

Voicing the stories of the excluded: Albanian
families' history and heritage making at the
crossroads of new and old homes

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Declaration of originality

I, Eleni Vomvyla confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature

To the five Albanian families for opening their
homes and sharing their stories with me.

Abstract

My research explores the dialectical relationship between identity and the conceptualisation/creation of history and heritage in migration by studying a socially excluded group in Greece, that of Albanian families. Even though the Albanian community has more than twenty years of presence in the country, its stories, often invested with otherness, remain hidden in the Greek 'mono-cultural' landscape. In opposition to these stigmatising discourses, my study draws on movements democratising the past and calling for engagements from below by endorsing the socially constructed nature of identity and the denationalisation of memory.

A nine-month fieldwork with five Albanian families took place in their domestic and neighbourhood settings in the areas of Athens and Piraeus. Based on critical ethnography, data collection was derived from participant observation, conversational interviews and participatory techniques. From an individual and family group point of view the notion of habitus led to diverse conceptions of ethnic identity, taking transnational dimensions in families' literal and metaphorical back-and-forth movements between Greece and Albania. Jiggling between the personal and the national, history making reproduced in intergenerational narratives, to fulfil individuals' identity requirements and shifting ideologies of the present. The creation of heritage through domestic artefacts and embodied practices, revealed identity continuities and ruptures in the diasporic realm, where the remembrance of home away from 'home' did not imply the uncritical endorsement of its heritage.

My study concludes by underpinning the salience of the personal subject developing a reciprocal relationship with the social, the cultural and the ethnic in constructing identity, history and heritage. Different personal experiences and sociocultural backgrounds lead to different narratives of negotiating identity, history and heritage meaning, explaining notions of heterogeneity and multivocality in the same ethnic group or family.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Research Setting

Remembering and forgetting the past is integral to our sense of identity. Memory arises in self-designation, in cases where individuals are engaged in choosing to designate themselves in language for 'it serves to stabilise and justify the self-designations that are claimed' (Megill 2007, 45). What is remembered is determined by the individual's or group's assumed identity: memories that fulfil identity requirements become prioritised for remembering, while those that do not fit within the individual's or group's collective frames of memory are distorted, inhibited and forgotten. In history and heritage realms the remembrance and re-imagination of the past is filtered by multiple identity markers: nationality, religion, ethnicity, class, wealth, gender, personal and family history are among the most common lenses employed by individuals to mark out meaning from the total inheritance of the past designated as history and heritage. This nexus between identity and history or heritage is not a recent phenomenon; on the contrary Harvey (2001, 320) asserts that 'every society has had a relationship with its past, even those who have chosen to ignore it'. Yet, throughout the twenty-first century the re-creation of the past in the service of the present has been informed and shaped by the 'ethos of [a] singular and totalised modernity' (Graham *et al.* 2005, 29) having its roots in Romanticist ideas and the heyday of nation building in Western Europe (Smith and Waterton 2009). What has been termed in literature as the 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith 2006, 29) encapsulates these cultural principles, values and ideals taking dimensions of universality and establishing top-down approaches of interpreting the past to objectify nationalising mythologies. On the ground, the manufacturing of 'common myths' (Appadurai 1996) went hand in hand with the abuse of manipulation of material remains, where the idea of having

a museum was linked to that of “having history’- the collective equivalent of personal memory’ (MacDonald 2003, 3).

The nineteenth century approach has been unsuccessful in adopting a holistic view to the nature and meaning of history and heritage for socioculturally diverse groups. The emphasis on nationalist narratives has obscured and devalued other forms of identity including the personal, local, regional, sub-national and supra-national (MacDonald 2003). From a class perspective, the hegemonic perception of heritage has systematically served the aspirations and ideologies of elites and ruling classes constructing its portfolio on the ‘grand and spectacular’ (Graham *et al.* 2000, 42). Within this ‘self-perpetuating oligarchy’ (Hewison 1987, 55) the historical and social trajectories of disenfranchised groups, including women (Dubrow and Goodman 2003; du Cros and Smith 1993), indigenous communities (Watkins 2003), ethnic (Gard’ner 2004), gay and lesbian groups (Vanegas 2002) and working classes (Wedgwood 2009) have remained (and to a large extent still are) hidden from history and ‘heritage phenomena’ (Smith 2006, 30). More importantly, the notion of ‘materiality’ (Smith 2006, 109), prevalent in Eurocentric heritage discourses, has privileged the tangible at the expense of the intangible: values, meanings, emotions and cultural knowledge featuring prominently in subaltern and non-Western cultural experiences become separated from the traditional meaning of heritage in modernist theorisations.

The criticisms against conventional history and heritage perceptions outlined above are to a large extent the outcome of theoretical thinking springing from an array of fields, including cultural heritage studies, ‘popular’, public and oral history, memory, and public archaeology calling for engagements *from below*. Questioning the appeal of the nation-state as the foremost container of identity, these democratising movements of the past endorsed the ordinary, the quotidian, the subjective, the personal and the mundane under the principle of voicing the stories of those ‘who seldom have speaking parts in the national drama’ (Sangster 1994, 6; Hamilton and Shopes 2008; Perks and Thomson 2006). The celebration of ‘little platoons’ over the high culture of the proverbial ‘great and good’ (Samuel

1994, 158) found expression in the refashioning of social history trends in the 1960s and 1970s Britain, rescuing the everyday life and practices of working classes from the elitist-driven concerns of top-down history (Rowbotham 1977; Thompson 1980 [1963]). In the realm of heritage, these ideological shifts took the form of debates for the conception of heritage 'of the people' rather than 'for the people' providing 'a wider form of belonging' through the construction of a 'pluralist' past (Samuel 1994, 160, 308). The 'vernacular', the 'parallel', the 'alternative' (Butler 2006, 471), the anonymous, the feminine and the domestic gained further prominence in the context of 1980s poststructuralist and postmodern turns of multivocality promoting divergent and dissenting conceptualisations of heritage (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1994; Habu *et al.* 2008; Whitley 1998). The denationalisation of memory influenced by Gramscian and Foucauldian writings (Radstone and Hodgkin 2003), and the fluidity of identity, prevailing postmodern and postcolonial dialogues, emphasised a responsibility on cultural Translation (Bhabha 1994; Robins 1999), requiring the exploration of 'the profoundly perturbed and perturbing question of our relationship to others- other cultures, other states, other histories, other experiences, traditions, peoples, and destinies (Said 1989, 216). In practice, these intellectual shifts gave rise to initiatives, projects and practices apprehending the 'small', the less Eurocentric (Chakrabarty 2000), the subaltern (Spivak 1988; 1999), the ethnic, the local, the familial and the personal in history and heritage trajectories. In the realm of 'migrancy' (Chambers 1993, 2), scholars within heritage and history *from below* traditions turned their focus in everyday practices, rituals and routine material culture, transforming the émigrés' intimate settings into active sites of memory-work (Tolia-Kelly 2010). From stories of betterment and success shared between older and younger family members to legends and tales, re-appraising 'the old country'¹ (Burrell and Panayi 2006), and visual and material culture, embodying 'lived experiences' (Pahl and Rowsell 2010, 1) and easing identity transition in the new land (Mehta and Belk 1991; Parkin 1999; Turan 2010),

¹ I borrowed the concept of the 'old country' signifying the second-generation's parental homeland by Louie (2006). Throughout the thesis, I employ terms such as the 'old home', the parental and the 'old homeland' to refer to Albania and the 'new home', the 'new country' and the 'new homeland' to refer to Greece.

the vestiges of the homeland pervade migrants' intimate settings 'through the social dynamics of remembrance and commemoration' (Gilroy 1994, 204).

1.2 Research motives, aim and questions

This thesis positions itself within the discipline of cultural heritage borrowing critical theories from the neighbouring disciplinary fields of oral and public history, memory studies, museum studies, public archaeology, anthropology, sociology and cultural studies. Drawing on the democratisation dynamic of these approaches, my study seeks to voice the stories of an oppressed and negatively stereotyped group in Greece, that of Albanian migrants, and of Albanian families in particular. Within the mono-cultural landscape produced by the Greek state and its history and heritage apparatuses (Hamilakis 2007; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; 1999; Kotsakis 1998), nationalising mythologies grounded on the ethnic homogeneity and superiority of Greekness have kept on the margins the heritage narratives of subaltern groups. In Greece these involve the Roma, Muslims, migrant communities, gay, lesbians and transexuals (Damaskos and Plantzos 2008).

