the interview and two participants requested to be interviewed together as a couple. I was aware that this may have impacted the information they chose to disclose and there may have been some things that they withheld due to their presence. There was one instance where I interviewed a woman in her family home, but before we started her husband informed her that he was picking up a friend and he would be joining them for dinner that evening. When we heard them return the participant's demeanour visibly changed as she appeared 'on edge' and repeatedly checked her watch. She informed me her husband would be waiting to eat and, although an interesting observation in itself, the remainder of the interview was rushed and not as in-depth as I would have hoped. I did find however, that the presence of family members had a positive impact when it

came to helping clarify specific dates and events that the interviewee was struggling to remember.

Moreover, conducting interviews in family homes provided further opportunity for observations and I was shown artefacts and photographs that sometimes diverted the conversation in useful ways (Elwood and Martin, 2000). There were a number of occasions where I was invited to eat dinner with the interviewees (Plates 4.4 and 4.5) and their families after the interview had taken place and interesting conversations that were relevant to the research arose; these activities then formed part of the ethnographic research. In some cases, the interviewees were much more relaxed during this time and further elaborated on what they had spoken about in the interview.



Plate 4.4: Dessert being served at one of my participant's homes



Plate 4.5: A meal served before conducting an interview

As was previously mentioned, the first couple of interviews were semi-structured and questions/probes were provided by an interview schedule. A range of topics were discussed, such as experiences of growing up (in Cyprus and the UK); experiences of family-life and marriage; relationships with other family members; ethnic identity affirmation; and engagement with transnational and translocal activity. I realised however, that the same sorts of topics would be covered by taking a life narrative approach and this in fact, resulted in much more rich and descriptive information. A life narrative approach allows the individual to tell their 'life story' as it were, in their own words and to take as much time as they wish to express themselves (Goulbourne *et al*, 2010). I could then follow up with questions on what they had said and any topics that had not been covered.

I took a reflexive and flexible approach to the interviews though (Hoggart *et al*, 2002; Cloke *et al*, 2004) and gaged the approach depending on the interviewee. For example, more elderly participants seemed more comfortable telling me their life stories as they clearly felt they had a lot to talk about whereas some of

the younger adult participants clearly felt less comfortable doing so and in such cases I asked more open-ended questions to initiate topics of conversation. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to three hours and some of the longer interviews were broken up with short breaks.

Following the claims of Hoggart *et al* (2002:207), as an interviewer I felt I had 'to be on guard constantly, to weigh words carefully' and 'to control gestures'. I tried to keep my own interventions to a workable minimum and also was aware that it was acceptable to have pauses/silences in the interviews. Although some silences may have felt uncomfortable, there were times when I felt the participant needed time to think and I did not want to interrupt them, so I would attempt to sit out the silences until they spoke again.

All of the interviews were recorded using a hand-held digital voice recorder (after asking for the interviewee's permission) and fully transcribed. The use of the recorder allowed me to focus more fully on the conversation and the body language of participants, without having to make too many notes (Valentine, 2005). While the influence a recorder may have on the type of information that is disclosed (i.e. interviewees may be less likely to reveal negative viewpoints or sensitive information) has been noted in the literature (Mountz, 2007), it did not appear to drastically impact the majority of conversations, with several participants claiming they had forgotten it was there at the end of the interview.

4.3.5 Using a translator

It is important to note that translators were used to conduct and transcribe/translate some of the interviews. Everybody was given a choice and while the majority of participants were happy to conduct interviews in English, a

small number of the first-generation preferred to speak in Greek and although I had been learning the language, my ability to speak it was nowhere near sufficient to conduct the interviews independently. Therefore it was decided that a translator would be used. There has been a wider call in the humanities subjects for research to provide a platform for the voices of members of minority groups (Opie, 1992; Nichols-Casebolt and Spakes, 1995; Vaz, 1997) and thus help to empower such individuals (Murray and Wynne, 2001) and therefore I felt it was really important to speak to these more elderly members of the first-generation, despite their preference to speak in Greek¹⁸. Within geography specifically, a number of scholars have reflected on issues related to the dominance of the use of the English language and criticised the 'general lack of thought invested in reflecting on the positions of non-English speakers' (Crane *et al*, 2009:39), hence I felt it was essential to include these individuals in the study.

The Greek School teacher (Translator A) interviewed a husband and wife together while I was present and one of my own Greek teachers (Translator B) provided the written translation of this interview. My other Greek teacher (Translator C) assisted in the oral and written components of two other interviews, however only one of which was used (the details of this are discussed below) and I was present at both of these interviews. I also want to point out that Translator A had previously conducted interviews with members of the first-generation for his own research purposes and some of the discussions were relevant to this study. Therefore, I was given access to the transcripts which were used to supplement my own data; although I re-

¹⁸ For convenience, I use the term 'Greek' but most of these individuals were actually speaking in the Greek-Cypriot dialect.

interviewed two of the individuals myself, I did not re-interview one of them (Anna), however permission was granted for me to use the transcript in my study¹⁹.

As Edwards (1998) and Temple and Edwards (2002) observe, while it is now commonly accepted that researchers need to be critically reflexive about their own positionality in relation to conducting research, less has been written about the involvement and role of translators in research projects. Hence in this section, I wish to reflect on the 'implications of language difference and the use of third parties in communication across languages' (Temple and Edwards, 2002:1-2) for this study. From the outset I was aware that interviews are carried out *with*, rather than *through*, translators and that (just as I had) my translators would approach the research with their own assumptions and concerns (Temple and Edwards, 2002). Just as I examined my own social location and positionality, I would need to be reflexive about the social location of the translators as well and therefore I felt more comfortable working with translators who I had known previously and who I had discussed the aims of my study with in great length. The translators were also known to the participants beforehand and I had of course checked that the participants would be happy to talk with them.

While the translators were from the same ethnic group as the participants and shared some other social characteristics with them, there were other factors that were different, for example, Translator A was educated to a much higher level academically, was much younger and had migrated to the UK more recently than those he interviewed. This would of course have impacted the

¹⁹ So in later chapters when I use data from the interview with Anna, this was the interview that was conducted and transcribed/translated by the Greek School teacher.

power dynamics and relationship between the translator and participants. Just as I felt that my status as an 'insider' was fluid and I sometimes crossed over to be viewed as an 'outsider', this occurred with the translators also, and during the process of data collection, the possible dimensions of difference and similarity emerged as many and fluid (Temple, 2002; Temple and Edwards, 2002).

Translators A and C were briefed before the interviews took place regarding its purpose and potential ethical issues (Murray and Wynne, 2001). I provided them with a list of topic areas with indicative questions, but told them to ask the questions in the order that 'felt right'. Their 'cultural proficiency' also meant that they provided useful insights into particular issues and they also proposed some extra questions. Following the advice from the literature (Fuller and Toon, 1988; Edwards, 1998), when we conducted the interviews I ensured we were seated in a triangular arrangement so that I could still make eye contact with interviewees and could watch the communication take place between them and the translator; in this sense I did not feel completely isolated from the interview, even though I did not understand what was being said at all times.

Every so often, the translator would outline what had been said, giving me the chance to request them to ask further questions on a subject if needed. I was also aware that the translators were exercising a certain degree of agency in the interview process and tried to be mindful of the cultural influences framing this (Crane *et al*, 2009). After each interview, there was a de-briefing session where the translator and I reflected on what had been said and these proved to be valuable in opening up debate about perspectives on the research issues (Edwards, 1998; Temple, 2002). A de-brief was also held with Translator B, who

did not actually take part in the oral interviewing process, but after she had transcribed and translated one of the interviews. She had even added a couple of her own thoughts to the transcription (clearly marked as separate), which I found quite interesting. For example, at one point she wrote she found it '*interesting*' that the interviewee referred to his son-in-law as an '*outsider*', even '*after being in the family for 25 years ...just because he is a foreigner with other customs*'.

Previous works have also acknowledged the difficulties in translating words from one language to another (Murray and Wynne, 2001; Temple and Edwards, 2002; Sidaway *et al*, 2004; Müller, 2007; Crane *et al*, 2009). There were several occasions where the translators struggled to find a word in English to account for the Greek word. There was no easy solution for this and in some cases, it was difficult to keep the exact translation of words and compromises had to be made in order for them to be understood (Crane *et al*, 2009). It does raise awareness however of the 'slippages and overlaps in meaning' (Smith, 1996:164) that may arise when translating language and of the fact that, even when we are not translating from one language to another, a single word may have different meanings to different individuals.

Thus we should remember that texts are always fluid in their construction and meaning (Crane *et al*, 2009). Moreover, because only a small number of interviews required a translator, I did not feel that it was too much of an issue; if a greater number of interviews had not been in English it may have been beneficial to use a professional translator although this in itself would have had additional methodological implications (Welch and Piekkari, 2006; Taylor, 2009).

Although, on the whole, I felt it was positive that the translators were exercising their own agency during the actual interview, there were some points where I felt a lack of control over what was going on. I felt this in particular during the interviews with Translator C when I could see that she wasn't always giving the interviewees the chance to finish their sentences and was cutting them off. There were also times when I asked her to probe an issue further and she brushed it off, claiming we had already 'covered' it. I felt that she was misguided about the degree of involvement required from her and she was making her own decisions about what material was relevant and what questions were pertinent (Murray and Wynne, 2001). Thus, the information derived from these two interviews lacked richness of description and was closer to the bare facts (Taylor, 2009). Furthermore, it appeared Translator C had not fully understood the participant criteria and when she arranged for me to interview an acquaintance of hers, upon starting the interview I realised the lady was from Greece and not Cyprus and therefore was not really suitable for my study. We continued the interview anyway, but I did not use any of the data from it directly.

One last issue regarding the use of a translator relates to that of confidentiality. Some scholars have noted that participants may be more worried about the information derived from their interviews remaining confidential when they are drawn from a small community (Rana, 1998) and when the translator has the same ethnic background (Phelan and Parkman, 1995; Murray and Wynne, 2001). Therefore, I strongly emphasised to the translators that the information imparted in the interviews must not be discussed with anybody else and I made sure the interviewees were comfortable with the choice of translator before holding the interviews.

4.3.6 Methods with children at the Greek School

As well as the interviews with adult participants, I also interviewed 15 children (between the ages of 5 and 16), 12 of whom attended the Greek School. All but two of the children from the Greek School did a drawing as part of the research before their interview took place. Out of the three who did not attend the Greek School, two of the children were aged 14 and expressed that they would rather just have an interview than do a drawing as well, and one was aged eight and wanted to do the drawing. The research in the school began in November 2014 with participant observation; as I mentioned previously, I attended the school most Saturdays for a number of months, taking on a very informal 'teaching assistant' role while also mingling with the children more casually during break times. Many of the children would also attend church on Sundays with their families and so I would get to spend time with them there as well. I felt it was important for the children to get to know me and for a degree of rapport to be developed between us before I asked them to participate in the arts-based activities and interviews in the hope that they would feel more comfortable and confident when speaking to me (Zeitlyn and Mand, 2012).

It is widely accepted in the literature that research with children is potentially different to research with adults and thus, more traditional methods may need to be adapted or innovative techniques created (Punch, 2002). There has been a conceptual shift toward the thinking that children are 'cultural agents and social actors in their own right' (Mitchell, 2006:60) as well as skilled communicators in a range of different ways (White *et al*, 2010). Therefore, research methods should be used which are orientated around these skills in order for children to engage more productively with research (White *et al*, 2010).

One communication tool which researchers in a number of disciplines have employed in an attempt to encourage such engagement is that of drawings (Coates and Coates, 2006; Mitchell, 2006; van Blerk and Ansell, 2006; Zeitlyn and Mand, 2012). As well as being an activity that children may enjoy (although, of course, not all of them), drawings can be used as an ice-breaker and to help them relax, while also triggering discussions (Fargas-Malet *et al*, 2010). Therefore, after attending the Greek School on Saturdays for two months and after gaining the consent of both the children and their parents/guardians, I decided to ask the children to participate in a drawing task (*before* interviewing them).

The drawing I asked them to do was a 'family and friendship diagram'; my aim was for them to reflect on the social relations that are important to them and to represent these in order of significance in a diagram. In order to attempt to transfer some of the power over to the children (albeit in an arguably limited way), I said they could do this in any way they liked. However, after many questions I realised I needed to provide further explanation in the form of examples so I suggested (but made clear they were not limited to) a tree shape drawing or one made of concentric rings. The majority of the children ended up drawing family tree-style drawings (one child drew a picture of his immediate family while another used the concentric rings shape) and it was clear that there was a lot of copying and comparing each other's drawings going on.

Following the advice of White *et al* (2010), I encouraged the children to talk *whilst they were drawing*, and took seriously the comments they made while they were 'in the process of drawing their pictures' rather than simply using the 'draw' followed by 'talk' or 'tell' methods' (p.146). Indeed it was these

interactions with myself and each other that revealed rich and interesting information and helped me to understand their drawings more clearly and to some extent their thought processes whilst they were participating in the activity.

In the following weeks, I carried out informal, semi-structured interviews with the children and used the drawings as a starting point to trigger discussion (Fargas-Malet *et al*, 2010). Some of the children had not finished their drawings in the initial session and so requested that they finish them while I interviewed them, which I agreed to. They were also given the choice as to whether they wanted to be interviewed individually or with a sibling/friend. Four of the children expressed they were happy to be interviewed individually while the remaining eight were interviewed in pairs.

As well as discussing their drawings, questions were asked about relationships with family members and friends, their views on the Greek School and their use of the Greek language, their own cultural identities (although different language was used), holidays to Cyprus and attendance at church and other Greek ceremonies. The interviews with children were more structured than those with adult participants because in most cases, they were more weary and worried what they were saying was incorrect to start off with. However, as the interviews went on, they seemed to 'warm up' and became more talkative and open; indeed some of the children were more open and confident in the interview setting than in the classroom. A couple of the children wanted to ask me similar questions back, which I allowed them to do and it emerged that my own ethnic identity was significant for some of the children as we had some level of commonality when it came to some issues.

As Zeitlyn and Mand (2012) observe, the 'location and context of the research is vital to the positionality and power relations' that affect it (p.994). To conduct the interviews, I took the children into a side room off of the main classroom, so we could still hear what was going on in the lesson. I felt it was important that the teacher did not listen in on the interviews to prevent the children from feeling that the topics of conversation were prohibited by his presence. Because I had been fairly laid-back and 'chatty' with the children previously, I hoped they felt they could open up to me and be honest with their answers (although of course this is not always guaranteed). It appeared that many of the children enjoyed the drawing activity and interview, with some of them thanking me for speaking to them after the interview was completed. In following weeks, some of the children clearly saw the interview as a way of getting out of class, with a couple of them asking to be re-interviewed in order to be taken out of the lesson. In these cases the teacher told them that they had to stay in class else they would fall behind.

4.4 Data analysis

It would be misleading to assume that the analysis process began once fieldwork had ended and all data were collected. To the contrary, attempting to make sense of the data has been an ongoing process, which has been entwined with the tasks of accumulating data in the field, as well as a period of 'sorting' data (see below) and with writing drafts of the thesis. Because I was not seeking to demonstrate or 'test' an existing hypothesis, an inductive or 'bottom-up' approach to analysis was taken, whereby meanings were explored in an open-ended manner (Thomas, 2006), and I worked 'upwards' to identify emerging themes and patterns across the data.

In line with the research aim and questions, the goal of data analysis was to identify emerging themes and patterns in participant's narratives about: the way they identified themselves in relation to their ethnicity; the ways that they 'do' family; and their interactions with transnational/translocal spaces and places in the city. I will outline the ways I attempted to achieve this.

As was previously mentioned, all interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. I decided to transcribe interviews word-for-word and to include any pauses, 'um's' and also laughter. As well as this, I added to the transcripts any notes I had made (during the actual interview) about the interviewee's behaviour, for example, if they were being humorous or appeared reluctant to discuss a particular topic. These observations were indicative of the 'performance' element of the narratives and can potentially be very revealing in themselves (Elliot, 2005). To avoid introducing another layer of interpretation onto the data, I have not edited the language used where the interviewee is speaking in English, but their first language is Greek, therefore not all language used in quotes later on in the thesis is 'grammatically correct'. However I wanted to keep the quotes as close to their original form and feel they are still accessible.

The principal analysis of data loosely followed the trajectory of grounded theory. As Herbert (2000:552) observes, the ethnographer 'allows social order to reveal itself through extended fieldwork', and seeks to unravel the ways in which the social world is understood and made meaningful by its members; this is not so easy to do if one enters the field with rigid categories with which data is analysed. My aim was for order to emerge *from* the field, rather than be imposed *on* the field using a set of pre-determined categories (Silverman, 1985;

Herbert, 2000). Therefore, ideas were built from the ground up (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Although providing a definitive account of the grounded theory approach is not straightforward, some of the basic components of the approach include: simultaneous data collection and analysis; the generation of codes and categories from data; theoretical saturation and constant comparison between data and conceptualisations (Bryman, 2016). As I have already pointed out, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously from the outset. When I finished fieldwork, I did spend some time 'sorting' my data in order to generate codes and categories. This involved multiple critical re-readings of transcripts and field notes in order to narrow-down the focus and identify meaningful patterns and themes across the data (Corbin, 2008). I used the computer software package NVivo to organise data; once I had re-familiarised myself with the interview data through transcribing and re-reading, I coded the material according to the topics and themes that were discussed (e.g. migration of the first-generation, parent-child relationships, transnational social spaces, male dominance). Some of these initial themes were then divided into sub-themes, for example, migration of the first-generation was then sub-coded into reasons for moving, settling in to the UK, return to Cyprus and so on. This process, known as 'open coding', enabled emerging themes and relationships to be investigated and helped to un-pick the data.

One of the components of grounded theory, theoretical saturation, infers that a point is reached whereby new data are no longer illuminating the concepts or categories that the researcher is seeking to investigate. Because this was a smaller scale, in-depth study that was constrained by time, and the experiences

of each family were so vast, while trends and patterns clearly emerged from the data, I cannot say that theoretical saturation was fully reached. However the trends and patterns that did emerge were certainly clear enough to make some generalisations.

I kept a research diary detailing my reflections and experiences throughout the fieldwork, particularly during participant observation, and this was used to corroborate and add depth to the findings (Hoggart *et al*, 2002). Observations helped to shape some of the questions in future interviews, as I sought to gain clarity or contradict things I had witnessed. I also selected observations to use in the write-up that either supported claims that were made in interviews or contradicted what had been said. The process of writing-up and drafting and re-drafting chapters also contributed to the 'sense making' (Schiellerup, 2008) of the data and, following the grounded theory framework, constant comparisons were made between data and conceptualisations. It is important to acknowledge that grounded theory provided a *rough* model of analysis in this thesis and the framework was not employed wholly. In reality, the analysis involved a lot of jumping between concepts and ideas, interviews and participant observation while attempting to apply codes and categories to the data. Thus, the analysis of data was not achieved while seated in front of the computer coding data, rather it was an on-going process which continued throughout the fieldwork.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Before proceeding with fieldwork, ethical approval was granted by the Plymouth University Ethics Committee. However, although their suggested conditions were fully adhered to, all research can potentially be affected by a range of

ethical issues; indeed Mason (2002) argues that qualitative research that aims to construct detailed descriptions of individual's lives is likely to be more affected by such issues than in quantitative research, especially in relation to maintaining the confidentiality and privacy of those involved. Here, the issues that arose during fieldwork are identified and some of the limitations discussed, as well as the ways in which an attempt was made to mitigate them.

4.5.1 Power relationships and positionality

As was discussed in Section 4.3, a frequent criticism of ethnographic research is that it relies on the interpretations of the researcher and therefore is subject to researcher bias (Rengert, 1997; Hoggart *et al*, 2002). Although the influence of the researcher is prevalent in all research studies, its potential is particularly visible in intensive methods due to the prolonged interaction of researcher and participants (Hoggart *et al*, 2002). However, as Hoggart *et al* (2002) suggest, 'this visibility is not in itself problematic, as long as it is openly acknowledged and is not detrimental to the research process' (p.223). Thus I have made a determined effort in this chapter and in those that follow, to be open about my positionality and role in the research.

However, the focus should not be placed solely upon the researcher; it is of salience to acknowledge the interaction between researcher and researched (Cloke *et al*, 2000). As McDowell (1992:399) observes, there must be 'recognition of the positionality of the researcher and her/his subjects and the relations of power between them' and these relations of power must be reflectively considered. Within the layering of power relations, it is inevitable that the researcher will hold a certain degree of power over the research encounter

and thus, the way in which narratives are interpreted and the knowledge that is constructed.

While it was accepted that the inequality in power generally worked in my favour as the researcher (Winchester, 1996) – it was I who decided upon the topic of study in the first place and initiated the research act, selected the majority of participants, analysed and interpreted data and was responsible for the writing-up of findings (Hoggart *et al*, 2002) – efforts were made to shift some of the imbalances. As was discussed in Section 4.3.4, I asked participants to choose the date and location of the interview in the hope that this would empower them and also help them to feel more relaxed (Elwood and Martin, 2000). When they chose to be interviewed in their homes, I became a ‘guest’ (as well as a researcher) and because I did not know the home and in most cases, all of its members, I felt that the interviewee retained a greater degree of power over the encounter.

Moreover, the conversational style of the interview meant that participants were able to ask me questions about my own life and experiences; there were some instances where I could relate to Palriwalas’ (1991:32) claim that during the collection of data, she felt as though she too was being ‘thoroughly researched’ as she was questioned about her own life, hopes and future prospects. When I was questioned by participants, I responded openly and honestly and hoped that this would help to build their trust in me (Cloke *et al*, 2004).

There were also times when I felt distinctly powerless and this occurred when people rejected the request to participate in the study. As was discussed previously (Section 4.3.3) it was difficult to find families where members of all three generations were willing to participate and members of the first-generation

seemed particularly reluctant to take part. I could only do my best to convince them that their input would be highly valuable; if they still refused I had to accept there was nothing more to be done. It was on such occasions that I felt the flow of power was reversed (Hoggart *et al*, 2002).

Despite the measures that were taken in order for participants to retain some level of power, and the occasions where I felt 'powerless', I retained considerable power over how conversations were interpreted, analysed and used in the write-up. Adams (2008) refers to this power as 'narrative privilege' and argues that the researcher should acknowledge this privilege in order to 'discern who we might hurt or silence in telling stories as well as whose stories we do not (and may not ever) hear' (p.181). He suggests that an ethical writer is somebody who reflects on these issues, therefore I tried to be mindful of them during the analysis and writing-up stages of the project. This meant trying to produce a 'truthful account' while also being alert to the fact that some of the findings could be hurtful to some readers/participants.

There were times when I had to make a considered judgement about what material to use and I felt that some things should remain confidential, despite the fact that they were really interesting (Cloke *et al*, 2004). Furthermore, during the interviews I asked some personal questions which had the potential to be upsetting for participants. I made it clear at the start that we could switch off the recorder and/or end the interview at any time. One participant did get upset at the very end of the interview, however wanted to continue talking with the recorder turned off and another requested that we did not discuss certain topics as they brought back 'painful' memories, but was happy to continue discussing other topics. In these two instances I complied willingly with their requests as I

felt it was of central importance to respect participants' privacy and I did not want to come across as too intrusive.

4.5.2 Confidentiality

As was discussed earlier, I informed potential participants, both on the consent form and information sheet (as well as verbally) that all matters discussed would remain confidential and that pseudonyms would be used so that their identity would remain anonymous. Due to the close-knit nature of the church community, I avoided talking about the interviews at all with church attendees in general and did not tell others who had been interviewed unless they had already been informed. I was also careful not to share any information learnt during interviews with anybody else.

The issue of confidentiality was not only prevalent when conducting research with the church community, it was also considered within the context of researching families. As Wigfall *et al* (2012) comment, 'in inter-generational research, researcher-participant trust becomes particularly important in ensuring the confidentiality of each family member taking part' (p.595). It was up to individual family members to trust in me not to share the information discussed with other members of the family and I ensured I kept all information strictly private. In larger projects where there are multiple researchers working as part of a team, it is advisable that individual interviews in a family chain be conducted by different members of the research team (Wigfall *et al*, 2012), however this was not possible and I was responsible for conducting all interviews (except with the assistance of a translator in some cases). Therefore I was very strict about not discussing my data with other participants.

4.5.3 Informed consent

I sought to conduct all research with 'informed consent' where possible. This meant that all interviewees were asked to sign a consent form, after having been shown and given time to read the information sheet, before the interview took place. I had copies of the consent form and information sheet written in both Greek (Appendices C and D) and English (Appendices A and B) so that interviewees could read them in the language they felt most comfortable with. When conducting research with children, both the children and their parents/guardians were also asked to sign a consent form (Appendices E and G). Once again, this was done after they were given the opportunity to read the information sheet (Appendices F and H) as well as the Greek School teacher informing them about the research and what it would entail. All of the children were granted permission to take part and agreed themselves to participate.

However, Cloke *et al* (2004) draw our attention to the fact that gaining permission for an interview is not a clear-cut event that occurs before the interview begins. Rather, despite having signed the consent form, an interviewee may not really release their permission until they begin to trust the interviewer. Hence, their responses generally become more interesting once permissive trust has been established. I certainly felt this was the case with a number of my participants, especially those who were less familiar with me, and it took a while before they really started to open up to me. I often found myself saving questions that were more peripheral to the study for when I felt the trust had developed in order to gain more personal and detailed answers (Punch, 1986).

The issue of gaining consent is slightly more complicated where participant observation is concerned. As I mentioned earlier, while I had gained the consent of the appropriate figures at the church and school to conduct my research, no general announcement was made to the congregation about what I was doing there (although this did occur at the Greek School). The Greek teacher and I did make an effort to make regular attendees aware of what I was doing, however it was impossible to make every single church attendee aware of my research because sometimes individuals only attended as a one-off. I tried to overcome this by always being open about my reasons for being there when speaking with others and by working within the parameters established by the church representatives.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented a detailed evaluation of the methods employed in this research, highlighting the limitations and ethical issues associated with them. It has explained how the ethnographic approach that was taken is appropriate to the aim of the thesis, which seeks to understand complex social issues and the social practices of the 'everyday'. It has also attempted to understand the effect that I, as the researcher, have had on the data that were collected, especially with regard to the issue of 'insider status' and how this was negotiated during data collection. As with all methodologies, the research was not without its weaknesses, however these have been identified and were taken into account when analysing the findings. Despite the weaknesses, the ethnographic approach resulted in a wealth of rich data that revealed valuable insights into the experiences and beliefs of three generations of migrant families.

Chapter 5. Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement in the UK: An overview

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a general overview of the more recent geo-political situation in Cyprus and Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement in the UK. It then goes on to focus specifically on the migration of the first-generation to the study city. As relatively little has been written about Greek-Cypriots living in the UK, I will complement the available literature with some of my own data. This overview provides an important contextual backdrop for discussions in the following chapters, and is an important part of the histories of the families involved. It is vital to understand where the first-generation members came from and their experiences of migration and settlement in the UK, in order to understand fully their experiences of family-life and the changes that have taken place among successive generations. As was discussed in Chapter One, the experiences of white European immigrant groups in the UK have often been ignored in the literature, therefore the Greek-Cypriots are used in this study to explore a number of wider issues that such groups may experience.

Following this introduction, the next section will briefly outline the more recent geo-political context of Cyprus. Section 5.3 discusses the reasons for the migration of the first-generation; while economic factors were commonly stated as the main reason for migration there was a gender divide and some women moved in order to wed Cypriot men already living in the UK. Section 5.4 discusses the narratives of loss and hard work that were recurrent in the life histories of first-generation members, despite their eventual success in bettering

their economic and social positioning in the UK. Section 5.5 outlines Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement specifically in the study city. Finally, Section 5.7 reviews the available (albeit limited) literature on the second- and third-generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK.

5.2 A troubled island? The geo-political context of Cyprus

The island of Cyprus has often been characterised as a troubled one; as a place of ethnic division and inevitable conflict (Taylor, 2009). This is partly due to its strategic maritime location- 75 kilometres from the coast of Turkey, 100 kilometres from Syria and 400 kilometres west of the Greek island of Rhodes. This positioning has meant the island has attracted a succession of empires, however three centuries of Ottoman Rule in Cyprus were finally succeeded by British colonialism in 1878 (Papadakis, 2008).

The British colonial period saw the rise of both Greek and Turkish nationalism; while Greek-Cypriots strove for *enosis* – the union of Cyprus with Greece – Turkish-Cypriots initially preferred the continuation of British rule, but later demanded *taksim* – the partition of the island (Papadakis, 2008; Teerling, 2010). The oppositional aims and the British policies of aggravating divisions resulted in violent confrontations between the two ethnic groups (Xydis, 1973). In 1960, British colonial rule came to an end and Cyprus became an independent state, the Republic of Cyprus, with a population composed of 80% Greek-Cypriots and 18% Turkish-Cypriots (Papadakis *et al*, 2006). This outcome only frustrated the political goals of both communities however, and three years after the island was declared independent, inter-ethnic violence broke out on the island, lasting intermittently until 1967 (Papadakis, 2008). During this time, the Turkish-

Cypriots suffered the heavier cost in terms of casualties, and around a fifth of their population was displaced.

By 1967, the Greek-Cypriot leadership began to gradually distance itself from the aim of union with Greece 'and sought instead to preserve the independence of Cyprus, in the face of attempts by Athens to dictate politics, and to solve the intercommunal dispute' (Papadakis, 2008:130-131). This time, a new conflict developed, but among Greek-Cypriots; a pro-enosis military junta took control of the government in Greece and along with a small group of Cypriot right-wing extremists (calling themselves EOKA B), staged a coup in 1974 against the president of the island, Archbishop Makarios, in order to bring about union. Five days later, Turkish military intervened, which resulted in the division of the island and the displacement of Greek-Cypriots en masse to the south whilst Turkish-Cypriots moved to the northern third of the island, which was now under Turkish occupation.

This time, Greek-Cypriots suffered most in terms of people killed, missing and displaced; in fact approximately one third of the Greek-Cypriot population (200,000 individuals) was displaced (Calotychos, 1998). In 1983, Turkish-Cypriot authorities 'unilaterally declared the establishment of their own state in northern Cyprus, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) that has since remained internationally unrecognized except by Turkey' (Papadakis, 2008:131). To date, the island's capital city of Nicosia is the last divided capital in the world.

Although ethnic violence has all but ceased now, the division of Cyprus continues politically, militarily and 'in the minds of Cypriots' (Jacobson *et al*, 2009:29). It is important to understand this history in order to understand the

thinking of both the first- and successive generations, and the way in which it has influenced migrant narratives, especially in relation to those of loss and hard work (Section 5.4).

5.3 Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement in the UK

Historically, Cyprus has always been a country of emigration and, as a former UK colony, many Cypriots have migrated to the UK (Teerling, 2010). Some estimates suggest that the number of Cypriots living abroad approximates half of the island's population (Anthias 1992; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou 2007). Estimations of the number of Cypriots living in the UK vary greatly, however the National Federation of Cypriots in the UK, an umbrella organisation representing the Cypriot community associations and groups across the UK, claims to represent more than 300,000 Britons of Cypriot ancestry. This total includes those of both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot origin and it is difficult to find data which separates the two. However, it can still be stated that the number of Greek-Cypriots in the UK is substantial.

The latest available census data states that there are 68,682 Cypriots living in England and Wales, and 30,870 at the very least are Greek-Cypriot (ONS, 2011a). However, it is worth noting here that collecting data on ethnic groupings is highly complex due to the subjective and changing nature of ethnic identification (ONS, 2014). Participants in this study articulated the difficulty they experienced in deciding which ethnic group they belonged to when completing census forms, and claimed they often made a decision according to the nationality of their passport. Some second- and third-generation participants also explained that they would answer this question according to the country where they were born, and so would say English/British, even though 'inside'

they felt they were more 'Greek' or 'Cypriot'. Hence it is evident that such totals can be deceiving and can disguise the true number of people of Greek-Cypriot ancestry (or any other ethnic group) living in the UK (Burrell, 2005), and also goes some way in explaining why totals vary depending on which source they have come from.

While the earliest immigrants from Cyprus began to move to the UK in the 1930s, the bulk of migration took place during the 1950s and 1960s as individuals migrated to obtain better wages and stable jobs (Teerling, 2010). Another main influx came to the UK in 1974 after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and the subsequent partition of the island (Teerling, 2010). Between the 1930s and 1950s the first wave of migrants mainly moved to areas of London such as Soho, Holborn, Islington and Camden Town, however by the 1970s, they tended to move further out into Haringey and Enfield (Anthias, 1992). Some also settled in other cities, like Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester, as well as cities in the South East and South West (Anthias 1992).

During the 1950s and 1960s, economic factors were the main motives for migrants to move to the UK; there were high levels of unemployment in Cyprus at the time, and many came from rural backgrounds where the depletion of agriculture was being experienced (Oakley, 1979; Anthias, 1992). For many, life in Cyprus was characterised by poverty and uncertainty:

"I think it was just my father came over [in 1951] because in those days they thought England was paved with gold um because of the, because of the poverty in Cyprus there were a lot of people emigrating here and Canada and Australia and my father picked England." (Andrew, second-generation, age 66)

As Andrew's comment illustrates, like members of other ethnic groups, many Cypriots came to the UK with hopes of building a 'better life' for their families and to widen the opportunities available to their children. The majority also came with the hope of one day returning to live in Cyprus (Charalambous *et al*, 1988). However, most of them had come from villages located in the north of Cyprus, which was captured by Turkish forces in the 1974 invasion of the island, and resulted in the expulsion of most of the Greek-Cypriot population to the south of the island. This meant that those who had left the island pre-invasion could no longer return to their 'homes'; the effect of this will be discussed later in the chapter. Moreover, Anthias (1992) also asserts that kinship, family and village networks were utilised to facilitate migration. The following extract from Chris' interview highlights this point:

"Yeh my parents came to England uh probably in the 20s and originally uh my father came, not too long after the first world war- Uncle Nick, my mother's eldest brother uh was a very early arrival- he fought with the British in the first world war and got himself gassed bless him so he suffered all his life with his lungs and had a special pension (LAUGHS) I think like seven and six a week or something, which you wouldn't know what that means, but that was a lot of money, but uh, so he was the first to come was my Uncle Nick and then the others began to follow- he would sponsor them, you know, somebody was ringing, would contact him from Cyprus and say 'can I come to England? Will you sponsor me?' and he would very often fund them to come you know and then they would pay him back as and when they got employment and um so that was Uncle Nick then my mother, he wanted my mother to come to England from Limassol but my father- my grandfather was still alive at that time, back in the 20s and uh he said 'no! She has to stay and look after her mother' you see and he wouldn't agree then he died and uh my granny said 'OK you can go and look after your brother in London'. By that time she had been trained pretty well as a seamstress so then she came to London to look after my Uncle Nick who was working uh I think as like a manager in one of the small hotels in London and uh my mother would then work as a seamstress in all those places in London's- in West End of London, it was big shops where they would do all the seaming and she, that was her job doing that and looking after Uncle Nick then eventually of course he got married then we're getting into the 30s now and then um she must have met my father- well must have met my father in the 20s, through you know, the catering business, they got married and um so then my father and [...]"

my godfather [...] said 'come to Plymouth', they'd heard about Plymouth-ooo seaside place and they were really as they say, the first Cypriots into Plymouth, you see? And they opened up a small café." (Chris, second-generation, age 83)

This was a typical scenario whereby men in the family would migrate first (often with the help of a sponsor) and then females would follow after, both as wives and potential wives. As Anthias (1992) states, each village had an individual who had already 'made good' in the catering industry or a small business, and they would then act as sponsor to friends and relatives. Right from this initial stage, we can see the importance of transnational and translocal links in facilitating migration. This meant that social connections from villages in Cyprus would later underpin the formation of ethnic communities in the host country (Burrell, 2005). Many of my participants were from the same villages in Cyprus and it was evident that such networks had not only facilitated migration, but bonds had been maintained to the present day.

The majority of the first-generation grew up in villages where a traditional set of social practices were abided by and, above all, extremely high value was placed on family-life and family commitments (Constantinides, 1977; Oakley, 1979). Family-based village-life was also highly gendered and there were different expectations of men and women. Josephides (1988) claims that the concepts of honour and shame underlay every aspect of economic and social life and it is here where we can see gender differences among Greek-Cypriots perhaps most clearly. While it was expected that women would remain 'sexually pure' until marriage, be obedient to men and responsible for childcare and domestic tasks, this was not the case for men. Sex before marriage was perfectly acceptable for men, and was viewed as something that proved their manhood

and after marriage they were expected to take on the traditional breadwinner role and support their family economically (Josephides, 1988; Anthias, 1992).

These traditional village-life values and practices were brought over by migrant families to the UK and early studies describe how they continued to live accordingly (Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Anthias, 1992). These village-life values also influenced migration patterns; while economic factors were the main motive for most men to migrate, up until the 1960s, many women came to get married, and there was a tendency to bring brides over from Cyprus using the arranged marriage system called *proxenia* (Anthias, 1992). One of the first-generation females found this idea very daunting:

“On the 7th of May 1952 I arrived in England. I considered myself lucky to be here. I didn’t have a reason as to why I was lucky but I always dreamed of travelling. However not to get married. When my father told me to move to England to wed, I was scared.” (Anna, first-generation, age 81)

While Anna’s father had arranged for her to marry a Cypriot man, three of the female first-generation participants in the study had married British men after settling in the UK, however they had all migrated much later than Anna, in the 1970s, and this could reflect a more general change in marriage practices among the ethnic group. Other women who were already married pre-migration joined their husbands in the UK after a year or two when they had found a job and accommodation. For Anna, it seemed that she did not have much control over her situation as her marriage had been arranged by her father- a reflection of the patriarchal values that were upheld by the ethnic group at the time (Josephides, 1988; Anthias, 1992).