My dissertation focuses on the post-1990 Albanian community² developed in the aftermath of Iron Curtain dismantling in Greece. Even though the community numbers more than twenty years of presence in the country, its stories and narratives have remained hidden from the official heritage phenomena. This is the outcome of multiple factors creating conditions of marginalisation for Albanians and excluding their cultural heritage 'from the pale of civilization' (Tzanelli 2006, 43). Firstly, Greece's discriminative migration policies have minimised Albanians' access to the Greek citizenship. Emphasising the 'hierarchy of Greekness' (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002, 192), the country's legal framework has set boundaries between insiders and outsiders based on ethnic and religious criteria leaving Albanians in a state of 'semi-legality' (Gogonas 2010, 71) (see 3.3.2). Secondly, the Greek media have extensively circulated Anti-Albanian sentiments and 'Albanophobia' (Karydis 1996; Lazaridis and Wickens 1999; Pavlou 2001) in the society by portraying

² Please note that the Albanian arrivals of the second half of the fifteenth century and the early twentieth (see 3.3.1) do not form part of this dissertation.

community members as ruthless criminals, the embodiment of backwardness and the 'traditional enemies' of Greekness (Kapllani and Mai 2005, 165). The Albanian migrant is thought to disturb the Greek nationality and social cohesion by his/her imposition as a minority. This discourse has its roots in long-held disputes of territorial and ethnic nature and social and cultural dynamics in the recent history and economies of the countries resulting in the projection of Albanians' as Greece's 'constitutive other' (Mai and Schwandner-Sievers 2003, 943) (see 3.3.2). On the ground, Albanian scapegoating and the community's status of semi-legality have produced conditions of marginalisation reflected in labour trajectories of employment in the informal economy, exploitative working conditions and occupational deskilling (see 3.3.2). More importantly, the cultural constructs of Albanians by the media have had a direct effect on community members' identity and perception of cultural heritage by the host society. For the Greek public the term Albanian has taken dimensions of an insult, and being Albanian is considered 'a serious social drawback' (Psimmenos 2001, 186). The community's ethnicisation of criminal behaviour by the media has further associated Albanians with a cultural heritage of poverty, cruelty and primitiveness (Kapllani and Mai 2005).

Also, as I was carrying out my field research (2009-2012) in Athens, the economic and political situation unfolding directly affected the focus of my study. Greece's economic depression gave rise to fascist movements in the society furthering Albanians' exclusion from official heritage discourses (Wiltshire 2013; see Appendix III). In specific, since May 2010 Greece has embarked on a radical economic recovery to meet the budget targets attached to its bailout loans from the EU and IMF. Rigid spending cuts, tax rises, labour and pension reforms along with privatisation and sales of government property have been at the core of the agenda of the conservative government and its socialist predecessor³, amid ongoing speculations of the heavily indebted country leaving the eurozone. Having a shrinking effect on Greece's already weak economy (Inman and Smith 2012),

³ From October 2009 until December 2011 Greece was under the leadership of the socialist PASOK. An interim national union government took over in December 2011 until June 2011, when the conservative New Democracy won the national elections by securing 29.53% of the vote.

austerity measures have made 24.4 per cent of the population unemployed (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2012). Images of natives and immigrants being made homeless (Lowen 2012), turning to NGOs for healthcare assistance (Phillips 2011), queueing for food aid (Price 2012) or even committing suicide (Hardinghaus and Heyer 2012) regularly feature in the domestic and international press. Added to that, the consecutive strikes and demonstrations of the last couple of years have swept the country into a sociopolitical turmoil triggering fears over 'a Greek explosion' (Smith 2012a) in the prospect of a full-blown default.

The Greek society's 'cracking' (Hanley and Davies 2012) has opened up the political field to 'Golden Dawn', one of Europe's most extreme, ultra-nationalist right wing parties (Smith 2012b; see Appendix III). Its deputies openly give Nazi-style salutes and shout 'blood, honour, Golden Dawn', a direct translation of the German '*Blut und Ehre*' ('Blood and Honour'), the motto of the Hitler Youth (Baboullas 2012). Using immigrants as a scapegoat to the country's problem (Wiltshire 2013) and embracing 'Greece belongs to the Greeks' ideologies, the party has won seven percent of the national vote in Greek elections of 2012 securing twenty-one seats in the parliament (Hanley and Davies 2012; Marchetos 2012). In its official webpage Golden Dawn declares that immigrants should be deprived of the right of property ownership in Greece and that all 'illegal' immigrants need to be deported (Golden Dawn 2012). On the ground, Golden Dawn's xenophobic policies have manifested in publicly assaulting immigrants (Ta Nea Web-Only 2012; Vithoulikas 2012) or preventing them from selling their products on Greek flea markets (Kathimerini 2012).

In opposition to the politics of inequality propagated by the media, the migration policies and the rise of fascist movements, and the top-down approaches of Greek archaeology bolstering national pride and morale (Hamilakis 2007), my thesis engages with the new democratic scholarship in heritage and historiographical practices to promote the community's rights in public life. By turning its focus on the personal, emotional and subjective heritage experience of the Albanian family,

my study seeks to contribute in Albanians' presence in the Greek society, and also suggest how heritage could be presented in a more inclusive way.

In particular, the research aim of my thesis is to explore how identity informs the conceptualisation of history and heritage of five Albanian families in Athens and Piraeus. The research questions involve:

1. How do individuals and families, as a group, construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania?
2. How do these identity formations affect what stories individuals and families choose to tell, and what they consider as their history and heritage (or not)?
3. How do individuals and families make history and heritage between two homelands and what mechanisms do they employ to connect with them?

I treated my research questions primarily through the lens of adults without excluding the views of children. The emphasis placed on adults' voices reflected my intention to examine how the first generation's living memories from Albania shaped families' identity building (including children's socialisation), and history and heritage constructions in-between the old and the new country. I addressed my research aim and questions by empowering five Albanian families to construct the research field through a nine-month ethnographic and participatory fieldwork. I designed my study together with participants/co-researchers directing me to the use of specific methods and approaches. For instance, participants called attention to the salience of the homespace as primary site of collecting data, and particular methods were favoured by particular family members (i.e. children made drawings, women talked to me when cooking etc.) (see 4.3.1; 8.3).

1.3 Intended contribution and significance

Placing disenfranchised and oppressed groups' aspirations and concerns (Tillman 2002) at the centre of its democratic endeavor (see 4.2; 4.4; 4.5) my thesis aims to contribute to the body of knowledge of cultural heritage studies by exploring the possibilities and manifestations of making heritage and history *from*

below (Jones and Birdsall-Jones 2008; Moran 2004; Robertson 2008; Samuel 1994). In a wider context, Albanian families' day-to-day and more formal pursuits of the past manifested in the form of oral narratives, visual and material culture and embodied practices of (i) performing traditions and customs, (ii) inculcating cultural values in younger generations, and (iii) participating in life-cycle events shed light on how identity meanings elevate past experiences to history (see chapter 5; section 7.3) and heritage (see chapter 5; section 7.4). More importantly, participants' practices offer novel insight into discussions on the democratisation of history and heritage by calling attention to the personal and sociocultural element. Setting the focus on how individual histories and family backgrounds inform ethnic identity conceptions and constructions of history and heritage, my research aims to contribute to increasing discussions and critiques, acknowledging the personal and culturally determined nature of history and heritage experience, leading to diversity and multivocality within the same ethnic group (Marmion *et al.* 2009; Papayannis and Howard 2007; Povrzanović Frykman 2002). Visitor, heritage and memory studies have emphasised the active agency of individuals, mediating history and heritage meaning based on personal and family histories, past experiences, value systems, emotions, aspirations and motivations (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998; Bagnall 2003; Byrne 2009; Jewell and Crotts 2001; Longhurst *et al.* 2004) (see 7.2.6).

My study's findings also shed light on processes of connecting with history and heritage in a family context by bringing in the element of migration, which has not been addressed so far in literature. Focusing on families living in-between two homelands, my research explores how uprooting and regrounding influences family heritage and history making (see 7.3.; 7.4). The site of the family as a locus of exploring, learning, teaching and producing meanings about the past has been addressed, among others (Billig 1990; Byng-Hall 1990; Edwards and Middleton 1988; Finnegan 2006; Galanidou and Dommasnes 2007; McRainey and Russick 2010), in research conducted by Ashton and Hamilton (2009) and Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998). Both studies illustrated how family members took the role of 'archivists' and built relationships between the past and the present by recording

memories of older relatives, collecting old photos and constructing oral narratives reminding them of their origins and where they come from.

On a Greek context level, my findings add to the incipient body of knowledge in the field of heritage, memory and migration studies regarding one of Greece's major migrant communities. Even though the Albanian community forms the largest ethnic group of the country's immigrant population, having more than twenty years of presence, its history and heritage accounts have remained relatively under-researched. In their vast majority, studies carried out on the Albanian community in Greece by scholars in Greek or Western European research environments have primarily focused on routes of migration and motivations (King 2003; King 2005; King *et al.* 1998); regularisation processes (Fakiolas 2003); migration policy (Konidaris 2005; Lazaridis 1996); social and economic incorporation (Hatziprokopiou 2003; 2004; Iosifides *et al.* 2007; Michail 2009; Pratsinakis 2005); employment conditions (Iosifides 1997; 2001); social, economic and spatial exclusion (Iosifides and King 1998; Lazaridis and Psimmenos 2000; Psimmenos 1998); gender issues (Kambouri 2008; Vaiou and Stratigaki 2008); discrimination by the Greek media and public discourses (Kapllani and Mai 2005; Labrianidis and Lyberaki 2001; Pavlou 2001); and more recently communication patterns and bilingualism in Albanian families (Chatzidaki 2005; Gogonas 2009; 2010; Milesi 2006). Even though these studies have significantly contributed in the theorisation of Albanian migration, they have left a huge void in literature on heritage and history narratives appropriated, constructed and circulated by the members of its community. Acknowledging this gap, my study sets the foundations for developing a theoretical framework of studying the heritage of Albanians and other marginalised groups. Also, participants' heritage experiences have direct applications for policy makers and professionals working in the museum, wider heritage and education field in Greece. Individuals' accounts and performances give rise to specific recommendations of how the cultural and the education field could cater for the country's increasing ethnically and culturally diverse population by giving them their voice back through addressing their concerns, aspirations and priorities.

From a methodological point of view, my study is innovative in a Greek context in that it introduces ethnographic and collaborative approaches of working with Albanian migrants. The vast majority of the studies on Albanian migrants in Greece have adopted quantitative methods, through the use of questionnaires, and to a lesser extent qualitative, through the conduct of structured or semi-structured interviews. Contrary to the top-down strategies adopted in these studies, my thesis uses critical ethnography as its methodology enabling Albanian families to take the lead on research, become co-researchers and construct history and heritage in their own terms (see 4.2; 8.3). Lastly, in regard to methods, my study reflects on how particular approaches and techniques can be relatively useful when conducting research with socially excluded groups, especially in a language⁴, which for some participants is not their first (see 4.3.1; 8.3).

1.4 Overview of thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In chapter two I outline my theoretical framework. The first section offers working definitions of key terms and concepts employed in this study, including identity, family, the household, heritage, past and history. Different levels and operations of identity are analysed and discussed before focusing on the sociological, cultural and ethnic layer of identity examined in my research. The adoption of constructionism in the understanding of the family is justified within the particularities of this research before delving into discussions explaining the choice of the family, instead of other social groups. The ‘heritage, past and history’ subsection introduces discussions leading to conceptualisations endorsed in my research. These are primarily informed by identity and identification processes marking out meanings and determining which parts of the totality of the inheritance of the past are to be designated as history and heritage.

The second section sheds light on identity formation in uprooting and regrounding. The discussion of such processes acts as an interpretive framework for conceptualising how the five Albanian families construct and reconstruct personal,

⁴ Data collection was conducted in Greek, which is not adult participants’ first language.

social, cultural and ethnic identity at the crossroads of new and old homelands. The section opens with postcolonial dialogues (Bhabha 1990; 1994; Chambers 1993; Gilroy 1992; 1993; Hall 1990; 1991; 1996a; Said 1990) on cultural syncretism and hybridity, prevalent in the diasporic realm, to then focus on transnationalism, transnational families – which participating families suggest a form of - and practices of constructing belonging in cross-border links and home-building⁵ projects. The section closes by referring to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field. The French sociologist's conceptual trinity acts as a heuristic device for translating identity modifications on the level of everyday life, based on individuals' experiences, while it offers insight into how class and the educational role of the family group influence identity building.

The third section treats memory-work at the heart of Albanian families' reconstructions of home away from 'home' and connections with the country of settlement or birth in case of children. Following discussions on mnemonic communities, including the family, analysis turns into the different forms of memory encountered in participating families' daily routines, including autobiographical, collective, cultural and bodily memory. The section briefly refers to cultural tools, mnemonic systems and devices enacting remembering and stimulating accordingly participants' reminiscing of national and personal histories, rooted in the migration destination and the country of origin. It then highlights the relationship between memory and identity to conclude with the therapeutic and community-forming role of memory in the migratory experience met across participants' accounts.

The fourth section looks at history and heritage making in migration, offering theoretical ground for Albanian families' daily pursuits of the past embedded in-between Greece and Albania. In particular, it explores the emergence of bottom-up approaches in opposition to top-down, having their roots in

⁵ I borrow Hague's (1997, 106) description of home-building involving the gathering of 'intimations' of home, 'fragments which are imagined to be traces of an equally imagined homely whole, the imagined past of 'home' of another time and another space' (see 2.2.4).

modernity and proliferating the national at the expense of other forms of identity in history and heritage construction. The ideological positions of bottom-up approaches follow next, calling for provincialisation and intangibility in heritage, and the development of a participatory historical culture. These movements emanating *from below* meet under the principle of voicing the stories, performances and experiences of excluded and marginalised groups, which in my study involved the five Albanian families. I close the section by alluding to history and heritage making in migrancy, taking the form of oral accounts in case of history, and routine visual and material culture as well as embodied practices in case of heritage.

Chapter three provides contextual information on Albanian families' explanations and practices associated with the old and the new country. The chapter is divided in two sections. The first concentrates on the Albanian context, outlining the structure of the Albanian family along with key principles and ideals of the Albanian culture. These cultural norms shape families' conceptualisations of identity, history and heritage, treated in chapters five, six and seven. The history of Albania is presented next. A brief historical overview leads to Enver Hoxha's leadership (1941-1985) and the transition to democracy. Particular emphasis is placed on Albania under Hoxha's regime, forming a crucial part of participating grandparents and parents' experienced reality in the old country. In the second section I provide background information to contextualise families' identity, history and heritage discourses relating to their migration experiences and their settlement in the new country (see chapters 5; 6; 7). The section consists of three subsections: (i) the context and chronology of Albania migration to Greece, (ii) the development of the Albanian community in Greece during its first years, and (iii) that of Albanians building their lives in Greece. Motivations driving Albanians' exodus to the 'West'⁶, demographic and employment patterns, experiences of exclusion and stigmatisation encountered in Greece and practices of incorporation in the country of settlement are the main themes around which these subsections are framed.

⁶I use the term 'West' with regards to Albanian migration in a metaphorical sense: the 'West' refers to countries that Albanians perceived as more Westernised than their country of origin.

Chapter four introduces the methodological framework of this study outlined in five sections. The adoption of critical ethnography –the marriage of critical theory with interpretive ethnography- as a methodology was deemed appropriate, given families’ stigmatised status in Greece and my intentions of improving these conditions by voicing individuals’ stories of discrimination, history and heritage. In the research design section, following next, I present the reasons for choosing the family and the Albanian group instead of other social and ethnic groups. I then turn to research methods, processes of recruiting families, negotiating issues of access and consent and analysing ethnographic material. The methods of data collection were determined by the thesis research questions: ethnographic and visual methods aimed at capturing participants’ meanings of identity, history and heritage ‘from within’ (Brewer 2000, 10), while in my engagement with participatory approaches I sought to limit the dichotomy of ‘objective’ researcher/ ‘subjective’ researched. In the ethical considerations section I refer to my moral commitment of improving families’ quality of life through practices of ‘giving back’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Madison 2005), while in addressing matters of reflexivity and positionality I ‘turn back’ on myself (Davies 2008, 4), to acknowledge how my biography, values, intentions and gender shaped the research process. In the last section, I address issues of trustworthiness of data outcomes through the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

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I present the results of my study in chapters five, six and seven. Chapter five offers an examination of the five families participating in my research. Each family story comprises two parts: (i) the family's 'vignette' shedding light on its personal, social background and sociocultural⁷ practices in Greece and (ii) the family's narrative on cultural and ethnic identity conceptions. The provision of families' intimate sketches offers insight into how the personal and the social elements act in reference to the cultural and the ethnic in conceptualising identity and the making of history and heritage, explaining phenomena of multivocality within the same ethnic group. Different individual histories and socio-cultural backgrounds lead to different forms and levels of connecting with the Albanian and the Greek collectivity: from establishing transnational identities or denoting attachments solely to the Greek or the Albanian ethnic group to privileging the personal, the rural/local and the supra-national at the expense of the national.

⁷ In my thesis I employ my own definition of the term 'sociocultural' to refer to individuals' interactions with other people from their immediate contexts, including family, the school and personal and social networks. These interactions contribute to participants' familiarisation with and acquisition of cultural norms, value systems, beliefs, skills, knowledge and perceptions, which are reflected in their oral accounts and daily practices.

Chapter six and seven offer a thematic, cross-case analysis (see 4.3.4) of the study's results. Chapter six discusses families' identity formation at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. In the fluidity of *here* and *there*, the retention of Albanian elements went hand in hand with the incorporation of elements of Greek culture in participants' identity building, suggesting phenomena of 'turning transnational' (Al-Ali 2002a, 116). The Albanian aspect was reflected in (i) ways of communicating in Albanian, (ii) producing and consuming diets of home, (iii) participation in personal networks and (iv) ethnic-group functions, (v) exposure to Albanian media, and (vi) contacts with and (vii) trips to Albania. The incorporation of Greek elements, although hindered by processes of experiencing exclusion and stigmatisation in the migration destination, crystallised in (i) the expression of cultural similarities between Greeks and Albanians, (ii) practices of building friendships with Greeks, (iii) fluency in Greek, (iv) discourses of possible (or not) return to Albania, (v) daily routines and leisure activities and (vi) acts of buying property in the country of settlement.