Nevertheless, Anthias (1983; 1992) draws our attention to the fact that, although such patriarchal values and practices may have been oppressive for

women, their traditional skills in cooking and sewing and the subsequent labour they provided, formed the foundation of the ethnic economy and contributed to its growth. Like Chris' mother, many of the first-generation women worked as seamstresses, either in large warehouses or from home, and their income played a vital part in the eventual economic success of many families. I would also argue that women play an influential role when it comes to ideas of the ethnic community and cultural identity; especially the second- and third-generations because of the way in which they may resist the patriarchal values imposed on them by members of their family and the wider ethnic group. This idea will be explored more in later chapters.

Anthias (1992) also observes that the long working hours of the first-generation meant they were less likely to learn the English language, gain qualifications and take part in British politics. She suggests that these factors go some way in explaining why the older members of the first-generation in her study were more likely to identify as Greek or Cypriot than their offspring, as they were less integrated into British society (Anthias, 1992).

Members of the first-generation in this study also spoke of some of the struggles they experienced when they first settled in the UK. When asked, the majority of them stated that their lack of knowledge of the English language was the main challenge for them when they arrived:

“Um only thing I was, not annoyed, bit upset because I didn't understand the language, obviously is not their people fault, it's my fault because I didn't know the language.” (Theodora, first-generation, age 69)

“Obviously the language, darling, the language was the barrier, I just didn't want people to talk to me because I didn't know what to say if it's right or wrong” (Xanthe, first-generation, age 64)

Theodora and Xanthe migrated in the early 1970s and therefore were some of the later migrants, however it still seemed that there were few local services available in terms of language classes and support groups for recent migrants. In some cases this hindered their integration into mainstream society and left some individuals feeling alienated. The fact that most of the participants worked alongside other Cypriots when they first migrated, and, therefore, continued to speak Greek in the workplace gave them even less opportunity to learn the English language. This also impacted the children of the first-generation and, despite being born in the UK, many of them still spoke Greek as their first language and did not learn English until they went to pre-school/primary school (see Section 8.3 for more detail).

As was mentioned previously, many of the first-generation came from rural villages and worked primarily in agriculture. This meant they were accustomed to working outdoors and closely with nature, and so they experienced quite a culture shock when they came to the UK and had to work indoors. Georgios recounts the struggle he faced when he first arrived in London because of this:

“When I came and started work I was crying because I was different ... I was used to be in the woods, in the fields and now I was in the basement all day. They didn’t even allowed you to drink coffee, it was great calamity, how can I explain it to you, it was very difficult. After I left, I went to another restaurant which had many Cypriots. English ... I did not speak the language; fortunately there were many Cypriots there and we understood each other. We had a good time.” (Georgios, first-generation, mid-eighties)

Some of the women also spoke of how difficult it was to adjust to the working conditions in the busy and loud warehouses in London. There was evidently a stark contrast to the type of work and conditions they were used to in rural Cyprus, where they were mainly farming the land and working within the family

unit. This draws our attention to the significance of space/place in achieving a sense of belonging; a theme that is developed in the following chapters. In this instance, the unfamiliar space of the warehouses in London that were characterised as loud as hectic contrasted with the spaces of work in Cyprus that were mainly outdoors and more open.

While learning a new language and adapting to different working conditions were obviously not the only challenges that the first-generation faced when they first migrated, they were the most frequently mentioned by participants when asked. Although it is not my aim to go into too much detail on this topic, it does highlight how such 'invisible' groups, which are often assumed to integrate unproblematically into British society, do face some challenges upon arrival in the host society and they may experience some form of struggle in adapting to life in the UK.

5.4 Narratives of loss and hard work

As has been discussed, the majority of the earlier studies of Greek-Cypriot settlement in the UK stress the strong ideology of economic and material betterment that was felt among the families, and how this was something they worked single-mindedly to achieve (Constantinides, 1977; Anthias, 1992). As with other migrant groups, the Greek-Cypriots often took on jobs that were the least attractive to host society members and where few English language skills were required (Teerling, 2010). Many of the first-generation worked in the catering business, often as kitchen staff and waiters, while others were employed in the clothing industry, working as tailors and dress-makers (Anthias, 1992). It was not unusual for them to save their earnings and use them to set up their own businesses; most commonly these were restaurants, cafes and small

factories. Many worked long hours, even six or seven days a week, leaving little time for relaxation and leisure activities (Teerling, 2010).

During the interviews with first-generation participants, their stories of migration emphasised this determination to succeed and often developed around a dichotomous narrative of loss and hard work. Some accounts were also very emotional; as was discussed in Chapter Three, drawing on weak theory emphasises the need to tend to the emotional elements of the migration experience. Similarly, Conradson and McKay (2007) assert the importance of the 'felt' dimensions of mobility and argue that the emotions that accompany emplacement (and also displacement) and mobility are central to migrants' social lives and shape their experiences of the world and relations with others. Therefore one should attempt to understand the emotions expressed by the first-generation, in order to understand their wider experiences.

When recounting their childhoods it became clear that the majority of them began their working lives from a young age and they learned to work 'hard':

"We had a good childhood but had to go from school to work. I was four years-old and I went to my father's shop. You had to go and put things on shelves, and later I went to the orchard as well. So we grew up and learned to work." (Fryda, Panas family, age 62)

"Yes well like I had my girls which I had to work two, three jobs sometimes at the time because uhh one good thing with Cyprus you learn to work because you've got no choice and because it's no benefits, it's not like in England so you have to work, you learn to love working- now I don't know if you gunna love certain jobs or not but you learn to love working." (Alyssa, first-generation, age 46)

Despite differences in age/time of migration, all the first-generation spoke of 'working hard' when growing up and living in Cyprus and this work ethic continued once they had moved to the UK. Moreover, it was not uncommon for

individuals' opportunities to be prohibited when growing up in Cyprus due to the need for their help in running the family farm, as we can see from the following extract:

TL: *"When you were growing up in Cyprus what did you want to do or become?"*

Georgios: *"Ah this is it. Big story for that one. I start from beginning what is happen; at school I was a very good student. I used to get the best marks. I was also going to go to college. My father died from a heart attack just as I finished secondary school. I had three younger siblings. We had to look after the animals and the fields and who was going to stay do this work? I stopped my studies [...] my conscious would not allow me to go back to school and destroy the family. Because if the older one who was 13 left and the others who were eight, seven and six, who was going to do the work? I was forced to stop everything and slowly, slowly I started farming and working the fields. That was my biggest regret and still is, I so wanted to go to school. I cried so much. That's why even when I came to England I tried to set up a Greek school."* (First-generation, mid-eighties)

Similarly, some of the participants' parents could not afford to send them to college or university, and thus their educational opportunities were very limited. However, despite these tales of hardship and the fact that most of them were not educated academically to a high level, most participants' narratives resulted in success stories, with families eventually succeeding in buying their own businesses and living comfortably. For some, the economic dream became a reality.

As well as the narratives of hard work, it also became clear that a sense of loss was felt by many of the first-generation. Although most of the first-generation who participated in this study left Cyprus before the 1974 invasion, most who did came with the hope of one day returning. For those who came from villages in the north of Cyprus, the opportunity to return to their 'homes' was taken away from them. As discussed in Chapter Three, home is much more than just a material space and when the north of Cyprus was seized by Turkish authorities,

those who were forced to leave/had already left, lost not only their physical property, but ‘the house combined with the neighbourhood, its social networks, accumulated social capital, the landscape and crops and flowers, all of which were specific to a certain moment in time’ (Taylor, 2009:264-265). When looking at all these aspects of home combined together, we can begin to appreciate why the loss remains a preoccupation for some, even when their life in the UK may be viewed as successful.

Like the Cypriot refugees in Taylor’s (2015) study²⁰, several of the first-generation spoke of their pining for their ‘homeland’:

“In Cyprus we go every year. I brought my kids up to love Cyprus and to go there every year. My grandchildren love Cyprus. We in England, spent more sorrows and worries about what happened to Cyprus because we lost our home two, three times. We left our country the first time and after the invasion we went through the same sad feelings again... It is still my homeland. I still pine for what is happening in Cyprus, what happened and what is not yet happening to free Cyprus. I am begging God to see Cyprus free and wish my husband was alive to see Cyprus as a free country, I mean like we were mixed in the first place without the Turks of Turkey. Cyprus is my homeland, I cannot forget Cyprus even for a day or minute. My thoughts are there all the time.” (Anna, first-generation, age 81)

Even though Anna has now lived in the UK for over 60 years, she still dreams of returning to Cyprus- the Cyprus where she lived before the invasion and the resulting division. Furthermore, some of their children also spoke of the loss and hardship their parents had experienced and how, although it was not their own loss, they still felt for them. This was brought to the forefront of discussions with those who had had the opportunity to visit their parents’ and grandparents’

²⁰ Although none of my participants referred to themselves as ‘refugees’ during the formal interviews, when I had conversations with other members of the ethnic group, there were two individuals (both second-generation) who had moved to Cyprus from the UK and were there at the time of the 1974 invasion. Both of these individuals had exclaimed that they were refugees and went on to talk about their experiences during the war, especially in comparison to the current context of the refugee crisis.

homes in the north after border restrictions were relaxed in Cyprus in 2003.

Elias spoke of the emotions that arose when he visited his mother's village:

"I went over there not last Christmas, the Christmas before for the first time across the other side just to see what my mum's crib was like and um it was quite sad really cus you know, there the Turks are raising all the village names, so they're just Turkish now, but google maps has them in both- in Greek and then Turkish, but so- and then we went, pulled up to her house, but we couldn't go in cus a Turkish gypsy family were living in there so you can't- so she just stood there, just looking, you know, imagine that, you know your own home you can't even go inside and then she showed me all the fields, the acres and acres of fields she used to do by hand, you know, there's no machines or anything so I'll never complain about hard work again, you know, but it's just, I just think to myself, it raised a few questions in my mind when I left there because another 20, 30 years, that generation are gunna be gone and they're the last ones that lived there- to me, I never lived there, it's not a memory for me, by proxy I know it because of them." (Elias, second-generation, late twenties)

It is questionable as to whether the family really was a 'gypsy' family, however this sort of language demonstrates the prejudice and discriminatory attitudes that are still felt by some Cypriots today towards the Turks (Anastasiou, 2002), especially towards those who live in their previous homes²¹. Elias and others also spoke of how churches and graveyards in the north had been de-faced and the disrespect they felt this showed; it was clearly a topic that evoked many emotions.

I had also been to visit the village where my yiayia had grown up in the north and have always felt it was a surreal experience, standing outside what previously had been her home, and not being able to go inside. When we walked around the back of the property my yiayia showed us the orange trees they had grown when she was young and she clearly felt some possession over them still, as she spent a while collecting oranges to take with us.

²¹ Many participants did emphasise the point that they had lived peacefully with the Turkish-Cypriots before the divide and would happily do so again. Such prejudices and discrimination were only expressed by the minority.

Similarly, later on in the interview, Elias described how his mother had taken the branch of an olive tree from the village when they visited and was now growing it in her back garden in the UK. They were not alone in their desire to take these natural elements with them; Dikomitis (2004) describes how, when accompanying former inhabitants of Larnakas²² on return trips to the village as part of her PhD research, they would often collect jars of water from the fountains there, as well as fruits from their 'own' gardens and soil from specific places to take with them. The soil of the homeland in particular is often of symbolic and discursive importance for migrants who have left the area (Zetter, 1998; Dikomitis, 2004; Taylor, 2015). Like other pilgrims who bring back keepsakes from the sacred sites they have visited (Dikomitis, 2004), Elias' mother was attempting to mobilise a symbolic possession of 'home' and keep this with her in her second 'home' in the UK. This is also one way in which *translocal* senses can be mobilised, i.e. through taste, aroma, sights and sounds; this idea is developed in relation to ethnic food in Chapter Eight.

5.5 Migration and settlement in Plymouth

In terms of the Greek-Cypriot population in Plymouth, it is difficult to determine exactly when the first migrants from Cyprus arrived, however Chris informed me his parents were the first to arrive in 1935. Following the more general trend, they had moved to London initially (in the 1920s) before moving on to Plymouth. The earliest available census data on migrant populations in the area can be traced back to 1951 and informs us of the number of Cypriot-born individuals living in Devon (rather than Plymouth alone). In this year, the recorded number was 82. By 1961, data are available for Plymouth specifically and the number

²² Larnakas tis Lapithou is a small village located in the occupied Kyrenia district in Cyprus.

cited was 89 (while it was 130 for Devon as a whole). This then rose steadily until 1991 when the number given was 236; thereafter the figure has remained fairly stable, with the most recent figures stating there are 256 Cypriot-born individuals living in Plymouth (ONS, 2011b); the figure was 78,795 for England and Wales overall (ONS, 2011a).

The figures also support claims that men were the first to migrate; in both 1951 and 1961 there was almost double the number of Cypriot males as opposed to Cypriot females living in the area. By 1971 however, the numbers became more even and one could assume this was because their wives had followed, or potential wives had come over to get wed.

A limitation of the statistics is that they do not clarify whether these individuals are Greek-Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot. Moreover, while the census data tell us how many individuals living in Plymouth were born in Cyprus, they do not inform us of the number of individuals of Cypriot ancestry currently living in the city. Indeed, the actual number is most likely much higher; according to members of the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek School committees in Plymouth, there are 400-500 individuals of Greek-Cypriot descent living in the city.

The location of the study city and its close proximity to the sea and moors were cited by a number of the first-generation as adding to its appeal. This was in stark contrast to the much faster pace of life in London, which was characterised as an extremely busy and polluted city. Many individuals worked for others in London until they saved enough money to buy their own cafes/restaurants in Plymouth. Moreover, social connections from villages in Cyprus underpinned these movements (Burrell, 2005), the majority of which continued until the late 1970s. Here we can see the importance of translocal

connections and networks in facilitating this second move (this time within the UK). Self-employment was also something many of the earlier Greek-Cypriots migrants strived for; according to the 1971 census, 23% of Cypriots were self-employed compared to 9% of the total working British population (Anthias, 1992).

Once one becomes involved in it, it appears there is a thriving Greek-Cypriot community in Plymouth with the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek School and a number of Greek/Cypriot restaurants providing more public meeting points. As well as this, the group often has a presence at events promoting cultural diversity and respect within the city, for example, the Plymouth Respect Festival (organised by the Plymouth and Devon Racial Equality Council and hosted by Plymouth University).

The church and the school were particularly important in bringing members of the ethnic group together; during data collection several participants expressed the view that these sites were the 'pillars of the community'. However, as was discussed in Chapter Two, it is important to remember the imaginary nature of ethnic communities and the way in which their boundaries are self-evident and fluid (Yuval-Davies, 1991; Dwyer, 1999). Therefore the idea that the church and school actually *do* form the focal point of the community will be questioned in Chapter Eight.

I also learned that members of the first-generation had fought hard to establish these organisations in the study city and they believed they were vital in maintaining the ethnic identity among successive generations. As was observed in Chapter Two, institutions like the church and school may serve as one form of transnational (and translocal) social space, particularly in the way that they

mobilise collective representations based on ethnicity and religion (Faist, 2000). And as we shall see in the following chapters, members of the ethnic group (particularly the first-generation) believed that the key ways in which the Greek-Cypriot identity would be maintained was via the Greek language and the Greek Orthodox religion and therefore they relied on these spaces to promote its maintenance. As Georgiou (2001) asserts, while ethnicity is initially experienced at home, it is reaffirmed in public spaces like the church and school and thus they play an important role in the maintenance of the ethnic identity.

The church and the school also served a further purpose; they acted as physical markers of the groups' presence within the city. This links with Burrell's (2005) study of the Italian and Greek-Cypriot populations living in Leicester, where she argued that certain spaces in the city i.e. Italian/Greek-Cypriot churches and businesses, acted as 'local landmarks which harness community identification from within, and are a visible signifier for the outside world' (p.488). This highlights the importance of space and how specific places can come to act as a signifier of an ethnic group's presence within the urban environment. Therefore, it was important for the Greek-Cypriot community in Plymouth to establish their own church, in order to have their own space and physical mark of their presence. This does however contrast with the notion that such groups are 'invisible' in the host society and we can see how, in some ways, they may choose to make their presence known (more on this in Section 8.4).

However the smaller size of the study city also contributed to its 'village-feel', with some participants stating '*everybody knows everybody*' in relation to members of the ethnic community (this was also heightened by the fact that family and friendship networks facilitated migration in the first place) and also

describing it as a 'mini-Cyprus' due to what they perceived as the high number of individuals of Greek-Cypriot descent living there. As we shall in later chapters, gossip among members of the community served as a form of social control and prevented certain behaviours for some individuals, particularly women, and thus this tight-knit community was not always beneficial for everyone.

5.6 The second- and third-generations of Greek-Cypriots in the UK- what do we know?

While some earlier studies began to explore the differences in certain aspects of social life and employment between the first- and second-generations in the UK, these were scarce and mainly focused on the families of those who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s (Constantinides 1977; Anthias, 1983; 1992; Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Josephides, 1988). Since these initial studies, very few published works have explored the experiences of the second- and third-generations, especially those whose parents'/grandparents' migrated in the 1970s (Burrell, 2005; Cylwik, 2002; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Teerling, 2011), other than some work in relation to health issues (Mavreas and Bebbington, 1987;1988; 1990; Adamopoulou *et al*, 1990; Papadopoulos, 1999; Livingston *et al*, 2001; Papadopoulos *et al*, 2002).

An example of earlier work that does take into account the experiences of the second-generation is Charalambous *et al*'s (1988) study into the cultural identity of the Greek-Cypriot population in the UK. Contributors to the study repeatedly stress the importance of the use of the Greek/Cypriot language among the migrant population if they wish to retain their cultural identity. Like participants in Sullivan's (2012) study, as well as language, the group's religion (Greek Orthodox) and activities such as dancing and music, were described as key

activities that must be passed down through the generations if there is any hope of maintaining the group's identity.

However, while the study identifies the characteristics of the cultural identity that individuals felt were important, it does not explore in any depth the extent to which these practices have been maintained by successive generations; this is a gap which this thesis addresses. Moreover, as Charalambous *et al's* (1988) study is nearly 30 years-old, my research provides more up-to-date data on this topic and the first research question of the thesis will allow me to explore the extent to which a cultural identity has been maintained by the second- and third-generations and the views these individuals hold towards their parents'/grandparents' cultural heritage.

In Anthias' earlier (1992) study on Greek-Cypriots living in the UK, although there is more of a focus on theorising concepts such as ethnicity, race and class, there are some interesting aspects of the research that relate directly to this project. First- and second-generation migrants were asked whether they identified as 'Greek/Cypriot', 'British,' a 'mixture of both', or 'Other'. The results showed that those who came to the UK as adults had a 'very well-defined ethnic identity' as opposed to those who were young when they migrated or were born here (Anthias, 1992:118). The fact that there is a difference between the first-generation migrants' self-identification according to their age highlights the fact that age must be taken into account when researching generations (see discussion in Section 4.3.3).

As we have seen, one of the main reasons Greek-Cypriots migrated to the UK was for economic purposes and the first-generation worked hard to build a better life for their children. Their long working hours meant they were less likely

to learn the English language, gain qualifications and take part in British politics. Anthias (1992) argues that these factors go some way in explaining why the older members of the first-generation were more likely to identify as Greek or Cypriot than their offspring as they were less integrated into British society. The importance of religion, language use and involvement in political organisations for each generation was examined as well as the differential treatment of men and women, particularly with regards to sexual relations, courtship and marriage. It is argued that women were seen as the 'direct transmitters of the 'cultural stuff' of ethnicity' and therefore parents had to police their daughters to ensure they corresponded to the model of 'chaste sexuality' (Anthias, 1992:92).

Anthias also explored the extent to which Greek-Cypriot families in the UK remained strictly patriarchal; she suggests that, although first-generation women did go out to work, their husbands still expected them to be solely responsible for childcare and domestic labour. Her findings resemble those of Josephides' (1988) earlier study on Greek-Cypriot women and the relationship between honour, family and work. She compares the experiences of first- and second-generation women living in London and found that the second-generation avoided the kinds of jobs their mothers did, such as dressmaking and those in the catering industry, and were more likely to be employed in the beauty industry or in clerical jobs (Josephides, 1988). Furthermore, while ideologies of honour and shame were commonly used as a means of controlling the behaviours of the first-generation of women, and discouraging them from working for non-Cypriots, this was less common among the second-generation. While good reputation and sexual modesty were still important for second-generation females, they had more freedom in terms of employment and often

chose *not* to work for Cypriots, who they viewed as 'bad employers'. The issue of honour was divorced from that of women's work for the second-generation and had become attached to girls going out socially- namely, who they were going out with, where and the time they would come home (Josephides, 1988).

While both Anthias' (1992) and Josephides' (1988) studies provide some valuable insights into the experiences of the first- (and some of the second-) generation in the 1980s and early 1990s, this study builds on their findings to add a more up-to-date account of individuals' lived experiences in present-day society. It also takes into account the experiences of the third-generation who may not even have been born, or were very young, when their research was conducted. Moreover, the geographical approach that this study takes means that more emphasis is placed on space and place and how they become significant in identity formation and the elaboration of senses of belonging. As was discussed in the previous chapter, much has been added to the debate surrounding the topic of migrant identities in geography in recent years and thus will help to inform my research.

An example of a more recent study that does take into account the experiences of the second- and third-generations of Greek-Cypriots in the UK is Papapavlou and Pavlou's (2001) exploration of their language use and its relationship with individuals' cultural identity. Results indicate that many of the second- and third-generation are learning the Greek language and the majority of them do so because they have a genuine interest in it, and so they can interact with and feel closer to other members of the Cypriot community. However, a strong shift was revealed among the second- and third-generations in their language preference when they communicate with each other, as English was most often

cited as the preferred language rather than Greek-Cypriot (which was used mainly to communicate with older relatives) (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001). The authors argue that if this pattern continues among successive generations, maintenance of the Greek-Cypriot language will soon be at risk.

Furthermore, despite preferring to use English when speaking to each other, the majority of members of the second- and third-generations still identified *firstly* as Greek-Cypriot, rather than as English/British. Hence it is suggested that they do not appear to be facing an identity crisis and 'they know who they are and have positive feelings towards Cyprus' (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001:105). Nevertheless, I would argue that as a questionnaire was used, not enough in-depth data was collected to know this for sure and more qualitative responses regarding individuals' experiences in their everyday lives and in different contexts is required to better understand their cultural identities and national identifications. This is something that is addressed in this project by taking an ethnographic approach. As we shall see in the following chapter, deeper discussions with participants revealed how they negotiate their identities depending on the situation or who they are speaking with (see Dwyer, 2000; 2002 and Ehrkamp, 2005 for similar experiences among other migrant groups).

It is also significant that although there is only a small body of literature focusing on the experiences of Greek-Cypriots in the UK, nearly all of these studies are based on those living in London. One of the only known published studies on Greek-Cypriots in the UK that is based outside of London is Burrell's (2005) study on understandings and representations of community, which compares the perspectives of Italian and Greek-Cypriot populations living in Leicester. Findings of the study show that, although participants from both groups

articulated the importance of life-cycle events such as weddings and christenings as an integral aspect of community life, interestingly, the importance of the culture of the family was emphasised to a much greater extent among the Greek-Cypriot population than the Italian (Burrell, 2005). Family and kinship were central to Greek-Cypriot notions of community and this group considered the family unit to be the 'building block of society' (Burrell, 2005:491), reinforcing findings from other studies about the importance of the family for Greek-Cypriot populations (Oakley, 1979).

Furthermore, the notion that closeness of village-life back in Cyprus can be reproduced in the host country is explored, whereby there are strong familial and social links to compensate for the loss of physical proximity and an ideology of helping each other out, whether it be in terms of business or childcare (Burrell, 2005). As well as this, Burrell (2005:493) argues that among both groups, 'common homeland value codes of honour, shame and respect have been transported with migration' and fixed understandings of masculinity and femininity are entrenched within them. For the Greek-Cypriot group in particular, there were strong notions of what men should be and perceptions that men have more rights than women, which caused tensions among the second-generation, who did not always agree with this idea or who experienced problems because of it. Once again, this highlights the importance of studying the experiences of the second-generation and the tensions they may face due to the transportation of pre-migration values to the host country (Ehrkamp, 2013; Ziemer, 2010).

Finally, and most recently, an interesting concept to consider, and one that could also be relevant to the migrant families in this study that has arisen from

research with second-generation, British-born Greek-Cypriot returnees, has been named the 'third-cultural spaces of belonging' (Teerling, 2011). This space goes beyond the conventional understandings of 'belonging' and Teerling (p.1080) demonstrates that 'experiences of 'belonging' (or not) cannot be captured within predefined ethnic, national or sociocultural boundaries', rather returnees share personal and professional spaces with 'individuals and groups whose ethnic, national, linguistic and ancestral backgrounds vary greatly'. Yet it is this diversity that unifies them and individuals place an emphasis on bonding with those who also have broader and shared experiences. Because of this, the return migrants tended to have international social networks and friends from a variety of countries. However a certain degree of 'Cypriotness' is maintained, often in a 'fresh or 'unconventional' way (p.1089).

These third-cultural spaces of belonging are different from transnational fields, commonly defined as the various forms of ties and activities that migrants maintain across borders (Vertovec, 2001). That is not to say that the returnees are not involved with any form of transnational activity, but the new third-cultural spaces of belonging are 'influenced by cultures 'borrowing' from each other – blurring the question of who inhabits whose space – yet they are localised in Cyprus, which results in a new kind of 'Cypriotness' experienced by British-born Cypriots in Cyprus today' (Teerling, 2011:1096). One could ask how does each generation of Greek-Cypriot migrants still living in the UK experience Cypriotness and whether this space can be applied to their experiences? As Teerling points out, research is needed on other groups in order to explore how such 'third-cultural spaces of belonging' may exist in different contexts.

To summarise, while these studies have begun to explore the experiences of Greek-Cypriot migrant families in the UK and raised some interesting issues in relation to their identity constructions and experiences of belonging, there is still a gap in our understanding regarding the third-generation of Greek-Cypriot migrants and the extent to which the cultural identity is maintained among this group. More ethnographic research is needed that takes into account the multi-faceted and complex nature of these issues. This study also builds on previous works as it focuses on a Greek-Cypriot community which is located in a 'down-scale' city; this allows for an exploration of the potentially differing experiences to those living in more 'top-scale' cities such as London and Leicester, where there are more institutions developed specifically for the group.

5.7 Summary

This chapter began by briefly outlining the recent geo-political context of Cyprus, which has been described by many as complex and turbulent (Papadakis *et al*, 2006; Papadakis, 2008). Following this, some of the main reasons as to why the first-generation migrated to the UK and key gender differences were identified; while men mainly migrated for economic reasons, in some cases, women were sent to marry Cypriot men who were already established in the UK. Furthermore, the key role that transnational and translocal family/friendship networks played in facilitating migration was also acknowledged as well as the fact that many of these networks still bond members of the community together today. In later chapters we will see, however, how the notion of community can also work to *exclude* individuals and is not always so positive. We will also see the way in which engagement with transnational and translocal activities changes among successive generations.

Upon settlement in the UK, members of the first-generation faced challenges initially (as do most immigrants), especially in relation to their lack of knowledge of the English language, which left them feeling isolated and made integration into the host society difficult. Adjusting to the drastic change in working conditions and lifestyle, from rural to urban for most participants, was also challenging initially. However the location of the study city, with its close proximity to the sea and moors, was very appealing to the majority of the first-generation and was given preference over life in London. This highlights the importance of space and place in processes of migrant incorporation and integration; an area that is developed in following chapters with a focus on the more *local* spaces within the city. Furthermore, while the majority of the first-generation migrated with the intention of one day returning to Cyprus, most of those who migrated to the study city came from the north of the island which was captured by Turkish forces in the 1974 invasion and thus, their hopes of return were dashed. Therefore as well as narratives of hard work, narratives of loss were also recounted by members of the first-generation.

While this chapter has largely provided a contextual background for discussions in the following chapters, some of the key themes have also begun to emerge i.e. family practices, the significance of space/place, transnational and translocal connections and notions of community. It is to these themes that the following chapters now turn and more of the empirical data presented.

Chapter 6. Cultural identity through the generations

6.1 Introduction

As was highlighted in Chapters Two and Three, identity is one of the central foci of much research into migration and ethnicity. Recent works have stressed the idea that an individual's identity can be defined by how people see themselves and how they perceive they are seen by others (Stanley, 2012; Krajewski and Blumberg, 2014). When there are inconsistencies between the two, one may negotiate their identity in different spatial contexts. In this sense, identities can be *performed*, and because this performance is dependent on the social and spatial context, they are also *relational*. In migration scholarship on identity, the extent to which the cultural identity of the 'homeland' is maintained across successive generations after resettlement of the first-generation has become a key area of interest (Campbell, 1999; Dwyer, 1999; 2000; 2002; Walter *et al*, 2002; Hickman *et al*, 2005; Hopkins, 2006; Hopkins, 2007; Hopkins *et al*, 2011; King *et al*, 2011b). In this chapter I explore this theme by addressing my first research question, which seeks to assess whether there are differences in the ways each generation of the Greek-Cypriot migrants in this study identify themselves and elaborate feelings of belonging.

Although work in this area is limited, it has been suggested that the first-generation of migrants are likely to continue to engage with transnational activity and maintain a strong association with their cultural identity (Anthias, 1992; Kong, 1999; Wiles, 2008; Portes, 2009; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010), and that this association then diminishes generationally (Portes, 2009). However, there is limited research on the third-generation that provides empirical evidence to

support this claim. Scholarship on the identities of the second-generation has explored the hybrid mix of influences that such individuals are exposed to and the competing reference points that they are situated between (Hall, 1992; Dwyer, 2002; Levitt, 2009). It has been argued that this mix of cultural influences has led members of the second-generation to re-work discourses of belonging so that they affirm 'hybrid' (Dwyer, 2000; 2002) or 'hyphenated' (Giampapa, 2001; Belanger and Verkuyten, 2010; Raffaetà *et al*, 2016) identities (i.e. Irish-English). Moreover, individuals of later migrant generations may only have a 'symbolic identification' with their ancestry and their ethnicity does not necessarily have to influence their lives unless they *want* it to (Waters, 1990). In this sense, ethnicity can be a subjective identity, 'invoked at will by the individual' (Waters, 1990:7), and thus, these individuals possess 'ethnic choice'.

I suggest that, in line with the literature (Anthias, 1991; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001), the first-generation of migrants maintain a strong association with a 'Greek' or 'Greek-Cypriot' (the use of each term is explained in Section 6.2) identity but this begins to diminish among the second- and third-generations as they express more hybrid/hyphenated identities and also some association as strictly 'British' or 'English'. It is argued that participants have formed a particular conception of what it is to be typically 'Greek' or 'Greek-Cypriot' and they may choose to act on these conceptions to 'perform' their identities. This is similar to the way in which participants in Sullivan's (2012) study consciously performed their Irish identities by acting 'on notions of what they consider or believe to be authentic Irish norms and practices' (p.431). The norms and practises that participants perceive as representative of an 'authentic' Greek-Cypriot identity are revealed throughout the discussion. Linking with the idea of identity as

'performed' I suggest that individuals of all three generations possess a certain degree of agency in articulating their ethnic identities; this is illustrated most clearly when a small number of participants have tried to resist an association with their Greek-Cypriot heritage.

The chapter builds on the existing literature as it provides an in-depth exploration of the construction of the cultural identities of *three* generations of families. To date, our understanding of the identity formations of the third-generation is still limited. It illustrates how participants draw upon a range of factors to justify their choice of ethnic identification and, as much of the earlier literature has shown, their associations are by no means fixed or static as they express how time and place may affect their choice of answer (Leyshon and Bull, 2011). A consideration of age is also important, as we shall see how stage in the lifecourse also affects identity formations. It must be noted that (as was discussed in Section 4.3.3) a statistical classification of generation was used which means that the age groupings of each generation were quite broad (Kertzer, 1983; Rumbaut, 2004; Loizos, 2007). Therefore there were differential experiences *within* the generational groupings.

Sections 6.2 to 6.4 address each generation of families separately, from the first-generation to the third-, and explores how members of each generation identify themselves in terms of ethnicity. The wide range of responses that each generation presents is highlighted, but it is argued that a strong association with a Greek-Cypriot identity diminishes generationally. Attention is drawn to the narratives of individuals who affirm 'half-and-half' or 'hyphenated' identities (Giampapa, 2001; Belanger and Verkuyten, 2010; Raffaetà *et al*, 2016) and the varying reasons put forward for these. The notion of identity as fluid, changing

and relational is illustrated throughout the chapter, as are the ways in which space and place affect identity constructions.

6.2 The first-generation

Perhaps unsurprisingly, members of the first-generation were the most likely to affirm a strong sense of identification as Greek or Greek-Cypriot, even after having lived the majority of their life in the UK. It is worthwhile clarifying at this early stage that participants often used the terms 'Greek' and 'Greek-Cypriot' interchangeably (see also Anthias, 2002) and in most cases 'Greek' was used more often. When asked to clarify the difference between the terms the majority of participants stated that it was just easier to say 'Greek' but that it encompassed their 'Cypriotness' as well.

Based on her research with a Greek community school in London, Simpsi (2014) develops an analytical framework which is linked to the political histories of Greece and Cyprus and suggests that the identity positions of individuals may be dependent on which political ideology individuals affiliate with (discussed in Section 5.2). However, only one of the participants (Alex) in this study made reference to the political histories of the two countries when making the point that he was Greek and *not* Greek-Cypriot or Cypriot. A couple of the younger participants even said they had been born in Greece when it was actually Cyprus²³. Therefore, when the term 'Greek' is used, we can assume that participants are referring to their 'Greek-Cypriotness' (except in the case of Alex).

²³ I knew this because I had also spoken to their parents.

When asked about their ethnic identity, members of the first-generation affirmed that they were Greek/Greek-Cypriot because it was something that was deep-rooted and within them and in some cases something that was unchangeable, no matter how long they lived in the UK for:

“Right, I been here 42 years Gina, I haven’t got a problem with English people, but I’m really proud to say I’m Greek-Cypriot- like I said, I never have complain from the English government [sic], they always helping everybody and I’ve got a house, I’ve got my family and everything, but I’m Greek-Cypriot, I can’t change, I feel I am...it’s something inside you can’t change.” (LAUGHS) (Theodora, first-generation, age 69)

“Well, they say ‘ah Alyssa the Greek, yeh, yeh’ and I don’t think how many years you stay in England or any country you stay you be, you be called like, oh myself, Alyssa, English Alyssa, I don’t think so- the Greek Alyssa innit who lives in England for hundred years perhaps (LAUGHS) but still identical mark is the Greek ennit.” (Alyssa, first-generation, age 46)

“Well yes I said I’m Greek-Cypriot, oh yeh, yeh when people they, you know, when I walk and in the Kingdom Hall, always people they said ‘I love your accent, where do you come from?’ I always say ‘yeh I’m Greek-Cypriot, originally from Cyprus’, but I live here longer than Cyprus when you think about it, yeh, so obviously I live, I think where you live most your years that’s where you love it really.” (Xanthe, first-generation, age 64)

When expressing how proud she is to be Greek-Cypriot, we can see that Theodora is quick to add that she has no problem with English people and that she is appreciative of the British government for the help they have given her and others. A similar sentiment was expressed by a number of participants in the study, especially members of the Panas family who migrated more recently, and whose memories of the help they received from the British government are perhaps more fresh in their memories. Thus, although they are proud of their heritage, these individuals are also grateful for the lives they have in England and I got the impression that they wanted to ensure they did not offend anyone when affirming a Greek/Greek-Cypriot identity, rather than an English or British one.

The above comments also illustrate how some of the first-generation members acknowledged the long length of time they had lived in the host country for, yet this still had not altered their ethnic identification. As Alyssa remarks, even if she were to live in England for 100 years, she would still be classed as Greek, hence for some individuals, no length of time in a host society will alter their identification with their homeland. The way in which Alyssa recognises she is identified by others as 'non-English' also raises the issue of 'ascribed' identity. The literature has acknowledged how the way individuals perceive they are seen by others influences their identity constructions (Stanley, 2012; Krajewski and Blumberg, 2014) and this contributes to the creation of boundaries that mark off one ethnicity from another (Barth, 1969; Sutherland, 2005). In this sense, Alyssa would never see herself as English, as nobody else would see her in this way.

The quotation from Xanthe also draws our attention to the theme of home and how the concepts of home and identity are interrelated yet different. Although individuals may still class themselves as Greek/Greek-Cypriot, the country in which they feel most at home may change and we begin to see this in Xanthe's comment where she states that now, *here* feels more like home. Moreover, following Antonsich's (2010) suggestion that belonging should be analysed as a personal and intimate feeling of being 'at home', but that this should not be conflated uncritically with the notion of identity, we can see how home is re-established by migrants as senses of belonging move over space and are created in new places (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). This is clearly the case for Xanthe, whose conception of home has changed as she has grown to love

England over time, but whose personal perception of her cultural identity has remained the same.