In chapter seven I discuss Albanian families' conceptualisations of and connections with history and heritage. The chapter is divided in three sections: the (a) mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage, and (b) history and (c) heritage making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. Mechanisms employed by participants to mediate history and heritage meaning involved documentaries and historical films, the Greek national curriculum and classroom teachings, past-related talk, commemorations of national anniversaries, visits to heritage sites and museums and books. These popular media of pursuing history and heritage applied differently to each family depending on individuals' personalities, agendas, biographies and sociocultural backgrounds.

Tied up to identity requirements on a personal and communal level Albanian families' history making stitched together the national and the personal in stories of homeland with a capital 'H' and more private moments of childhood, leaving home and resettlement. Personal experiences and ethnic identity affiliations informed participants' interactions with the national mythologies of Greece and Albania

circulated to sustain ethnic consciousness, deconstruct otherness, denote memberships to the country of birth and produce oppositional meanings to Greece's dominant narratives. Personal histories, reproduced in oral accounts of (i) experiencing Enver Hoxha's regime, (ii) ways of growing up in Albania and (iii) migration, served multiple purposes in the transnational realm: from reconciling past and present 'disjunctures' to reversing negative ethnic essentialisations and providing guidance and morale for building life in the new country.

Heritage making took the form of tangible and intangible expressions manifested in visual and material culture in families' homes settings and embodied practices of continuing traditions and customs, inculcating cultural values in younger generations and participating in life-cycle events conducted in the old or the new homeland. Identity continuities and ruptures, proliferating the establishment of plural belongings, reflected in practices of displaying personal possessions incorporating the 'geographies of migration' (Tolia-Kelly 2004a, 324) and connecting with the old home, yet not uncritically endorsing the latter's heritage.

In chapter seven I outline my key findings and conclusions providing connections with the body of literature on identity, memory, history and heritage work in migration. Implications and recommendations for practitioners and scholars on how transnational families construct identity, history and heritage come next, followed by an assessment of my study's limitations and issues to be considered in future research.

In chapter eight I provide an overview of my study, reflect on my methods of data collection and positionality and outline the thesis key findings. Following data analysis based on my research questions, I identified three categories characterising Albanian families' heritage making in-between two homes: (i) heritage and migration, (ii) the communist past and the exclusion from the new country, leading to the uniqueness of the Albanian case, and (iii) the different forms and levels of heritage Albanian families engaged with including the national and the personal.

Implications for researchers in heritage, memory and migration studies in a Greek and a wider context come next drawing attention to the reconceptualisation of the heritage concept, the intergenerational memory transition in migrant groups, and the relationship of internal feelings and external behaviour in constructing identity in movement. Applications for policy makers and professionals working in the museum, heritage and education field in Greece follow outlining a series of examples of how these sectors could promote marginalised groups' inclusion and public presence in the society. I conclude with an assessment of my study's limitations and issues to be considered in future research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Working definitions of terms and concepts

2.1.1 Introduction

This thesis aims to explore how identity informs the conceptualisations of history and heritage of five Albanian families in Athens and Piraeus. This section provides working definitions of key concepts employed in this dissertation, namely identity, family, the household, heritage, past and history. It also addresses the reasons for focusing on families, and especially families with children, instead of other social groups. The following three subsections begin with an overview of the terms examined, outline their theoretical underpinnings and conclude with the definitions adopted in this research.

2.1.2 Identity

As a term, identity was popularised by psychologist Erik Erikson (1959) in the late 1950s to denote the connection of the individual with his/her communal culture. Since then, different disciplines have attached different meanings to the identity concept, confirming its contested nature. Larraín (2000, 24) identifies two notions of identity: the first emerges from the Aristotelian and scholastic metaphysical traditions, emphasising 'individual sameness' in identity ('every being is identical with itself'), while the second resides in sociological and psychological understandings of identity, underlying the concept's qualitative nature, that is a quality or conjunction of qualities that an individual or a group feel ultimately related to. In my dissertation I focus on the qualitative nature of identity.

Within the social psychological tradition, House (1977) identifies three levels of identity operation: the social, the personal and the *ego* level. In the social level (social identity), referring to a person's position in the social structure, the individual is affected by cultural factors and social roles 'with varying degrees of pressure to fit into the available identity "molds" created by these influences' (Côté and Levine 2002, 8). The personal level (personal identity) comprises the more concrete aspects of individual experiences rooted in interactions, where the individual balances between the prescriptions of his/her social identity and the idiosyncrasies of life history. Lastly, the *ego* identity notion, traditionally studied by developmental psychologists and psychoanalysts, signifies the subjective sense of continuity intrinsic to the personality. At this level the individual is affected by 'intrapsychic factors', such as relations among the psychic structures, and biological dispositions (Côté and Levine 2002, 8).

These levels of operation acquire diverse connotations depending on the interpretive frameworks employed in the theorisation of identity. What has been called in sociology the 'structure-agency debate' reflects these different levels of analysis, arguing whether it is external (social), political, cultural and economic forces that determine human self-definition, or internal (agentic) and individual potentials (Côté and Levine 2002). The psychological understanding of identity, resting on individual's psyche, views identity as the individual's exclusive "property", and makes its subject matter the individual's uniqueness (Côté and Levine 2002; Heider 1958). Sociologists, on the other hand, tend to locate identity formation in the social environment, emphasising individual's position within social structures and treating identity formation as something which is 'realised strategically and circumstantially' in the course of a person's interactions with others (Weigert *et al.* 1986, 23).

In my thesis I adopt the sociological perspective of identity, ascribing to the concept 'internal' and 'external' qualities (Jenkins 2008). Identity is 'internal' in that it is subjectively 'constructed' by the individual: self-identification emerges in interactions between relationships of similarity and difference (Côté and Levine

2002, 49). Identity also emerges in 'external' identifications by others: an individual's self-consciousness is shaped and influenced by "objective" social circumstances manifested in day-to-day interactions, social roles, cultural institutions and social structures (Côté and Levine 2002, 49). The sociological dimension of identity fits within the aims of this dissertation, ensuring that individuals connect with their selfhood, while they simultaneously view their selves as members of collectivities. As Jenkins (2008) asserts, integral to the conceptualisation of identity is not simply the notion of sameness, but that of group membership.

The sociological approach to identity elaborates the reciprocal interactions between personal and collective identities. This is of importance to my research exploring both personal and collective forms of identity, such as cultural and ethnic identities (see next paragraph) in a family and a migration context. Larraín (2000, 30) sees personal and collective identities in reference to one another: they are 'mutually necessary and interrelated' as in forming their personal identities, individuals form group allegiances on culturally determined characteristics such as religion, profession, gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality, which help to specify the subject and its sense of identity. Larraín (2000) calls these collective forms of identity constructed on culturally determined social attributes 'cultural identities'. Cultural identities can overlap but are not mutually exclusive. Their significance lies in producing meanings, narratives and stories that individuals can identify with and form 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991).

Cultural and ethnic identities are not identical concepts, but their interconnections remain variable and complex. Drawing on Fredrik Barth (1969), Eriksen (2001) asserts that the current scholarly orthodoxy on ethnicity and the politics of identity assumes that there is no one-to-one relationship between culture and ethnicity, even though ethnic identity is widely believed to express cultural differences. Within a group there might be ethnic differences without correspondingly cultural differences or cultural diversity without ethnic boundaries. Therefore, the conceptual differentiation between ethnic and cultural identity rests

on the fact that the former should be conceived as a notion of shared, fictive ancestry or kinship built on '*socially sanctioned notions* of cultural differences, not "real" ones', while culture concerns 'shared interpretations, norms and practices' (Eriksen 2001, 43).

In my engagement with ethnic identity retention, I took on Isajiw's (1990) perspective, viewing ethnic identity as a social psychological phenomenon, encompassing manners through which individuals, in reference to their ethnic origin, place themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as placing them in relation to these systems. Social systems can refer to one's ethnic community or society, or other ethnic communities and societies, or a combination of all these. Individuals locate themselves in relation to one or more communities internally, by states of minds and feelings manifested in self-definitions and feelings of closeness and obligation, and externally by adopting culturally defined behaviour deemed appropriate to these states of mind and feelings (Isajiw 2010). We can thus make a distinction between external and internal aspects of identity: the former referring to 'observable' social and cultural behaviour (Isajiw 1981, 2), and the latter to ideas, attitudes and feelings related to external behaviour. The two dimensions of ethnic identity are closely related to each other, yet 'can vary independently of each other' (Isajiw 1981, 3): one may preserve a higher level of internal or external layers and vice versa. External aspects of ethnic identity comprise speaking the ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, and participating in ethnic social networks (family and friendship), ethnic institutional organizations (churches, schools, enterprises, media), ethnic voluntary associations (clubs, 'societies', youth organizations) and functions sponsored by ethnic organisations including picnics, concerts, public lectures, rallies and dances (Isajiw 1990). The internal aspects of ethnic identity manifest in three layers: (i) the cognitive layer encompassing self-images and images of one's group, including knowledge of one's group's heritage and history, (ii) the moral layer, suggesting feelings of obligation to one's group in the form of teaching the ethnic language to one's children, marrying within the group or assisting members of the group in finding a job and (iii) the affective layer

of identity connoting meanings of attachment and closeness to one's group (Isajiw 1990).

In sociology debates about ethnic and cultural identities are framed around essentialism and constructivism. The two schools of thought question whether communities are conscious, intentional constructs or organically grow out of pre-existing bodies (Eriksen 2001). Essentialist theories promote a pre-established character of identity consolidated in common experiences and shared values constituted at a frozen time in the past (Hall 1990). This essence of 'oneness' permeating a nation or a people through common ancestry and history acts as a stable set of meanings, codes and frames of references that underlie members' superficial differences and historical changes (Larraín 2000, 158). The essentialist tradition privileges the evaluative nature of identity, according to which certain ideas, ways of life and beliefs are endorsed as a group's patrimony, while others are excluded for residing outside the ethnic or cultural collectivity. In this highly selective process, the idea of 'us' and 'them' is created through cultural and ethnic components set in opposition and conceived as eternally fixed.

The constructivist theorisation draws attention to the importance of discourse in constructing cultural and ethnic communities, and its capacity to interpellate individuals and constitute them as members of a particular body articulated by discourse (Larraín 2000). In opposition to essentialism, this intellectual tradition perceives identity as open to changes, constantly formed and transformed by discourse. Johnson (1993) has criticised constructivism for overestimating the power of discourse in identity building. According to the scholar (Johnson 1993, 181) constructivism's 'top down' approach oriented toward the public sphere, disregards and oversimplifies diffused and composite social phenomena, arising in identity formation on the ground, in the form of private and popular forms.

Larraín (2000) sought a balance between constructivism and essentialism by proposing the cultural-historical approach to identity. According to the latter

identity is both the product of discourse and the outcome of solidified practices and meanings accumulated in the daily life of individuals. As a dynamic interrelation between private and public poles, identity 'can change but in a materially conditioned manner' (Larraín 2000, 37). As Stuart Hall (1990, 223) puts it, identity

'is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'....It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time and history. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power'.

The cultural-historical account fulfils the objectives of my research by treating participants' identities as something continuously constructed within changing historical contexts, conditions and situations.

2.1.3 Family

Across the academic front, agreement of what defines a family remains rare (Settles 1987; Trost 1988). 'What is family?' is controversial in the twenty-first century (Anyan and Pryor 2006; Gubrium and Holstein 1990; Holstein and Gubrium 1999; Schmeekle *et al.* 2006), with scholars advocating different approaches on how family should be conceived and studied (Bernardes 1986; 1988; 1997; 1999; Fox and Murry 2000; Strong *et al.* 2011).

The traditional family model of the married heterosexual couple with children, built on the sexual division of labour, has its roots in normative definitions of the family, and notably this of "nuclear family" described by Murdock (1949, 1) as:

a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults.

Even though such definitions still remain 'central to all family ideology' (Segal 1983, 13), in the last quarter of the century changing social patterns and major shifts in the demographic constitution of families coupled by the emphasis placed on human rights and equality, the place of law in the family and the development of feminism, called into question conventional family conceptualisations (Allan and Crow 2001; Peters 1999). Within family studies, the paradigm shift endorsed more inclusive forms of family theorising, recognising pluralism and diversity (Baca Zinn 1992; Baber and Allen 1992; Walker 1993). Scholars emphasised the multiple variations encountered in family forms: from *organisational, cultural, social class, cohort* and *family life course* forms (Rapoport and Rapoport 1982) to more individualist perspectives, arguing that family should be viewed as a result of each person's experience (Levin 1999). Others proposed the dyad as the basic unit of analysis in the form of parent-child and spousal units (Trost 1990; 1999), while others called attention to what they named the *postmodern family* referring to the 'the contested, ambivalent, and undecided character of contemporary gender and kinship arrangements' (Stacey 1990, 17).

In my research I understood family through the constructionist perspective, viewing the family form as a social construct, brought into being through the social process of *family discourse* (Gubrium and Holstein 1993; 1997; Holstein 1993; Holstein and Gubrium 1999). Within this theorising, individuals become active agents producing and organising domestic order through interpretive practice, i.e. procedures, conditions, and resources through which reality is apprehended, organised and represented (Holstein and Gubrium 1999, 5). Moving beyond conservative or liberal camps, assuming that the domestic or marital reality determines what it means "to be family", constructionists underlie that 'there is no "given" relationship between family and representation', but it is ordinary people who define and construct the familial, traditional or alternative in the course of their everyday lives (Holstein and Gubrium 1999, 17). The constructionist approach provides theoretical explanation for cases of families included in this study, where emotional attachments and personal relationships with extended members of the family, such as aunts and grandparents, played a more influential role in children's

identity formation than these of direct family members. I recruited families on the criterion of nurturing a newborn, as one of my research objectives is to investigate identity, history and heritage co-construction between adults and children (see 4.3.2).

I chose families for bearing unique features among other small social groups. Families filter societal discourses and ideologies through their own 'family culture', that is, their traditions and current dynamics (Dallos 1991). Members continuously influence and are being influenced by each other in the course of 'family life', informing each other's decisions. The 'family's belief system' (Dallos 1991; 1997) acts as a resource for family members, offering individuals the choice to make decisions by simultaneously constraining their perceived options and, consequently, the choices they make. Gelles (1995, 21) underlines the uniqueness of the family, presented as a social institution whose values, norms and sanctions are the backbone of making its structure 'habitable' on a daily basis. According to Gelles (1995, 22-24) the uniqueness of the family rests on a number of characteristics manifested (i) the *time spent together* exceeding the ratio of time spent with others, (ii) the *range of activities* covering a wider spectrum, including eating, bathing, recreation, education, fighting, hugging, punishing, sex, sleeping, (iii) the *intensity of involvement* expressed in the degree of emotional commitment to the family that typically exceeds that devoted to other groups, (iv) the implicit *right to influence* the values, attitudes, and behaviours of other members of the family by carrying family membership, (v) the *age and sex difference*, making the family to one of the few social groups including both sexes and a wide span of ages, (vi) the *assignment of tasks* based almost always on sex and age, whereas most social groups make such assignments based on experience, interest or ability, (vii) the *involuntary membership* according to which membership to a family involves personal, social, legal, and material commitment and sometimes entrapment and (viii) the *extensive knowledge of social biographies*, where the intimacy and involvement of family relations reveals a full range of identities to members of families.

This research further focuses on families due to its interest on socialisation processes and how the latter become a vehicle for a bi-directional process between parents and children in communicating with each other aspects of the ethnic culture and that of the host society. Socialisation refers to 'the many and varied processes of 'learning' by which a[n]...infant becomes a mature adult member of society' (Bernardes 1997, 111). The parent-child relationship is considered a critical domain of translating cultural meanings, values and goals into role behaviours: cultural transmission occurs as parents perform the child socialiser role and introduce children to symbols in the course of the socialisation process (Cogswell 1968; Peterson and Rollins 1987). Research on socialisation has been subjected to criticism for assuming that parents 'socially mold' their offspring through a unidirectional process, where parental characteristics shape children's social and personality outcomes (Hill 1981). Since the 1970s, socialisation has increasingly come to be viewed as a mutual, bi-directional process between parents and children (Ambert 1992). These intellectual shifts have turned attention to the wider sources of social influence, analysing parent-child relationships by considering encounters with grandparents, childminders, baby-sitters, siblings and neighbours who act as 'fictive kin' (Bernardes 1997, 112; Belsky 1981; Bronfenbrenner 1979).

2.1.3.1 Distinction between the 'family' and 'household' concepts

In my thesis I treat the terms 'family' and 'household' as analytically distinct categories. I follow Ball's (1972) definition of the household as a spatial concept referring to a group of persons (or a person) bound to a residential place. The term family designates a group of people bound together by *family discourse* (see 2.1.3). The two terms are different from an empirical perspective: families can form households, although it is not necessary that they do, and conversely, unrelated people may cohabit and form households, but that does not imply they are families (Elliot 1986).

2.1.4 Heritage, Past and History

This subsection is divided in two parts. The first part sets the theoretical ground for a working definition of heritage and concludes with discourses, providing an interpretive framework for qualities (otherness), forms (tangible/intangible) and levels (public/private) of heritage, encountered in the Albanian families conceptualisations and constructions (see 7.4). The second part explores the relationship of heritage and history, offers a working definition of the past and history and wraps up by briefly referring to the theoretical origins of the forms of history participants engage with (see 7.3).