For a couple of the first-generation members there was some ambiguity surrounding where they felt most at home and during the interview they struggled to decide whether they felt more at home here in England or in Cyprus. Alyssa appeared to be the one who most openly struggled with this question when asked:

GK: *"So where would you say feels like home to you?"*

Alyssa: **(LAUGHS)** *"I really don't know...home for me is where my family is, although yeh, my mum is back home and I keep saying- you see? I keep saying back home...um I feel torn on that question actually, I feel torn yeh."*

GK: *"It's a hard one...so if you had no family left in Cyprus, would you class here as your home?"*

Alyssa: *"Yeh, I assume so, it would feel more like home here but then again, I have memories there ain't I, I, I grow up there aren't I, so...but if my whole family was here I might not feel as torn as I feel now...I don't know..."*

GK: *"What is it about here that feels like home to you?"*

Alyssa: *"Well I make memories here as well aren't I, I make memories here, my family's here uhh I had my granddaughter which I never experienced that in Cyprus, I experienced it in England so it's a strong- that's a very strong memory, I met my husband, I got married, which is another very strong change of my life, good memory, good change and, and I became like officially a [Jehovah's] Witness, I took the Truth on my own, I changed my life that way as well...yeh, it's about three great things, three great changes in my life in England so that's why it feels full." (First-generation, age 46)*

There are several points we can take from this narrative with Alyssa; firstly she initially defines home as where her family is located. This was a view expressed by a number of participants in the study, including members of the second- and third-generations, however for some, their home was here in the UK. The close association of home with family has been noted by other writers (Hareven, 1991;

Georgiou, 2001) and one could argue that the close emotional attachments individuals feel with other family members creates for them a sense of belonging. This once again highlights the close association of 'a sense of home' with the feeling of belonging (Walsh, 2006; Antonsich, 2010; Hatfield, 2011) and how belonging is not necessarily always felt to a particular space/place, but to other groups of people or individuals as well (Probyn, 1996). Furthermore, for members of the first-generation who have actually undertaken migration, one way in which they may create a sense of home and belonging in the host country is by having other families members there with them and by maintaining close relationships with them; as Alyssa comments, she has her granddaughter and husband here in England.

The second key point that emerges from the narrative is the importance of memory. As Rapport and Dawson (1998:8) have noted, feelings of home and belonging bring together 'memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global'. Thus, along with other factors, memory is one of the central elements that contributes to 'feeling at home' and while Alyssa's memories of her life in Cyprus remain important to her, she has also made new memories in England. The ones she points out mark key transitions of her lifecourse which she felt were particularly positive. Earlier in the interview Alyssa had spoken of how life had been hard in Cyprus, especially when she was in an 'abusive' and 'disruptive' relationship and so these positive changes she experienced in England contrasted with the hard times she had gone through back in Cyprus. This combination of both good and bad memories in Cyprus, the experience of positive life changes in England and having family in both places is evidence of a hybrid existence. This

hybrid existence means Alyssa has carved out multiple spaces of belonging during her life, which are all important to her in their own way.

It is also important to acknowledge that being a Jehovah's Witness is an important form of identity, which is not linked to Cyprus and the Greek Orthodox Church. While the focus of this chapter is cultural/ethnic identity, it must not be forgotten that an individual's identity is multi-faceted and dynamic. Therefore different facets of an individual's identity can be brought to the fore, depending on the social and spatial context. And although in her earlier quotation Alyssa maintained a strong affirmation of a Greek identity, there was a time in her life when she had tried to distance herself from this and not involve herself or her daughters with the daily norms and practices that she associated with her Greek identity:

"When we first came [to London] because I was so upset with the- my life in Cyprus I, I had a period where I didn't speak to the girls in, in Greek at all because I was in college as I said and I was learning the language [English] as well and when the girls first went in school they were coming back more and more English speaking every day and I thought that's it, I had enough of the Greek language, I wasn't even cooking anything Greek at home because I was so, you know, I was so like- I want to cut off all the roots and everything, but when my mum- after a few years my mum came to England and she couldn't communicate with the girls, I thought, my goodness, what am I doing? What am I doing? I just, even at least for my mum's sake, I have to teach the girls the language, I have to, you know, so (PAUSE) I was back to my senses if you like, so, yeh that's the time when I send them to Greek school uh, yeh and I was speaking to them more at home and all that..." (Alyssa, first-generation, age 46)

As earlier research has shown, migrant individuals possess a certain degree of cultural agency in securing their ethnic identities and can choose which features they wish to emphasise and those which they do not (Campbell, 1999; Hickman *et al*, 2005). The way in which Alyssa chose to turn away from her Greek identity upon her arrival in England, only to return to it years later, highlights not

only the fluid nature of identity and how associations may ebb and flow over the lifecourse – especially after particular transitions – but also the way in which this is driven by intergenerational difference and a desire to talk between generations. Because it was so important to Alyssa that her daughters were able to converse with their grandmother, she realised she could not just turn away from her Cypriot heritage.

This attempt to distance oneself from the ethnic identity was not exclusive to Alyssa; two of the other female participants in the study (but from the second-generation) spoke of similar experiences after feeling their parents were over-protective and their rules too oppressive and in Section 6.3, we shall see how Chris used his cultural agency to act upon the host society by changing his Greek surname to a more British-sounding one, back in the 1950s. This also brings to the forefront the importance of the consideration of age and how this impacts identity formations. In Alyssa's case, once she got older and had children of her own, she realised that the Greek-Cypriot element of her identity was important to her and that she wanted to pass her cultural heritage on to her children.

Although not expressed by Alyssa, another issue that was raised by some members of the first-generation was that after living in the UK for so long, when returning to Cyprus, individuals there no longer view them as a 'true' or 'real' Greek:

Xanthe: *"I knew, I knew if I leave Cyprus, I won't, I knew I won't go back home."*

GK: *"Why was that?"*

Xanthe: *"Because I knew [...] if I go now back to Cyprus they won't, you know, people they won't count you as a Greek, not really."*

GK: “*Cus you’ve lived here for so long?*”

Xanthe: “*Yeh of course!*” (First-generation, age 64)

If we return to the idea discussed in Chapter Three that identity can be defined by how people see themselves and how they perceive they are seen by others (Stanley, 2012; Krajewski and Blumberg, 2014), it becomes evident that Xanthe perceives she is seen by other individuals in Cyprus as no longer ‘a Greek’. So although she still affirmed a strong Greek-Cypriot identity, she no longer wished to return to Cyprus on a more permanent basis as she attempted to negotiate the inconsistencies between her own ethnic identification and that ascribed by others. Some members of the Panas family also remarked that although they had only been living in the UK for eight or nine years, already they were viewed differently by others back in Cyprus. This was because they had picked up some of the everyday norms and practices of the UK, for example, queuing rather than rushing to do things before others and abiding strictly to road laws (see King *et al*, 2008 for similar experiences among second-generation return migrants to Greece). So although Xanthe believes that people in Cyprus will not count her as a Greek because she has lived here for so long (41 years), it could be argued that this perceived change can occur over a much shorter period of time. I would argue that this is because identity is relational and linked to space/place; we can see how an individual’s identity is altered depending on *where* they live/have lived.

This ‘othering’ of individuals as not a ‘true’ or ‘real’ Greek was not exclusive to members of the first-generation, but also something that was experienced by members of the second-generation on their holidays to Cyprus. Similar to the way the term ‘plastic Paddy’ was used by Irish-born migrants to describe the

second-generation who were born in England and whose claims to Irishness were viewed as 'inauthentic' (Campbell, 1999; Hickman *et al*, 2005), Vasilis described how he was called the Greek parallel of the term – a 'Charlie' – by a local during one of his holidays to Cyprus:

"I was going to the Finikoudes²⁴ or something like that in Larnaca and at that point I was a little bit nervous about my Greek and I suppose, you know, it wasn't anywhere near as good as it is now and I was sat at the bar and the guy- there was a guy I remember he said to me, he was like, 'ah!' he said, 'you speak your Greek very well, in fact you speak your Greek' um you know, 'like a person from Greece²⁵, it's impressive for a Charlie' he said, uh you know 'I didn't expect it from a Charlie' he said." (Vasilis, second-generation, age 28)

This use of the term 'Charlie' has been recognised by other writers (Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Anthias, 2002; Teerling, 2011) and we can see above the surprise the local man at the bar felt when he heard Vasilis speaking Greek well, something he did not expect from a second-generation migrant visiting Cyprus for a holiday. Language is commonly perceived as one of the markers of an 'authentic' ethnic identity (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Sullivan, 2012) therefore the ability to speak fluent and proper Greek is not something one would always expect from a 'Charlie'. Not all of the second-generation were comfortable with this 'othering' and we can see from Melanie's narrative below, she was both surprised and a little hurt by the way she was treated during holidays to Cyprus:

"I mean the- I'm not really sure, but I always thought it would be quite strange as a- I regarded as Cyprus as well where I was- originated from,

²⁴ Finikoudes beach is one of the most popular beaches in Cyprus.

²⁵ The majority of the Greek-Cypriot diaspora speak Cypriot-Greek, which differs from Standard Modern Greek primarily in phonology and vocabulary, but there are also smaller differences in syntax and morphology (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001). There is some evidence to suggest that the Cypriot dialect is viewed by many as 'inferior' or 'incomplete' in relation to Standard Modern Greek (Papapavlou, 1998; Karatsareas, 2016) and some participants (mainly from the second-generation) expressed some level of embarrassment at their ability to speak the Cypriot dialect, especially when in the company of those who could speak Modern Greek.

but even when I went to Cyprus because I was actually born here in England I'm actually treated quite differently over there by the people who live there- so you kind of feel like an outsider, you don't fit in over there, do you know what I mean? Which is even weirder isn't it really, because my mum's like praising it up saying, 'it's a fabulous place, come and live here', but it's actually very different to how she perceives things, you know what I mean? It's not- if I lived over there it would be, it wouldn't be how it ever was for her because I was born here and they regard that as an outsider unfortunately, you know, which I was quite surprised by cus I always thought I was gunna go over there and be welcomed with open arms, but it really is not like that- it's quite cold actually, you know what I mean? You know and even from being insulted in the street and I was like 'oh my God, that's really harsh.'" (Melanie, second-generation, age 36)

Melanie was clearly emotionally affected by the way she had been treated in Cyprus and later on in the interview she described how she had been called names by local children and in some cases this was because of her paler skin. Melanie's experience on holiday starkly contrasted with the ideological version of Cyprus that had been presented to her by her mother. Similar disillusionment to that which she felt has been described in other research with second-generation migrant groups when they have finally visited or even relocated to their ancestral homeland, which had often been romanticised by their parents (Wessendorf, 2007; King *et al*, 2008; 2011a).

Later in the interview Melanie struggled to come to a decision about whether she felt more Greek or British and kept saying how she just felt 'different', partly due to the way she had been treated by the local children in Cyprus. This once again highlights how one's perception of how others see them influences their affirmation with a particular cultural identity (Stanley, 2012; Krajewski and Blumberg, 2014) and when they are 'othered' they may struggle to come to terms with this. Melanie's narrative also reiterates the way in which individuals strive to feel as though they belong to other groups of people (in this instance

the local children) rather than to a particular space (i.e. Cyprus more generally) (Wright, 2015).

So, while generally the first-generation members articulated a strong sense of a Greek or Greek-Cypriot identity – certainly none of them affirmed a British or English identity – there was some ambiguity surrounding where they felt they most belonged and therefore where they classed as ‘home’ (Walsh, 2006; Hatfield, 2011) and also some tension regarding the way they were viewed by Cypriots back in Cyprus. This tension was also experienced by some of the second-generation; now we will explore in more detail their views on their cultural identity.

6.3 The second-generation

Among the second-generation members, more of a range of answers began to emerge when asked about their cultural identity. Of the 15 members, five affirmed a Greek-Cypriot identity, seven affirmed a hybrid/hyphenated identity and three affirmed a British identity. All of the parents of the five who affirmed a Greek-Cypriot identity were both from Cyprus. During their interviews, four of the five articulated how being Greek was something that their parents had emphasised to them during their childhoods, as we can see from the excerpt from Eleni’s interview:

Eleni: “We would have arguments about whether we were Greek or English, dad would say, ‘you’re Greek’,

‘Yeh but we live here? We live here so we’re English, we were born here so we’re English’ and dad would say,

‘You’re British, you’re born British, but you are Greek cus you come from a Greek family’, and I always say- when people ask me where I’m from- I always say,

'My family are from Cyprus'. I never say that I'm, you know unless they say

'Were you born there?'

'No, I was born here', I always say 'my family are from Cyprus.'"

GK: *"Do you class yourself as Greek-Cypriot then?"*

Eleni: *"Yeh, always, yeh I'm definitely Greek-Cypriot."* (Second-generation, age 42)

Once again we can see how the intergenerational aspect is important and Eleni emphasises the fact that her family are from Cyprus, which therefore has an importance influence on her identity. Moreover, this sort of discussion between parents and their children was something I witnessed when spending time with families at church and on one occasion between grandparents and their grandchildren at a family home when we were having dinner together after an interview. I would suggest that these discussions are a way in which identity is performed within the space of the home and for some members of the second-generation, it was a way in which their Greek-Cypriotness was both prompted and consolidated by their parents and/or grandparents. This is also one of the practices that parents/grandparents use to pass the cultural identity on through the generations. It seemed that there was a fear among some of the first-generation members that the Greek-Cypriot identity would be lost among the younger generations and this led them to verbally remind their children and grandchildren of their cultural heritage. A similar fear has been documented among other migrant groups, for example Chileans in America (Hernandez and McGoldrick, 1999).

These discussions provide evidence for Levitt's (2009) suggestion that the second- and subsequent generations are situated between a number of

competing ideological reference points, including those of their parents and grandparents. Therefore, once beyond the space of the home and away from the parental/grandparental gaze, these individuals may be influenced by a number of other reference points, including those of mainstream British culture, and those of school and also peer groups (Knott and Khokher 1993; Hopkins, 2006). In this sense, discussions like the one above may work to 'other' the Greek-Cypriot identity, as it is held up as something 'different' or opposing to a British identity. It also draws our attention to the importance of space and place in identity negotiations and how particular identities are brought to the forefront, depending on the location and context. While it may have been easier for Eleni to accept and perform her Greek-Cypriot identity while at home with her family, this may not have been the case when at school and in the company of her peers; in these spaces, she may have had the opportunity to perform identities that are intimately bound to such contexts and that intersect with gender, age, friendship networks and classroom roles (Fuller, 2007; 2010; Tyrrell *et al*, 2014)

For the participants who did affirm a Greek-Cypriot identity, their choice was in line with their parents' desires, however the extent to which their parents' vocal reminders had influenced their choice remains unclear. For Eleni, it was important that she told people that her family are from Cyprus, and this seemed to add some justification to her claim to a Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity.

Only two out of the nine of the second-generation whose parents had both been born in Cyprus articulated hyphenated identities (Giampapa, 2001; Belanger and Verkuyten, 2010; Raffaetà *et al*, 2016), for example:

Deo: "*I would classify myself as an English-Cypriot.*"

GK: "OK"

Deo: *“For the reason being because I was born in this country and most of what I do is English, most of what I speak is English, I live around English, I live in this country so yeh I would class it as English-Cypriot rather than Greek-Cypriot and the reason why I say English-Cypriot is because, like I said, I’ve got a British passport so British nationality so that’s why I class myself as English-Cypriot- if you’ll ask probably a lot of the Cypriots, a lot of the, a lot of the uh my generation were born in this country, they’ll probably tell you exactly the same I think.”*

GK: *“Yeh but you still feel that Cypriot identity as well?”*

Deo: *“Oh definitely yeh, I still have that identity, I still feel it, I can still feel it which is one of the reasons why I get my kids to Greek School, why we go to church and... I still have that identity on me.”* (Second-generation, age 48)

For Deo, the fact that he lives in England, has a British passport and speaks the language all contributed to the ‘English’ element of his identity, yet he simultaneously maintained a connection with his Cypriot heritage. While he lives within the norms of British society on a daily basis, as an expression of his Cypriot identity, he sends his daughters to the local Greek School and attends the Greek Orthodox Church. As is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight, translocal social spaces such as the school and the church play an important role in maintaining the cultural identity of a group and this was certainly the case for Deo. Even though his wife is British, both her and Deo felt it was important for their children to attend the Greek School and the church so that they would know where (one set of) their grandparents were from and have an awareness of their cultural heritage. By passing this on to his daughters, this is one way in which Deo felt he was maintaining the Cypriot element of his identity.

Attending organisations like the school and church also contribute to the development of social and cultural capital (Zhou, 2005; Kelly and Lusia, 2006; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010); individuals are able to build social bonds and connections while also developing their religious and cultural knowledge and

this is one reason why many parents/grandparents felt it was important for children to attend. This also supports the claim made earlier that age and stage in the lifecourse are important. Like Alyssa, once Deo had children, he wanted to ensure that he passed his Greek-Cypriotness on to them and that this element of his identity was reproduced.

While Deo still affirmed a hyphenated ethnic identity (although both of his parents were from Cyprus) two of the second-generation participants had one Greek-Cypriot parent and one British parent and they also expressed a hybrid ethnic identity. For Vasilis in particular, his ethnic identity was something he had thought about in great depth, as we can see from the following interview extract:

GK: *“So the question was, do you feel like you engage with the Greek-Cypriot community?”*

Vasilis: *“Completely, completely in- this is changing as I get older as I start to see nationality as a little bit of a construct uh as opposed to something that’s necessarily set in stone or biological but most of my life I’ve identified as being Greek-Cypriot first and English by living in- having lived in England, I mean it’s a bit of a strange but I mean what do you expect? I didn’t really, I was in this bubble until I was about 16, 17 years-old and then all of a sudden you know, I start learning to drive and I start mixing with other people from, well, my own country, but it was for me learning like a new culture in a way so...”*

GK: *“So if someone asks you what’s your identity, you say Greek-Cypriot as like the main-”*

Vasilis: *“I make a joke because, I make a joke just because I think identity is an interesting one because I think it’s something that we construct, it’s something we identify with, it’s something that we inherent, but if you will, keep alive um so I will say, you know, probably my left half is Greek-Cypriot and my right half is English but I guess one of the, one of the things that I feel very privileged to have gained from being exposed to the Greek-Cypriot community is love- the way love has been communicated and given to me generously um has been phenomenal and it inspires me in my life to be a better person and I always say if I can live just 10% of the love that my mother’s given, I will be definitely on a path to living a good and healthy life so when I say I identify more as Greek-Cypriot, it’s because for me, if you will, I’ve always said that my heart and my soul are Greek and my mind is British so very much, you know, being an organised person, systems um logistics, stuff like that, I love these things too, I think that’s certainly like a British inheritance, but love, I think definitely I learnt*

from the Greek side if you will- if I can separate them you know artificially.”
(Second-generation, age 28)

Once again age is important as we can see that, as Vasilis has got older, he has become more aware of the notion that nationality may be seen as a ‘construct’, and therefore is more of a process and is subjective, rather than something fixed or ‘set in stone’. This is much in line with more recent writings on identity which conceptualise it as fluid and changing (Leyshon and Bull, 2011; Stanley, 2012). While Vasilis now identifies as half-Greek-Cypriot and half-English, he didn’t become familiar with the English culture until he was 16 or 17 and realised there was more to life than the ‘Greek bubble’ he was brought up in, where he was surrounded by Greek-Cypriot friends and relatives. Therefore the English element of his identity was most likely less prominent during his younger years. This awareness of the two cultural contexts later on in his life led him to divide his personality into two distinctive parts, each of which were influenced by one of the cultural contexts. He ascribed matters of the heart and soul, namely his experience of and desire to ‘love’, to his Greek-Cypriot upbringing and in particular to the love shown to him by his mother and the wider Greek-Cypriot community, while on the other hand, matters of the mind and personality traits were ascribed to his experience of living in the UK.

Interestingly, Vasilis’ brother Elias gave almost the same answer, claiming he had ‘an English brain and a Greek heart’ and revealed it was something he had discussed with other family members and this was how they claimed they would best describe him. This made me wonder to what extent Vasilis and Elias came up with this idea themselves or whether it was more of an ascribed identity. As was highlighted in the cases of Alyssa and Xanthe, for many individuals, the

way in which they perceive they are seen by others can play an important role when affirming cultural identities and often they may have been assigned a particular status by others. However, it must be remembered that individuals do not necessarily have to accept such identities and they may be rejected after critical reflection (Peek, 2005).

Indeed, the two brothers were evidently able to exercise their 'ethnic choice' as they symbolically identified with the facets of each identity that they wished to (Waters, 1990; Sullivan, 2012). This was not unusual for participants who affirmed a mixed or hybrid identity as they were able to 'pick and choose' which elements they emphasised and which they felt comprised their personality (Waters, 1990), while simultaneously dismissing those they felt did not. And it must be remembered that choice may change with age, as it was not until Vasilis was older that he realised his identity was a dynamic and flexible construct and in hindsight, he realised it had changed with experience.

So far we have seen participants who have identified as Greek/Greek-Cypriot or with more hybrid/hyphenated ethnic identities, but something that emerged among the second-generation of migrants, which we did not see among the first-generation, was the affirmation of solely British ethnic identities. When asked, three of the second-generation members claimed a British ethnic identity: Chris, Andrew and Jane. Both of Chris and Andrew's parents were from Cyprus while Jane's father was Greek-Cypriot and her mother was British. Although a member of the second-generation, Chris was the oldest participant in the study (age 83) and his parents were the first Cypriots to arrive in Plymouth (in 1935). Interestingly, Andrew and Jane were also towards the older end of spectrum of the second-generation group (Andrew was 66 while Jane was 61).

All three participants had very different life trajectories, especially as Andrew had returned to Cyprus to live for a number of years in his thirties, however one thing they had in common was the fact that they all felt more British than Greek:

GK: *“So how do you identify yourself, like what do you say your identity is if someone asks you?”*

Andrew: *“I’m British.”*

GK: *“Yeh?”*

Andrew: *“Yeh, even on questionnaires and things like that I always put British...although I’ve got dual-nationality and with Cyprus, because I had problems with a passport in, was it 19- no, 2009, yeh, in 2009 my English passport had expired- me, my wife, my daughter’s had all expired and I went to the consul because then, we used to go to the British consul for passports and it was round about 80 to 100 euros which was quite a lot and when I went in 2009 they said ‘it’s a 180 euros and it’ll take three months because we don’t do them here’ anyway, we send them off and I thought well, you know, the locals tell me that the Greek passport is 45 euros so why should I pay 180 euros? So I decided to go for Cypriot passport and when I went for the Cypriot passport they says to me ‘you’re not allowed, you’re not Cypriot.’ I says to them ‘look, I was born in Cyprus, my parents were both born in Cyprus in the same village and everything and I have three boys and they did army service because their father is classed as Cypriot and now you’re telling me after my boys have gone into the army service for 26 months, you’re telling me I’m not Cypriot?’ he says ‘you’re a British subject’ I says to him ‘that doesn’t matter’ he says ‘well if you want a passport you go to the’ -what do you call it?- ‘the chief justice, pay 45 euros, fill in a form and they’ll give you a Greek nationality and you can come back and get a passport’ and I thought you know, this ain’t right so that’s why I prefer to say I’m British.”*

GK: *“OK, but do you feel more British than Cypriot?”*

Andrew: *“Hmm probably yes because of my upbringing in the English family, if it weren’t for that lady I’d have been more Greek.” (Second-generation, age 66)*

One of the key reasons why Andrew has chosen to state his ethnicity as strictly British rather than British-Cypriot, as his passport states, is because of his perceived corruption of the Cypriot government. This perceived corruption was something the majority of adult participants in the study commented on and one of the reasons why they did not wish to return or move to Cyprus to live. Many

of them claimed it was a system based on 'who you know' rather than a system where everyone was treated in the same way and subject to the same rules and regulations. This view was also reflected in the comments in the previous section about the efficiency and fairness that can be seen in the basic norms and behaviour of British society.

As well as the issue with gaining a Cypriot passport, there was another incident where Andrew's son was called up for the Cypriot army, but he wanted to sit the required exams so he could go to Greece as an officer, however he was told he could not do this as he was a 'British subject'²⁶. This once again infuriated Andrew, as his son had to do army service in the first place because he was 'Cypriot'. These instances illustrate the ambiguities that exist surrounding the issue of nationality and how this can change depending on one's direct experience and also who is ascribing it. The way this was used to the advantage of the Cypriot government in these instances particularly riled Andrew and led him to turn away from a Cypriot identity. This example illustrates not only the differences between felt nationality, ascribed nationality and experienced nationality; but also the differences between nationality as identity, nationality as belonging and state definitions/practices of nationality and the intersections between these issues are brought to the fore.

Nevertheless, I still felt Andrew's answer was fairly unexpected as he was married to a Cypriot lady, had lived in Cyprus for 25 years after moving there in his thirties, spoke fluent Greek and attended the Greek Orthodox Church every Sunday. However the reason why Andrew claimed he felt more British was

²⁶ This was the term used by Andrew.

because he had been brought up by an English²⁷ family. Both Andrew and Chris spoke of how their parents worked long hours and therefore they were looked after by English families during their childhoods. This appeared to be a normal scenario for those in the second-generation who were aged 60 and above at the time of interview and highlights the importance of the consideration of not only the generational group that participants fall into, but their age as well.

As was mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, the age groupings of each generation were quite broad and therefore the different time periods in which participants were growing up meant that they may have had different life experiences. For Andrew and Chris it meant that English was their first language and during their younger years of socialisation they spent more time with the English families than their Cypriot parents (this was in stark contrast to the experience of Vasilis, for example, who was in his twenties at the time of interview and who felt he was raised in a 'Greek bubble'). If we turn our attention to Chris' answer, we can see the likely influence of his upbringing:

GK: *"If someone asks you what's your identity then how do you answer? Like how do you feel? Are you British or Cypriot or?"*

Chris: *"Um I feel neutral (LAUGHS) um no I feel very British to be truthful, pretty- I don't feel English, but I feel British, can I put it that way- if anybody says 'what are you?', I'm British, you know, so I don't feel Cypriot at all because I don't speak the language so um um the only time I feel um a little bit like that is when I go to church and I'm with my, with the guys and then I feel that I'm a Cypriot and that's the only sort of moments, just maybe one hour of the week, the rest of the time I'm British, you know, I've done everything as a British person does you know, um worked my way through."* (Second-generation, age 83)

Chris' answer is perhaps unsurprising; he could speak very little Greek and had only been to Cyprus once on holiday fairly recently- a trip he expressed great

²⁷ 'English' was the term used by Andrew to describe the family.

disappointment with. However it does illustrate to us the performative nature of identity (Butler, 1990; 1993; Bell, 1999); Chris is performing a particular element of the Cypriot identity when he is with 'the guys' at church. It was something I had witnessed regularly on a Sunday after the church service when church attendees went downstairs into the basement of the church for coffee and cake and Chris would always sit in one corner with some of the elderly males from Cyprus. For him, these times when he is with 'the guys' is one way in which he performs Cypriotness and this helps to cultivate a sense of belonging within the Cypriot community (Bell, 1999; Fortier, 1999).

Once again, we see the importance of space as the church provides a communal setting where the ethnic identity can be performed and also where collective affective belonging can be enacted and experienced (Nagar and Leitner, 1998; Leung, 2004; Fortier, 2006). Another point that is reiterated is that the notions of belonging and identity cannot be uncritically conflated (Antonsich, 2010) as we can see that Chris expresses multiple identities (British and Cypriot), yet despite feeling British for the majority of the time, is still able to feel like he belongs with the Cypriot guys at church.

Furthermore, Chris had changed his surname during his younger years (in the 1950s) when he was working at a prestigious London hotel, from a very Greek-sounding name which he described as 'such a mouthful for people', to one that sounded more English. He explained how he had worked his way up in the industry from a waiter, to front office cashier, to assistant general manager of the hotel, but he believed he would not have progressed from a waiter if he had not changed his surname. At the time, although they were just beginning to grow, levels of immigration to the UK were much lower than they are today and

society not as multi-cultural, hence migrants may have been more likely to experience discrimination against them than they are today, especially in terms of employment (Hickman and Walter, 1995).

However, by changing his surname, we see how Chris was able to remove one of the markers of difference and act *upon* the host culture in order to ensure he progressed in his career. Like the second-generation Irish migrants in Campbell's (1999) study, Chris was using his cultural agency in order to achieve his aim of improving his employment position. Thus, the diverse and productive ways that individuals can exert this agency should not be overlooked (Campbell, 1999).

The following extract from my interview with Lexi, a member of the Panas family who migrated to the UK more recently (her parents moved in 2008 and she was born here) and who was age seven at the time of the interview, further illustrates how individuals may attempt to hide their ethnic identity in certain situations, even from such a young age:

Lexi: *"I feel like I'm Greek."*

GK: *"Yeh?"*

Lexi: *"Yeh, I don't say I'm English, I say I'm Greek."*

GK: *"And what makes you say that?"*

Lexi: *"Like when people ask me, I feel, I feel like I'm in Greece so I just say..."*

GK: *"That you're Greek."*

Lexi: *"Yeh."*

GK: *"So you never say you're English?"*

Lexi: *"Only if it's someone that I need to say I'm English."*

GK: *"And who would that be? What kind of person?"*

Lexi: *"I dunno, like a lawyer or something."* (Panas family, age seven)

This illustrates the idea that there is a difference between formal and informal identity and the way in which one frames their national identity depends on who they are speaking to (Conradson and McKay, 2007). One could suggest that with all the media coverage and the 'moral panics' that are created surrounding the issue of illegal immigration to the UK (Vasilopoulou, 2016), children who are exposed to certain media will pick up on this and, in this instance, Lexi may have internalised this and being aware of her ethnic difference, felt like it was something she should hide under certain circumstances. Once again, even as one of the youngest study participants, she was using her cultural agency to act upon the host culture by switching her ethnic identification as and when she felt it was needed; she was invoking 'ethnic choice' (Waters, 1990; Sullivan, 2012). The concept of 'ethnic choice' and how it is used by participants will be explored in more detail based on the accounts of the third-generation and especially in relation to the discussion of the performance of a cultural identity.

6.4 The third-generation

In the previous section a variety of answers began to emerge among the second-generation in relation to ethnic identity, from British, to English-Cypriot, to Greek-Cypriot. This continued among the third-generation and a trend that began to emerge was that the affirmation of a strictly Greek/Greek-Cypriot identity had begun to diminish.

Only two of the 10 third-generation members affirmed a Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity: Anthony (age 27) and Jasmine (age 15). Coincidentally, both of their fathers were born in Greece and moved to the UK when they were young and their mothers were second-generation Greek-Cypriots. Although Jasmine initially said she would identify as Greek, later on in the interview she revealed

that she actually felt more English. Anthony however, was more strongly affiliated with his Greek-Cypriotness:

GK: *“Did you feel like you had a connection or anything with Cyprus?”*

Anthony: *“If people ask where you’re from, I say I’m Cypriot, you know, proud to be Greek-Cypriot, it’s good, it’s a good thing to be...people know like, I dunno, people think Greek people are dodgy, you know what I mean and like they just think you’re up to no good just because you’re Greek, which most of the like- in most cases it’s true, yeh, yeh I dunno... It would be hard to find a Greek person who said- who wouldn’t say they were Greek, you know.”* (Second-generation, age 27)

The interview with Anthony was very humorous and he made lots of jokes throughout about the ‘stereotypical Greek’ (more of these humorous accounts are discussed in Chapter Eight, especially with regard to the church and the school). From the extract above we can see one of his perceived stereotypes is that all Greeks are ‘dodgy’ and ‘up to no good’; this was mainly in relation to their self-employment and the way they ran their businesses or properties. But besides this perception, Anthony was still proud to be Greek-Cypriot and saw it in a positive light. Although he had only met his father on a couple of occasions and was raised by his mother and grandparents, Anthony told tales of a very happy childhood, where he had his own Greek School ‘24/7’ at home and where the Greek language was the main language spoken. These positive experiences when he was growing up perhaps contributed to his pride in his cultural heritage and his last sentence illustrates how he assumed all individuals of Greek-Cypriot descent would share his pride, however as we have seen already from Chris and Andrew’s accounts, this was not necessarily the case.

We can also see from the quotation above that there was some hesitancy in Anthony’s response; he repeatedly said ‘I dunno’. While most of the first-generation were quite confident in affirming their cultural identity, more doubts

did creep in among the second-generation and again among the third. This could be due to the fact that they were the furthest removed from their cultural heritage generationally, yet despite this, it could still have had a large influence on their upbringings, especially if they were close with and spent a lot of time with their Cypriot grandparent(s). It is not surprising therefore, that some of the individuals struggled to affirm a specific cultural identity, especially when they were situated between a mix of ideological reference points- generationally, ideologically and morally (Hopkins, 2006; Levitt, 2009).

Like the second-generation, four members of the third-generation expressed hybrid or half-and-half ethnic identities. The four were all of different ages and some of their grandparents and parents had inter-married while some had not (see Section 4.3.3 and the family trees of Luana, Stephanie, Helen and Holly). Their main reason for emphasising the Greek aspect of their identity was because of other family members (mainly grandparents) who they identified as 'Greek'. The following extract from Luana's interview illustrates this reasoning (she is age eight, her mother is Eleni, a second-generation Greek-Cypriot, and her father was born in Brazil, but moved to the UK in his early teens):

GK: *"So are you half-Greek?"*

Luana: *"I'm half-Greek and then I'm half-Brazilian then I'm half-Plymothian²⁸ stuff thing."*

GK: *"What do you feel like you're most of?"*

Luana: *"Greek."*

GK: *"Really, why is that?"*

Luana: *"I don't know, I just- it's because I know all my Greek family and I've got a lot of- yeh, but I, I could be equal for both of them because I don't know, I don't know, like I've probably got lots and lots of family in*

²⁸ When I asked her to clarify, it was clear she meant 'Plymothian'.

Brazil and stuff so I'm actually not too sure which one would be the most, but I'm assuming they're both because like..."

GK: *"But you feel more Greek inside?"*

Luana: *"Yeh I feel more Greek to myself, but I could be both of them or I could be one of them."*

GK: *"And can you speak Greek?"*

Luana: *"Only a tiny bit..."*

GK: *"Does anyone ask you about where you're from and stuff?"*

Luana: *"No because they just think me as in the normal person, the normal like all the children in my class who are just from England, they just think I'm English and then Amy [school friend] doesn't understand that either, she just says 'you're pretty much just English Luana, don't...' I just feel a bit, I'm not, I'm not- I know I'm English, I was born in England and everything but my family's different countries and that still makes me pretty much them."*

GK: *"So you don't feel like you're English?"*

Luana: *"No, only like born in like language and stuff but even Amy doesn't understand that, it's only really family and then Amy's from here, she's not from anywhere else, well she started living in America..."* (Third-generation, age eight)

It is interesting that Luana expressed she felt 'more Greek', despite the fact her mother had inter-married, she was the only child participant in the study who had never been to the Greek School and had only attended the Greek Orthodox Church once or twice for special events like a wedding or christening. When I asked her later on in the interview about the Greek she could speak it only turned out to be a couple of words and she had never been on holiday to Cyprus. I had felt that these would have been signifiers of a more British identity. Yet because she was close to her 'Greek family', she felt this heritage the most strongly. It is interesting that she labels other children in her class who she believes to be 'English' as 'normal', so she is somehow differentiated from them or in some way more exotic in relation to them. Moreover, she had not met any

of her father's side of the family and used this to explain why she felt more of a connection with her Greek 'half' than her Brazilian.

The other third-generation members made similar comments about their 'Greek family' contributing to this element of their identity, hence similar to the way a strong link appeared to exist between 'home' and the family, a link may also be identified between other family members and identity (Evergeti, 2006). The intergenerational aspect is once again important here and we can see its influence both 'up' and 'down' stream; in this instance the fact that Luana views her family as Greek means she assumes this identity is passed 'downstream' to her. One could even suggest that she embodies the ethnic identity of her Greek-Cypriot family members and she assumes a natural correlation between theirs and hers.

It is also significant that she emphasises the 'Plymothian' element of her identity. Although none of the other participants expressed this explicitly, a number from the second- and third-generations did refer to Plymouth as 'home'. I argue that this supports Conradson and McKay's concept of *translocal subjectivities* (Section 2.6). For Luana and some of the other participants, their formation of selfhood is closely related to the locality *within* the nation (Plymouth) where they live, rather than to the nation-state itself. This is a direct example of how the concept of translocality is relevant for understanding identity formations as we can see that national identity is not always given priority over senses of local identity. When participants referred to Plymouth as 'home' (rather than say England or the UK) it emphasises the importance of the local as a space where a sense of belonging can be developed; this idea will be developed in Chapter Eight.

The remaining third-generation members claimed a stronger affiliation towards an English or British ethnic identity however they all still emphasised how they felt a close connection with their Greek background despite this. Their claims to an English/British identity were largely based on the fact that they had lived here all their lives, they spoke the language and lived by the laws and values of the country. The narratives of these individuals in particular, but also those of some of the other second- and third-generation members, revealed the highly performative nature of the Greek-Cypriot identity and how, for them, there were very 'Greek' ways of acting. If we examine the following extracts from Isaac's interview, some interesting points are raised:

"I say British, I do always say I'm British, you know, I'm British, but my parents are Greek and it's not that, it's not that, you know, it's not that I wanna reject my Greek heritage, it's there and you know, I talk about my parents, my granddad, it's always in that context of being a Greek family and I think my friends would probably describe me as being Greek, it's like 'oh yeh, you're a Greek' and I always- I would never say 'no I'm not', but uh although you know, I am, I feel more British than most people, I think most born and bred British people- I think that's probably something common of second-generation immigrants is that they feel, you know, if they've properly assimilated in a part of a community, they've had an upbringing sort of with mainstream society um that you do feel part of that, you wanna be part of it and you know, I feel very British." (Isaac, third-generation, mid-thirties)

Again, a sense of hesitancy emerges in his narrative (as we heard in Anthony's) and he evidently was thinking his answer through carefully. Like a number of the other participants, Isaac is aware of how he is perceived by others, in this case his friends, and the way in which they describe him as a 'Greek'. However, internally he feels more British due to his upbringing and the feeling that he has successfully 'assimilated' into mainstream society. Nevertheless, he still acknowledges his Greek heritage and initially this is expressed in the context of

the *family*. As he goes on though, he reveals some of the ways in which a Greek identity may unconsciously be performed:

*“I’ve gotta be honest, I feel more British than most British people and um I don’t, I don’t- just being Greek’s one of those things, it’s a bit of a joke now, sort of like you know, going home, listen to Denis Russous or something in the evening um, put a tunic on, but I don’t- yeh it just doesn’t- at school it never really, it was never really an issue uh and never really came up um... so, the thing is I- what I realised about being Greek is the sense of community, the Greeks have always, when they do things, they have their BBQs, they’re always massive, you have loads of people round, they like entertaining, they like being the host and I enjoy that, I mean I enjoy having my friends around, I enjoy having big meals and that sort of thing um and that is definitely something that comes from my upbringing, definitely something from sort of like the cultural background um and you know, knowing lots of people in the community as well, uh and I think that that is something that is distinct um and- cus it’s not around the church, it’s always around people, it’s always going to people’s houses, having big events uh there probably is a bit of one-upmanship going on- my BBQs gunna be bigger, I’m gunna have more people than ever, I’m gunna have more meat and bigger salads in the same way actually with- I always say, when you go to any Greek BBQ and you’re a man, it’s only two subjects- cars and property, that’s it, cars and property, cars and property, cars and property and definitely with cars at the moment, it’s always a bit of rivalry, who can have the bigger car, the more expensive car, who can live in the biggest house um who can get the best investment property... It’s always- when dad first got me the company car, the old Mercedes, the other Mercedes I had before he just threw the key on the table and went (**PUTS ON GREEK ACCENT**) ‘you’re a Greek’ and that was it, that was- ‘you’re a Greek, you need one of these’ I was like oh man, I just wanted, I just wanted a Volkswagon (**LAUGHS**) that’s all I want...” (Isaac, third-generation, mid-thirties)*

Isaac switches from talking about ‘being Greek’ in quite an offhand manner, describing it as being a ‘joke’, to then becoming much more serious about it and referring to two of the central practices associated with the ethnic group that may be created and performed unknowingly: the sense of community and the bringing of people together; he seems happy to be a part of the former and the latter is something he has continued to do himself in the form of hosting dinner parties and cooking for friends. Being hospitable and having open, welcoming

households seemed to be some of the key norms and practices which the study participants felt were common to the majority of the Greek-Cypriot population.