‘Heritage today all but defies definition’ (Lowenthal 1998, 94). Lowenthal’s comment succinctly introduces us to the complex and contested nature of the heritage concept, which is yet to enjoy a unified meaning among scholars and practitioners (Brett 1996; Edson 2004; Hewison 1987). At the turn of the twentieth century, the re-conceptualisation of heritage has brought to the fore its multiple layers, uses and functions. Harvey (2001, 336; 2008) viewed heritage as a ‘verb’, a process rather than an artefact, interwoven in the cultural power dynamics of every society, bound up with identity requirements on an individual and communal level. Graham *et al.* (2005, 29) elicited the role of heritage as ‘a resource’ fulfilling economic, cultural, political and social purposes through the selective projections of the past in the present. Livingstone (1992) saw heritage as a situated body of knowledge open to different readings and re-readings in changing times and social and intellectual circumstances, while Dicks (2000) understood heritage as a communicative practice. Still Urry (1996, 48) called attention to practices of remembering and forgetting tied up to the heritage experience, arguing that there is no past out there or back there. There is only the present, in the context of which the past is continuously re-created’.

Despite their diversity, what these intellectual theorisations share is that the value attributed to artefacts, or more recently to intangible expressions, rests less

in their intrinsic merit⁸ than in a complex array of cultural meanings, elements of emotion, memory, cultural knowledge, experiences, demands and moralities (Graham *et al.* 2005; Smith 2006). Today, it is largely agreed that no physical object, place or intangible expression possesses innate values that automatically 'make' it heritage (Graham 2002; Graham and Howard 2008a; Graham *et al.* 2000; Smith and Akagawa 2009). On the contrary, it is individuals' meanings that give value, be it cultural, sociopolitical or financial, and explain why certain artefacts, natural landscapes, mythologies and traditions have been selected from the infinity of the past to be recognised as heritage. As Graham and Howard (2008, 2) assert, the key term is 'selected' in that 'a focused definition of heritage has to avoid the commonsense way in which the term is often employed to refer to the totality of the inheritance of the past... not all the past is heritage not it is all culture'. Meanings are marked out by identity. For Howard (2003, 6) 'identification is all' in heritage, described as anything that someone wishes to save, collect, conserve or pass on to future generations. Placing the emphasis on people and their motivations, these self-conscious definitions acknowledge the personally and 'culturally determined' nature of heritage (Papayannis and Howard 2007), where the lenses of nationality, religion, ethnicity, class, wealth, gender and personal history, among others, 'filter' and shape the heritage individuals and groups engage with. As Marmion *et al.* (2009, 34) emphasise, 'there is a multiplicity of possible meanings that heritage may hold for different people, even within relatively homogenous groups and that these meanings will vary depending on each individual's unique personal and social background and circumstances'.

In accordance with the aforementioned theoretical discussions, emphasising the culturally determined nature of heritage, I adopted Howard's (2003, 7) constructionist take on heritage, according to which 'not everything is heritage, but anything could become heritage' to fulfil present personal, cultural, social, political and economic requirements, needs and concerns. Howard's (2003) self-conscious definition serves the purposes of my study, where participants' heritage

⁸ Although for the intrinsic merit of objects in arts see Belfiore 2004; Belfiore and Bennett 2008; Holden 2004; 2006; McCarthy *et al.* 2006; O'Neill 2008; Selwood 2006; Snowball 2008.

constructions are informed by their identities, value systems, aspirations and motivations. The scholar's (Howard 2003) definition is also useful for calling attention to ideas of present-centredness in heritage, according to which the heritage product is shaped by current temporal and spatial circumstances (see also Hardy 1988; Lowenthal 1998; Peckham 2003). *Presentness* (Harvey 2001, 320) is a recurrent theme in Albanian families' heritage making, influenced by individuals' requirements and needs tied up to present conditions and experiences (see 7.4.3.1; 7.4.3.2).

Integral to the notion of identity and heritage is the conceptualisation of the Saidian discourse of 'the Other' (Said 1978, 5), encompassing individuals and groups with competing views, beliefs, aspirations and motivations. Identities are about sameness and group membership. Individuals actively use their identity markers to compose narratives of inclusion and exclusion, rendering the communities they belong to specific and differentiated (Donald and Rattansi 1992). These classifications, categorisations and representations of identity based on who qualifies or not are constructed as counter-distinctions to values and attributes invested in notions of otherness. As Douglas (1997, 151-2) argues: 'identity is expressed and experienced through communal membership, awareness will develop of the Other.... Recognition of Otherness will help reinforce self-identity, but may also lead to distrust, avoidance, exclusion and distancing from groups so-defined'. Distinctions of otherness underpin heritage at every level: from nations to villages, localities, cities, counties, regions and households (Howard 2003). Otherness is also at the heart of the divisive nature of heritage encapsulated in Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1995) concept of 'dissonance', referring to discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency. As the commentators note (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1995, 21), 'all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially'. Notions of otherness 'haunt' Albanianness in a Greek context (see 3.3.2). The families' identity discourses and history and heritage creations deconstruct such connotations by either

establishing connections with the Greek society or by taking recourse to their ethnic background (see chapters 5; 6; sections 7.3; 7.4).

The content of heritage encompasses the material or the tangible and the intangible. The material aspect comprises cultural artefacts, objects, natural landscapes, settlements, buildings, monuments and the built environment. The intangible aspect is divided according to UNESCO (2012a) into five broad categories: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language, (b) performing arts, such as traditional music, dance and the theatre, (c) social practices, rituals and festive events, (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and (e) traditional craftsmanship. Albanian families' heritage making took both tangible and intangible forms: from material and visual culture in domestic interiors to practices of performing traditions and customs, passing down cultural values to children and participating in life-cycle events (see 7.4).

As indicated above (see second paragraph, p. 38) heritage has many uses and multiple producers. Ashworth and Graham (2005) make distinctions between public/private sector, official/non-official and insider/outsider, to identify the different stakeholders involved in the creation and management of heritage. Likewise, identities are made out of public and private heritage. Public heritage refers to the official heritage chosen by governments and organisations, such as artefacts in museums, national parks, listed buildings and scheduled monuments (Howard 2003). Private heritage includes forms of heritage where professionals are not involved in its interpretation, such as the heritage of home, encompassing, among others, photo albums, family routines and graves (Howard 2003). Participants' constructions of heritage primarily involved 'private heritages', these 'meaningful, unmanaged heritage behind the scenes in peoples' lives' (Howard 2003, 1). Nonetheless, public heritages were not excluded from families' discourses manifested in practices of visiting sites and museums or participating in commemorative ceremonies.

The relationship between history and heritage has come under discussion, with authors pinpointing differences and overlaps between the two disciplines. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1995) make a clear distinction between past, history and heritage: the first refers to what has happened, the second to the selective attempts to describe what has happened and the third to a contemporary product shaped from history. The authors conclude that the conception of the past as history and heritage bears fundamental similarities in that both disciplines considerably overlap in the way they conceive and use the past (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1995). Like heritage, history is selective (Light 1987) and present-centred: the inheritance of specific events, from an imagined past to an equally imagined future, is informed by particular sociopolitical and cultural contexts and requirements. As Barraclough (1995, 14) puts it 'history although based on facts, is, strictly speaking, not factual at all but a series of accepted judgements'. These judgements are made 'through the eyes of the present' (Carr 1961, 21) making 'all history...contemporary history' (Croce 1941, 19).

However, the acknowledgement that 'the facts of history do not exist until a historian creates them' (Carr 1961, 21) was not popular among 'traditional' historians until recently. Even though the idea of historical evidence being inseparable from interpretation became more accepted in the twentieth century (Johnson 2000), debates on the objectivity of the 'correct' professional historical narrative tainted by the lack of truthfulness, permeating the so-called 'heritage industry' (Hewison 1987), remained common. Equating heritage to bad history (Lowenthal 1998) for replacing the authentic version of the past with a 'simulacrum' of the past, these accounts largely referred to a defeat or eclipse of history and any genuine or authentic relationship with the past (Baudrillard 1994; Jameson 1991). More recently, the 'distinction between true history and false heritage'... has become 'more illusory than actual' in Johnson's words (2000, 259), while Raphael Samuel (1994, 307) has criticised what he called 'heritage-baiters' for insisting on values of objectivity permeating the practice of professional historical narration.