As Waters (1990) has argued based on her research with European immigrants in America (and as we have briefly seen earlier in the chapter), later-generation migrants are able to practise a flexible form of ethnicity and the ethnic role is more voluntary than ascriptive; they possess 'ethnic options' or 'ethnic choice' and are able to choose an ethnicity, even when they are the products of mixed-marriages and an assorted array of personal ancestries (Sullivan, 2012). Although Isaac has chosen British as his ethnicity, he still performs certain practices that are associated with the traditional Greek-Cypriot ethnic role. However he can do this as and when he pleases, for example, when he decides to host a dinner party, or when he is in the company of other Greeks. This highlights the relationality of the Greek-Cypriot identity and also the way in which it can be symbolically identified with; in line with Waters' (1990) assertion: his ethnic identity does not necessarily have to influence his life unless he *wants* it to.

Isaac then goes on to describe one of the key aspects of a masculine Greek-Cypriot identity: an inherent interest in property and cars. Many of the Greek-Cypriots in Plymouth own numerous properties which are rented out, largely as student accommodation, and this seemed to be one of the key sources of income for the group, therefore it seemed only natural that this would be something they discussed. Certainly during my interview with Isaac's uncle, his passion for property and cars became very evident. As was outlined in the previous chapter, many Greek-Cypriots moved to the UK to build better lives for their families and to open up new opportunities for their children (Charalambous

et al, 1988) and earlier writings on this group have noted how material wealth was seen as a goal and a right and success in this area was shown through the possession of nice cars and houses (Constantinides, 1977; Anthias, 1992).

This ideology had been passed on to the successive generations and they continued to show their success and wealth earned by their own hard work through their material possessions- most notably in the form of nice cars and quite often, as Isaac's father points out, these were Mercedes (see also Barker, 2014 for discussion of the role that families play in developing relationally produced aspirations about cars). It was also something the priest of the Greek Orthodox Church had noticed:

Father Richardson talking at the end of service, saying that we should think carefully about how we spend our money and how more donations should be made to the church...Says we should prioritise how we spend our money, perhaps rather than spending it on big, flash cars that are not economical, we could drive more economical cars and save money and then donate that to the church. The church should be our priority. (Notes from research diary, no date)

So for those who did attend the church regularly and followed the Orthodox faith, some competing priorities emerge here (arguably, this occurs among attendees of most churches). Rather than using their money solely to purchase personal material possessions, to be good Christians, they should also contribute to the church. Views surrounding the church and the donation of money to it will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight as there seemed to be a divide among community members concerning this issue. However, I found it interesting that the priest had noticed the types of cars congregation members were driving and had pointed this out during the service; it was evidently a signifier of status and success among group members.

Like Isaac's account above, other members of the third-generation illustrated the performative nature of the ethnic identity and it seemed it had become almost something of a novelty. The following quotation from Anthony's interview illustrates the fond and sometimes comical way in which 'being Greek' was described and also points out some of the perceived distinguishing factors of the Greek-Cypriot identity:

"Greek people just, like you get used to them right, like they shout more, like my mum's generation they don't- if they're not getting their point across they'll just raise the volume and like if you've got a whole household of that, it's a loud house right and everyone's shouting in half-Greek, half-English, they just mix up the language that they have so- that's why my Greek's weird because I just speak half- I just say like- I dunno like broken Greek, so every so often it will just be English in there, if I can't say it in Greek I'll just say it in English, but yeh, yeh it's different, like I think like Greek families, they're more like close-knit even though they argue a lot more than other families like they are closer I think and like they're stricter, they're all strict and you'll never get your own way ever, I've been wrong for like 28 years now yeh so pretty much." (Anthony, third-generation, age 27)

The extract draws our attention to some of the ways that participants perceived a particular notion of 'Greek-Cypriotness' manifests itself in everyday cultural and embodied practices. This was via the use of the Greek language; loud, hectic households; and close-knit families. Anthony was not alone in this perception and similar ideas were expressed by participants across all three generations. Again, we can see how participants could *choose* to emphasise these aspects of their Greek-Cypriot identity by partaking in the performance of such practices. Because identities are relational, this performance is a way in which their Greek-Cypriotness can be validated as it is dependent on being recognised and accepted by the wider community of practice (Valentine, 2009). The way in which Anthony compares his experiences of family-life to those of other families is also significant; he asserts Greek families are 'closer' and

'argue a lot more' although he does not specify *who* this is in relation to. There were some participants who asserted that Greek families were closer than English families and this gave the impression that they were trying to claim a level of superiority over the English in relation to the strength of their familial relationships and cohesion (see Anthias, 2002 for similar findings). Although Anthony spoke quite fondly of his mum's strictness and there seemed to be a level of solidarity between them, this was not the case in all families and there were times when children tried to resist the control of their parents, especially the daughters; this idea of intergenerational conflict is explored in the following chapter.

Focusing on the topic of language use briefly, the mixing of languages that Anthony refers to above is known as 'translanguaging' (García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Tyrrell *et al*, 2014). The concept recognises that languages are not bounded sites and spaces, but can be fluid and dynamic resources (like identities). As Tyrrell *et al* (2014: 317) observe 'translanguaging has been described as a social practice that is 'part and parcel' of everyday social life' and this certainly appeared to be the case based on my observations (both during and beyond fieldwork) as I witnessed individuals flitting between the two languages all the time. I myself have participated in this practice, especially when I have wanted to converse in Greek, but my capabilities have not been proficient enough to do so entirely. Language has been well-established as an important element of culture (Fasold, 1990; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Sullivan, 2012) and as simultaneously a product of culture while also moulding it. Here we can see one of the ways in which

cultures become hybridised in the everyday lives of later-generation migrants and why it is essential to embrace more dynamic notions of culture (Faist, 2000).

6.5 Summary

This chapter has addressed the first research question, which asked whether there are differences in the ways each generation identify themselves and elaborate feelings of belonging. In line with the scarce literature on this topic (Anthias, 1991; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001), it has argued that the strong association with a Greek or Greek-Cypriot identity that is affirmed by the first-generation diminishes slightly among the second- and third-generations. Although most of the first-generation described an unchanging and deep-rooted affirmation of a Greek-Cypriot identity, for some individuals their choice was problematised by the way in which they perceived they were seen by others who still lived in Cyprus and by the fact that living in the UK for long periods of time meant that England had now become their 'home', meaning that they had achieved a sense of belonging here. This supports the idea that identity should not be uncritically conflated with belonging (Antonsich, 2010), as homeland identities can still be maintained while home is simultaneously re-established by migrants as senses of belonging move over space and are created in new places (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

More varied answers began to emerge among the second-generation in relation to their affirmations of a cultural identity; these ranged from Greek/Greek-Cypriot, to hybrid or hyphenated identities that took into account both cultural influences (i.e. 'half-English, half-Cypriot' or 'English-Cypriot'), to a solely English or British identity. Research on other ethnic groups has suggested that the second-generation are situated between a number of competing reference

points and exposed to a mix of cultural influences (Hall, 1992; Dwyer, 2002; Levitt, 2009). The range of answers given by second-generation participants in this study shows how this is also the case for the second-generation of Greek-Cypriots, but that their influence varies depending on familial and individual experience as well as age and stage in the lifecourse.

While previous studies have failed to provide an in-depth exploration of the identities of the third-generation (Portes, 2009), this chapter has aimed to provide new insights into the ways they construct their cultural identities. Like the second-generation, they affirmed a range of cultural identities, once again illustrating the diverse mix of cultural influences they had been exposed to, and this became even more varied in cases where their parents had inter-married with other ethnic groups beyond the English. Generally, there was a greater level of hesitancy in the answers of the third-generation members, as opposed to the first-generation, who were more assured in their answers.

Moreover, the literature has acknowledged that later-generation migrants are able to invoke 'ethnic choice' so that they can choose to identify symbolically with their ethnicity if they *want* to (Waters, 1990; Sullivan, 2012). There are particular norms and practices that individuals consider are representative of an 'authentic' ethnic identity and thus, the ethnic identity can be 'performed' by acting on these (Sullivan, 2012). In the case of Greek-Cypriots these include speaking Greek, living in loud, hectic households, but which are open and welcoming, and having close-knit families. While members of all three generations may perform their identities in some way, I argue that the performative nature of the ethnic identity was emphasised to the greatest extent

by the third-generation and that they were able to perform their ethnicity as and when they pleased.

This draws our attention to the idea that identities are relational, as the performance of the ethnic identity is a way in which an individual's claim of Greek-Cypriotness can be validated as it is recognised and accepted by the wider community of practice (Valentine, 2009). In this sense, it is essential to acknowledge that space and place affect feelings of identity as claims to a particular identity may be approved or rejected, depending on the space in which they are being enacted and who is present at the time. Moreover, the intergenerational perspective that was taken has revealed how the interactions between generational groups affect individual senses of self and that these senses are not fixed, but dynamic (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). These themes will be developed in the following chapter and, while discussions so far have focused more on individual senses of identity and belonging, Chapter Seven will now focus in more detail on family practices and intergenerational family relationships and the ways in which these affect constructions of identity and belonging.

Chapter 7. Intergenerational familial relationships and identity

7.1 Introduction

Chapter Six revealed how members of each generation identified themselves and demonstrated the ways individuals invoked 'ethnic choice' when doing so. It argued that the affirmation of a Greek-Cypriot identity diminished slightly among the second- and third-generations as more mixed/hybrid identities emerged. However the influence of intergenerational familial relations and exchanges on identity formations was not discussed in great depth. This chapter will pay specific attention to the relationships that are formed between family members and the ways in which generational dynamics affect questions of agency and identity.

This is in response to the second research question of the thesis, which asks: *to what extent do family practices – 'doing' family – influence processes of identity formation and feelings of belonging?* As was highlighted in Chapter Three, while the family has received growing attention in geography in the last decade or so, there is still much potential to deepen our understanding regarding the relations that are formed between family members and the meanings that are attributed to them (Harker, 2010; Kraler, 2011; Long, 2014). As Hallman (2010) asserts, there is a need to examine the interactions between family members and the spaces and places of the *everyday* in order to illuminate the complex and dynamic nature of families and the diverse ways that family is 'done' (Finch, 2007; Morgan, 2011; Holdsworth, 2013). Therefore this chapter seeks to unravel the diverse ways that family is 'done' by those who participated in the study.

As suggested in the previous chapter, and in accordance with past studies on Greek-Cypriot migrants (Oakley, 1979; Anthias, 1992; Georgiou, 2001; Burrell, 2005), individuals articulated a strong sense of familial closeness. We shall see in the following section how high value was not only placed on close-knit relationships with immediate family members, but also on the relationships with extended family members; in particular with cousins and, for the majority of the children who participated in the study, their godparents. However, during the course of the interviews it became apparent that when discussed in more detail, these intimate familial relationships did not remain static, but ebbed and flowed over the lifecourse and there were times when family members were not as close as first suggested. Although fixed understandings of masculinity and femininity were embedded within the beliefs of some individuals in the study, the agency of individuals and their ability to make choices about the way in which they 'do family' (Strasser *et al*, 2009) and negotiate their identities emerged during discussions.

I suggest that familial obligations, connections and practices are dynamic and are in flux at different points of the lifecourse. This became particularly evident when examining parent-child relationships and the way in which individuals felt their relationship with their parents evolved as they became older. Linking with this, an intergenerational perspective is important as individuals believed that parent-child relationships changed from one generation to the next. The importance of space in providing a contextual backdrop for the study of familial relationships is also discussed as individuals negotiate social relationships both within and beyond the space of the home and also within 'new' or virtual social spaces. Moreover, drawing on weak theory, the idea that belonging is

performed will be developed, and the more-than-human aspects of belonging illustrated (Wright, 2015).

The following section discusses how individuals believed their families to be of a close-knit nature; this view was held in particular by child members of the families and we shall see how importance was placed on relationships with extended family members. Section 7.3 addresses the idea that parent-child relationships are gendered and that daughters in migrant families are more likely to experience intergenerational conflict than sons. However, their ability to use their cultural agency in response to gendered power relations is also discussed. Attention is directed towards parent-son relationships in Section 7.4 and how they are not always subject to the same levels of control as daughters. There also were some accounts of older family members showing some degree of favouritism towards them. Section 7.5 explores grandparent-grandchild relationships and the way in which grandparents in the study attempted to transmit cultural values to their grandchildren. The ways in which these relationships affect identity formations and feelings of belonging are discussed throughout.

7.2 Close-knit families: the children's perspective

As was mentioned in Chapter Six, extremely high value was placed on the institution of the family by participants and family closeness emerged as one of the distinguishing factors of the ethnic identity. The importance of familial attachments also emerged and it was revealed how a sense of belonging was not necessarily related to particular spaces/places, but to other family members (Probyn, 1996). However, while the previous discussion on this issue was largely based on evidence from interviews with adult participants, here evidence

will be used based on data gathered from the research with child members of families.

There has been a conceptual shift towards thinking that children are ‘cultural agents and social actors in their own right’ (Mitchell, 2006:60) and, thus their experiences and agency should not be overlooked as objects of research (Punch, 2002; Barker and Weller, 2003; Haikkola, 2011; Yarwood and Tyrrell, 2012). It must be acknowledged that children’s understandings and feelings can be different from those of adults and the ways that children participate in families and their feelings about this should not be disregarded; as Caneva (2015) suggests, children have the ability to both define and shape relationships with other family members.

It has also been argued that an understanding of the social relationships that children form during their childhood can aid understanding of those they form later in life (Haikkola, 2011); indeed correlations certainly did emerge between the accounts told by child participants and those of the adults when they were reflecting on their childhoods (although of course changes had occurred as well). This opening section will therefore focus on the views and experiences of children. I not only want to give them a voice, but their accounts reflect those told by many of the adult participants and thus reflect the wider experience of childhood of the group.

After spending time with the children from the Greek School over a number of weeks, I asked them to complete family and friendship drawings²⁹ (Section 4.3.6). The majority of the children used a tree layout, similar to those in Figures

²⁹ One of the children did not attend the Greek School and completed her drawing at her family home before I conducted the interview with her.

7.1 and 7.2, however it became clear that some children were duplicating each other's ideas. What I had not expected was the high number of individuals that the children would insist on including in their diagrams, even though throughout the session I kept emphasising that they should only include those who they felt close to and *not* just attempt to produce a family tree. However, when I was making this point, some of the children claimed they felt close to *all* of their family; even those members who lived in Cyprus and who they had only met once or twice in their lives.

The literature on children and young people regarding 'closeness' suggests the term describes 'the degree to which the thoughts, feelings, and behaviours of two parties are interconnected' (Laursen *et al*, 2000:464) and is typically manifested in frequent interchanges and the sharing of practices (Laursen *et al*, 2000; Caneva, 2015). This was not necessarily the case for all of the children in the study however, and some still insisted they felt close to family members whom they did not spend a great deal of time with. For example, in Figure 7.1, we can see that Evita labelled one of her branches 'montains' (sic) to refer to family they had visited in Cyprus who lived in the mountains, but whose names she could not remember.

Family tree

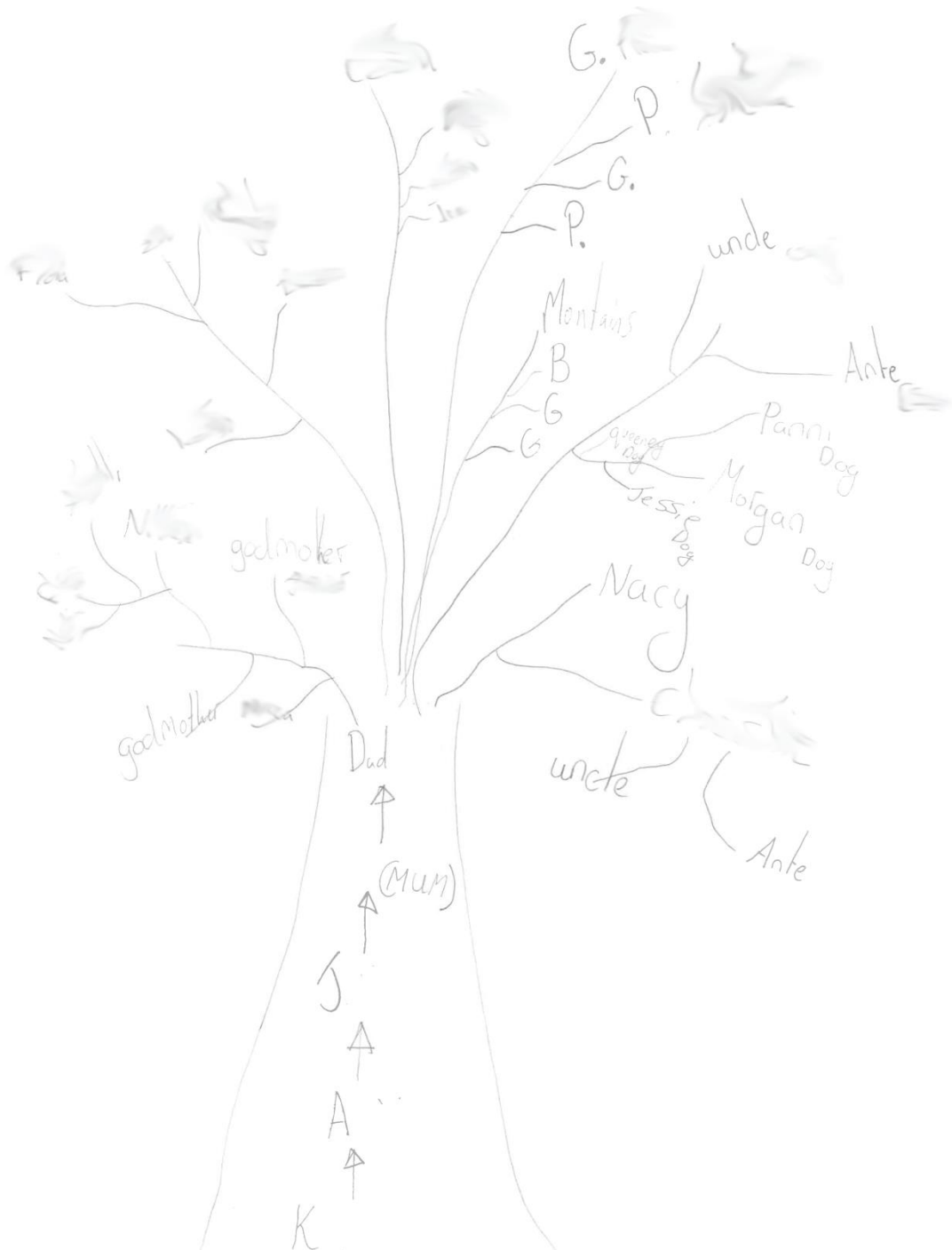


Figure 7.1: Family and friendship diagram drawn by Evita (age 10)

The fact that 'closeness' did not have to be characterised by frequent interchanges or companionship for several of the children could be explained by the fact that the importance of family was repeatedly stressed to them by their parents and other family members from a young age and so they felt it was expected that they would feel close to them all; even adult participants reflected on this experience:

"They [parents] always used to say like, your family unit is the most important thing, that's one thing that stands out and actually I think it is really important." (Tina, third-generation, age 36)

In this sense, kinship was closely linked to lineage and biological aspects, rather than experiential relationships (Finch and Mason, 2000). Nevertheless, just because some family members still lived in Cyprus, it did not mean that children (and adults) did not have regular contact with them; indeed there were some family members in Cyprus who the children spoke to on a regular basis via ICTs- in most cases via Skype and Facebook. As Tyrrell and Kallis (2015) suggest, it is important to consider the way migrant children's connections to people are maintained through the use of ICTs and there has been a growing literature in recent years regarding the way users of ICTs (including children) have become active producers of media content, rather than remaining passive consumers (Panagakos and Horst, 2006; Benítez, 2012; Madianou, 2012; Dekker and Engbersen, 2014; Baldassar *et al*, 2016).

It emerged that emotional connections to family members were still maintained over physical distances, but they were enacted over new social spaces, such as emails, social media and telephone calls (Tarrant, 2010). This illustrates how intimacy has been socially transformed (Levin, 2004); indeed Holmes (2004:180)

defines it as 'living apart together'. In this sense, the barriers to regular contact that may be created by geographical distance are overcome (to a degree) and family relations maintained (Tarrant, 2010). This supports Holdsworth's (2013) claim that mobility does not necessarily weaken social bonds, but rather transforms them.

Some of the children seemed particularly worried about missing family members out and I felt that this illustrated the high value participants placed on their familial network. The majority of the children who completed the diagrams were members of the Panas family who had migrated to the UK more recently than the other families involved in the study. As Burrell (2005) suggests, when families first migrate to a new country, strong family links may be relied upon to compensate for the loss of physical proximity and this appeared to be true of members of the Panas family. This was also re-iterated during a Saturday Greek School session before Christmas when the children were asked to make decorations for the tree. They were given star-shaped card to decorate and write a wish on and the majority of children wrote something about their family, for example Phoebe (age eight) wrote:

'I wish to always be with my family' (Note from research diary,
28/12/15)

During the session when the children were drawing their diagrams, two questions arose that I had not anticipated. The first was when I was asked if they could include pets on their diagrams, for example in Figure 7.2, Yasmin has even included a separate category for 'animals' in her key. As the recent literature has noted, 'pets are highly emotionally salient to children' (Muldoon *et al*, 2015:202) and a number of studies have documented how during research,

children had not been asked explicitly about animals, but about people who are important to them and in turn, they had mentioned animals (McNicholas and Collis, 2001; Tipper, 2011). Therefore it is perhaps not surprising that participants chose to include their pets as members of their social network. The importance of pets can also be linked to weak theory and the assertion that belonging can be actively created, not only via attachments to other people, but also to more-than-human agents- including animals (Wright, 2015). Thus, for some of the children, the close emotional attachments that they feel to their pets, is one way in which belonging can be constituted (Stewart, 2008).

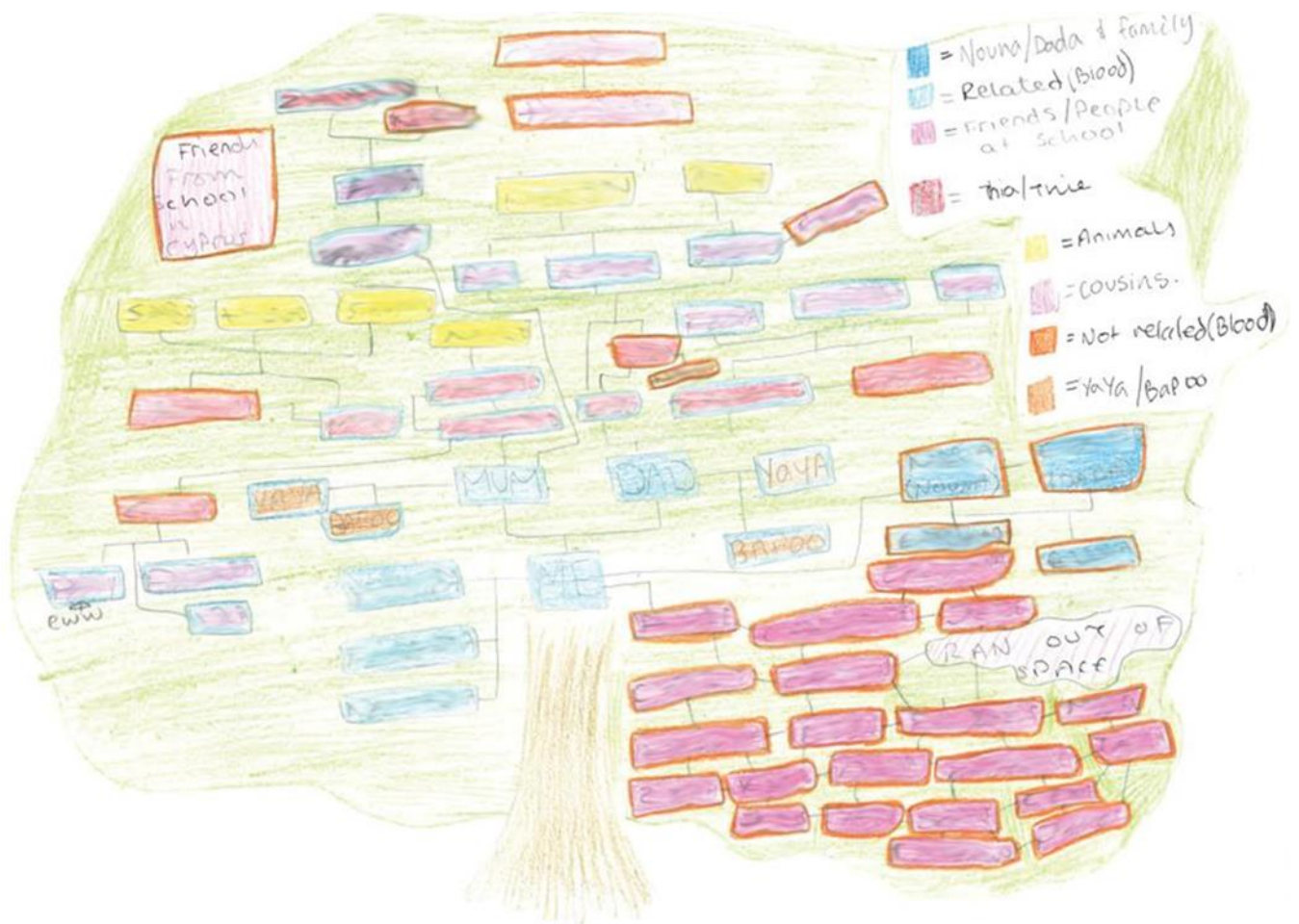


Figure 7.2: Family and friendship diagram drawn by Yasmin (age 12)

The second question I was asked by some of the participants was whether they could include deceased family members. I agreed and it turned out that most of the children who were members of the Panas family wanted to include their great-grandmother/great-aunt who had passed away a couple of years previously. I then thought back to this instance the following month when I attended a Sunday church service and Father Richardson spoke about how he visited graves of the deceased members of the community. He spoke of how they are an important part of our history and how, in contrast to the English saying 'out of sight, out of mind', we should remember them. It seemed that remembrance of the deceased was something that was encouraged by the Orthodox faith and this could also be seen in the frequency of memorial services that are traditionally held³⁰. Once again, we see an attachment to the 'more-than-human'; in this case, to the deceased.

Out of the twelve children, seven chose to include only family and no friends in their diagrams, with most of the seven insisting that they felt much closer to their family than friends. I was quite surprised by this as I had expected most of them to also include their friends. I raised this with them during the interviews and a number of them replied that they spent a lot of time with their cousins and so they were their friends:

Evita: *"We don't really have any close friends."*

GK: *"Aw really?"*

Evita: *"I've only got like one close friend...We have cousins."*

Alexia: *"I don't have many, I find it hard to trust."*

GK: *"Do you?"*

³⁰ According to the Apostolic Constitutions these should be held on the third, ninth and fortieth days after death and then again annually.

Alexia: "Yeh."

GK: "Why is that?"

Alexia: "I don't know...because...like we all do all these cool things, but then we tell our friends and then they only like, like us when we're doing stuff and then they're not really friends with us when we're at school."
(Evita: age 10 and Alexia: age 11. Panas family)

For Alexia, her attitude on the subject was based on previous bad experiences with friends, however, similar to findings from other studies (Franco and Levitt, 1998; Burrell, 2005), a number of the other children made the point that they spent a lot of time with their cousins and so they were their friends. It is also interesting to note how, during interviews with some of the younger children, they revealed they had a special relationship with their older cousins. For example, when asked who in the family she felt closest to, Stephanie (age five), responded that she was closest to her 'daddy's cousins' and in particular, 'the biggest cousin', Michael, who was 14 years-old. Her mother added how Stephanie looked up to him and loved to spend time with him. Similarly, Luana (age eight) revealed that there were three people who she felt she could trust the most and tell her secrets to: her mum, her best friend from school and her cousin Jenna who was 23. When I asked why she felt she could confide in Jenna she responded:

"Oh cus she's Jenna, she's just a cousin that understands."

Such relationships between cousins were not limited to the child participants in the sample, but were also expressed by a number of the adults and especially during their younger years before they began having children and forming their own families. Cousins did not necessarily become less important when people grew up, but the amount of time spent with them did decline in some cases.

This illustrates the way in which relationships may change over the lifecourse and how more emphasis may be placed on particular relationships at particular points. As Caneva (2015) suggests, kin relations are not always a given, 'but they have to be negotiated, constructed and nurtured in everyday relations (p.286). Here we can see how relations with cousins are constructed and reconstructed over time. Moreover, cousins were not only identified as someone to have a good time with, but also as individuals who would 'help out' participants when they needed it.

As was highlighted in Chapter Three, previous studies on the family within the discipline of geography have paid little attention to familial relationships besides that of the parent and children, and calls have been made to deepen our understanding regarding wider familial networks (Valentine, 2008). It became clear that for the majority of participants in this study, extremely high value was placed on their relationships with their cousins and, for the children in particular, their cousins were an integral part of their social network, thus the significance of such relationships must not be over-looked.

Furthermore, as well as the emphasis placed on their relationships with their cousins, during interviews and other times I spent with them, the children frequently mentioned their godparents. The majority of children included them on their diagrams, as can be seen on Figures 7.1 and 7.2, with Yasmin using the Greek 'nouna' (godmother) and 'dada' (godfather) to label hers' (Figure 7.2). The role of godparents in relation to the Greek Orthodox religion has been mentioned in earlier studies (Teske, 1977; Aschenbrenner, 1975) with particular attention being paid to the rituals that godparents engage in, mainly during the event of the baptism. However, as far as I am aware, no published works

discuss attitudes towards the role of godparents among Greek-Cypriot migrant families living in the UK today, although work has observed the way in which traditions are maintained when migration occurs (Anthias, 1992; Burrell, 2005). It appeared that, for the children, their godparents were particularly important and special members of their families (even when they were not actually related by blood). Generally however, there was a great deal of hesitancy when children were asked about the wider role of their godparents:

GK: *“Are your godparents quite important to you then?”*

Eva: **(NODS)**

GK: *“What do they do? Like what’s their role as godparent?”*

Eva: *“Um well it’s kind of like, like you only get christened if you’re like a Christian and you’re godparents are kind of like **(PAUSE)**, they kind of like take care of you along with your parents and they’re kind of like your **(PAUSE)**, I don’t know how to explain it, they’re just um ...”* (Panas family, age 10)

Like Eva, a number of the children struggled to define the role of their godparents; however they were often viewed as having a caring and loving role. I raised the topic of godparents with the Greek School teacher after observing the way the younger girls would frequently mention them, sometimes even in a competitive manner, and he laughed, responding that they love their godparents so much because they give them money and presents. This appeared to be the case for Christa when I raised the subject during the interview with her and her sister:

GK: *“Are they important to you, your nounas [godmothers]?”*

Christa: *“Yeh.”*

GK: *“What do they do?”*

Christa: *“Once she brang me 50, 50 pounds.”* (Age nine)

I got the impression that the families were keen to maintain the Greek Orthodox tradition of providing their children with godparents, however for some of the children (and adults), the religious reasons for doing so were not fully understood³¹. This is significant because the maintenance and enactment of such traditions is one way in which belonging can be nurtured and performed in a specific context (Curtis and Mee, 2012; Wright, 2015). This emphasises Wright's (2015) assertion that, when using weak theory, we should consider the day-to-day performances of belonging. In this instance, adherence to religious traditions and rituals is promoting practices of belonging.

7.3 Parent-child relationships: gender and sexuality

While the previous section mainly focused on family 'closeness' and the positive aspects of this, especially in relation to providing a sense of identity and belongingness to its members, it must be acknowledged that there is a less positive side to families and, as Goulbourne *et al* (2010) assert, we need to pay attention to 'such factors of normal life as disharmony, tensions, and imposed restraints and constraints on family members' (p.136). As previous chapters have highlighted, it is important to discuss these more negative aspects in order to transcend the simple dichotomy that persists in more mainstream representations of migrant families, where they are sometimes seen as 'broken', oppressive or dysfunctional (Goulbourne *et al*, 2010).

Existing research on the Greek-Cypriot migrant population in the UK has described how the expectations of family members were highly gendered

³¹ This is not necessarily just confined to the Greek-Cypriot community and is likely to be true of other ethnic groups/religious faiths as well.

(Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Josephides, 1988; Anthias, 1992). Almost three decades ago, Josephides (1988) claimed that the concepts of honour and shame underlay every aspect of economic and social life for the first-generation female members of the Greek-Cypriot family, and while things improved for the second-generation of females as the issue of honour became divorced from that of women's work life (i.e. they were no longer under so much pressure to only work for other Cypriots), good reputation and sexual modesty were still important for them. Few studies have actually given these women a voice and discussed their experiences in-depth (Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Josephides, 1988; Anthias, 1992; Burrell, 2005).

In this section then, our attention will be turned towards their experiences. The pressure that was placed on the second-generation women in order to uphold family honour was a topic that emerged in a number of interviews and, like young women from other migrant communities (see Gibson, 1995; Wolf, 1997; Espiritu, 2001; Zhou and Bankston, 2001; Shah, 2007; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Ziemer, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2013), girls experienced greater intergenerational conflict than boys. Anthea's account in Box 7.1 regarding her parents' attempts to control different aspects of her life was typical of some of the second-, and also one of the third-, generation women who participated in the study.

Box 7.1: Anthea's story

Anthea was born in Cyprus in 1957 and moved to the UK when she was six years-old with her parents and siblings. She is now married to Yianni (who is half-English, half-Cypriot) and they have four adult children. When talking of her childhood, Anthea said she enjoyed school and her time there was 'very happy', however the prohibitions imposed on her by her parents prevented her from socialising with other children from a young age and from participating in extra-curricular classes at school:

Anthea: *"I feel we were very different [to English friends] because my parents were very strict and they wouldn't let us go anywhere, not even to children's birthday parties, my father wouldn't let us go um, it's a shame really um, and at school, especially when I went to secondary school and I realised a bit more, if my friends asked me to join in with swimming at the weekend, I was never allowed to go...I had a friend who enjoyed dancing and wanted me to go with her to learn, but I was never allowed to go. And then when I, when I was doing my um, CSE's at the time, um my school wasn't that good, so my friend and I who were keen to get good results, um enrolled to do an evening class in English and I had to just tell my parents I was um not going to another school to learn extra English, but I just said we were kept in late- I lied really so I could get a better education and through that I got a , I got a really good mark in um my, my exams."*

GK: *"So they wouldn't even have let you go to another class-"*

Anthea: *"No, no, it's so silly isn't it...and even um, I got good results in my exams and I wanted to do something more to further my career, but my dad wouldn't allow it because he said if um if a Greek family has a business then the children work in the business, they don't go and work for somebody else so therefore I wasn't allowed to go and work for anyone else and I just felt that wasn't fair because I'd said to my father, 'don't you want anything better for your children than just working in the restaurant?' But no, he wouldn't have it."*

We can see how Anthea was restricted by her parents both socially and in terms of her education. She later revealed how she had been to an interview for a secretarial position and been offered the job, but her father would not let her take it, preferring her instead to work in the family business so that she would remain under the parental gaze (Ehrkamp, 2013). As well as this, her parents also attempted to control her romantic relationships. She revealed the troubles she experienced when, at 19, she met her first boyfriend, who is now her husband, and her parents were disapproving of them spending time together:

"No, it wasn't encouraged, we weren't allowed to go out together, they agreed to us getting engaged eventually and even when we were engaged they wouldn't let me go out with him, they were terrible."

A number of the first- and second-generation women spoke of how they got engaged fairly early on in their relationships in order for them to go out in public with their partners as going out with a fiancé was seen as more acceptable than going out with a boyfriend. This need was heightened by the small size of the city; as was suggested in Section 5.5, a number of participants felt that 'everybody knew everybody' within the ethnic community and therefore gossip could be easily spread. This reveals how the young women were subject to patriarchal practices both within and outside the private sphere of the home and, as well as the restrictions imposed on them by their parents, fear of embarrassing their families and being the subject of gossip among members of the wider Greek-Cypriot community in the city deterred them from particular activities (Ziemer, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2013).

Eventually Anthea and her fiancé, in the words of her mother-in-law, 'ran away', to London to get married:

"Well we- Yianni rang my father before we were gunna leave because he said to him 'I'm gunna take Anthea to visit all my relatives in London' and my dad really wasn't very approving of that, but we went anyway and when we were there Yianni told his uncle of the difficulties we were having and he said, even though we were engaged, my parents weren't very um tolerant you know of me going out with Yianni or him seeing me so his uncle said 'look, if you want to get married I can arrange it' so Uncle arranged the marriage and Yianni rang my father to tell him the dates that we were gunna get married if anyone wanted to come and obviously my dad wasn't very happy, but in the end we got married and none of them came."

I thought it was interesting that Yianni was the one to call her father; it seemed like once again, the power was held by the man in the relationship, although Anthea was more accepting of this when it came to her relationship with Yianni. She went on to tell me how her father refused to speak to her for a number of years after her wedding, even after she had her first two children. Her mother and siblings did not contact her either and she was not invited to two of her siblings' weddings. Her mother did give in eventually though and got in contact with Anthea before her father.

Nevertheless, throughout the interview Anthea spoke of how happy her life with Yianni has been and how they have a very active social life- a stark contrast to the life her parents led:

"My life's completely different now (LAUGHS). Because Yianni, my husband is um, he's very outgoing and I've learnt to be the same way, I love- I love people, I like mixing and going out, doing different things, it's much more interesting... Since I met Yianni it's, it's opened up my world really, it's much, much better."

Like the other females who had been subjected to a similar restrictive upbringing, Anthea had reflected on her experiences and tried not to repeat the actions of her parents with her own children:

"I swore when I got married and had children it would not be like that... I didn't like the fact that they were so hard on us really, I didn't think that was quite fair, especially where your education was concerned. I was quite rebellious really because I wanted- I think if I had the chance I would have been able to get a better job and do something with my life really, but for them, um a daughter especially- you grow up, you get married and you have your family- it's different these days, but at that time, that's, that was their belief."

Anthea puts her parents' actions down to their cultural beliefs and their adherence to the general consensus of what was expected of females at the time. In an attempt to challenge these patriarchal practices, Anthea chose to escape the parental gaze and go to another city to get married. It appeared that this act of rebellion was not unusual; three of the other second-generation women I interviewed told similar accounts of moving out of the family home or running away in order to be with the partner of their choice. In this sense, the women become 'subjects', rather than 'objects' of love and marriage (Hyndman-Rizk, 2016). The importance of space in the everyday life of migrants comes to the forefront here and how, in an attempt to resist the hegemonic ideals that are imposed on them, the females escaped the spaces where their parents could express their power (Valentine, 1996; Ehrkamp, 2013). They also escaped the gaze of the wider ethnic community, which, especially in a fairly small city, served as a means of social control (Ziemer, 2010).

Feminist theorists have drawn attention to the power struggles that go on in families (Oakley, 1972) and the idea that most relationships are longstanding and not as easily cancellable as some advocates of the individualisation thesis suggest (Smart and Shipman, 2004; Charles *et al*, 2008). This means that

Feminist theorists have drawn attention to the power struggles that go on in families (Oakley, 1972) and the idea that most relationships are longstanding and not as easily cancellable as some advocates of the individualisation thesis suggest (Smart and Shipman, 2004; Charles *et al*, 2008). This means that individuals do not necessarily just 'walk away' from relationships once they become unsatisfying or unfulfilling. As Anthea's account shows, such relationships require ongoing negotiations in order to be lived with over the long-term, rather than just being abandoned altogether (although this occurred temporarily). These more negative relationships can however result in feelings of hurt, anxiety and lack of respect and Smart (2007) argues that the feeling of anxiety may be felt to a greater extent in migrant families due to the insecurity provoked by their marginal position in the receiving society; indeed Anthea revealed how her parents were constantly working in the hope of bettering their social and economic position.

Such accounts also reflect the intergenerational tensions that arise in migrant families; several studies have shown how there is usually a greater worry about the behaviour of the daughters within them (Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015), with more pressure being placed on them to remain celibate. This is because they are viewed by parents as the guardians of cultural integrity and as responsible for passing on the parental culture to successive generations (Dwyer, 2000; 2002; Espiritu, 2001). Therefore women are vital in maintaining

symbolic group boundaries and ‘the norms that regulate women’s behaviours become a means of determining and defining group status and boundaries’ (Shah, 2007:38). Because of this, daughters are often encouraged to conform to traditional gender roles (Ziemer, 2010) and in this sense, parents are ‘doing’ family in such a way in the hope of maintaining the identity and symbolic boundaries of the wider ethnic group.

Generally, the men in the second-generation were not subject to the same level of restriction as the females (as is discussed in Section 7.4) however Vasilis’ story provides an exception (see Box 7.2) and was strikingly similar to those of the females due to the challenges he faced in relation to his sexuality. As Manalansan (2006) suggests, recent works that document queer sexualities in migration have emphasised the importance of sexuality as an object of study and this certainly emerged as an important factor to consider when exploring parent-child relations within the families. The pressures that individuals faced (particularly those in the second-generation) to conform to traditional values regarding sexuality clearly affected their relationships with their parents and conflicts arose when these expectations were not adhered to; indeed, this is also true of other ethnic groups (see Lehr, 1999 for an example).

Box 7.2: Vasilis’ story

The story of Vasilis, a 28 year-old second-generation male, especially highlights how ‘the spaces of everyday life are central to understanding the intricate workings of power and resistance’ (Ehrkamp, 2013:21) as he was put under pressure both within the private sphere of the home and in the public domain to conform to an ideological understanding of masculinity. However, he failed to do this because of his sexuality:

“Um growing up I experienced six years of depression yeh? And one of the reasons for that was because I had low self-confidence and because I was gay and to be gay in a Greek-Cypriot community is, is a taboo yeh? It’s probably easier in Cyprus now because of exposure to modern media and you know there’s more television and that explains it, but that was tough for me, it was one of the reasons why I wanted to go to university because I knew that if I walked down the street holding the hand of a guy it wouldn’t be recognised by the community and because I suppose I want to feel like I belong and because I suppose I hurt easily as well, I didn’t want to feel that I was rejected and judged.”

High levels of homophobia have been reported in Cyprus, even today (Onoufriou, 2009; West *et al*, 2015) and Vasilis' believed that such attitudes were transported with migration and still felt by members of the community- although the extent to which this is actually true is questionable and not all members of the community could be generalised as homophobic. However in an attempt to resist these negative attitudes and in order to act in the manner in which he wished without feeling like he was being judged, Vasilis went away to university in Kent. He not only felt pressure to conform to the wider views of the community though; tensions also arose when he told his mother:

"I came out to my mum 12 years ago but I had to come out to her three times- the first time she put religious artefacts underneath my bed to cleanse me of the demons, she said um she said, 'what did we do to deserve these demons on the house?' Because the thing is, think about it, she said 'look, back then, if somebody was like that um they would be, you know, they would get married and they would be happy'- yeh right, they were cheating on their wives and so on, but see, the thing with the Cypriot community is this, what you do, you don't just do for yourself, you're doing it for the whole family and then the whole community... now can you imagine somebody saying 'my son is like this?' they can't understand it because they grew up with different things, you know, the idea of being open-minded is a modern invention, it didn't exist back then, you know, you followed your- what your father said, you followed..."

As well as the pressure individuals felt to conform to the norms imposed on them by the wider community in order not to shame their families, the above extract also illustrates the tensions that may arise between the different generations due to different cultural and religious values. Interestingly, Vasilis' father was English and he too struggled to accept Vasilis' sexuality; his father put this down to the way he was brought up and how he was taught 'it was a man and a woman'. Once again we can see generational differences in values and beliefs. However, his father did eventually come to accept it. Vasilis also draws our attention to the way in which his mother and relatives grew up in highly patriarchal families and where male viewpoints dominated (Josephides, 1988; Anthias, 1992).

Like Anthea and Vasilis, a number of the second-generation women attempted to resist the prohibitions imposed on them by their parents by moving out of the family home. It is important to acknowledge that it is within the home that 'points of similarity and difference, conformity and conflict, are negotiated and resolved, where family values and cultural practices are transmitted, contested and transformed' (Chamberlain, 1998:8). As Tyrrell *et al* (2014) observe, the notion of home as a fixed space in which family members live is challenged by intergenerational perspectives. Here we can see identities emerging through

social relationships that are played out within the home, but which are fluid and dynamic. In some cases, moving out of the home was not enough and participants moved to another city to live (albeit for short periods). This was because their behaviour was not only under scrutiny within the 'private' sphere of the home, but also in the wider domain of the public sphere as they became subjects of gossip among the wider ethnic community. However these individuals preferred not to be subjected to patriarchal gender relations and responded to this burden by asserting their independence and individualism (Shah, 2007).

While being careful not to romanticise their attempts of resistance (Abu-Lughod, 1990) it must be acknowledged that these women were not merely submissive and passive recipients of hegemonic ideology, but actors who were able to exercise their social agency (Wang, 2007; Bilge, 2010). They achieved this by manoeuvring spaces in order to develop strategies to escape social controls (Wang, 2007); a number of participants recalled how they were allowed to go out, but only if they were accompanied by their brothers and they would make the most of these opportunities, seizing the chance to chat to boys or have a drink. Nevertheless, although in some cases it took a number of years, their acts of rebelliousness in their late teenage years gave way to shared views and interests with their parents in adulthood (Foner and Dreby, 2011) with a little compromise made by both children and parents.

Moreover, they were able to exert their agency with regards to their relationships with their own children. This is significant as it shows why attitudes change across the generations. As was highlighted in the case of Anthea, some members of the second-generation swore that they would not subject their own

children to the same patriarchal gender relations and tried to give them more freedom and the opportunity to learn from their own mistakes. Although some of them found this hard, they were insistent that their children would not have the same experience as them and thought it was essential that they be able to exert some degree of agency over their own lives. Here we can see Melanie talking about her decision to parent more permissively:

“Now I’ve got my own children I understand why she [mother] was like that, but you gotta let them go a little bit to allow them to you know, be the people that they’re gunna be, you know, cus you can’t wrap em in cotton wool forever...they’ve gotta be able to see the bigger picture I think, you know and the dangers and things like that- they won’t learn if you don’t show them and they, they’ve got to make their own mistakes as well so that they learn cus that’s how we learn isn’t it?” (Melanie, second-generation, age 36)

Thus, this desire of the second-generation not to replicate the parenting style of their parents was one of the key drivers of intergenerational change in relation to parenting practices and we can see how family norms and processes changed across the generations (more on this below).

At this point it is also important to acknowledge the fluid and evolving nature of parent-daughter relationships throughout the lifecourse (Arendell, 2000). Those in the second-generation (and even some in the first) spoke of the negative feelings they felt towards their parents when conflicts arose during their teen years and they attempted to resist their oppressive regulations. However once they got past this more difficult time, they then spoke of very positive relations with their parents and some even saw them more as their ‘friends’ as greater reciprocity was developed (see Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997 and Tsai *et al*, 2013 for similar occurrences among non-migrant families). The following extract

from Tina's interview demonstrates this cycle quite clearly with regards to her relationship with her father:

"I guess kind of like when I was like a teenager and picking uni and all that kind of stuff I would like get upset about dad trying to be so, like trying to enforce his opinion so I'd probably talk to mum more about it and she would kind of like be the middle-man, she'd be like the buffer that would go and talk to dad...I don't think it ruined like my relationship with him, but like the year that I did move away and he didn't want me to, it did affect the relationship, but like when I was like really little, I guess I went through a phase where I was like daddy's favourite so I was always like daddy's girl, but then like it kind of like evened out so I would always have like quite a good relationship with both of them, but like when they were really strict I suppose yeh, I always saw my dad more as the one that was kind of like blocking things.

[...]

And I think like especially moving away and stuff as well means that you have to make- you make more of an effort like when you come back and stuff, speak to them on the phone and yeh- and if there's anything like at work and I need like an opinion on something I'll always ring my dad, he can actually- I mean sometimes what he comes up with you're like 'yeh yeh dad, you're just saying what you wanna say to make yourself feel better' but sometimes he does actually give really good advice, occasionally there's a bit in there so yeh." (Tina, third-generation, age 36)

Interestingly, Tina was in the third-generation, however she was the oldest member of this group by a large margin. It appeared that things had changed for the other females in the third-generation (and also the younger girls in the Panas family) as Tina was the only one who spoke about her parents' over-protectiveness when she was growing up. Nevertheless, the majority of the third-generation females I spoke to were still fairly young, and they were yet to reach an age where they would be having romantic relationships- the time when the clashes the second-generation experienced with their parents arose. However, unlike the second-generation, all of the females in the third-generation articulated how their parents did not have any problem with them going to friends' houses for tea after school, or with them attending birthday

parties and it seemed as though they were much more relaxed about them engaging in social activities.

In fact, it emerged that some relationships had gone to the other extreme and that some of the third-generation females were over-indulged or 'spoiled' by their parents and in particular, by their fathers. Alisha reflected on this issue throughout the interview:

I'm a daddy's girl, just to throw it out there- I think um since I was really young, like my dad always said 'you followed me round everywhere'. I just remember like when he used to leave to go to work cus he was doing lots of like property developing... I would be like 'don't leave me home! Take me with you!' and I used to love it ... so I'm really close to my dad I think um not- I don't know why but we actually get on really well as friends.

[...]

They [fathers] love controlling and I think as well he likes the fact that when I go travelling it's sort of on his money and so it's on his terms and like, like when I ring him and ask for money or, or something like that he'll get like quite excited and be like 'oh OK, how much do you need darling?' you know 'this is for my daughter, here' so I went to Nepal on his money..."
(Alisha, third-generation, age 17)

As well as financing her trip away, Alisha revealed how her father allowed her to 'skive' from school in her final year, even picking her up and taking her out for lunch when she was supposed to be in class. Although this was a more extreme example, she was not the only daughter who was described as a 'daddy's girl' (Walkerdine, 1997), and the fathers themselves also admitted how they would spoil their daughters. For example, Andrew confessed that he had always spoiled his daughter and his wife would blame him for the faults she had developed.

As Alisha points out though, spoiling their daughters in a material way is another way in which fathers gain control over them; not only could fathers

control their daughters activities by paying for them to do things, but the daughters were also more likely to do as their fathers wished when they believed they had been 'treated' by them. Thus, this could be seen as a more 'covert' way in which fathers reproduce patriarchal gender relations.³²

Although females in the third-generation generally did not believe their parents to be too restrictive in terms of their social activities, a number of them did express some resentment at the way in which it was they, and not their brothers, who were expected to help out with domestic tasks:

"I feel like the girls are always in like, expected to do more housework, like if Ilias finishes food and went on the sofa mum wouldn't be like 'no come back and help us clean', like we'd take that role." (Katherine, age 16)

"Even stuff like kind of like when guests would come over it would always be the way that kind of like I would be seen to be the one that would obviously have to go and help and make the tea and hand out the cakes and stuff, the boys didn't have to do any of it and I picked up on all of it from a really early age and I remember just consciously making a point of it all the time, like even when guests were there, just saying 'ah the boys can do it! Why can't they make a cup of tea?' and things like that so...it just makes you worse I think." (Tina, third-generation, age 36)

Once again, the space of home becomes important; the notion that transnational home-making is a gendered practice and one that is often feminised has been widely documented in the literature (Thompson, 1994; Walter, 2001; Ahmed *et al*, 2003; Blunt and Dowling, 2006) and is an issue that is explored in more depth in Chapter Eight. However, the above extracts illustrate the way in which attempts to maintain 'traditional' family structures (Walter, 2001) were made and some of the females did express some resentment towards this. The females commented on how they were expected to help out with the housework and tidying, and when guests were round, they

³² It is likely that this is not confined to only Greek-Cypriot families.

were the ones who would be asked to attend to them. It seemed that the families wished to present an ideological image to their guests with the females confirming to a traditional version of femininity, while the boys were free to relax. In this way, the family both demands and is a means through which collective belonging to the ethnic group is reproduced as parents ensure that 'traditional' gender roles are adhered to (Ziemer, 2010).

7.4 Parent-child relationships: the case of parents and sons

Although there were fewer men in the sample, none of them described experiencing parental controls to the same extent as the second-generation women; in fact, some of them told stories of much freer upbringings, especially when they reached their mid-teens. When reflecting on the differential treatment of male and female siblings, Perry commented:

“Once we [himself and brothers] were 14, 15, do what we like, go where we like, I wouldn't say come in when we liked, not until we were about 17, we used to have restricted time – but the girls were very restricted – weren't allowed out till this time, had to be home, weren't allowed to wear this clothes, that clothes, it was very strict with them, very- from what I can remember, they used to shout at them a lot...” (Perry, second-generation, age 52)

This contrasted starkly with the account told by Perry's sister, Sandra, who had spoken of an extremely strict upbringing and she had even described herself as a 'prisoner' who had been 'locked' in the house. It appeared that the cultural norms regarding traditional gendered roles were being transmitted from the first-generation to the second- and the men were freer socially to act how they pleased. They were also freer in terms of relationships and choice of partner (see Box 7.3).

Box 7.3: Men and marriage

As was discussed in Section 7.3, parents attempted to exercise a great deal of control over the second-generation females, especially in relation to romantic relationships and marriage. Often they would prefer for their daughters to marry someone from a Cypriot family and they attempted to match-make by introducing them to men who they deemed suitable. This was not restricted to the women however, as some of the second-generation men also spoke of their parents trying to match-make:

GK: *“So did your parents ever want you to have a Greek partner or were they-“*

Samuel: *“Oh no, I think they would have preferred me to have had a Greek partner to be honest with you...yeh...you know I can understand, I can understand now...”*

GK: *“Yeh...did they ever try and set you up with anybody?”*

Samuel: *“Oh yeh a few times (LAUGHS) yeh.”* (Second-generation, age 53)

Like Samuel, those who had been the subject of an attempted match (including the women) mainly spoke of them in a comical way and as something they simply brushed off. They later went on to meet their partners through their own social networks or by other means and often they were British or of a different ethnicity. Certainly among the younger members of the second- and third-generations, ‘mixed couplehoods’ (Teerling, 2010) had become the norm. However, parents seemed to accept mixed relationships much more easily where their sons were concerned, indeed none of the second-generation men spoke of having to ‘run away’ when their parents were disapproving of their relationship (as we witnessed in the case of Anthea).

Earlier studies described the highly gendered expectations of Greek-Cypriot family members and how men had much more freedom in terms of relationships and sexual activity (Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Josephides, 1988; Anthias, 1992). It seemed these gendered norms had been maintained to a certain extent among the second-generation today and they did not face as much parental control as the women.

Nevertheless, from Samuel’s extract we can see how he was able to understand why his parents would have preferred for him to marry within the ethnic group; he goes on to say:

Samuel: *“But you know, it’s a kind of- they’re only tryna do- you know when you look at other cultures, like the Jewish culture and other cultures, and Indian people and people like that, it’s only cus they’re tryna do, the parents are tryna do the best for you from their point of view...but um they can’t force people to marry people that they don’t love like that...”*

GK: *“Yeh that’s true.”*

Samuel: *“But they, but they know that if you met someone from a similar background to you and they know the parents and the family they know that you- there’s probably a better chance of things succeeding in a way, you’d be more successful and happier generally throughout your life, that’s why they can’t try and pick someone who’s got the kind of same, same kind of thoughts as you and you know, used to the same things as you, culturally wise do you know what I mean, food and weddings and friends and all that kind of stuff...”*

Samuel was not the only one who felt that being with someone from the same ethnic group would be more likely to work out; a number of other participants shared this view. This was because they would have a mutual understanding of the cultural values, norms and traditions of the group. In their recent work, Mason and Muir (2013) have illustrated how engagement with tradition and ritual requires on-going decision-making and negotiation between couples- even when they are from the same ethnic and/or religious group. Thus, one would expect this negotiation to be even more complex and multi-faceted when partners have different cultural and/or religious beliefs (discussion on this issue is developed in Section 8.2).

Besides the different levels of freedom, a number of the females commented on the way in which the males were viewed in a more preferential light by their parents/grandparents in general:

“Like the guys is more superior than the girl, ‘we love the sons! My son’s so hard-working and perfect’ and then it’s like the daughters, you have to stay in, not allowed to see any guys.” (Alisha, third-generation, age 17)

“I’ve noticed in Greek families boys are like, more like treated better, um like they’re more favourite and then girls like, they’re always, they’re always like seen to be like have manners and stuff like that...yeh like my nan like has favourites... I think she likes my brothers better.” (Holly, third-generation, age 14)

Alisha’s account was quite contradictory; while at some points in the interview she described herself as a daddy’s girl who had been spoilt; at others she described how her older brother was the favourite and she was subject to her father’s strict rules, so there did seem to be some ambivalence regarding their relationship (Ziemer, 2010). Nevertheless, it did emerge how some of the families did favour the sons and Holly’s comment supports the earlier discussion regarding the way in which females were expected to act in a certain way. I argue that boys are treated favourably as this is a way in which the traditional family structure is maintained (Walter, 2001) and collective belonging to the wider ethnic group reproduced (Ziemer, 2010).

Although none of the males explicitly spoke about being treated as a 'favourite', some of them did speak of very close bonds with their mothers throughout the interviews. Despite the tensions he had experienced with his parents due to his sexuality, Vasilis repeatedly referred to the 'love' and 'sacrifice' of his mother:

"I think one of the things that I realised with my mum is she sacrifices her time, she sacrifices her energy, she sacrifices her money all the time for people and this woman has got so much love and it's inspired me and you know, I believe that if you are to inspire other people as well, there is an aspect of sacrifice." (Vasilis, second-generation, age 28)

Even after the conflict that had been caused by his mother's struggle to accept his homosexuality (Box 7.2), Vasilis could still look back on his experiences and focus on the love that he felt he had received from his mother. Isaac also spoke of his mother's caring nature and the way in which she was prepared to accept her children for who they were, regardless of whether her husband agreed or not:

"I mean mum is, mum is, she's sort of, how can I put it? Parents are like, parents are like grace and nature, mum's like grace, she's sort of one of those people whose elegant, she's um loving, she's nurturing whereas dad's like nature, it can be violent, it can be eruptive, it can be you know, trynna get you ready for the world."

[...]

The thing is, that's what, that's exactly the way mum is, like this is her son and she just wants the best for her kids and she wants them to be loved and to be you know, to ensure that they know that they feel loved um regardless of who they are or what they are, they're her children..." (Isaac, third-generation, mid-thirties)

It is interesting to note that Isaac's mother is Anthea whose story was told in Box 7.1 and who stated that she had vowed not to replicate her parents' strict and rigid style of parenting. From the accounts told by both Isaac and his sister, Tina, it appeared that although their father had sometimes been harsh with

them, Anthea had always taken on the role of mediator and tried to see things from the view of her children. Isaac in particular emphasised the love that his mother had shown to him, both in his childhood and also during adulthood. While there is a vast literature that documents the way in which the role of mothering has traditionally been viewed as a set of activities and relationships that provide nurture and care to recipients (Forcey, 1994; Gordon *et al*, 1996; Arendell, 2000), it seemed to be the sons who emphasised this more and who were particularly keen to articulate the love they had received from their mothers.

Even Chris, the oldest member of the sample, whose mother had passed away in 2002, revealed how he attended church in an attempt to maintain an emotional connection with her:

Dee [Chris' wife]: *"I think you were still very close to your mum."*

Chris: *"Oh I loved my mum, I mean, that's the main reason why I go to church, forget all that stuff, I go to church cus when I go to church I feel my mum and that's about all there is to it. I feel my mum's there, you know, it's the sort of thing that she would love to be there and I feel very close to her when I go to church and that's the reason why I go, basically, you know, for her, mm, yeh...it's much nicer than going up to the cemetery actually."*
(**LAUGHS**) (Second-generation, age 83)

His childhood had been quite different to the majority of participants as he had been raised by another family while his parents were busy working. Yet despite this, as his wife pointed out, he still maintained a close bond with his mother, which he strove to maintain, even years after her death. As was discussed in relation to the children earlier on in the chapter, one of the more-than-human processes of attachment through which belongings can be constituted is through attachments to the deceased, and here Chris is maintaining this attachment via his regular church attendance. Once again, we also see the

importance of the space of the church in providing a setting where affective belonging can be enacted; in this instance the participation in church ritual allows Chris to maintain a feeling of belonging to his deceased mother (Nagar and Leitner, 1998; Leung, 2004; Fortier, 2006).

One may ask why was it the sons who spoke of their mothers in this way and not the daughters? And why did the sons speak of their mothers in this way but not their fathers? As Russell and Saebel (1997) suggest, it is important to consider gender differences in parent-child relationships and past studies have noted the way in which, generally, the relationship between women and their sons may be 'intense and passionate' (Rowland and Thomas, 1996:94). A number of writers have acknowledged that, in the past, there was a fear amongst academics to acknowledge the strength of the mother-son bond due to the fact it may be seen as a threat to the enculturation of boys into masculinity (Rowland and Thomas, 1996; Epstein, 2013). Clearly the men themselves were not embarrassed to admit to the strength of their bonds with their mothers and it was something that was reiterated throughout the interviews.

Several of the second-generation members (both men and women) also expressed that they did not feel so close to their fathers when they were growing up because they spent so much time working. Earlier studies on Greek-Cypriot migrants to the UK have documented how the first-generation worked long and often unsociable hours in order to better their economic position (Constantinides, 1977; Charalambous *et al*, 1988; Anthias, 1992). Although they were doing this for the perceived greater good of their children, participants revealed how this affected their relationships with their fathers and one of the consequences was that they did not always have such a close bond. Instead,

they spent more time with their mothers at home and it was the mother's role to provide emotional support to their children. Once again, the space of the home is significant, as it is here that close social relationships were being developed as children were spending more time and receiving more emotional support from their mothers than their fathers.

It is important to acknowledge that as well as gender, birth order is also an important factor to consider when exploring parent-child relationships (Kidwell, 1981; Salmon, 2003). While my sample size was too small for results to be generalised across *all* families, a common perception that did emerge was that, when parents had more than one child, they became more relaxed with the youngest. Comments like the following from Yasmin were typical of participants who were one of the older siblings:

GK: *"Would you say there's a difference between how your brother gets treated and you guys?"* [Yasmin and her two sisters]

Yasmin: *"Yeh me and my brother get treated a lot the same and my two sisters [younger] get treated differently than us."*

GK: *"Are they more strict with them or less strict?"*

Yasmin: *"Less strict."*

GK: *"Are they allowed to do more stuff than you were?"*

Yasmin: *"Yeh (LAUGHS) they get to do stuff that I wasn't allowed to do."*
(Panas family, age 12)

As the extract highlights, gender was not the influencing factor here, but birth order (see Bell and Payne, 2009 and Punch, 2010 for similar occurrences among families of other ethnicities). Similarly, Isaac reflected on how he perceived his parents had been tougher with his older brother:

“I think Nick had it toughest cus he’s the first and the first have always gotta sort of do all the things so it’s easier for the other ones.” (Isaac, third-generation, mid-thirties)

Isaac explains this differential treatment by putting it down to the fact that the older ones have to do everything first- in this case that meant going out drinking, going away to university, having a relationship etc. Isaac felt that once his older brother Nick had made these life transitions and his parents had already dealt with them once, things became easier for the younger siblings when they were going through them- although he did comment that this wasn’t necessarily the case for his sister, but was certainly true for himself and his younger brother. Furthermore, some of the parents themselves were aware of their differential treatment according to their children’s birth order:

“If anything I think we are more chilled with the girls than what we were with Matthew [oldest child], I think we were more strict with- well I was more strict with Matthew than I was with the girls because I was 19 and I was unsure of everything I was doing so I thought, right, we’re gunna do things this way and that’s it so I was very very strict with Matthew’s routine. I had a routine for the girls too but I was more chilled as a person so if something happened that day and that doesn’t happen that way, nothing’s gunna happen.” (Selena, Panas family, age 43)

As a parent, Selena believed she was more ‘chilled’ with her younger daughters because, with age and experience, her confidence in her parenting practice had grown. Whereas the focus has been on gender as the key influencing factor of parental ‘strictness’ or ‘protectiveness’, birth order also appears to be an explanatory variable (Kidwell, 1981) for the differential treatment of siblings. Once again, this brings to the forefront how significant an appreciation of the linkages and entanglements of lived lives really is when studying the family context (Bailey *et al*, 2004) and we can see how parenting practice may be

altered at different points in the lifecourse; for Selena she felt more confident with this as she became older.

7.5 Grandparent-grandchild relationships

In an attempt to expand our discussion of familial relationships beyond those of the parent-child (Valentine, 2008), we shall turn our attention here to the relationships formed between grandparents and their grandchildren. As Tarrant (2010) comments, although there has been a 'rediscovery' of grandparents in the past decade and the contributions they make to family-life, they remain significantly under-researched in human geography. There have been some attempts to develop our knowledge on this topic in recent years (Chan and Ermisch, forthcoming; King-O'Riain, 2014; Zeng and Xie, 2014; Siordia, 2015; Kolk, 2016) however work has been scarce and has largely focused on the role that grandparents play in caring for their grandchildren. Beyond the discipline of geography, Maijala *et al* (2013) suggest that grandparents of today 'are healthier than before, live longer, and are more educated than their antecedents' (p.627) and thus the interaction between generations has enhanced.

During the course of the interviews, the narratives from both sides demonstrated the significance of grandparent-grandchild relationships in terms of the amount of time spent together and the importance attached to the relationship. Furthermore, some of the families lived in extended family units and so had the grandparents living with them. Even when this was not the case, when they were all living in the same country, it appeared that grandparents spent a great deal of time with their grandchildren. Speaking of her husband, Thomas (first-generation), who had passed away, Anne emphasised how he had loved to take his grandchildren out:

Anne: *“Bloody hell if he, if he was here, all he’d be worrying about is taking the grandkids out, that’s all.”*

GK: *“Really?”*

Anne: *“Yeh, yeh..., Nick, [grandson] when Nick was a baby, he didn’t want his mum and dad, he only wanted his granddad, he used to do everything for Nick [...] he’d get up in the morning and the first thing he went was to get Nick.”*

GK: *“Really?”*

Anne: *“Yeh, absolutely loved the kids he did.”* (Married to first-generation Greek-Cypriot, age 79)

The extract reveals how it clearly brought Thomas joy to take out and spend time with his grandson. As Maijala *et al* (2013) acknowledge, spending time with grandchildren can bring grandparents great satisfaction, joy, pleasure and happiness, and grandparenthood is usually distinguishable from parenthood by the easiness of the relationship- grandparenthood does not usually involve as many responsibilities and therefore grandparents’ love for their grandchildren may be ‘sweeter and easier’ (p.628).

Anne viewed Thomas’ love for his grandchildren in a positive way; noticeably as what she later described as one of his ‘good points’ and while she spoke in some detail about Thomas’ relationships with their grandchildren, she did not go into as much detail regarding her own relationship with them, although she emphasised how proud she was of some of them (they had over 20 grandchildren in total). Nevertheless, all four of Anne’s grandchildren who I spoke to told tales of their childhood where their grandmother appeared as a key figure. For example, the following extract told by Isaac was typical of his cousins:

“At that time mum and dad had a café and um as kids we were always in the café and even at a young age we used to be there, washing up,

speaking to people and it was quite nice cus you had sort of an extended family with just regulars and nan was always there um and then yeh it was just like a big family- and my uncle worked there as well actually for a little while and um nan would just wind us up all the time, just tell us stories, like stupid stories to keep us in line, to discipline us..." (Isaac, third-generation, mid-thirties)

I got the impression that the grandchildren got on well with Anne and had a generally good time with her- even though she had down-played this in her interview. We can also see how the semi-public space of the café is significant in Isaac's narrative as he and his siblings got the opportunity to spend time with their grandmother and other family members there. In the following chapter the importance of businesses as a place where social relationships are developed and maintained will be discussed further. The home was also a key space where relationships could be developed; as well as spending time with their grandparents for days out and particular activities, some of the grandchildren lived in the same house as their grandparents and thus would be looked after by them while their parents were at work. Interestingly, it was often the parents who would talk about the close bond their children had formed with their grandparents while living together:

"He [son] used to sleep with his granny, they had two single beds and I used to stand outside the door and they would be gossiping about me...and he would be saying to granny 'and she's got all these sweets, I've seen the papers underneath her bed!' and then one day he said to her 'aw I can't be bothered to say my prayers, granny you say them for me.'" (LAUGHS) (Charissa, second-generation, age 65)

"Audrey [grandmother] was there for Matthew a lot more, Matthew used to call Audrey mum and he used to call me mummy, they were so close so he was brought up with like a very older generation- not even my mum's generation like, cus Audrey and Greg [grandfather] was in their 70s um or late 60s, 70s because they had Philip [son] so much later in their lives, they had Philip in their 40s so Matthew grew up in that influence in his life and maybe that's why he's so much more- he loves being around grown-ups and you know, he's not so comfortable with younger people, he grew up like that..." (Selena, Panas family, age 43)

While Charissa's extract was quite comical, Selena considered the implications that the time spent with his grandmother had on Matthew and speculated that could be the reason why he preferred the company of grown-ups. I did not have the opportunity to speak to Matthew, however this seemed a reasonable assumption to make. Once again, all of Audrey's grandchildren that I interviewed mentioned her at some point, and seemed to have happy and fond memories of the time they shared with her. As Attias-Donfut and Segalen (2002:282) suggest, grandparents 'represent a pillar of identity to their grandchildren' and Audrey appeared to have been an influential figure in their lives. Although they were an influential figure and grandchildren sometimes went to them for advice, it seemed the general consensus was that grandparents did not want to interfere with the parenting practices of their children and so stayed out of any conflicts or disputes. Therefore grandparent-grandchild relationships influenced the behaviour of grandchildren to a certain degree, but they did not overrule the rules or sanctions of parents.

Some of the grandparents of participants were still living in Cyprus and participants revealed how they spoke to them regularly over the phone or via the internet. As was highlighted in Section 7.2, information communication technologies (ICTs) play a significant role in maintaining contact between dispersed family members and for many who participated in the study, ICTs allowed them to extend their social relations beyond face-to-face interactions (Tarrant, 2010; Madianou, 2012). In a couple of instances, jokes were made about grandparents having Facebook accounts, however Tarrant (2010) has observed that by using social spaces such as this, grandparents are able to negotiate belonging to the social worlds of their grandchildren. Thus, it is one

way in which grandparents may still feel 'close' to their grandchildren, while not physically being with them.

Grandparents also played an important role in the transmission of cultural practices and values (Attias-Donfut and Segalen, 2002; Kenner *et al*, 2007; Levin, 2014; Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015). According to Luo and Wiseman (2000), the presence of grandparents (I would add both physically and virtually) can motivate children to maintain the ethnic language. When asked if they could speak Greek, those members of the second- and third-generation who could, often claimed this was because of the time spent with their grandparents:

“Only from what grandad learnt me really...yeh only from what grandad taught me and I remember he brought me a CD and he was like you’ve got to learn it.” (Helen, third-generation, age 38)

“My first language was Greek because I spent more time with my yiayia and papou because uh they used to um live at the hotel but then they found a space like two doors behind- down from us and um yeh they used to um- I used to speak more Greek than Evita [sister] because I- they used to cook for us and um and I learned more Greek cus they would sing to me, they’d talk Greek to me cus they didn’t know English then and they’d talk Greek to me and I didn’t and I didn’t really hear a lot of English.” (Alexia, Panas family, age 11)

While some grandparents could not speak English and so had no choice but to speak to their grandchildren in Greek, some of them, for example Helen’s grandfather, spoke to them mainly in English, but encouraged them to learn the Greek language. And where grandparents were still living in Cyprus, parents often encouraged their children to learn the language in order for them to be able to converse with their grandparents on the phone. As Luo and Wiseman (2000:321) suggest, for individuals who were born in the host society or migrated at a very young age, grandparents may be the ‘best resource for the knowledge of their ethnic culture and language’.

Moreover, it seemed to be a common desire that grandparents wished for their grandchildren to be able to speak the Greek language. As has been previously discussed, language is one of the key elements of culture and serves as a powerful means through which ethnicity may be expressed (Fasold, 1999; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Sullivan, 2012). Language can also be intimately tied to feelings of belonging, therefore it was important for grandparents that they could converse with their grandchildren in Greek in order for them to feel a sense of belonging here in the UK. Indeed, a number of the grandparents expressed their fear that the Greek-Cypriot identity would be lost among successive generations and the inability to speak the Greek language was viewed as a key aspect of this loss of identity:

“If it wasn’t for us to teach our children Greek, then Greek language wouldn’t survive in Plymouth. Our children wouldn’t know the Greek customs and religion. Our generation had to keep going and support the second-, and the third- and fourth- generations to continue and to manage to survive. Otherwise we [the Greek School and Church] won’t survive.” (Georgios, first-generation, mid-eighties)

“My 14 grandchildren, I taught them to love their homeland- England- the place that they were born, but they ought to know that they also have Greek blood in them and that their great-grandparents and grandparents were Greeks. And I advise them to continue to learn Greek because the English language has thousands of Greek words. Therefore, it is useful to learn Greek.” (Anna, first-generation, age 81)

The extracts above highlight the grandparents’ desire for their children and grandchildren to have some level of knowledge of the Greek culture and customs in order for the Greek-Cypriot identity to be maintained. As Georgios points out, as well as learning the Greek language, there is a desire that their children and grandchildren will also continue to have faith in the Greek Orthodox religion. During interviews a number of participants revealed how attending church on a Sunday was an activity they participated in mainly with

their grandparents; this was something I also noticed from my observations at the Greek Church on Sundays. It was not uncommon to see a grandmother or grandfather or both with their grandchild at the Sunday service. Some of the grandparents saw this as an opportunity to spend 'quality time' with their grandchildren (Maijala *et al*, 2013) and it also gave the parents a 'break' or some time alone. It is also a way in which grandparents can encourage their grandchildren to perform their 'authentic' version of a Greek-Cypriot identity.