The subjectivity of history, emphasised in the aforementioned debates, is at the heart of the *history from below* movement, having its roots in the refashioning of social history in the 1960s and 1970s Britain seeking to record the lives of those excluded from the national drama (Rowbotham 1977; Moran 2004). In accordance with the ideological principles of these bottom-up traditions (see 2.4.2.2.2), I adopted Samuel's (1994, 4) definition of history 'synthesising past and present, memory and myth, the written record and the spoken word'. Tapped into personal and collective memory, this hybrid form of history rests on a 'social form of knowledge' residing in local lore, television, 'hidden' curricula, autobiographies and stories, legends, and songs, which a child might learn at a grandparents' knee (Samuel 1994, 8-11). The endorsement of history from below movements fits the purposes of my research, aiming to voice stories 'hidden' from history and heritage dominant discourses in Greece. Samuel's (1994) definition, assigning significance to the personal element in the creation of history, corresponds to the nature of history making encountered in participating families. In their engagements with history, individuals constructed oral accounts circulated in their daily intergenerational conversations. Grandparents, parents and children's narratives involved both national histories, deriving from the Greek and Albanian past, as well as personal histories centred on Enver Hoxha's regime, ways of upbringing in Albania and the migration experience (see 7.3).

Summary

In this section I provided working definitions of key concepts employed in this dissertation. I adopted a sociological view of identity, acknowledging its 'internal' and 'external' qualities. Within the sociological theorisation, personal and collective identities, which are the focus of this research, are interrelated to each other. As expressions of collective identities, cultural and ethnic identities are treated from the cultural-historical perspective as defined by Larraín (2000), conceptualising identity as continuously transformed by discourse and changing historical circumstances. I defined family through the constructionist perspective,

viewing the family group as a social construct brought into being through *family discourse*. I chose family groups for bearing unique features and characteristics in regard to their culture and belief systems as well as for their critical role in socialisation processes.

I elaborated relationships between the past, history and heritage: the past refers to what has happened; history to the selective attempts to describe what has happened and heritage to a contemporary product shaped from history. I adopted a self-conscious, personally-and-culturally determined view of heritage, according to which anything can become heritage as long as it fulfils personal, cultural, social, political and economic requirements and needs of the present. Identification holds a crucial role in heritage construction: what is selected from the total inheritance of the past to be designated as heritage is filtered by multiple identity markers. Like heritage, history is selective in nature, as the past is interpreted in light of the present. In exploring Albanian families' history making, I took on Samuel's (1994) definition of history, calling attention to the significance of the personal element in the creation of history.

2.2. Identity formation in uprooting and regrounding⁹

2.2.1 Introduction

In the previous section (2.1) I presented working definitions of key terms employed in this thesis, namely identity, family, the household, heritage, past and history. This section sheds light on identity formation in uprooting and regrounding, contextualising how participants construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level in-between Greece and Albania. The section is divided in four subsections: (i) cultural identity and migrancy, (ii) transnationalism and the formation of transnational families, (iii) transnational families: constructing belonging in cross-border links and home-building and (iv) identity and class in Bourdieu's concept of habitus, capital and field. The first three subsections draw on discourses in postcolonial and cultural studies, sociology and anthropology re-conceptualising identity, culture, ethnicity and the family through mobility and migration. In the last subsection, I engage with Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field. The French sociologist's conceptual trinity is particularly useful as a heuristic device for translating participants' identity modifications in the level of everyday life based on their individual experiences. It also sheds light on how on how class and the role of the family as an educator influence identity building.

2.2.2 Cultural identity and migrancy

This subsection focuses on dialogues emerging within postcolonial¹⁰ and cultural studies, sociology and anthropology looking at cultural identity building in migrancy. Engaging with conditions of mobility, migration and dislocation, these critiques challenge overarching concepts of modernity, such as identity, ethnicity,

⁹ I borrow the terms 'uprooting' and 'regrounding' from Ahmed *et al.* 2003.

¹⁰ Postcolonial studies do not form a single theoretical matrix (Loomba 2005). However, their distinct orientations share the deconstruction of essentialisms and the provision of a critical epistemological reference to the dominant legacies of colonialism and imperialism (Ashcroft *et al.* 1995). Initiated in the 1980s England and United States by 'authors qualified as intellectuals of the black or migratory diaspora' in the literary critique (Costa 2006, 117), postcolonial studies have since then expanded geographically and to other disciplines.

and culture by underlying their socially constructed, fluid and plural nature. These accounts provide theoretical explanation to participating families' identity constructions, where the search for identity is not limited to origin, but anchored both to the homeland and the society of settlement (see chapter 6).

In Edward Said's (1990, 357, 360) words exile and migrancy entail a 'discontinuous state of being': a disconnection or a cut off from roots, land and past that thereby transforms them 'into a potent, even enriching, motion of modern culture.... for the exile knows that in a secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional'. Writing in a postcolonial frame, Chambers (1993, 5-6), similarly to Said (1990), reiterates that the crossings of cultural and social borders, encountered in migration, call for a 'dwelling in language, in histories and identities that are subject to mutation'. This notion of transformation (or translation) in contemporary culture, that the two scholars call attention to as a result of the cross-overs of ideas in the course of living in-between worlds, draws inspiration from theoretical advances in the decentring of identity, initiated during the nineteenth century and taking more concrete forms in the twentieth.

Hall (1991) locates the beginnings of the deconstruction of the spatially organized order of identity, emphasising the self-sufficient and inner dialectic of selfhood, in the modern thought of Marx, Freud and Saussure, each of whom exemplified the instability within the subject through their teachings in the theory of history, psychoanalysis and linguistics. In the mid-1960s the disturbance of the 'old logics of identity' (Hall 1991, 42) found expression in critical thinking derived from poststructuralist theories, emphasising that there is no authentic core "natural" to us (Alcoff 1988, 415). Across different disciplines, French thinkers employed various media¹¹ to deconstruct notions of essential identity within the subject by underlining the subjective nature of human experience, which was seen as a construct mediated by and/or grounded on social discourse and cultural practice (Scott 1994). In the 1980s and the 1990s, the plurality of identities,

¹¹ These media involved psychoanalysis for Lacan (2006), grammar for Derrida (1997) and history of discourses for Foucault (1982).

ethnicities and cultures gained further prominence in the context of population movements, mass migration and historical and cultural diversity intensifying in the globalising world (Back 1993; 1996; Bauman 1990; 1996; Bhabha 1990; 1996; Brah 1996; Clifford 1992; Grossberg 1996; Haraway 1996; Laforest 1996; Rattansi and Westwood 1994; Seidman 1994; Triulzi 1996; Wolf 1997).

From a sociological and anthropological perspective, the de-essentialisation of identity was reflected in discourses on diaspora disjunctures and cultural globalisation. As a term, diaspora originally signifies populations that have experienced forcible and violent expulsion from their homelands with Jews and Armenians forming classic examples (Brettell 2006). Yet, according to Anthias (2001, 631), the term's contemporary usage has expanded to signify populations or social conditions pertained by a particular form of 'consciousness' that is 'compatible with' postmodernity and globalisation. Diaspora's cosmopolitan nature reflected in conditions of having 'collective homes away from home' (Clifford 1994, 308) clashed with assimilationist ideologies and nativist identity formations. As Clifford (1994, 307) notes, 'diasporic cultural forms can never, in practice, be exclusively nationalist. They are deployed in transnational networks built from multiple attachments, and they encode practices of accommodation with, as well as resistance to, host countries and their norms'¹². The notion of diaspora is central to dialogues on cultural globalisation furthering the destabilisation of nation-state and identity (Cohen 1997). The accelerating process of globalisation is regarded to question the foundations of the nation-state by traversing its boundaries in multiple ways: from the movement of capital and the diffusion of new technologies to the development of transnational political and juridical groups and the dissemination of ideologies, leading to the creation of the "Global Village" (Anthias 2001; McLuhan 1997; Wallerstein 1990).

Within postcolonial and cultural studies, the transcendence of old ethnicities and identities (cf. Hall 1991) materialized in the concept of hybridity¹³, emphasising

¹² Although see Gal *et al.* 2010 for diaspora nationalisms in past and present.

¹³ For a critique of hybridity see Ahmed 1997; Solomos and Back 1996; Young 1996.

cultural exchanges, syncretism and interculturality, reproduced in the in-betweenness of multiple belongings and diaspora relations (Hutnyk 2005; Mercer 1994; Retamar 1974; Shohat 1993). Stuart Hall (1991, 47) draws from the traumatic character of 'colonial experiences', racialization and fragmentation, prevalent within black diaspora, to develop a different thinking of cultural identity defined by 'discontinuity and rupture'. Hall (1990, 225) argues that, instead of something already existing in the form of an accomplished fact, 'cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation' (see also 2.1.2). Diaspora experiences become sites for recognition of 'heterogeneity and diversity' in identity: Caribbean identities are unified by the experience of slavery and transportation, yet do not suggest a homogenous, common-*origin* group as the subjects involved came from different countries, tribal communities, villages, languages and gods (Hall 1990). This notion of difference and 'doubleness' of selfhood transcends Hall's (1996a, 448) idea of 'new ethnicities' emerging from processes of 'cultural diaspora-ization', where the search for identity and roots is not limited to origins, but anchored both to homeland and the society of settlement. In Paul Gilroy's (1992, 193) work these reconfigured ethnicities, non-static and non-coercive in nature, question 'national, nationalist, and ethnically absolutist paradigms' through the concept of 'double consciousness'. Double consciousness ensures a form of community and solidarity consciousness for the African diaspora, transgressing national time/space and finding expression in theorizations of 'creolisation, métissage, mestizaje, and hybridity' (Gilroy 1993, 2; 1987).