It was not unusual however, for traditional adult-children learning relationships to be reversed (Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015) and there were instances when the English-speaking skills of the grandchildren were more proficient than those of their grandparents (and parents in some cases). When I asked Luana if her grandmother had taught her any Greek she revealed how, on the contrary, she had taught her grandmother some English:

GK: "*What about your yiayia? Did she not teach you any [Greek]?*"

Luana: "*No, I teach her, um one time when I went to yiayia's I taught her some um I like taught her words like English words and I wrote them down and she had to guess them like things that she had that were like- I put fairy down, like fairy like the soap thing- oo and I put meatballs.*" (Third-generation, age eight)

Luana got quite excited when she was telling me about the game she had conjured with her grandmother and she also revealed that her grandmother had not learnt to read or write in the English alphabet. Other studies have shown how children in migrant families are often more competent linguistically in English than their parents/grandparents and this positions them as 'experts' who may help to familiarise their elders with the host society culture (Orellana *et al*, 2003; Sime and Fox, 2015; Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015). When this occurs, children may become translators or 'para-phrasers' for their parents

and/or grandparents (Orellana *et al*, 2003). Certainly, it emerged how Luana's grandmother had migrated to the UK in 1974 with no knowledge of the English language and had spent all her time working before she gave birth to her first child. At that time there were few local services available in terms of language classes and support groups for recent migrants and therefore individuals like Luana's grandmother, whose time was taken up with work and childcare, may have struggled to learn the English language and to integrate more generally into the host society. Now she has the opportunity to learn from her granddaughter and we can see how the adult-child power balance may be shifted in some situations (Tarrant, 2010). Sime and Pietka-Nykaza (2015:210) suggest that such situations highlight 'major discrepancies between the traditional roles that adults played before migration and those available to them post-migration.'

And despite the fact that ties between the generations were very close, the possibility of tension and conflict must not be excluded (Attias-Donfut and Segalen, 2002). Some of the grandparents commented on the way in which they disapproved of some of the behaviour of their grandchildren, yet they felt powerless to do anything about it (as was outlined above, they did not like to 'interfere'). If we take the example of Philandros speaking about his experience with his son and then his grandchildren:

"When you are in the family with your grandparentsOur Alex [son] was perky. But his grandparents helped to keep him straight. Now? The grandparents can't say anything. If they do they are going to hear, 'who gave you the right to tell me what to do?' I see these things, but I cannot change them? No, I see Ilias and Katherine [grandchildren] but I cannot tell them to be different." (Philandros, Panas family, age 66)

Although he did not specify what exactly he wanted Ilias and Katherine (ages 13 and 16) to change, Philandros expressed a level of resentment at the fact that he could not tell them directly, as his son's grandfather had been able to tell him. It seemed that he was trying to resist causing any conflict with both his children and grandchildren, and so thought it best to keep quiet and stay out of such matters. It also seemed that when Philandros' son was young, and being brought up in Cyprus, the grandparents had more of a say in his upbringing and were able to exert more power within the family structure. This could have been because families often lived and/or worked together in extended households containing multiple generations (Anthias, 1992); indeed Philandros' son spoke at length of how he had farmed the land with his grandfather when he was growing up. The power of grandparents seemed to have diminished somewhat once families migrated and they were not necessarily living or working together and they took on a more passive role with their grandchildren. However, Ilias and Katherine did show a certain degree of awareness of the tension felt by their grandparents- and in particular their grandfather:

GK: [to Ilias] *"Well you know you said to me you felt more English? How do you think your grandparents would feel about you saying that?"*

Katherine: *"Grandad will be quite annoyed with that."*

Ilias: *"I don't think he'd be annoyed, I think he'd be more like, he would be not angry but like irritated, like he would be like 'you should follow your traditions, you should'."*

Katherine: *"Yeh because like he'd be annoyed at the fact that like mum and dad brought you up like we're Greek and then you turn around and be like 'I feel more English.'"*

While Philandros had conveyed his happiness that his grandchildren had succeeded in adapting to life in the UK, he also seemed to feel a sense of ambivalence at the idea that they would not maintain the traditional values and

identity of the homeland (Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015). Ilias and Katherine were aware of his desire for them to maintain the Cypriot identity and they revealed it was something he had spoken to them about on numerous occasions, reminding them to be 'proud of who they are' and where they have come from. As witnessed in Section 6.3, these types of discussion were not uncommon among the families in the study and they are one way in which the Greek-Cypriot identity may be actively performed by parents/grandparents. They also illustrate how identity is relational and different facets can be emphasised in certain places and at certain times. However, despite his grandfather's wishes, Ilias still chose to affirm an English identity, illustrating how tensions between himself and his grandfather may come to exist.

Anthias (1992) observed similar differences in thinking among the first- and second-generation participants in her study, claiming the first-generation were mainly concerned with the maintenance of ethnic identity through 'the upkeep of language, religion, and sexual and family values, of customs and traditions' while the second-generation were more concerned with redefining the ways in which they can be 'Cypriot in British society' (p.131-132). I would add the third-generation to this and argue that they are less concerned with maintaining/redefining a Cypriot identity, yet they are very aware of how this identity may be performed in particular ways (Section 6.4).

On the whole though, although there was potential for tension to develop, relations between grandparents and grandchildren were spoken of very positively by both parties and also by the generation in between.

7.6 Summary

In a response to calls from other writers (Hallman, 2010; Harker, 2010; Kraler, 2011; Long, 2014) this chapter has explored family practices and intergenerational relations through a geographical lens. It has illustrated how the relationships that are formed between family members are fluid and evolving and fluctuate at different points in the lifecourse. These generational dynamics impacted the way in which individuals expressed agency and performed expected identities (or not). A consideration of gender became significant, as women played a vital role in maintaining symbolic group boundaries and it was argued that the family both demands and is a means through which collective belonging to the ethnic group is reproduced (Ziemer, 2010). However, the second-generation women asserted their agency to resist the reproduction of the 'traditional' feminine identity and this was achieved through their own style of parenting. The more-than-human aspects of belonging were also explored and it was revealed that the performance of religion actively promoted feelings of belonging as did the attachments that children felt to their pets.

Furthermore, an attempt was made to explore familial relationships beyond those of the parent-child and the narratives revealed how great significance and value was attached by individuals to their relationships with other family members, in particular their cousins and grandparents, and for the children in the study, their godparents too. While grandparents played an important role in the transmission of cultural values and practices (Attias-Donfut and Segalen, 2002; Kenner *et al*, 2007; Levin, 2014; Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015), especially the ethnic language, for many participants, the relationships formed

with cousins were seen as more valuable than those with their friends and it appeared that they were more likely to trust others if they were related to them.

Nevertheless, it was mainly the child participants who emphasised the value of their relationships with their cousins rather than the adults- many of whom admitted how they had been closer to their cousins when they were younger and often, before they had formed their own families. Therefore, we can see how particular relationships are more important at particular life stages depending on individual circumstances. While past studies have generalised Greek-Cypriot families as close-knit (Constantinides 1977; Oakley 1979), it is important to acknowledge that relationships may falter at certain times and there may be times when closeness is over-exaggerated. This also helps to explain why identity changes across generations; on the one hand, a strong/close family can help to reinforce the ethnic identity, while on the other hand, this is also something that can be a cause of conflict; especially when it comes to the enforcement of conservative values.

In the investigation of familial relationships, the importance of space in providing a contextual backdrop for their study was brought to the forefront. It was argued that the home is a key site where family values and practices are transmitted, performed and contested (Chamberlain, 1998; Tyrrell *et al*, 2014). Beyond the home, the local became significant as living in a small city meant that individual behaviour not only came under scrutiny within the sphere of the home, but also in the wider domain of the public sphere as individuals became the subjects of gossip of the wider ethnic community (Ziemer, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2013). This led some individuals (mainly women) to move away for some periods of time in

order to escape the 'community gaze' and feel free to act without being judged (Ziemer, 2010).

A key link can be made here, once again, to the performance of identity and when individuals chose not to perform expected behaviours (Fortier, 1999), they felt the urge to leave the city. Other local spaces including the church and family-owned cafes also provided settings where family relationships and collective belonging could be enacted. It is also important to acknowledge the role that 'new' or virtual social spaces play in maintaining family relations over distances and we can see how mobility has not necessarily reduced social bonds between people (Holdsworth, 2013), but rather social intimacy has been transformed by the use of ICTs (Holmes, 2004; Madianou, 2012; Tyrrell and Kallis, 2015).

Continuing with an emphasis on the importance of space in the lives of migrant families, Chapter Eight shifts our attention to the transnational and translocal social spaces that they may engage with, from the potentially more private domain of the home to more public spaces such as the local Greek Orthodox Church and Greek school. While this chapter has focused on the interactions between family members, Chapter Eight will take into account the value that individuals attach to relationships with members of the wider ethnic community and explore the different meanings that are attached to the Greek-Cypriot community in the city.

Chapter 8. Transnational and translocal social spaces and senses of belonging

8.1 Introduction

So far this thesis has taken an intergenerational perspective to explore the ethnic identifications of individuals and how these change generationally. Distinguishing characteristics of a Greek-Cypriot identity were highlighted and the ways in which individuals positioned themselves in relation to these were discussed, illustrating the fluid and changing nature of identity. We have also seen how the relationships that are formed between family members are fluid and evolving and fluctuate at different points in the lifecourse. These generational dynamics impacted the way in which individuals expressed agency and performed expected identities (or not). In the investigation of both individual identity and familial relationships, the importance of space in providing a contextual backdrop for their study was brought to the forefront.

This chapter turns our attention to the transnational and translocal social spaces that individuals may engage with as well as their engagement with the wider Greek-Cypriot 'community' in the city. Using Anderson's notion (1983), I argue that participants employ individual 'imaginings' of the community from which they position themselves and others. This is largely influenced by the religious beliefs of individuals and those who are affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Church often find it easier to integrate in the ethnic community, however those who are not, often still feel a part of some form of community. Furthermore, as individuals negotiate their positioning within the wider ethnic community some level of tension may arise between generational groups, as the hopes of the

first-generation for the homeland culture and religion to be maintained may not always coincide with the views of the second- and third-generation members (although the age of members is also important). Gender also emerges as an important factor, as ascribed roles for men and women are reproduced and naturalised within these spaces.

To re-cap on the theoretical literature, transnational social spaces have been defined as 'combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions' (Faist, 2000:191). Faist (2000) goes on to distinguish transnational communities as one kind of transnational space. Similar to the New Zealanders living in London in Wiles' (2008) study, the community of Greek-Cypriots living in the study city engage with an array of 'symbolic collective representations' of themselves (p.118). Some of these are practised and supportive, for example forms of recreation and knowledge exchange via the teaching of the Greek language, while others are discursive, such as stereotypes about Greek-Cypriots (Wiles, 2008).

As was discussed in Chapter Two, it is important not to over-emphasise the unrootedness and transience of those who engage with transnational activity; indeed transnational transactions can be anchored and understood as 'very concrete activities' (Leung, 2004:9). People may remain spatially local, yet be influenced by cultural imaginaries beyond those of the immediate locality (Brickell, 2011). This seemed to be the case for the vast number of participants in the study and I argue that a consideration of the *translocal* is central in understanding how members of the ethnic group develop senses of belonging

and senses of community (or rather *communities*). As Hatfield (2011) asserts, the concept of translocalism draws attention to smaller scale places and/or localities including the home, the neighbourhood and the city. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the transnational *and translocal* activities that occur at these scales and explore the significance of these spaces in the daily lives of participants (research question three). It will also discuss how interactions with these spaces change across the generations.

During the course of fieldwork, a number of key sites emerged as providing key settings for the enactment of transnational activities at the local level; namely the home, local businesses ran by members of the community and the Greek Orthodox Church and connected Greek School. Although return-trips/ holidays to Cyprus also fall under the umbrella of transnational activities, in the majority of interviews these were mentioned, but not always spoken about in great detail and therefore I have not included an individual section on this topic. Rather the focus of this chapter is the way in which senses of belonging and community are created and/or imagined by members of the ethnic group and the role that these spaces play in this. The chapter also explores the extent to which transnational and translocal activities contribute to the maintenance of the ethnic identity.

8.2 The church and the school: focal points of the community?

Ethnic churches and community schools have come to be widely seen as forms of transnational spaces in the literature (Levitt and Waters, 2006; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Leung, 2014; Simpsi, 2014). This is because of the way in which they involve the mobilisation of collective representations and promote a sense of solidarity based on 'ethnicity, religion, nationality, or place of origin' (Faist, 2000

cited in Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002:769). Indeed, research has shown that immigrant faith communities play a pivotal role in fostering integration and citizenship (Kniss and Numrich, 2007; Ehrkamp and Nagel, 2012).

As Simpsi (2014) notes, 'religion and Orthodoxy play an important role within the context of diasporic education' (p.37) and this proved to be true for my own study site, with participants often speaking about the church and the school as one. Indeed, the Greek School is located in the basement of the Greek Orthodox Church in Plymouth.

For the majority of individuals, the church and the school formed the focal point of the Greek-Cypriot 'community' in the city, although it is important to reiterate that the concept of community itself is a difficult one to define. Burrell (2005) draws our attention to the many different interpretations of community, 'ranging from surface projections of outwardly visible institutions to the in-depth analysis of social networks and social capital – the reciprocal exchanges made between individual community members' (p.482). She argues that depictions of immigrant communities are also very diverse and that some accounts treat them as formal organisations, largely co-ordinated around community centres, clubs and groups.

Although the two following sections will show how more informal exchanges, often occurring within local Cypriot-owned businesses, were classified by some individuals as one level of engagement with the local ethnic community, it was perceived that the real focal point of the community was the formal organisation of the Greek Orthodox Church (and thus the adjoining Greek School) as the following extracts highlight:

“I think the most central thing with the Greek community is the church, everyone tends to orientate around that just- so they’ve recreated a little Cyprus in Plymouth, you know?” (Elias, second-generation, late twenties)

“I take the kids to the church when I can maybe for the community, for the community spirit, to mix with the Greek community, to get to know the Greek priest, you know because you never know when you might need these people, you know and for me that’s a reason.” (Deo, second-generation, age 48)

“I put four kids into the school, you know, I go there. I, yeh I feel a part of the whole, of the whole um community, of the whole system, you know, I think everyone feels that, I don’t think it’s- some people, they don’t wanna mix or they don’t wanna be at the church, they don’t wanna be at the school and stuff like that, all the rest, it feel like home, you know? You don’t walk in and feeling stranger you know? Can go down there, have your coffee, speak with the people, play tavli, you know? Speak about Greece, recession, about Cyprus, about this, about that, you not gunna find that anywhere else ennit? I think any Greek or any Cypriot go into that place, he’s gunna feel comfortable, that’s the main meaning ennit?” (Alex, Panas family, age 40)

Comments like those above illustrate the dominant role the church plays in bringing the community together and during the time I spent with the community, week after week when we all gathered for coffee and cake in the basement of the church after Sunday service, it certainly felt like I had become part of a close-knit community as I got to know people and was always warmly welcomed.

In his work, Anderson (1983) refers to nations as ‘imagined communities’ where communities are viewed as ‘groups of people with a common “we feeling”, a sense of mutual belonging and obligation’ (Wright, 2011:838). I argue that a similar ‘imagining’ may be formed around immigrant communities and there seemed to be this imagined ‘Greek-Cypriot community’ in the study city, that some participants really felt a part of, while others chose to stay away or even felt excluded from; this notion will be developed in more detail in the remainder of the chapter. The importance of space must also be acknowledged as once

again, especially from Alex's extract, we see how the church and school provide an opportune communal setting where belonging can be performed (Wright, 2015). They also offer a public space where ethnic identities can be reaffirmed; as Georgiou (2001) suggests, ethnic identities are initially constructed at home, and then are reaffirmed or 'baptised' in the public (p.313).

These institutions also played a key role in the transmission of religious and cultural knowledge (especially the Greek language) and the maintenance of the ethnic identity, therefore many parents, including Deo and Alex, felt it was important that their children attend. Some participants admitted that their faith in the Orthodox religion was questionable or that they did not always understand/follow what was going on during services, however they still felt it was important to attend church in order to 'mix' with the community, or just because they enjoyed the social element of it. As Deo's above comment highlights, the social network that is accessible through the church serves as a form of social capital and there was a strong ideology that members would 'help each other out'. Previous studies have drawn our attention to the way in which church attendance can create a sense of belonging due to the creation of feelings of acceptance and togetherness (Stuckey, 1998; Sharma, 2012) and this was certainly felt by some participants.

Nevertheless, not all participants shared the same faith and there were some individuals whose engagement with the community was hindered due to their difference in religious belief. As was discussed in Chapter Two, communities are marked by imagined boundaries (Cohen, 1986) and therefore they always exclude in some way (Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Christou, 2011). This was perhaps demonstrated most clearly during discussions with two participants

who were practising Jehovah's Witnesses, Xanthe and Alyssa (both first-generation). Both women stated that they did not have much interaction with other Greek-Cypriots in the city (only the small number who were also Witnesses) and they felt this was due to their religious differences; we can see this from the following extract from Xanthe's interview:

GK: *"Do you feel like, do you mix with many Greeks in Plymouth then? Do you feel like you're part of the Greek community?"*

Xanthe: *"Well I mean I know the Greek people, obviously it was happen because I'm a Witness, they a little bit, it's like on...what can I say? Um obviously they know I'm not going to the church, obviously to them is like you don't believe anything but they don't realise we believe more than they do...yeh of course."*

GK: *"Yeh... and do you feel there is a bit of a barrier between those who go to church and those who don't?"*

Xanthe: *"You see I have people come to me before they knew I was baptised [as a Jehovah Witness], they used to come in and house was full but you know since I came a witness, only (names two Greek-Cypriot ladies) come, but the rest they don't..."* (First-generation, age 64)

Xanthe felt that visits by some Greek-Cypriots in the community ceased when they realised she had officially become a Witness and thus she was excluded from the community. Similarly, Alyssa admitted that she was unsure if other Greeks would accept her because of her religious beliefs and felt that they were prejudice towards Jehovah's Witnesses. Of course this was not necessarily true of all Greek-Cypriots in the city, rather it was Alyssa's personal perspective on the matter. It does demonstrate though, how the experience of inclusion within the Greek-Cypriot community in the study city was not only based on ethnicity, but religion played an important part in enabling this. As Hopkins (2006:166) observes, individuals experience their 'everyday geographies' differently due to a range of markers of social difference, including 'gender, class, race, sexuality,

age', ethnicity and religion and we can see how there were variances in the experiences of individuals due to overlapping axes of difference (Sharma, 2012).

I feel it is important to note here however, that the church community was very open to others from different ethnic backgrounds, but who shared the Orthodox faith. There were many Romanians in attendance at Sunday service (sometimes a Romanian priest would even lead the service) and they were also invited to other celebrations and events organised by the Greek School. This multi-ethnic nature of the church illustrates how the community was not necessarily bounded simply by ethnicity and had wider relevance beyond just Greek-Cypriots. As Goulbourne *et al* (2010) assert, multi-ethnic churches are an important place where individuals can extend their friendship networks into other ethnic groups.

It also did not necessarily matter to individuals like Xanthe and Alyssa that they were not part of the 'imagined' ethnic community, as they had interactions and spent a great deal of time with other Witnesses, and were therefore part of a different 'community'. Furthermore, Xanthe and Alyssa were not the only individuals whose beliefs were not in line with the Orthodox faith. Both during and outside of interview discussions, a number of individuals expressed the view that the church was largely based around money and too much emphasis was placed on making donations. Perry in particular had an issue with this:

"I don't believe in the Greek church because it's all donations for money, it's money-orientated and only from my experience- from what my father told me is, my father- when we used to go to London there was never a poor Greek priest- they were always riding around in Rolls Royce's, big cars because part of the money from the church would go in their pocket

*and you either believe the Greek traditional church or you don't and I don't*³³." (Perry, second-generation, age 52)

Primarily, his views regarding the issue were based on his father's teachings, however later in the interview he explained how he had needed to be christened during his adult-life in order to get engaged at the Greek Orthodox Church (his fiancé was Greek-Cypriot). He recalled how he had to pay fifty pounds in order to be christened; a sum he believed to be a 'lot of money' in the 1980s and exclaimed that it was 'ridiculous'. He also recounted a time when the church had come to him and asked him to make a donation and he had refused; these experiences cemented his belief that the institution was money-orientated. As Irvine (2005) observes, there is potential for tension to arise when an organisation such as a church, with a spiritual agenda, needs to gather resources in order to fulfil its spiritual aims. In Perry's view, these aims were not balanced and there was more focus on gathering resources. As a result, he refused to send his children to the Greek School because of its close association with the church; this was something his daughter commented on during her interview and how she had wanted to attend but her father refused to allow her. This illustrates the generational tensions that may arise with regards to language-learning and how the desires of parents and children do not always coincide (this is developed in the following section).

Following this, another way in which an intergenerational perspective proved to be significant was in relation to the changing engagement with transnational and translocal spaces across the generations. It emerged how attitudes towards church attendance and the seriousness that was taken regarding the Orthodox

³³ Despite this view, it should be noted that Father Richardson did not actually earn a designated salary for his work as a priest.

faith changed through the generations. Chapter Seven outlined how members of the first-generation hoped their children and grandchildren would gain some level of knowledge of the Greek culture and customs in order for the Greek-Cypriot identity to be maintained. Similarly, the majority of these participants took church attendance very seriously, and hoped that the successive generations in their families would too.

I was often warmly greeted by more elderly church members when I attended service on a Sunday and a couple of them would thank me week after week for attending and often reminded me that I was the 'next generation' of the church community. In an interview with the president of the church, the fears of the older generation that faith would not be maintained among the younger generations were discussed:

“So yes there is always this – an anxiety – I mean I have children myself, I try to teach them, I try to tell them about the faith, about how to be good people, good citizens, help other people, pray, go to church...would I succeed or not, it's not really whether I will succeed or not because it's- our belief in Christ is that he will have to communicate to them, not me, I'm only like a- the messenger, but if I fear or not fear, it's not me who fears or not fears, it's Christ himself will have to communicate to them himself and I'm just trying my best as well but you can only try your best- and pray for them, what else can you do?” (Church president)

The view that the matter was in the hands of Christ was articulated by other participants that I spoke to and there seemed to be a general consensus that they could only pray for their children/grandchildren and encourage them to have faith, but beyond this there was little more they could do, although they did try to promote faith among the children by arranging for Father Richardson to give a short teaching during the break on Saturdays at Greek School.

The majority of first-generation participants in the study attended church every Sunday and only missed a service when they felt they really had to. Generally, there appeared to be a decline in the regularity of church attendance among the second-generation and this ranged from very frequently at some times, to now and again at others, to only for special occasions:

“I go once a year when it’s my dad’s memorial and this year [...] I didn’t stay cus my mum makes all this stuff³⁴, but I stayed for the service then I had to come away because we’d been invited to our friend’s for lunch and Stamatis [brother] was there, I said (WHISPERS) ‘Stamatis, I’m gunna go’ and he said, ‘go now while the going’s good’ (LAUGHS). My mum will probably give me a good telling off when I see her, but, whatever.” (LAUGHS) (Anthea, second-generation, age 56)

“Mum and dad goes regularly, I go sometimes...the reason for that is that Philip [husband] works all week so he has Sunday off, I don’t want to be like ‘oh I’m gunna go’ because by the time I leave from Greek Church it’s one o’clock in the afternoon³⁵, that’s mostly the reason for it- I would go to things like, you know, Easter and if there’s any nemosino³⁶ or something like that uh then I can go, I will go, but every Sunday, for me it’s more uh, it doesn’t alter my religion and I would be a good person and still comply with all the things that I’ve learned, but I also need to have a balance in my family-life too so take the girls out, I’m not gunna have them at church on a Sunday morning because it’s not gunna happen, half the day’s gone...so you know, I’m not saying that I am the best Orthodox Christian that there is, but I think there are worse (LAUGHS) worse than me, I’m sure.” (Selena, Panas family, age 43)

The notion that modern society more generally has become secularised has been vastly debated (Stark, 1999; Garnett *et al*, 2007; Taylor, 2007; Dwyer *et al*, 2013), however there is evidence to suggest that religious bodies still remain highly important for immigrant communities (Fortier, 2000; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010), and in particular for newcomers or more recent immigrants, in generating social capital and providing a range of personal and social services (Faist, 2000;

³⁴ It is a Greek Orthodox tradition that relatives of the deceased make bread and boiled wheat for the memorial service.

³⁵ The service would usually finish between 12pm and half-past, but most attendees would stay later for tea/coffee and cake and to chat.

³⁶ Cypriot for ‘memorial’.

Ley, 2008). Indeed, when I interviewed the president of the church he outlined the ways in which the church provided support to those who were new to the area; mainly by introducing them to others who spoke the same language and providing information about the local area and job opportunities. The church also provided support for Greek/Greek-Cypriot students in the city, especially in the form of pastoral care.

Nevertheless, the second-generation of migrants, whose lives were well-established in the host society, were less dependent on the church in providing such services and therefore had a much more relaxed attitude regarding attendance. Like Selena, a number of them preferred to make the most of their Sunday, which was the only day of the week where the whole family could go out together and the need to spend 'quality time' with family members seemed to justify their absence at church. Furthermore, as the extracts illustrate, although some individuals did not attend church regularly, they ensured they went for cyclical events and life-cycle rituals, with particular importance being placed on the memorials of deceased loved ones and Easter. As Goulbourne *et al* (2010) suggest with regards to the Italian and Caribbean participants in their study, such events provide individuals with the opportunity to celebrate ethnic social and cultural practices, and in doing so reinforce 'their respective understandings of belonging and collective membership to their ethnic group' (p.102).

This occurred in the study as participants engaged in shared rituals with the wider congregation and there was a sense of 'coming together' during these cyclical events which reaffirmed social bonds. The sharing of food also contributed to this sense of cohesion as it was prepared by particular individuals

and then shared around the group. I would add that belonging is actively performed via the enactments of these shared rituals and is also affirmed via the development of social ties and relationships.

In discussion with some of the older third-generation members regarding their interactions with the church and Greek School, more humorous accounts were recalled. For example, Isaac spoke of his experience of having to be baptised in order to attend the local boys' Catholic school:

"I had to get christened to go to the school and that was just a farce cus we went to the Greek School um on a Sunday morning and the Greek School just consisted of the um just telling, sort of teaching you Greek nursery rhymes, the nursery rhymes had nothing to do with nursery and had everything to do with hatred towards the Turks and they would just tell us um about the Turks and how they would go and kill babies in the villages and um and how great Greece was and you'd paint a flag of Greece and um the Greek teacher had a wig (LAUGHING), we would always have a go, we'd always sort of wind her up about her wig because she didn't help the situation by having different coloured wigs so it was quite obvious that that wasn't her hair um and because I went to the Greek School uh the Greek priest at the time, who was a character um agreed to do a you know, to baptise me and um the agreement involved us giving him 50 quid and he uh, I think the water was meant to have been taken from the sea and obviously I'm dressed in white and um it's, you're meant to repeat everything the priest says, well when we arrived he was filling a baby bath with water from the tap (LAUGHS) and when asked 'isn't this meant to be from the sea?' he just said 'where do you think this comes from?' Um I didn't have the christening whites so I was wearing my cricket whites and my godfather was my uncle Tom and um Tom had to repeat everything the priest said and he couldn't uh and so he just mumbled everything afterwards uh and then you're meant to go through behind the iconoclast green isn't it where all the icons are, it's like very sacred part of the church and there's loads of icons there and you've gotta kiss them all and Tom just turned to me, went 'I'm not kissing them, they're filthy! You don't know who's been kissing them, I'm not kissing that, I'm not going near it' and the priest was sort of saying you know 'you've gotta kiss them' so he put his cheek on them (LAUGHS), on each one um and uh yeh, it just, it was just a huge, it was just a farce, like a humiliating farce, just stood in a baby bath with this priest who couldn't really reach up cus he was quite short to pour the water over me and um that was the christening uh and I think a couple of months later the priest was found with a prostitute in the cupboard in the church and they had to move him back to Greece (LAUGHS) that was, that was the end of his tenure in Plymouth."
(Isaac, third-generation, mid-thirties)

Although such accounts may have been exaggerated for the sake of humour, Isaac was not the only member of the third-generation to take a more comical tone in his narrative regarding the organisation. Some of the men did so when they recounted how they were encouraged to help the priest with the Sunday service:

“They just dragged me there and like they made me like- you know I would go down there and I would be like ‘oh God, it’s Sunday’ like, but you know, it’s religion isn’t it, when you get it thrown upon you, you just gotta deal with it innit, there’s no point like, I never win an argument so like I just get on with it- but like I’d go down there and then like I would get a tap on the shoulder and there’d be some Greek guy there like ‘come here’, I’d be like ‘you’re gunna make me do it again aren’t you’ then like two seconds later I’m in like a robe and then like waving incense and stuff and I’m thinking like ‘I’m not even that religious!’ I’m like, ‘how am I- how has this happened?!’ Ahhh I used to dread it all the time and then like they were gunna try and make me sing at one point, I was like ‘well it’s not happening!’...you don’t wanna go in too deep at the church...” (Anthony, third-generation, age 27)

As has been previously mentioned, participation in church rituals can be seen as one way of performing a ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ Cypriot identity and for some church-goers this helped to cultivate a sense of belonging within the ethnic community (Bell, 1999; Fortier, 1999). However, for individuals such as Anthony who were not entirely sure about what they believed in, providing assistance during the ceremony was more something they were forced to do by their parents and older members of the church in the hope of getting them more involved. Similarly, the majority of older second- and third-generation members who I interviewed told comical tales about their time at the Greek School and for many it was not something they took too seriously; as Samuel commented, ‘it’s all messing around, playing’. Hence, we can see a sharp contrast between the attitudes of the first-generation and the older members of the third- regarding

the importance that is placed on the two organisations and, in some circumstances, this led to tensions between family members.

This change in attitude regarding the church is aligned with the wider shift in society more generally towards secularisation (Wilson, 1985; Brown, 2009). Younger participants expressed that they led busy lives and going to church every Sunday was not something they prioritised. Where they had young families, Sunday was sometimes the only day they could have a family day out. Contrastingly, many of the older participants did prioritise going to church and it was part of their weekly routine.

Nevertheless, the majority of the children who I spoke to who were currently attending the Greek School (some of whom were the *youngest* members of the third-generation) – although they confessed they could think of other more leisurely ways to spend their time at the weekends – did have a very positive attitude towards it and could see the value in attending:

“It is really good to come here because I am one of the people in my family who speak loads of Greek- I mean, my sister, she hardly ever talks, my big sister- my little sister, she always talks, but English and my big brother, he mostly talks English to his friends so I’m one of the main people in my family who speaks loads of Greek and I don’t wanna lose that ability to be able to talk two languages.” (Eva, Panas, family, age 10)

“I used to really hate it, not because it was bad, we had so many different teachers cus they like change every two years usually so when I was younger I really hated it cus I just couldn’t be bothered to go, I didn’t see the point cus we were just doing like not simple stuff, but stuff that, it was so easy you could just do it at home and then gradually as you get to like GCSE you like think you need to go to do well so...” (Jasmine, third-generation, age 15)

It is not uncommon for children attending language schools alongside standard schooling during the week to lack enthusiasm and interest (Zhou and Li, 2003), especially during adolescence. It did seem that the younger children (like Eva)

had more enthusiasm and enjoyed Greek School more than those who were in their teens.³⁷ However, a number of the older students were preparing for GCSE and A Level exams and therefore had regained focus and placed more seriousness on their classes once again. Their attitude was also dependent on the teacher and the style of teaching; the general consensus was that the current teacher was very professional and had made drastic changes at the school in order to encourage an interesting and child-centred learning environment. This was in contrast to some of the teachers from earlier times, who participants claimed were 'clueless' and lacked basic teaching skills.

A common trend that did emerge was the children's lack of interest in the church. Although the majority of them felt that it was important to attend services and expressed they did have some degree of faith, they could not deny they found it boring. Comments like Ilias' were typical of most of the children participants when asked how they felt about going to church:

"When I was younger I used to think it was interesting, I used to sit down and look out, but now I'm older it's (SIGHS) just sit there just waiting for it to be over with." (Ilias, Panas family, age 13)

As well as taking an intergenerational perspective on attitudes towards the church and school, I feel it is also important to take gender into account. When special breads and cakes were required for particular festivals/occasions, the female members of the community would be the ones to prepare them. During my observations at Sunday service, week after week I noticed how the space of the church was gendered in other ways as well. For example, during the service every week, members of the congregation were required to assist the priest in

³⁷ The degree to which they felt pressured to say they enjoyed Greek School could be questioned here- especially as most of their interviews took place at the Greek School where their teacher (although not listening) was present.

carrying candles and the censer around the church as well as help collect donations (often children would be asked to do this), however such altar service was always restricted to males, a general rule of Orthodox churches. Another role that was seen as ‘women’s work’ was the decorating of the Epitaph³⁸ during Easter celebrations (see Plates 8.1 and 8.2).



Plate 8.1: Ladies decorating the Epitaph



Plate 8.2: The finished decoration

While the enactment of rituals in the above examples are gendered in order to adhere to religious custom, there were more subtle ways in which roles were gendered. I noted how, during one of the priest’s talks to the children during Greek School, he spoke of how, although the Orthodox Church does not recognise Mother’s Day as an official celebration, the children could still treat that Sunday with special care and help their mothers by tidying their rooms and making their beds. I found it interesting that he assumed such domestic tasks were usually carried out by their mothers rather than their fathers and felt that

³⁸ ‘A ritual lament called the “Procession of the Epitáphios of Christ” mourns the death of Christ on the cross with a symbolic decorated coffin carried through the streets by the faithful’ (timeanddate.com, 2016). Women attended the church on the Thursday evening before Good Friday to decorate the Epitaph (Bier of Christ) with flowers. On the Friday evening the Epitaph procession takes place.

such teachings contribute to the reproduction and naturalisation of hegemonic ideology regarding gender roles (Fortier, 1999). The president of the church also expressed how these roles occurred almost naturally and compared them to those within the family unit:

“All the women all prepare their bread for the church and prepare all the memorial services uh it seems like, it’s almost like a family where somebody does something and somebody does something else, not because they’re better but they’re just different, different roles...” (Church president)

Although he tried to make the point that no role is viewed as inferior, I felt that he was naturalising the sometimes oppressive position of women in the church community. I noticed how females were solely responsible for serving tea and coffee and cake in the basement of the church after Sunday service and for the cleaning of the church. As Fortier (1999) suggests in relation to an Italian Roman Catholic community in London, deeply held ideas about gender differences are ‘products of a patriarchal regime of knowledge that reasserts the universality of male authority and that naturalizes the different positions of men and women’ (p.57). Once again, we can see the ‘imagined’ gender roles emerging that were discussed in Chapter Seven (Ziemer, 2010). While younger females did not express the experience of gender inequalities to the same extent as their mothers and grandmothers within the sphere of the family unit (see Section 7.3) it appeared that gendered power relations still existed within the organisation of the church.

I would argue that gender inequalities are likely to be harder to challenge in the space of the church than in the home, however none of the participants explicitly commented on gender and the church and therefore I was unsure if it

was an issue for anyone (although one could speculate that this has contributed to the decline in attendance among the younger generations). This could have been because these gendered roles were 'naturalised' though, and were just taken as a given. Nevertheless, while the church committee was almost all male, the majority of the school committee members were female, showing how women were not completely cut off from decision-making. When speaking to one of the committee members, she did comment however that school had always been a 'mother' territory in Greece and Cyprus and this ideology had clearly been transported to the UK.

Another issue that was raised was in regard to mixed marriages/couplehoods and the negotiation of celebrating life-cycle events at the Greek Orthodox Church. For an individual who is not a member of the Greek Orthodox Church to get married there to someone who already is, they must be christened 'Greek Orthodox' beforehand. None of the individuals who I spoke to who had been part of such a union recounted this as causing any major issues for themselves or their partners and there were also some members of Greek-Cypriot families who had married their British partners in Church of England ceremonies.

However, the subject that seemed to cause more debate and where some couples had conflicting viewpoints was regarding whether their children should be christened (and for some couples, what religion). One participant who was dealing with this dilemma at the time of interview was second-generation Samuel. He had been christened Greek Orthodox when a child and although he rarely attended the church during his adult-life, he wanted his baby son to be christened as well. However his girlfriend was not keen on the idea:

“I’m in a complex situation in a way because my partner is, is, her mum’s, she’s, I say she’s half-English, half-Italian but she was born here and um she, you know, I wanted to christen the baby and she was bit, she didn’t wanna, she didn’t want to put him through the, the um the ceremony and that, she thought it a bit, gunna be too scary for him so she didn’t wanna put him through it so he’s not been christened even though my parents would like, you know, and I didn’t mind him being christened, even though I’m not that religious, it would give him a, maybe a bit of a sense of identity if you know what I mean when he gets older, to a degree, if you know what I mean, even though I’m not religious it would still give him, maybe something.” (Samuel, second-generation, age 53)

Once again we see an example of the first-generation (Samuel’s parents) striving for the maintenance of religious custom in their family and Samuel too was keen for his son to be christened, particularly because of his perception that it would provide some ‘sense to bond’ with other members of the Greek-Cypriot community and he did not want him to feel ‘excluded from the group’. Some writers have also argued that religion should be conceptualised as one form of social identity (Ysseldyk *et al*, 2010) and the extract illustrates Samuel’s view that christening his son would help to provide him with a stronger sense of identity later in life. However his girlfriend was worried about the service itself and the fact that she would not be allowed to touch the baby³⁹ while the christening was being held. Samuel did not seem to be content with this and was still hoping that at some point in the near future she would accept the idea and give permission for him to be christened. Thus we can see how tensions may arise between couples who do not share the same ethnic and religious backgrounds and where the practices of one group may seem ‘alien’ or ‘inappropriate’ to another.

³⁹ It is an Orthodox tradition that only the godparents can touch/hold the baby during the duration of the christening ceremony.

For some couples, their difference in religious belief was seen as advantageous because they had the opportunity to learn about two different religions or denominations rather than one and attend two sets of celebrations/festivals. For example, Chris was Greek Orthodox and his wife (Dee) was Roman Catholic:

Dee: *“You know, which is why we still, you know, we compromise cus I got to his services sometimes or he comes to mine.”*

Chris: *“Yeh if there’s anything on- for example, I’ll be at her church tomorrow night for St Patrick’s night, special thing they’re doing at the church.”* (Second-generation, age 83)

Dee and Chris managed to negotiate successfully the calendars of the two religious organisations, with a little compromise on behalf of each of them and they spoke positively about their experiences of doing so. While some did not view the Greek Orthodox denomination as drastically different from the Roman Catholic Church, Dee described them as ‘totally different religions’, however her and her husband’s openness meant that they both embraced each other’s religious practices and customs. Hence we can see how, in the exploration of transnational and translocal activities, it is important to take into account the negotiations and compromises that individuals who are part of mixed marriages/couplehoods may have to make as they take part in (or are excluded from) such practices and the on-going decision-making that is required between couples when it comes to engagement with tradition and ritual (Mason and Muir, 2013).

8.3 ‘Everybody talk Greek at the table!’: the home

As was discussed in Chapter Two, transnational home-making and the transnational and translocal practices that take place within the domain of the

home have been the subject of growing attention in recent migration studies (Cieraad, 2001; Parreñas, 2005; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Walsh, 2006; Pratt, 2009; Hoang *et al*, 2012). As Thompson (1994) suggests, the private domain of the home 'has become a place where difference can be displayed and acted out' and acts as a symbol of personal identity (p.37). The migrant women in her study felt that the home was a safe place to speak their first language and encouraged their children to do so as well. We have already seen in the previous two chapters how language plays a key role in the maintenance of the ethnic identity and, like the women in Thompson's (1994) study, a number of participants insisted on using the Greek language within the space of the home. The following extract from my interview with Eva illustrates the insistence of the first-generation of migrants that their children continue to use the Greek language:

GK: "*So do you speak Greek when you're at home with your family then?*"

Eva: "*Yeh sometimes I would talk English and mum, at the table, she'd just be like 'everybody talk Greek at the table!'*" (LAUGHS)

GK: "*So do you think it's important to your parents that you keep on talking Greek?*"

Eva: "*Yeh I think it's important, mostly because they don't know that much English um but I think it's still really important to know that like the language of the place that you came from, I think it's really important.*" (Panas family, age 10)

It is clear from her insistence on speaking in Greek at the dinner table that Eva's mother is actively seeking to maintain the use of the homeland language. The majority of the first-generation came to the UK with little or no knowledge of the English language and therefore continued to use Greek within the home. However this meant that for many of their children, despite the fact that they were born here, their first language was Greek as well. There was some

contention regarding whether this was a good idea or not. For Deo, although he could understand why his parents had done this, he saw it as a mistake:

“When I was young, before I started primary school, my parents used to speak to me in Greek, the problem was, when I started school- or when I started pre-school, I didn’t understand any English! And this was the problem we had, you know, we started and the funny thing was, the schools in those days, no one really picked up on it, they just thought I was being quiet or just being a bit naughty and being, just ignoring what the teachers were saying, I didn’t understand a word. But they only figured it out when I was, probably about when I was five, when I started primary school, in the first six months they were wondering why is this boy not-there’s something wrong with this boy. Then they realised I couldn’t speak any English! Because my parents made the big mistake of- it’s good that they were speaking to me in Greek because that was their main language- but the mistake was, we were in England, we went to an English school and there’s no point in me speaking Greek to the kids when they don’t understand, anyway, that’s uh slowly slowly they got me a little bit of help to start learning English and I slowly slowly started to catch up, it did hold me back a bit but eventually I, I got there eventually.” (Deo, second-generation, age 48)

Deo’s account was typical of the majority of second-generation participants regarding the way in which they would begin school with little or no prior knowledge of the English language. Deo began school in the 1970s at a time where the numbers of migrants in the study city were much lower than they are today and, as has been previously mentioned, there were fewer local services available in terms of language classes and support groups for recent migrants. Although Deo was given some help eventually, it was clear that there was less awareness of and support available for children in his position than there is in contemporary society (Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015). Only one of the first-generation participants spoke of discussing the issue of language use with a trained professional and she felt that she had done the right thing by only speaking to her two sons in Greek:

“When I had Elias baby and I visit a doctor, obviously I can’t remember the age, I think six, nine months, something like that and the doctor said to me ‘do you want them to learn your language?’ I say ‘yes of course I want them to learn my language’ she said ‘this is the time you have to start speak to them in Greek because’ she said ‘home, they’re watching television- English, you going out, people they speak English, they going to school, it’s English, your husband is English, if you don’t speak to them’ she said ‘in Greek, they are not going to learn’ and she gave me very good advice I have to be honest Gina, that doctor, English doctor but she was really lovely to let you know- when you’re young you don’t understand these things, but when you getting older you think ‘oh why I haven’t done that?’ and it’s another language, it’s a free language to learn.” (Theodora, first-generation, age 69)

With some reassurance from her doctor, Theodora continued to speak to her children solely in Greek and confessed she still does today, even after they have grown up. When I interviewed her sons, they spoke of how they began nursery with little knowledge of the English language, yet this was not a problem for them and they quickly picked it up. In contrast to Deo’s opinion, they did not feel that their mother had made a mistake. Despite their parents’ consistency in their use of the Greek language, Deo and both of Theodora’s sons stated that they would speak to their siblings and cousins in English still, regardless of their ability to speak in Greek.

These findings were similar to those reported by Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) in their study of language usage among the second- and third-generations of Greek-Cypriots living in London, where English was most often cited as their preferred language when speaking to each other, rather than Greek. This was because, generally, they found it easier to tell jokes in English and also to express their love and be witty (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001). Participants in my study revealed that, in their day-to-day lives, they were surrounded by others outside of the home speaking in English, as well as by English forms of media and popular culture and therefore preferred to use this language most of

the time. Hence, the private space of the home, where their parents and grandparents were present, was one of the key sites where the Greek language was used.

I was particularly surprised on one of my visits to a participant's home when I saw that she had a copy of her religious group's publication which was written in Greek. Xanthe, a Jehovah's Witness, informed me that she could now access copies of their monthly magazine (*Awake!*) in Greek (among numerous other languages). These were provided to her at her local congregation; however the resource had not been available to her when she first started practising as a Witness in Plymouth in the late 1970s. Although an international publication, the fact that local congregations were now distributing the *Awake!* in multiple languages to cater to the needs of readers, reflects the growth of migrant groups in the study city and the growing awareness of the needs of migrants. Xanthe was clearly delighted that she had access to such publications in the Greek language and told me how much easier she found it to study with them.

Another resource that several participants had had access to within their homes for many years was satellite television channels that broadcast from Cyprus (CBC-SAT) and Greece (ERT-SAT). Most commonly, it was members of the first-generation who mentioned this in their interviews. Georgiou (2001) has noted that electronic media require low levels of effort and media literacy and thus, they were ideal for the more elderly members of the first-generation who confessed that they were not very proficient in their technology skills. The viewing of these channels was a way of keeping up-to-date with the recent news and political updates in both Greece and Cyprus. Yet, as well as this,

these channels '(re)produce images of the homeland and construct landscapes of local and global belonging' (p.313).

The significance of the translocal emerges here, as participants were particularly interested in any stories that referenced the local area where they had lived in Cyprus or where their friends and relatives were living. The viewing of local stories on CBC-SAT therefore offered a way in which their local Cypriot identities could be renewed (Georgiou, 2001). It is also worth mentioning that for most participants who had access to the satellite channels, it was not the sole form of television that they watched, but something that accompanied British TV. The co-existence of British media and ethnic media highlights how migrants can simultaneously 'live in two worlds' (Menjívar, 2002) as they create a sense of home in the UK, while still maintaining links with their country of origin and the local places there (Burrell, 2003).

Participants in the first- and second-generations also expressed how they would listen to Greek music both at home and in the car and how this would conjure feelings of nostalgia for times spent in Cyprus, either living or holidaying there. I noted in my research diary how two of my participants' phones had rung when I was in their company and their ringtones had been Greek music- an obvious marker of the cultural influence in their lives.

As well as language use, another difference that could be displayed within the home was in relation to the preparation and consumption of food. Many writers consider this to be a key element of transnational home-making because of the way in which food serves as a medium through which local and national identities can be reconstructed (Bell and Valentine, 1997; James, 1998; Law, 2001; Kneafsey and Cox, 2002); this once again highlights the significance of

the translocal, as it was often recipes and dishes that were traditional to their local villages in Cyprus that the first-generation tried to recreate.

Moreover, during fieldwork certain food-consumption practices, namely the generosity of participants with food and its ascertained high quality, emerged as a symbolic vehicle for self-identity (James, 1998; Brown, 2011). It appeared that, within the domain of the home, participants chose particular foods because they were Cypriot and because they restated the ethnic identity (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002). On a number of occasions, when visiting family homes to conduct interviews, I was given traditional Cypriot cakes and biscuits to eat, and there were times when the women who prepared them expressed great pride when I complimented their servings (see Box 8.1 for a particular example).

With regards to the notion of belonging, my findings assert those of others who argue that, through the mobilisation of translocal senses, i.e. taste, aroma, sights and sounds, food actively creates feelings of 'home' (Law, 2001; Kneafsey and Cox, 2002; Janowski, 2012) and is an expression of diasporic belonging (Rabikowska, 2010; Brown, 2011; Johnston and Longhurst, 2011; Wright, 2015). Indeed, it emerged that consuming and preparing traditional Cypriot dishes were ways of ritualising belonging, however I would build on previous works by adding that the challenges that migrants face when it comes to creating their 'traditional' dishes and the ways these are overcome must not be ignored (Box 8.1). I also add to previous works by taking an intergenerational perspective on the issue- as is discussed below.

Box 8.1: Food and the maintenance of ethnic identity: an afternoon picking vine leaves

After a long discussion about food and the exchange of recipes, one of my participants (Participant A) invited me round to her house one afternoon in the summer to assist her in cutting vine leaves from the vine in her garden. She informed me that many Greek-Cypriots in the city grow them in their gardens in order to use the leaves to make koupepia⁴⁰; something my own mother and grandmother also do.

Previous studies have noted how, for many migrants, food serves as an essential component in maintaining ethnic identities and connections to 'home' (Vallianatos and

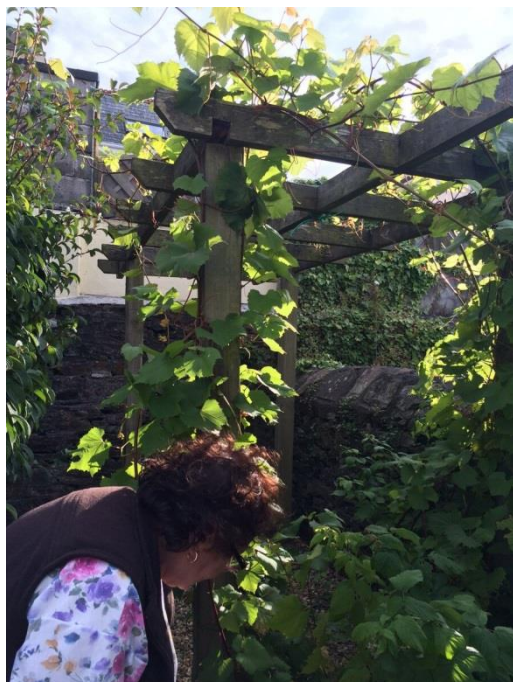


Plate 8.3: Participant A collecting vine leaves

Raine, 2008; Brown, 2011; Janowski, 2012), however I would add that challenges are often faced in continuing to cook traditional dishes when living in a 'down-scale' city (as was mentioned in Chapter Four, according to Glick Shiller and Caglar's (2009) typology, Plymouth is a 'down-scale' city). As well as others, Participant A explained how it was difficult to source particular ingredients in the study city, so by growing vine leaves in her back garden, she was making an active attempt to overcome such difficulties in order to make koupepia. It was observed by a number of participants however, that things were 'improving' in the city due to the opening of new ethnic grocery shops in the city centre in the last couple of years (mainly Polish and Turkish); once again, a reflection of the growing number of migrants in Plymouth. Although these stores were not specifically

Greek/Greek-Cypriot, they still provided access to a number of ingredients required to make some of the traditional

Greek-Cypriot dishes. Despite this, participants still commented how Plymouth was 'behind London' in terms of access to ethnic foods and therefore we can see how difficulties arise in 'down-scale' cities.

Participant A spoke in great detail about the preparation of the vine leaves and how she would also freeze them so she could continue to make koupepia during the winter months. She observed how time-consuming it was to make the koupepia, however it was worth it to conjure 'a taste of home'. She remarked that it was possible to buy vine leaves from some supermarkets now, but they did not taste as good as those that were home-grown. The effort that goes in to making some of the dishes was commented on by other participants, as Vasilis informed me:

"I want to learn [to cook Greek-Cypriot dishes] because it's so healthy and you know hearty food and love is put into it because it takes, it takes hours to make doesn't it? It's not just something you throw in the microwave."
(Vasilis, second-generation, age 28)

⁴⁰ A stuffed vine leaf dish, commonly made in Cyprus and surrounding countries in various forms.



It was clear that individuals such as Vasilis and Participant A placed great value on habitual cuisines and that they evoked sensory and emotional experiences (Vallianatos and Raine, 2008) connected with Cyprus. As Law (2001) observes, in savouring foods from the homeland 'senses of taste, touch, vision and smell all become active' (p.276).

Participant A even compared the task of making the koupepias with completing my thesis, suggesting that I put a picture of the vine leaves at the beginning of the thesis and then a picture of the completed koupepia at the end, to 'represent the journey'. I felt this confirmed comments made by other participants (often in a humorous manner) regarding the importance that older women in the family place on the preparation and consumption of food.

Plate 8.4: Me cutting vine leaves

During the interviews participants reflected on their memories of the preparation and consumption of these more traditional dishes throughout their childhoods and how cyclical festivities in the calendar year (mainly Easter and Christmas), were characterised by such foods:

“Yeh mum always like, if we had people over for dinner she always used to like cook something Greek so say she was having people over she'd always make like, you know, Greek kleftiko, like macaroni, moussaka and all the Greek dishes and like even like now she still does the same cus you know, loads of their friends, loads of English people love Greek food... and my yaya obviously when it's like Easter and like it's certain times of the year where they have their religious festivals she always does all the Greek cooking as well so she'll like, at certain times she'll do like massive trays of baklava and she used to do loads, she can't do much of it now cus obviously she's getting like arthritis and stuff, but at Easter she used to do loads of it, used to bring home like all of the, you know, like the flaounas⁴¹ things, so like the pastry things with like the cheese and like the sultanas in and she- yeh, and she always used to make koulouris⁴² so every time we went over she'd always have like the Greek biscuits [...] so like even now mum does the Greek cooking, I don't really kind of get involved really- I always used to help if they were having people over, but kind of like I don't cook Greek food anymore- I live on my own, kind of like I'm really lazy so about the most I manage is salad and a bit of fish so not really...” (Tina, third-generation, age 36)

⁴¹ Cheese-filled pastries.

⁴² Cypriot biscuits.

Like Tina, many participants spoke of how key festivities were marked by the preparation of special food and meals. The extract above also reveals the gendered nature of such rituals, with her grandmother being the one to prepare these dishes for special occasions. This was a trend that emerged throughout all of the families I spoke to and the eldest female in the family (when capable) would be responsible for preparing such dishes, with help often being given by younger females in the family. The men in the families were often mentioned as being responsible for making souvla- something I had observed during fieldwork as well as in my upbringing, but apart from this it was the responsibility of females' to make the traditional Cypriot dishes. Studies among other migrant groups have also noted the unequal involvement of males and females in the preparation of ethnic foods (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010) and thus, women become 'gatekeepers' as they 'impart family and community values via traditional foods and cuisines' (Vallianatos and Raine, 2008:357).

While it was the norm for members of the second- and third-generations to cook English foods (as well as foods inspired by other cultures), some of them made a distinct effort to cook traditional Cypriot dishes similar to those prepared by their grandmothers and mothers and those they had tasted during holidays to Cyprus and Greece. I would suggest that this is another way in which ethnic identity and collective belonging can be *performed* in day-to-day life (Harbottle, 2000; Wright, 2015). As weak theorists have observed, the way in which food is prepared and, in particular *shared*, generates shared emotions and affective ties; Wrights asserts that 'this is a visceral, embodied belonging' (p.402). It also shows how individuals invoke ethnic choice; many younger participants chose

to make traditional dishes, especially when cooking for friends, and it was one way in which ethnic difference could be emphasised (Rabikowska, 2010).

One participant created a website to share his mother's recipes of traditional Cypriot dishes and had named it after the village where she had lived in the north of Cyprus⁴³. He expressed that he had developed the site in order to share the 'history, culture, culinary history and the love of Cyprus' with other internet users and had managed to connect Cypriots who had originated from the village and were now dispersed around the globe. Once again this highlights the power of the internet in providing a space for social interactions to occur and in connecting dispersed communities. In this case, it provided a space for both transnational and translocal connections to be maintained; transnational because the individuals are now living in different countries around the world, and translocal because the focus was on connecting members from a specific locality *within* Cyprus. For example, as well as connecting the villagers, the website had also connected the old village priest with members of his previous congregation who were dispersed in different places in the UK and Australia. It also highlights the passion that some of the younger participants felt for their cultural heritage and their desire to share this with others. Clearly food was a salient vehicle for the maintenance of the ethnic identity.

8.4 'Good with food': local businesses

As was mentioned in Chapter Five, the first-generation of migrants from Cyprus would commonly save up their earnings from working in the catering and clothing industries to set up their own businesses, most often restaurants, cafes and small factories. Within my own study sample the majority of participants

⁴³ The name of the village and participant details have been withheld to maintain anonymity.

were either self-employed at the time of interview/had been in the past, or were employed by a family member. Most participants were/had been involved in the catering industry or property development. As was discussed in Chapter Five, migration trajectories often developed around narratives of hard work and eventual success; the first-generation had had to work extremely hard when they first arrived and eventually worked their way up socially and economically after the development of successful businesses. Their success in the catering industry in particular, with a number of well-known Greek/Cypriot restaurants being established in Plymouth, marked the ethnic group's presence within the city and was symbolic of its accomplishments:

“What do they think of us? I dunno, good with food I guess, I mean in Plymouth, they, when you think Greek you think either property, restaurants or hotels or nightclubs or something- it's gonna be something along those lines you know? And that's it so I guess there's this respect I guess that Greeks in this city work hard, they build things up... I think we're ok, we've done well, compared to other ethnic groups in the city, I think we're like the Chinese, we stick to what we know and that is food mainly and uh yeh I think we've done alright, we've got good successful businesses...” (Elias, second-generation, late twenties)

“Everyone's like, got bloody all- literally all the restaurants are owned by Greek people, like 90% of the student houses are by Greek people, it's like the whole city is Greek... Literally everything! And they, you know, if anything else opens normally, it just shuts down. You know, you've got like, Athena's Kitchen⁴⁴, it's basically a Greek restaurant, it's been there for years right?” (Anthony, third-generation, age 27)

As the above extracts reveal, many participants felt that the ethnic group's presence was established in the city and distinguishable from other groups by their success in business as they became 'recognizable structures of the realization of an economic dream' (Burrell, 2005:487). This is not to say of course that other ethnic groups were not successful in their own forms of

⁴⁴ A pseudonym to maintain the anonymity of the owner.

business, but participants perceived there to be some form of difference. This perception of the Greek-Cypriots' reputation in the city also contrasts with the notion that the group is 'invisible' in the host society and we can see how there *are* markers of their presence, but in the form of physical spaces.

Moreover all of the Cypriot restaurants in the city served, as well as English cuisine, a variety of traditional Greek-Cypriot dishes. Again, ingredients often had to be sourced from London (and sometimes Cyprus) as they were not readily available in Plymouth and we can see translocal and transnational connections being exploited. We can also see how the preparation of ethnic cuisine was not only an important aspect of home-life, but something that crossed over into the public domain as well. Warde (2000) attributes the success of ethnic restaurants to the mixture of 'entrepreneurial ambition' of migrant groups and 'the capacity of particular cuisines to be adapted to English tastes' (p.301-302).

Furthermore, as van den Berghe (1984:396) observes, expressions of ethnicity that are associated with food are potentially constructive as they represent ethnicity 'at its most sharable', reflecting Elias' opinion that Greek-Cypriots are perceived positively by others in the city with regards to their work with food. We can see how the city-scale is relevant here as the extracts illustrate the situatedness of the group's community building in the urban context and how the city remains a key site of settlement and encounter in the daily lives of individuals (Phillips and Robinson, 2015).

Local businesses were not only visible signifiers of the groups' presence in the city to the outside world; they also harnessed community identification from within (Burrell, 2005). As was discussed in the previous chapter, families often

spent a lot of time together in the workplace running their own businesses and often they would bring their children along; like Issac, several of the participants' earliest memories were of going to their parents' restaurants/cafes. It was not only family members who participants spent time with in the workplace though; during the course of interviews, it emerged how local Cypriot restaurants and cafes acted as 'meeting points' for members of the ethnic group and many participants (from across the generations) felt that by visiting them, they got to know other members of the ethnic community:

"Dad was so, was a big part of the Greek community [in Plymouth], you know, having- when you own a restaurant and you're as popular as dad was, he was sooo popular, he was the life and soul you know, so he made it all happen..." (Eleni, second-generation, age 42)

"Umm, the only Greeks I actually know um are obviously Petros who owns Athena's Kitchen, his family um and all of dad's family so in a way I would say, yes cus we're quite a big Greek community in ourselves aren't we?" (Alisha, third-generation, age 17)

"And we were always working as well, always working in the restaurants. The Greek people I knew- Antonis and Susie- well Susie was English, Martha and Alex and they had restaurants as well, so we just used to go in each other's restaurants, eat and drink and yeh..." (Anne, married to first-generation Greek-Cypriot, age 79)

As has been mentioned previously, participants deployed individual 'imaginings' of the community from which they positioned themselves and others. Some members of the sample positioned themselves as 'outside' of the ethnic 'community', particularly when they did not attend the local Greek Orthodox Church, however, individuals such as Alisha and Anne felt that they did have at least some degree of engagement with the community through their involvement with/visits to local Cypriot restaurants. Evidently, for such participants, the only interaction they had with other Greek-Cypriots in the city beyond their own family members was when visiting their establishments.

Interestingly, Alisha also considered her father's family to comprise its own 'community', he was one of nine siblings and therefore part of a large extended family, once again illustrating the value placed on familial ties. It also illustrates the diversity of experience of 'community'; while for some their experience of community manifested in participation at the church and school and the social relationships that were nurtured there, for others, community was experienced at a more intimate level and through their own familial and/or informal social connections- this idea is developed in the following section.

It also emerged how the local Cypriot-owned business establishments became important sites for the exchange of languages. While it was commented that members of the first-generation learnt to speak the English language through their interactions in the workplace, it was also revealed that, in some cases, members of the second-generation learnt the Greek language in the same setting:

"Didn't learn to speak Greek till maybe I was umm started working in the restaurant, Greek chef, he learnt me a lot and then when I went to Cyprus I learned a lot, my father taught me a lot, but I don't speak all of it, I only speak about, say about 85% so there's still a bit I'm still learning so- not that I can speak English properly either, but, still learning." (Perry, second-generation, age 52)

"When we came over both my parents were working so I was brought up by an English family [child minders] who had one boy, uh Peter and my first language was English- although I could understand what my parents were saying in Greek cus they spoke Greek, I always answered back in English, I never spoke the language and I didn't learn my own language until I was, what, 16 when I started working full-time in shops with Greek people." (Andrew, second-generation, age 66)

The previous section emphasised the importance of the home as a site for the transmission of language knowledge, however, as the extracts above highlight, businesses that were owned by members of the ethnic group and mainly

employed such individuals also provided a focal site for the transmission of the Greek language. Perry's comment that he is still not completely fluent in the language was a point made by some of the other second- and third-generation members who had attempted to learn it; for some it seemed that learning the language was a life-long process. Furthermore, it was not only members of the ethnic group who learned the language in the workplace; interviewees observed how British employees and those of other ethnicities picked up the Greek language when working with other Cypriots. Alex appeared to be particularly amused when he informed me that a young English boy whom he had worked with in a garage years previously would still send him text messages in Greek. This exchange of cultural knowledge in the workplace seemed to provide an opportunity for cohesion and solidarity between members of different ethnic groups and such local businesses provided a space where cultural difference could be expressed.

8.5 'It's always around people': the real essence of community

So far in this chapter I have discussed the key settings where transnational and translocal activities take place and the way in which these contribute to the maintenance of the ethnic identity as well as creating a sense of belonging for members of the ethnic group. It is also important to acknowledge that engagement with transnational and translocal activities may be 'occasional or sporadic' (Jones-Correa, 2006:226) and can often occur in response to life events like births, marriages and deaths (for example, Section 8.2 outlined how some participants only attended church to mark such events) or vary throughout the lifecourse according to the demands of family, school and work (Levitt, 2006).

I have also argued that, for some, the church and the school form the focal point of the community and for those who do not attend, they may not feel as integrated within the ethnic community as others. However, it is not just difference in religious belief that may lead certain individuals to feel excluded from the community; a small number of participants actively sought to avoid participation with the wider Greek-Cypriot community (in the city) altogether. As Goulbourne *et al* (2010) suggest, past research on migrant families and communities has tended to emphasise ‘the positive sides of strong networks’ and ‘idealise the cooperative nature of some ethnic groups’ (p.137), however the narratives of some individuals did reveal some more negative attitudes towards the ethnic community:

“In the meantime I was teaching Greek as well and got to know the Greek community who in turn got to know me and use me for absolutely everything because I was in the council (LAUGHS) whether they had money or not they used- well most of the Greeks have in Plymouth, but they still used me.

[...]

If somebody said to me ‘are you part of the Greek community?’ I would say ‘no’. I mean, who? Who is here supporting me or has ever? No, not really. I feel close to some of the Greeks here because I have a nice friendship with them and that’s it...” (Charissa, second-generation, age 65)

“There’s quite a few Greek people in Plymouth which I used to mix with a lot, but again, as you get older they do their own thing, go their own way, but you find the Greek culture more so than the English, as you get older and as you possibly doing your own thing, they get envious and um they, they can be quite sour and quite- they’re not straight people unfortunately, I don’t know why that is but from my experience the majority, the better you’re doing, the worse they, they feel of you...that’s my experience, so I don’t mix with many now, keep my distance.” (Perry, second-generation, age 52)

“I see a lot of people our age as well and they work really really hard... they create these businesses and they- well done to them. I find Greeks, they tend to be, I’ve gotta be careful what I say, they tend to be a little bit jealous of each other and you just think ‘why? What’s the point?’ But it’s a person’s character I guess, you can’t change someone, envy, they shouldn’t be envious, everyone should be helping each other out, but that’s my personal view of things.” (Elias, second-generation, late twenties)

Charissa in particular felt that she had not been shown any help or support by members of the ethnic community (apart from a few close friends) and therefore avoided church events and other social gatherings where she would have to socialise. Similarly, Perry also spoke of how he tried to avoid such events and he and Elias were not the only individuals to refer to the community as materialistic and jealous (see Burrell, 2005 for similar findings among Greek and Italian communities in Leicester). What I found interesting though, was that both Charissa and Perry, at some point during their interviews, had articulated a sense of pride in the Greek/Cypriot aspect of their identity. Although they positioned themselves as 'outside' of the 'imagined' ethnic community in Plymouth and had some negative points to make based on bad experiences in the past, their ethnicity remained an important aspect of their identity. Moreover, they did not need to feel accepted by the community in order to achieve a sense of belonging, for such individuals having a few good friends who they could trust as well as their family, was enough for them. As Perry observed, his focus was on his family (his children, brother, nephew and nieces) and that was 'the way forward'.

Despite their efforts though, it seemed impossible to avoid the ethnic community altogether, with a number of participants describing Plymouth as a 'mini-Cyprus', due to their perception that there were many individuals of Greek-Cypriot descent living there. Once again, we see the importance of participants' *localised* experiences here and how their interactions within the local neighbourhood become significant (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). Thus, a local space of belonging is opened up and individuals can make claims to the wider collective based on their ethnicity (Raffaetà *et al*, 2016)- but only if they

choose to. As was discussed previously, participants can invoke their 'ethnic choice' and identify with the wider ethnic group as and when they please (Waters, 1990; Sullivan, 2012). Moreover, while Charissa's and Perry's accounts were fairly negative, there were individuals who, even though they no longer/did not attend the church, still spoke very positively about the community and emphasised its consensus and the support it could provide:

"I think when somebody knows you're Greek, they, they do look at you different and like they just think like, you know what I mean like- Greeks are good to Greeks right? They're always, like they look out for each other and stuff, they fall out a lot, but they always look out for each other as well (PAUSE) you feel like, I dunno it's hard to explain like, people do- when they know that you're Greek they know that you've got like- you've got your shit backed up, you know what I mean? There's loads of Greek people so when you were young or whatever, like say you were 18 and got beaten up in a pub right you know like, you've got so many people, like ready to back you up and like they- they're not like hard-nuts and stuff you know what I mean, they're like businessmen or whatever, but they know that one of their owns been in trouble or whatever they'll all step up, which is good, that's like a strong community like, it's like the Polish communities and stuff, they're so close-knit and they'll all help each other out and I think that would happen here, you know what I mean?" (Anthony, third-generation, age 27)

Interestingly, although Anthony is Charissa's son, their views on the social capital that can be gained from the ethnic community are very contrasting. While Charissa positioned herself as outside of the ethnic community and as having gained nothing from her affiliation with it (apart from her close friends), even though Anthony confessed he did not have much interaction with other members of the community on a day-to-day basis, he still felt that in times of need, they would be there for him and provide support. This illustrates how children do not automatically adopt the views of their parents and attitudes can vary from one generation to the next. Moreover, many other participants echoed Anthony's perspective that the community was close-knit and supportive, so

while there seemed to be an imaginary divide between those who felt part of the ethnic community and those who did not, the majority of individuals I spoke to did feel a part of this.⁴⁵

I had anticipated that feeling a 'part of the community' would entail regular church attendance and/or involvement with the Greek School and as was outlined in Section 8.2, some participants believed that these formed the focal point of the community; there was this 'imagining' of the Greek-Cypriot community based around the school and the church. However, this was not necessarily the case and similar to Burrell's (2005) findings, I argue that the 'real essence of community' is felt at the micro-level and is based on social relationships that are developed within the ethnic group between individuals.

To refer back to Isaac's quotation used in Chapter Six when talking about the Greek-Cypriot community: '*it's always around people*'. I felt this was confirmed when I asked individuals if they engaged with the Greek-Cypriot community in the city and they responded positively and then went on to name other Greek-Cypriots who they were friends with; in some cases this was just one or two persons. Or as was discussed in the previous section, some participants felt they only socialised with other Greek-Cypriots when visiting their business establishments. Even Charissa, who had spoken very negatively about her experiences with the ethnic community in general, could not deny that she had formed close friendships with others who were of Greek-Cypriot descent. As Antonsich (2010) argues, the personal and social ties that enrich an individual's life in a given place play an important role in contributing to feelings of

⁴⁵ This could reflect my sampling strategy as many participants were accessed through the church and school and those who attended were more likely to feel integrated within the community.

belonging and include 'emotionally dense relations with friends' as well as family members (p.647) and thus, the role of friends in an individual's perceived experience of community must not be ignored.

So while they may not have felt part of this wider 'imagined' community that was based around the church and school, they were still part of their own informal communities. Hence we can see that 'experiences of community are more generally defined through kinship, friendship and organizational networks and ties' (Burrell, 2005:489) with the private friendships that are maintained between community members forming the foundation of the 'community experience'. These friendships manifested in telephone calls, interactions through social media, casual meetings and private gatherings (often based around BBQs or some form of dinner party). There were all sorts of social activity taking place that individuals felt fell under the umbrella of (some form of) community within the city. And as Alisha observed, for many participants their families were also viewed as one form of community, often because of their large size, but also because of the mutual sense of belonging and obligation that was felt between family members. It also did not necessarily matter to individuals like Xanthe and Alyssa that they were not part of the 'imagined' ethnic community, as they had interactions and spent a great deal of time with other Witnesses, and were therefore part of a different 'community'.

While this chapter has focused solely on experiences of the imagined *ethnic* community, it must be acknowledged that participants were also members of other 'communities'; Smart (2007) has coined the term 'personal community' to describe the informal relationships (with both friends and kin) that individuals rely on for intimacy and support (see also Sharma, 2012). Therefore I suggest

that experiences of community are diverse and multi-layered and that this makes evident the multiple ways of practising and conceiving belonging (Menin, 2011; Raffaetà *et al*, 2016).

8.6 Summary

This chapter has explored some of the transnational and translocal activities that individuals participate in and the key sites where these take place. In an attempt to challenge common presuppositions that those who participate in transnational activity are constantly mobile and 'on-the-go' it has tried to understand some of the more 'concrete' and 'anchored' activities that are both situated and connected to other locales (Leung, 2004; Brickell and Datta, 2011a). Following the work of Brickell and Datta (2011a; 2011b) and Philips and Robinson (2015), the chapter has focused on the activities and interactions that take place at the *local* scale, from the home to the city. The chapter has also argued that interactions with these more localised spaces and the significance attached to these activities change across the generations.

The home emerged as a central space where difference could be displayed and acted out and in particular this was where participants felt comfortable speaking the language of the homeland, with the majority of the first-generation members speaking to their children in this language, despite them being brought up in an English-speaking country. The preparation and consumption of traditional ethnic food within the home also served as a symbolic vehicle of the maintenance of the ethnic identity and it was revealed that this was a gendered activity, with women often holding most of the responsibility for this task. Moreover, discussion outlined how individuals living in 'down-scale' cities may face challenges when it comes to cooking ethnic dishes, as the required ingredients

are difficult to source. Preparation of ethnic cuisine also crossed over to the public sphere and some participants felt that the ethnic group was recognised by their success in the catering industry. Such successes were symbolic of their accomplishments and the long way they had come in economic terms since the migration of the first-generation.

The local Greek Orthodox Church and Greek School were clearly important sites for the transmission of religious and cultural knowledge and many participants viewed these organisations as forming the focal point of the community. There were differences in attitudes among each generation regarding the significance of these organisations however, and it was argued that – at one end of the spectrum – the first-generation placed high importance on them while at the other, some of the older third-generation members told humorous accounts of the times spent there. Nevertheless, the children who were currently in attendance at the Greek School spoke positively about their experiences there and those who were preparing for GCSE and A Level exams in the Greek language took it very seriously.

While some individuals felt that they had less engagement with the wider ethnic community, either by choice or because of their differing religious beliefs, it was revealed that community stretched beyond the observable trappings of religious and community organisations to encompass less formal and regularised meetings among individuals. While participants employed their own ‘imaginings’ of the community and sometimes positioned themselves outside of this, they still formed relationships with other members of the ethnic group, whether these were in the form of private friendships or through their familial networks, and it

was through these social interactions that the real essence of community was felt and a sense of belonging achieved.

Chapter 9. Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has taken an intergenerational perspective to investigate the ways senses of identity and belonging are constructed in a Greek-Cypriot community. This was achieved through the analysis of 48 qualitative interviews with members of three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrant families, as well as participant observations conducted in the city of Plymouth. The key contribution of the research has been to build upon academic knowledge of the third-generation of migrants. The inclusion of the voices of three generations allowed for an understanding of the intergenerational relationships that were formed between family members to be developed, and to demonstrate how these were dynamic and changing. It also revealed the influence that family practices had on identity constructions and how these are passed on through the generations.

In doing so, the study has contributed to our understandings of a relatively 'invisible' and under-researched migrant group in the UK. It has attempted to deconstruct previously made assumptions that such groups will integrate unproblematically to the host society, and has unravelled the complex and multi-faceted issues that they may face in relation to the formation of ethnic identities and senses of belonging. This concurs with Beck-Gernsheim's (2007) argument that the study of white European immigrant groups in the UK opens up wider theoretical possibilities because of their potential 'invisibility'. Thus, the findings of the thesis are pertinent to the broader study of the immigration of white groups into the UK.

These contributions will be explained in more detail in the following section where the research questions that were set out in Chapter One are revisited. Following this, Section 9.3 makes several recommendations for further research based on the findings of this study.

9.2 Research questions revisited

In order to achieve the aim of the thesis, four research questions were set out. In this section these questions are revisited in order to highlight the key findings of the research.

The first research question, which focused on *how members of each generation constructed their cultural identity and elaborated feelings of belonging*, was largely addressed in Chapter Six, although empirical findings in the following chapters also contributed to answering this question. In relation to cultural identifications, it was argued that the first-generation were the most likely to maintain a strong association with a Greek or Greek-Cypriot identity. This held to be true for several participants, despite the fact that they had lived in England for longer than they had lived in Cyprus. Identity was also seen to be relational: the ways in which individuals perceived they were seen by others influenced their own identity constructions. This is important for future studies as it draws attention to the influence that others have on identity formations.

In particular, members of the first-generation were aware of how they may not be classed as a 'true' or 'authentic' Greek-Cypriot by others living in Cyprus and so inconsistencies arose in relation to how they identified themselves. This drew our attention to the way in which the concepts of home and identity should not be uncritically conflated (Antonsich, 2010). Although some individuals continued

to affirm a Greek-Cypriot identity, they no longer viewed Cyprus as their home as they had re-established a sense of home and belonging in the UK (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

A wider range of answers began to emerge among the second-generation when asked about their cultural identity. In particular, the idea that they are situated between a number of competing ideological reference points was illustrated, especially for those who affirmed a hybrid or hyphenated identity. These competing ideological and cultural reference points meant that their ethnicity became a subjective identity that they were able to invoke at will, both symbolically and affectively; they were able to invoke 'ethnic choice' (Waters, 2001; Sullivan, 2012). The mix of answers continued among the third-generation and it was revealed that the affirmation of a 'strictly' Greek-Cypriot identity had begun to diminish. Nevertheless, while an increasing number claimed a stronger affiliation towards an English or British ethnic identity, those who did still emphasised how they still felt a close connection with their Greek background despite this. Moreover, the third-generation members continued to invoke 'ethnic choice' and the performative nature of identity became more prominent among this group as they had formed a particular notion of the way 'Greek-Cypriotness' manifested itself in everyday practices, and they were able to perform these practices if they so wished.

As well as this, understandings of belonging were built on by drawing on weak theory; this highlighted both the performative nature and the more-than-human aspects of belonging (Wright, 2015). In particular, adherence to religious traditions and rituals promoted *practices* of belonging and also helped to cultivate a *feeling* of belonging within the wider ethnic community. The more-

than-human aspects of belonging were illustrated by the close emotional attachments that participants maintained both to their pets and to the deceased. The close association of 'a sense of home' with the feeling of belonging (Walsh, 2006; Antonsich, 2010; Hatfield, 2011) was also illustrated and in particular, the idea that belonging is not necessarily always felt to a particular space/place, but to other groups of people or individuals as well (Probyn, 1996). Thus, I argue that weak theory has been valuable as it ensured I remained open to the complexities of belonging and its dynamic nature. Indeed it was revealed how identity constructions and senses of belonging were constantly evolving and in flux.

For the participants in this study, the family played an especially important role in creating a feeling of belonging, which links with the second research question which sought to answer *to what extent do family practices – 'doing' family – influence processes of identity formation and feelings of belonging?* This question was mainly addressed in Chapter Seven, although some of the discussion in Chapter Eight was also directly relevant. It emerged, especially through discussions with child participants, that high value was placed not only on relationships with immediate family members, but also on those with extended family, and in particular with cousins and godparents.

By no means did familial relationships remain static though, and we witnessed their fluid and evolving nature through the lifecourse. Different emphasis was placed on particular relationships depending on life stage and individual circumstances. Attention must also be drawn to the less positive side of families and, as has been found in research with other migrant groups, the idea that daughters were more likely to experience intergenerational conflict than sons

emerged in the participants' narratives. This occurred as daughters played a vital role in maintaining the symbolic boundaries of the wider ethnic group and were encouraged to conform to traditional 'imagined' gender roles (Shah, 2007; Ziemer, 2010). These gender roles were imposed on the women by not only their family members, but also members of the wider ethnic group in the city.

However, they did not remain passive recipients and were able to exercise social agency in order to attempt to resist the hegemonic ideology that they were subjected to. This agency was also exerted with regards to their parenting practices with their own children, as they made a distinct effort *not* to reproduce those of their parents and tried to allow their children to have more freedom while they were growing up. This 'conscious parenting' highlights how navigating cultures gains added complexity when you have children. Furthermore, as well as gender, birth order also materialised as an important factor to consider when exploring parent-child relationships and went some way in explaining the differential treatment of siblings (Kidwell, 1981; Salmon, 2003); indeed it emerged that the common conception was that children born later had it 'easier' than the first-borns as parents became more relaxed with them.

Particular attention was also paid to the relationships that were formed between grandparents and their grandchildren. While they not only spent a lot of time together in many cases and formed close social bonds, grandparents also played an especially important role in the transmission of cultural practices and values (Levin, 2014; Sime and Pietka-Nykaza, 2015). As was discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight, it was the grandparents who encouraged their grandchildren to learn the Greek language and attend the Greek Orthodox

Church and Greek School, and it was the grandmothers who were largely responsible for cooking traditional ethnic dishes to mark festive occasions.

In terms of *the spaces and places that are significant in identity formation* (research question three), these were mentioned in all three discussion chapters (Six to Eight), however they were dealt with in most detail in Chapters Seven and Eight. It was argued that the family home is the starting point of ethnic identities (Georgiou, 2001) and that differences could be displayed and acted out here, especially in relation to the use of language and popular media and the preparation and consumption of food. The home also offered a setting where ethnic identities could be performed and this was seen particularly in relation to conversations regarding the cultural affiliations of individuals and the way in which parents and grandparents would encourage children/grandchildren to affirm a Greek-Cypriot identity. Linking with this, the home is where familial relationships are acted out and developed and where family values and practices are transmitted, performed and contested.

Beyond the space of the home, ethnic identities are reaffirmed in public spaces. Both the Greek Orthodox Church and adjoining Greek School played an important role in maintaining the cultural identity of the group; this was achieved in several ways. First, they played a key role in the transmission of religious and cultural knowledge; in particular the Greek School aimed to pass on knowledge of the Greek language to successive generations. Second, it was argued that the church and school provided a communal setting where the ethnic identity could be performed and also where collective affective belonging could be enacted and experienced (Nagar and Leitner, 1998; Leung, 2004; Fortier, 2006). Not only did church attendance create a sense of belonging by creating

feelings of acceptance and togetherness, but participation in church rituals was one way in which a 'real' or 'authentic' Cypriot identity could be performed. Moreover, it appeared that gendered power relations still existed within the organisation of the church and thus, the church became a space where the 'imagined' gender roles of the ethnic group were reproduced (Fortier, 1999).

As well as the church and the school, another form of public space that became significant in identity formations was family-owned businesses; these were mainly local catering businesses in the study city such as cafes and restaurants. Following the narratives of loss and hard work of the first-generation, these businesses acted as both a symbolic and material marker of the ethnic group's success and accomplishments. As well as marking the group's presence in the city, they provided a setting where family relationships could be enacted and also where members of the wider ethnic could meet, thus affirming and reaffirming social bonds between individuals. We also saw how knowledge of the Greek language was transmitted within these establishments and thus they played a role in maintaining this aspect of the culture.

It is also important to acknowledge the role that 'new' or virtual social spaces played in maintaining family relations over distances and also connecting members of the Greek-Cypriot diaspora. The use of ICTs has transformed social intimacy and helped to overcome the barriers to regular contact that are traditionally created by geographical distance (Levin, 2005; Tarrant, 2010). This supports arguments *against* the individualisation thesis and illustrates how mobility does not necessarily weaken social bonds, but rather it can transform them (Holdsworth, 2013).

The final research question, which *asks how the concepts of intergenerationality and translocalism are relevant for understanding identity and belonging of migrant communities in the UK*, was addressed to some extent in each of the three discussion chapters (Six to Eight). With regards to intergenerationality, I have suggested that the perspective has aided our understanding of the construction and negotiation of identities. More specifically, in Chapter Six, the intergenerational perspective illustrated how senses of self were not fixed and static, but fluid and changing through the lifecourse. Senses of self were also influenced by interactions between generational groups (Hopkins and Pain, 2007) and the way in which grandparents and/or parents held a certain degree of power in relation to the passing on of cultural norms and practices to their children/grandchildren was revealed.

While members of the first-generation generally held a deep desire to pass on the cultural identity to successive generations, it was argued that it diminished generationally in Chapter Six (to an extent). We also saw in Chapter Eight how attitudes regarding transnational and translocal activities changed generationally and the frequency of engagement with some of these activities also diminished. For members of the first-generation and a couple of the older members of the second-generation, these activities played an important role in creating a sense of home and belonging in the host country, however this was not necessarily the case for members of successive generations and therefore goes some way in explaining why their attitudes towards them were different.

The concept of intergenerationality has also helped us to appreciate the linkages and entanglements of lived lives within the context of the family (Bailey *et al*, 2004; Smart, 2005; Bailey 2009). The ways in which family life could be

characterised by both tension and conflict at certain times, and cohesion and solidarity at others were outlined. We also saw how parent-child relationships changed from one generation to the next as the desire of the second-generation not to replicate the parenting style of their parents became one of the key drivers of intergenerational change in relation to parenting practices. Indeed, an intergenerational perspective challenges the notion of home as a fixed space in which family members live as we witnessed how identities emerged through social relationships that were played out within the home, but which were fluid and dynamic (Tyrrell *et al*, 2014).

With regards to translocality, I have argued that the concept is valuable in drawing our attention to the smaller scale places and/or localities of the home, the neighbourhood and the city. At this smaller scale, a number of key sites emerged as providing key settings for the enactment of transnational activities and it was suggested that individuals may have remained spatially local, yet they were influenced by cultural imaginaries beyond those of the immediate locality (Brickell, 2011). It was important to remember that Plymouth could be classed as a 'down-scale' city though, and how this could create challenges and barriers for individuals attempting to access particular resources. This was a particularly important finding, as there is much that can be learned from the study of 'invisible' groups located in 'down-scale' cities like Plymouth, which are simultaneously unique, yet potentially share particular similarities. The richness that migration processes brings to such places should not be dismissed. Thus, the research has illustrated the importance of the local as a space where a sense of belonging can be developed and how this should not be overlooked in favour of a focus on the *national* scale.

The attention to the translocal also raised some interesting issues in relation to the concept of community. It was revealed that individuals employed particular 'imaginings' of the ethnic community from which they positioned themselves and others. These were largely influenced by the religious beliefs of individuals and those who were affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Church often found it easier to integrate in the ethnic community. However, I have argued that when one looks beyond the surface, it becomes evident that community stretches beyond the observable trappings of religious and community organisations to encompass less formal and regularised social interactions. It was through these private friendships and/or familial networks that the real essence of community was felt and a sense of belonging achieved. Thus, the emphasis on *trans-local* – rather than the traditionally emphasised *trans-national* – has brought to our attention the plurality and complexity of the experience of community. So while the importance of the translocal concept is still disputed in the literature, my work supports its value.

9.3 Future research directions

One of this thesis' key contributions to knowledge is that it has included the voices of *three* generations of families. While there have been calls to develop our knowledge and understanding of the experiences of successive generations of migrants in the UK, very few works have incorporated the voices of those beyond the second-generation. By doing so, the study has revealed how the concept of intergenerationality is valuable in the study of migrant identities and belonging and illustrated the complexities involved in negotiating family relationships and practices- beyond those just concerning the parent and child. It has shown how the importance of the ethnic identity has not diminished

entirely among the third-generation and therefore it is important for future studies to consider how the mix of cultural influences (which indeed may continue to diversify as members of these families continue to marry beyond the boundaries of the ethnic group) will influence successive generations.

Thus, to expand further, future work should incorporate the voices and experiences of later-generations *beyond* the third. Based on the heterogeneity of the three generations in this study alone, further valuable insights could be gained from investigating the experiences of later-generations. As was mentioned in the Introduction chapter, rates of migration and mobility worldwide are continuing to rise and so successive generations of migrants are expanding and playing an increasingly important role in all facets of life in the host (and often the home) country, therefore they are an extremely valuable group to study.

Another key contribution of this research is that it is one of the very few works to expand our knowledge of the Greek-Cypriot migrant community in the UK beyond those living in London. Often these smaller migrant communities that are located in smaller urban centres are overlooked in academic work, however through this study I have attempted to give this group a voice. By doing so, we have seen how such groups are potentially able to exert their 'ethnic choice' to a greater extent than other more 'visible' groups as they have a choice in which of their physical and cultural features they wish to stress (and those which they down-play). So while the thesis has focused on the experiences of Greek-Cypriots, the group has been used to illustrate *wider* issues that are salient to *other* white migrant groups in the UK.

Moreover, the qualitative in-depth approach that was taken meant that detailed accounts of these individuals' lives were gathered and a more intricate picture of their experiences created. Thus, the study allowed for an exploration of how the broader social dynamics and processes that are at work are made real and affect the everyday lives of individuals (Mason, 2002). Moreover, the fact that Plymouth could be classed as a 'down-scale' city has allowed me to investigate whether migrant groups located in such places will be less likely to retain a stronger sense of cultural identity; this was in fact proved to be untrue and although the affiliation with the ethnic identity was beginning to diminish generationally, members of the ethnic group from all three generations still maintained some form of connection with their Cypriot heritage.

However, it is realised that by confining attention to one place, albeit in detail, it is inappropriate to generalise from the results (Herbert, 2000). This was a fairly small-scale study and only represents the experiences of a relatively small number of people living in one geographical location at the time of fieldwork. It must also be noted that the understandings presented in the thesis are inevitably partial, situated and interpretive (Hoggart *et al*, 2002). Therefore, one may argue that it is not fully representative of the experiences of the wider Greek-Cypriot migrant population living in the UK. It would be valuable to expand the study by replicating it in other urban contexts in the UK- both in 'top-scale' and other 'down-scale' cities (Glick Shiller and Caglar, 2009; Phillips and Robinson, 2015). This would allow for a comparison of the experiences and attitudes of members of the ethnic group living in different locations in the UK and help us to understand the contextual variation between cities in how they impact the potential social, cultural, economic and spatial integration of migrants.

There is also scope to develop the comparative element further and contrast the experiences of the Greek-Cypriot migrant community in the UK with those of other ethnic communities. In particular, it would be interesting to see how their experiences compare with those of other 'invisible' migrant groups in the UK such as the Irish and Italian diasporas. Through comparisons, further contributions can be made to academic debates surrounding these 'invisible' groups. The experiences of these communities that have been longer established and to some extent 'settled' in the UK could also help to inform policies regarding issues related to the integration of present-day migrants. It was clear that the first-generation faced many challenges when they first arrived in the UK, especially in relation to their language abilities and accessing local services, although these were diluted as we moved down the generations. As well as this, the study has highlighted the complexity of family relationships within migrant families, therefore important lessons can be learned by policy makers aiming to support the successful integration of migrant families in the UK.

Finally, the insights discussed above have been enabled by the ethnographic approach described in Chapter Four. Although I acknowledge that families are multifarious, dynamic and complex, and thus, it is impossible to unearth all their intricacies and particulars, I believe that this approach did go a long way in trying to capture such intricacies. Indeed, using weak theory ensured that I was open to the surprising and the unexpected. While the life narrative-style interviews were effective in drawing out the multi-faceted and complex specificities of family-life, the accompanying observations allowed for the further layers of meaning that are attached to daily life to emerge. While these

observations revealed much about the traditionally more 'feminine' spaces of the home and the church, this could be built on by shifting the focus beyond these spaces to incorporate business places which could potentially be seen as a more 'masculine' space. Nevertheless, each of the methods used added another level of understanding that complimented those derived from the other, therefore the triangulation of findings from these different sources allowed for a more 'holistic' impression of the lives of participants.

9.4 Final remarks

The main accomplishment of this thesis is the collection of original qualitative empirical data on the constructions of identity and belonging of three generations of Greek-Cypriot families living in a UK city. While it has built on the existing literature, it has also offered new theoretical insights, especially in relation to the third-generation and their identity formations. These insights will be valuable to researchers in a range of disciplines, from human geography and sociology, to anthropology and more. They are also relevant to studies of other white 'invisible' migrant groups in the UK context. I also hope that the study will encourage readers to look beyond the negative representations of migrant families that are so often presented in the media, especially in the wake of the UK's recent vote to leave the EU following the Brexit referendum, and to appreciate that these families face complex issues in their everyday lives; some just like any other family, and some that are unique to those who have migrated.

As was discussed at some length in Chapter Four, the study has also presented a number of methodological issues, especially in relation to the issue of positionality and the negotiation of 'insider' status. In so many ways I felt like an insider as I conducted the research, but there were moments when I also felt

like an outsider. However, one of the main challenges was trying to find the right balance so that I showed the right amount of understanding and empathy towards participants on the one hand and the correct amount of detachment and distance on the other. As many others have claimed, when one conducts ethnographic research (or one could argue, perhaps any form of research) they go through their own personal journey and I certainly felt this to be the case. Over the course of fieldwork, as I spent time with the church community and families, I really did feel like I had become a part of not only the church community, but also some of the smaller social networks and more intimate communities that exist in the city. Therefore, although the study may have come to an end, these friendships will continue to exist and I hope to continue to remain a part of these 'communities'.

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Appendix A. Adult self-consent form

PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Human Ethics Committee Sample Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT / PRACTICAL STUDY

Principal Investigator: Gina Kallis

Title of Research Project: Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England

Purpose of the Research: This study aims to take an intergenerational perspective to explore whether cultures of home and family influence the identities of individuals within Greek-Cypriot migrant families in the UK. This research is part of a three-year PhD programme and will use qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) with three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants living in the UK.

I have been asked to give my consent to participating in the research project entitled 'Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England'. The objectives of this research have been explained to me and I have read the Participant Information Sheet. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any stage, and ask for my data to be destroyed if I wish. I understand that my anonymity is guaranteed and that all personal information will be kept confidential unless I expressly state otherwise. I understand that the Principal Investigator of this work will have attempted, as far as possible, to avoid any risks, and that safety and health risks will have been separately assessed by appropriate authorities. I am aware that there may be no benefits to me personally and that I will not be compensated for participation.

I have been provided with the name of the Principal Investigator who can be easily contacted using the contact details I was given. I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions that I have asked have been answered to

my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to participate in this project and understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Under these circumstances, I agree to participate in the research.

Name:

Signature: Date:

Appendix B. Information sheet for adults

PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET: INTERVIEWS

Principal Investigator: Gina Kallis

Title of Research Project: Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England

Purpose of the Research: This study aims to take an intergenerational perspective to explore whether cultures of home and family influence the identities of individuals within Greek-Cypriot migrant families in the UK. This research is part of a three-year PhD programme and will use qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) with three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants living in the UK.

Description of procedure

If you agree to take part in the research, you will be asked to participate in an interview with me at a time that suits you. The interview will take place in your home if this is convenient for you and will last for approximately one hour. More than one interview can be scheduled into two or more time slots if that is more convenient for you. No one else will be present during the interview unless a translator is required and/or you would like them to be. If you do not wish to answer a question that I ask during the interview just say so and I will move onto the next question. The interview will be recorded using a digital recorder but no one will be identified by name on the recording. The information recorded will be stored in a secure, password-protected environment.

Selection of participants

Participants have been selected via snowball sampling. You have been selected as a potential participant in this study due to being of Greek-Cypriot descent/ marrying someone of Greek-Cypriot descent. The study aims to select participants from three generations of one family.

Voluntary participation and right to withdraw

Participation in the research is voluntary. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can

ask questions and talk to anyone you feel comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research at any time and this will not affect your rights in any way.

Confidentiality

All of the information that you share during the course of the research will be confidential and will be securely stored in a password-protected environment. All personal information will be kept secure and will be destroyed after 10 years to conform with the University policy on data storage. In any oral or written publications, each participant will be given a pseudonym and any identifying characteristics in the research material will be removed. None of the information will be shared with a third party.

Risks and benefits of the research for participants

The risks involved in participating in the research are minimal for you. Sometimes, talking about experiences such as moving country can be difficult or traumatic. If you feel upset or want to stop the interview/conversation at any time just let me know. We will not begin again unless you want to carry on talking. There will be no immediate direct benefits to you if you decide to participate in the research apart from it being an opportunity to talk about your experiences. It is hoped that the project will have wider benefits for other migrant groups because the data can help to develop policies that will support migrant families living in the UK.

Contact details of Principal Investigator

Gina Kallis
School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences
University of Plymouth
Drake Circus
Plymouth
PL4 8AA
UK
Tel. 07731664168
Email : gina.kallis@plymouth.ac.uk

If you are dissatisfied with the way the research is conducted, please contact the principal investigator in the first instance: telephone number 07731664168. If you feel the problem has not been resolved please contact the secretary to the Faculty of Science and Environment Human Ethics Committee: Mrs Paula Simson 01752 584503.

Appendix C. Adult self-consent form (Greek)

ΦΟΡΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΕΝΗΛΙΚΕΣ

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΠΛΥΜΟΥΘ

ΣΧΟΛΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ

ΦΟΡΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΤΖΕΚΤ

Ερευνητής: Gina Kallis

Τίτλος ερευνητικού πρότζεκτ: Διεθνικές οικογένειες: μια διαγενεακή προσέγγιση σε θέματα κουλτούρας και ταυτότητας των Ελληνοκυπριακών μεταναστευτικών κοινοτήτων στην Αγγλία.

Σκοπός έρευνας: Η έρευνα αυτή αποσκοπεί να ακολουθήσει μια διαγενεακή προσέγγιση για να διερευνήσει αν η κουλτούρα του σπιτιού και της οικογένειας επηρεάζουν τις ταυτότητες των ατόμων στις Ελληνοκυπριακές οικογένειες στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο. Αυτή η έρευνα είναι αποτελεί μέρος ενός τριετούς διδακτορικού προγράμματος και θα χρησιμοποιήσει ποιοτικές μεθόδους (ατομικές και ομαδικές συνεντεύξεις) με τρεις γενιές Ελληνοκυπρίων που ζουν στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο.

Μου έχει ζητηθεί να δώσω την συγκατάθεσή μου για να λάβω μέρος στο ερευνητικό πρότζεκτ με τίτλο 'Διεθνικές οικογένειες: μια διαγενεακή διάσταση σε θέματα κουλτούρας και ταυτότητας των Ελληνοκυπριακών μεταναστευτικών κοινοτήτων στην Αγγλία'. Οι στόχοι αυτής της έρευνας έχουν εξηγηθεί σε μένα και έχω διαβάσει το έγγραφο με τις πληροφορίες για την έρευνα. Καταλαβαίνω ότι είμαι ελεύθερος να αποσυρθώ οποιαδήποτε στιγμή από την έρευνα και να ζητήσω όπως οι πληροφορίες που έδωσα να καταστραφούν εάν το επιθυμώ. Καταλαβαίνω επίσης ότι η ανωνυμία μου θα διαφυλαχθεί πλήρως και οποιοσδήποτε προσωπικές πληροφορίες θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές, εκτός αν ρητά δηλώσω κάτι διαφορετικό. Καταλαβαίνω ότι ο κύριος ερευνητής, σε συνεργασία με τις απαραίτητες αρχές, θα λάβει οποιοδήποτε δυνατό μέτρο για να αποφευχθεί οποιοδήποτε ρίσκο για τους συμμετέχοντες. Κατανοώ ότι δεν θα υπάρχουν οφέλη για μένα προσωπικά και ότι δεν θα αποζημιωθώ οικονομικά για τη συμμετοχή μου σε αυτή την έρευνα.

Γνωρίζω το όνομα του κύριου ερευνητή με τον οποίο μπορώ εύκολα να επικοινωνήσω αφού έχω στη διάθεσή μου τα στοιχεία επικοινωνίας. Έχω διαβάσει τις παραπάνω πληροφορίες, ή κάποιος άλλος μου τις έχει διαβάσει. Είχα την ευκαιρία να ρωτήσω ερωτήσεις και όλες μου οι ερωτήσεις

απαντήθηκαν ικανοποιητικά. Παρέχω εθελοντικά την συγκατάθεση μου για τη συμμετοχή μου σε αυτό το πρότζεκτ και κατανοώ ότι διατηρώ το δικαίωμα να αποσυρθώ από αυτό οποτεδήποτε το επιθυμήσω.

Υπό αυτές τις προϋποθέσεις, συμφωνώ να λάβω μέρος σε αυτή την έρευνα.

Όνομα:

Υπογραφή:

Ημερομηνία:.....

Appendix D. Information sheet for adults (Greek)

ΔΕΛΤΙΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΓΙΑ ΕΝΗΛΙΚΕΣ

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΠΛΥΜΟΥΘ

ΣΧΟΛΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ

ΔΕΛΤΙΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ: ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΙΣ

Ερευνητής: Gina Kallis

Τίτλος ερευνητικού πρότζεκτ: Διεθνικές οικογένειες: μια διαγενεακή διάσταση σε θέματα κουλτούρας και ταυτότητας των Ελληνοκυπριακών μεταναστευτικών κοινοτήτων στην Αγγλία

Σκοπός έρευνας: Η έρευνα αυτή αποσκοπεί να ακολουθήσει μια διεγενεακή προοπτική για να διερευνήσει αν η κουλτούρα του σπιτιού και της οικογένειας επηρεάζουν τις ταυτότητες των ατόμων στις Ελληνοκυπριακές οικογένειες στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο. Αυτή η έρευνα είναι αποτελεί μέρος ενός τριετούς διδακτορικού προγράμματος και θα χρησιμοποιήσει ποιοτικές μεθόδους (ατομικές και ομαδικές συνεντεύξεις) με τρεις γενιές Ελληνοκυπρίων που ζουν στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο.

Περιγραφή διαδικασίας

Αν συμφωνείτε να λάβετε μέρος στην έρευνα, θα σας ζητηθεί να συμμετάσχετε σε μια συνέντευξη με εμένα όποτε σας βολεύει. Η συνέντευξη θα λάβει χώρα στο σπίτι σας, αν αυτό είναι βολικό για σας και θα διαρκέσει περίπου μία ώρα. Μπορεί να προγραμματιστούν πάνω από μία συνεντεύξεις πάλι στον χρόνο που είναι πιο βολικός για σας. Κανείς άλλος δεν θα είναι παρών κατά τη διάρκεια της συνέντευξης, εκτός εάν απαιτείται μεταφραστής ή/και αν θέλετε κάποιος άλλος να είναι παρών. Αν δεν θέλετε να απαντήσετε σε οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση που θα σας ρωτήσω κατά τη διάρκεια της συνέντευξης απλά πείτε το και θα προχωρήσουμε στην επόμενη ερώτηση. Η συνέντευξη θα ηχογραφηθεί χρησιμοποιώντας μια ψηφιακή συσκευή εγγραφής, αλλά κανείς δεν θα πρέπει να αναφέρει το όνομά του κατά την ηχογράφιση. Οι πληροφορίες που θα ηχογραφηθούν και καταγραφούν θα φυλαχτούν σε ένα ασφαλές, προστατευμένο με κωδικό περιβάλλον.

Επιλογή συμμετεχόντων

Οι συμμετέχοντες θα επιλεγούν με τη μέθοδο της δειγματοληψίας χιονοστιβάδας. Έχετε επιλεγεί ως εν δυνάμει συμμετέχων σε αυτή την έρευνα για το λόγο ότι είστε Ελληνοκυπριακής καταγωγής ή έχετε παντρευτεί κάποιον ή κάποια που είναι Ελληνοκυπριακής καταγωγής. Η μελέτη αποσκοπεί να επιλέξει συμμετέχοντες από τρεις γενιές σε μια οικογένεια.

Εθελοντική συμμετοχή και δικαίωμα απόσυρσης

Η συμμετοχή σας σε αυτή την έρευνα είναι εθελοντική. Δεν είναι απαραίτητο να αποφασίσετε σήμερα εάν θέλετε ή όχι να πάρετε μέρος. Πριν αποφασίσετε, μπορείτε να ρωτήσετε ερωτήσεις και να μιλήσετε με οποιοδήποτε πρόσωπο. Μπορείτε να αποσυρθείτε από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή το επιθυμείτε και αυτό δεν θα επηρεάσει καθόλου τα δικαιώματά σας.

Εμπιστευτικότητα

Όλες οι πληροφορίες που θα μοιραστείτε μαζί μας κατά τη διάρκεια της έρευνας θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές και θα φυλαχθούν με ασφάλεια σε προστατευμένο με κωδικό περιβάλλον. Όλες οι προσωπικές πληροφορίες θα φυλαχθούν με ασφάλεια και θα καταστραφούν μετά από δέκα χρόνια όπως προστάζει η πολιτική του πανεπιστημίου. Σε οποιοδήποτε προφορικές παρουσιάσεις ή γραπτές δημοσιεύσεις, θα δοθεί ψευδώνυμο στον κάθε συμμετέχων και οποιαδήποτε άλλα πιθανά στοιχεία αναγνώρισης θα αποσυρθούν. Καμία από τις πληροφορίες δεν θα κοινοποιηθεί σε τρίτους.

Ρίσκο και οφέλη συμμετεχόντων στην έρευνα

Το ρίσκο από τη συμμετοχή σας σε αυτή την έρευνα είναι πάρα πολύ μικρό. Κάποιες φορές, όταν μιλάτε για τις αναμνήσεις και εμπειρίες σας από τότε που φύγατε από την Κύπρο ίσως να είναι δύσκολο ή τραυματικό. Αν νιώσετε άβολα ή θέλετε να διακόψετε την συνέντευξη/συζήτηση οποιαδήποτε στιγμή απλά πείτε μου το. Δεν θα επανεκκινήσουμε εάν δεν το επιθυμείτε. Δεν θα υπάρχουν άμεσα οφέλη από τη συμμετοχή σας εκτός από το ότι θα σας δοθεί η ευκαιρία να μιλήσετε για τις εμπειρίες σας. Ελπίζουμε ότι το πρότζεκτ θα επιφέρει γενικότερα οφέλη για άλλες εθνικές ομάδες μιας και τα δεδομένα που θα συλλεχθούν μπορεί να βοηθήσουν την ανάπτυξη πολιτικών οι οποίες θα υποστηρίζουν διεθνικές οικογένειες που ζουν στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο.

Στοιχεία επικοινωνίας ερευνητή

Gina Kallis

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Εάν δεν είστε ικανοποιημένοι με τον τρόπο που διεξάγεται η έρευνα, παρακαλώ όπως επικοινωνήσετε με τον ερευνητή στο τηλέφωνο 07731664168. Αν το πρόβλημα δεν έχει ακόμα επιλυθεί παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε με τη γραμματέα

της Επιτροπής υπεύθυνης για τις έρευνες στη Σχολή Επιστημών και
Περιβάλλοντος: Mrs Paula Simson 01752 584503.

Appendix E. Child self-consent form

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Name of Principal Investigator: Gina Kallis

Title of Research: Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England

Gina has asked me if I would like to have a chat with her and do some drawing at Greek School. This is because at least one of my grandparents moved to the UK from Cyprus. I know that I don't have to do this if I don't want to and that the teacher will be in the room when I talk to her. If I want to stop talking I can just say so and I can stop. I know that Gina will not use my name if she has to tell anyone about what I say to her and I can choose a pretend name that she will use. I know that I can ask questions at any time and I have been allowed to ask some already.

Name of Child _____

Signature of Child _____

Date _____



Appendix F. Information sheet for children

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

Name of Principal Investigator: Gina Kallis

Title of Research: Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England

What is this project?

This project is going to look at the lives of families of Greek-Cypriot descent. Gina is going to talk to children, their parents and also their grandparents.

What does this project mean for you?

If you are happy to be part of this project, Gina will have a chat with you and your friends at Greek school about your family life, growing up and about your Greek-Cypriot roots.

The teacher will be in the same room while we talk. Gina will also ask you to take part in some drawing activities, which she will try to make as fun as possible.

Saying yes or no

You do not have to have a chat with me and take part in the drawing, it is up to you. You do not have to decide today if you want to talk to me. Before you decide, you both can ask questions and talk to anyone you feel comfortable with. If you do decide to talk to me, you can change your mind at any time. I will not tell anyone what you tell me. If you want to stop the talking or drawing at any time, just say so and we will stop.

Why have you been asked to do the project?

I would like to talk to you because at least one of your grandparents moved to the UK from Cyprus and because you go to Greek School.

Good things or bad things about talking to me

Sometimes talking about experiences can be a good thing. Sometimes, talking about experiences can be difficult. If you want to stop talking to me just tell me. We will not begin again unless you want to carry on talking. I hope that talking to you might help other children whose grandparents have also moved from a different country.

My contact details

Gina Kallis
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Tel. 07731664168
Email : gina.kallis@plymouth.ac.uk



If you are not happy with the way the research is conducted, please contact the principal investigator in the first instance: telephone number 07731664168. If you feel the problem has not been resolved please contact the secretary to the Faculty of Science and Environment Human Ethics Committee: Mrs Paula Simson 01752 584503

Appendix G. Consent form for parent/legal guardian

PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT
Human Ethics Committee Sample Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT / PRACTICAL
STUDY

Principal Investigator: Gina Kallis

Title of Research Project: Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England

Purpose of the Research: This study aims to take an intergenerational perspective to explore whether cultures of home and family influence the identities of individuals within Greek-Cypriot migrant families in the UK. This research is part of a three-year PhD programme and will use qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) with three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants living in the UK.

I am the *parent /legal guardian of

** delete as appropriate*

The objectives of this research have been explained to me and I have read the Information Sheet for Parents and the Information Sheet for Children. I understand that I am free to withdraw my child from the research at any stage and that my child is free to withdraw at any stage. I understand that I can ask for my child's data to be destroyed if I, or they, wish. I understand that my child's anonymity is guaranteed unless I expressly state otherwise and that all of my child's personal information will be kept confidential.

I understand that the Principal Investigator of this work will have attempted, as far as possible, to avoid any risks, and that safety and health risks will have been separately assessed by appropriate authorities. I am aware that there may be no benefits to my child from the research and that my child will not be compensated for participation. I understand that, and agree to, the research being carried out in with my child at Greek School. A teacher will be present whenever the Principal Investigator is talking to my child and I, or my child, can ask the Principal Investigator to stop the research process at any time.

I have been provided with the name of the Principal Investigator who can be easily contacted using the contact details I was given. I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and so has my child. Any questions that I, or my child, have asked have been answered to my/their satisfaction. I consent voluntarily for my child to participate in this project and understand that I have the right to withdraw them from the study at any time.

Under these circumstances, I agree for him/her to participate in the research.

Name:

Signature:

.....

Date:

Appendix H. Information sheet for parent/legal guardian about research with children

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH
FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

Principal Investigator: Gina Kallis

Title of Research Project: Transnational families: an intergenerational perspective on issues of culture and identity among Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in England

Purpose of the Research: This study aims to take an intergenerational perspective to explore whether cultures of home and family influence the identities of individuals within Greek-Cypriot migrant families in the UK. This research is part of a three-year PhD programme and will use qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) with three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrants living in the UK.

Description of research process

If you give your consent for your child to participate in the research, I will also ask your child if they would like to participate. I will give them a project information sheet in a format that is appropriate for their age and I will show this to you beforehand. If your child would like to participate and you give your consent, I will chat with them during their lesson at Greek School and do some drawing activities with them. The teacher will always be present while I am talking to them and the children can choose to stop taking part at any time.

Selection of participants

Your child has been selected to be a potential participant in this study due to them being a second or third-generation Greek-Cypriot migrant living in the UK and because they attend the Greek School. The study aims to select participants from three generations of one family.

Voluntary participation and right to withdraw

Participation in the research is voluntary. You and your child do not have to decide today whether or not your child will participate in the research. Before you decide, you both can ask questions and talk to anyone you feel comfortable with. Your child may decide to withdraw from the research at any time and this

will not affect their rights in anyway. You may withdraw your child from the research at any time and this will not affect your rights in any way.

Confidentiality

All of the information that your child shares during the course of the research will be confidential and will be securely stored in a password-protected environment. All personal information will be kept secure and will be destroyed after 10 years to conform with the University policy on data storage. In any oral or written publications, each participant will be given a pseudonym and any identifying characteristics in the research material will be removed. None of the information will be shared with a third party.

Risks and benefits of the research for participants

The risks involved in participating in the research are minimal for your child. If your child wants to stop the conversation or drawing at any time you or they can let me know. We will not begin again unless they want to carry on talking. There will be no immediate direct benefits to your child if you and your child agree to participate in the research apart from it being an opportunity to talk about their experiences. It is hoped that the project will have wider benefits for other migrant groups because the data can help to develop policies that will support migrant families living in the UK.

Contact details of Principal Investigator

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UK
Tel. 07731664168
Email : gina.kallis@plymouth.ac.uk

If you are dissatisfied with the way the research is conducted, please contact the principal investigator in the first instance: telephone number 07731664168. If you feel the problem has not been resolved please contact the secretary to the Faculty of Science and Environment Human Ethics Committee: Mrs Paula Simson 01752 584503.

Appendix I. Interview schedule

LIFE HISTORY

First-generation: Ask about childhood and experiences growing up in Cyprus

How did you feel about moving to England and adjusting to life here?

Any things you found particularly difficult?

Any differences between life in Cyprus and England?

Do you feel values from Cyprus were transported to England?

Did you move here with the hope of returning to Cyprus one day?

Second/third-generation: Childhood and experiences growing up in England

Who do you live/where have you lived with and where do you live/where have you lived?

Any ways you felt different to the English while growing up?

CULTURE AND HERITAGE

What is your first language? What language is used at home? Different language used depending on who you are speaking to?

Do you go to the Greek Orthodox Church? How often? Engage with church events? Or a member of another religious group?

Do you feel you engage with the Greek-Cypriot community? Are there important events to attend (i.e. weddings, christenings)?

Any activities/rituals they engage in that they feel are typically 'Cypriot/Greek' i.e. food and drink?

Did you go to Greek school/send children there?

Have you been on holiday (regularly?) to Cyprus/Greece? How do you feel when you visit these places?

Have the second/third generation ever considered moving to Cyprus?

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Describe relationship with family members (immediate and extended)

Anyone in particular you spend more time with, speak about certain things to?

Describe gender relations- who makes decisions in the family?

How much control did/do parents have? Did/do they set a lot of rules? Did you feel you had a lot of freedom while growing up?

For parents, have you replicated the parenting style of your parents, or do you feel it is different? In what ways?

Do you feel males and females in the family were (are) treated differently?

Do you feel things have changed for females in younger generations? And males? In what ways?

IDENTITY

What are important aspects of your identity?

How would you classify your ethnic identity? (i.e. Greek-Cypriot, Greek, British). Does this change depending on who is asking you?

What groups do you feel you belong to, and what groups do you see as 'others'? Why?

How do you think these 'others' see you?

Where is home to you (where do you feel most at home)?

Are there any places where you feel displaced? Why?

How do you feel Greek-Cypriots in the UK are viewed by the English?

FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

Did parents place a lot of emphasis on your education?

How important is your education to you?

What do you think your parents' aspirations for your future were/are?

For parents, did/do they place a lot of emphasis on their children's education?

What are their aspirations for their children?

Growing up, what were your aspirations in terms of employment, marriage and childbearing?