Homi Bhabha invents the concept of the 'Third Space' to describe cultural identity formation bound up in hybridity. Bhabha (1994) locates hybridity in the crossover of ethnic and national borders, providing cultural brokers with a sense of double perspective and the ability to raise their voices from two places at once by inhabiting neither. This '*in between* space' allows new positions, structures of authority and political institutions to emerge as it displaces the histories that constitute it (Bhabha 1990, 209). Thus, for Bhabha (1994, 39), hybridity gives rise to new areas of negotiation, meaning, translation and representation, whose

exploration may enable us to 'elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the other of our selves'.

According to Anthias (2001, 631) the concepts of diaspora and hybridity 'posit the growth of transnationalism'. The latter is viewed by some as a 'type of consciousness', 'a diaspora consciousness', signifying double or multiple identifications, and decentred place attachments of being simultaneously 'home and away from home', 'here and there', British and something else (Vertovec 1999, 450). The complex nature of transnationalism and transnational families -which participating families suggest a form of- become the focus of attention in the next subsection, illustrating how such concepts can become heuristic devices in interpreting Albanian families' sociocultural experiences embedded in multinational fields.

2.2.3 Transnationalism and the formation of transnational families

The globalisation of labour, capital and culture along with the expansion of new technologies, transportation and the restructuring of world politics has led to 'new age' of migration, especially for work and refuge (Castles and Miller 2003). Writing on 'transmigrants' (Lam and Yeoh 2004), 'transnational communities' (Portes 2000), and 'transnational migrant circuits' (Rouse 1991), to name a few, reflects the growing phenomenon of people leading 'dual lives': speaking more than one languages, having homes in two countries and making a living through continuous cross-border contacts (Portes *et al.* 1999, 218). As a term, transnationalism emerged in the early 1990s to describe conditions in which 'despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders, certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common- however virtual- arena of activity' (Vertovec 1999, 447). In anthropology, transnationalism was broadly defined by Basch *et al.* (1994, 7) as 'the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement'.

Since then, studies on transnationalism have multiplied, expanding, delimiting and re-formulating its concept, which has come to refer to variegated phenomena, from communities, capital flows, trade, citizenship, corporations, inter-governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, politics and services to social movements, social networks, families, migration circuits, identities, public spaces and public cultures (Vertovec 1999). Transnationalism critics (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004) and supporters (Glick Schiller 2003; Levitt 2001a) have debated over issues of novelty, as well as significance or influence beyond the practices of migrants' actions to those of their children. Despite its contested nature, transnationalism has been viewed by scholars (Hannerz 1996; Levitt and Waters 2002; Portes 2001; 2003; van Amersfoort and Doornik 2002) as a valuable heuristic device offering insight into the range and depth of migrants' lived experiences built into the fabric of multinational fields. As Salih (2002a) informs us, until the 1970s immigrants were largely thought to manage their lives 'between two cultures' (Watson 1977), caught in a dilemma between assimilation and 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979). Against these normative perceptions, accounts of transnationalism argue that migrants are able to construct their lives across borders performing economic, political, social and cultural activities allowing them to build and retain relationships with both their country of settlement and that of origin, establishing double-or-multiple memberships (Foner 1997; Glick Schiller 1999).

Gardner (2002a) argues that to understand the meanings and implications of transnationalism on a grassroots level one needs to consider the private activities and relationships between households. Research on transnational practices among families has remained under-developed (although see Alicia 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). Although not an entirely new phenomenon, transnational family forms have been cultivated in 'the informational society' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002, 7) and the global restructurings of capitalism and labour (Parreñas 2001). In Bryceson and Vuorela's (2002, 3) account these are the multi-local families 'who live most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely

familyhood'. Within these geographically dispersed family units, multiple allegiances to places have challenged static views of the family and the household based on ideas of co-residency and physical unity (Zontini 2002a; 2002b). Under conditions of displacement, normative definitions have proven too narrow to encompass the salient role of wider groupings and networks, such as kin, neighbours and friends that have acquired new meaning and significance in a migration context (Gardner and Grillo 2002). As Wiltshire (1992, 182) explains the transnational family can be described as 'a large amorphous structure made up of conjugal and nuclear units, as well as con-sanguineous segments that spread across national boundaries'. A 'network of inter-dependent linkages' characterizes the transnational family: 'critical family functions such as economic support, decision-making and nurturing are divided among the central links in the network' (Wiltshire 1992, 182).

The next subsection elaborates how transnational families, attached to multiple localities, construct belonging through cross-border connections and home-building. These 'transnationalism from below'¹⁴ (Smith and Guarnizo 1998) manifestations are at the heart of Albanian families' mechanisms of connecting with, and remembering, the old homeland (see 6.2).

2.2.4 Transnational families: constructing belonging in cross-border links and home-building

Transnationalism, the experience of dividing lives between two or more worlds, poses questions of identity, membership and belonging (Gardner and Grillo 2002). In Probyn's words (1996, 19), belonging refers to the 'desire of some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places or modes of being'. Despite cultural ruptures and physical separation, multi-local families remain 'multi-centred' by creating their 'own sense of belonging and loyalties' through solidarity ties and

¹⁴ The term transnationalism 'from below' refers to transnational, grass-roots initiatives undertaken by immigrants and their home country counterparts (Guarnizo 1997; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Its opposite, transnationalism 'from above', includes transnational activities initiated and conducted by powerful institutional actors, such as multinational corporations and states.

transnational networks (Vuorela 2002, 80). These different ways of social capital transmission between families' sending and receiving countries (Goulbourne and Chamberlain 2001; Reynolds 2006), take the form of (i) regular visits, (ii) contacts including letters, videos, cassettes, emails and telephone calls, (iii) reception of visitors from the home country in the country of settlement, (iv) exchange of knowledge and ideas, (v) involvement in community associations fostering social ties and cultural practices with the home country (vi) and care-work (Levitt 2001b).

Family rituals, reunions and ceremonies become focal *loci* of producing families' diasporic identities making claims of on-going membership to the community of origin (Gardner and Grillo 2002). From life-cycle celebrations to routinised activities, rituals provide fertile grounds for creating and reworking meanings of continuity and change in the transnational realm (Al-Ali 2002b; 2002c). In Sutton's (2004, 253) research with African-Caribbean transnational migrants these family gatherings establish the existence of a 'distinct kin-based collective identity' constructed on reaffirmed kin connections and the creation of new ties. 'Home' figures prominently in transnational social reunions. Rituals are meant to happen 'over there', in emotionally invested places that families still conceive as their homes (Gardner and Grillo 2002). However, the performance of ceremonies in the country of residence is not uncommon consolidating 'double belongings' and negotiating 'identity ruptures' and continuity between two countries (Salih 2002a, 52; 2002b; Gell 1994).

Al-Ali and Koser (2002, 1) view the continuously changing relationship between migrants and their 'homes' as 'an almost quintessential characteristic of transnational migration'. The simultaneity of place allegiances within geographically scattered families embodies complex and multi-dimensional meanings of home: 'home' incorporates 'the acts of imagining, creating, unmaking, changing, losing and moving 'homes'' (Al-Ali and Koser 2002, 6). Home signifies attachment to a specific place, but its symbolic conceptualisation also evokes adherence to transportable cultural ideas, values and traditions (Rapport and Dawson 1998). Whether 'at home' or in migration, home-building *here and now* involves the gathering of 'intimations'

of home, 'fragments which are *imagined* to be traces of an equally imagined homely whole, the imagined past 'home' of another time and another space' (Hage 1997, 106; 2010). Inherent to home-building is the construction of affective qualities of home: homemaking crystallizes in memory-work and the reclaiming and reprocessing of habits, objects, rituals, names and histories that have been uprooted in displacement and colonization (Ahmed *et al.* 2003, 9).

Constructions of home in migrancy, or, more precisely, constructions of home 'as a creative memory more often than home as it had been' (Kershen 2006, 102), take multiple forms. Parents become mediators in introducing children to the meanings and investments attached to the home-building project (Espiritu and Tran 2002). Chamberlain and Leydesdorff (2004) argue that family stories or narratives reproduced in intergenerational storytelling hold a critical role in creating home space, while Louie (2006, 283) notes that Dominican parents in New York initiate their children to the ethnic culture through nursery songs, religious images, everyday poems, Spanish books, holidays, food and frequent trips to the home country. These parent-child imaginative and literal returns to the homeland, through selective memory and cultural rediscovery, confirm the primary significance of the family in the production and transmission of culture leading to its characterization as 'the first ethnic network' (Juteau 1983). As Fortier (2000, 166) points out in her research with the Italian community in Britain, 'the family is where ethnic emblems circulate, are rehearsed and deployed within a system of inter-generational responsibility', manifested among others, in practices of 'younger generations' being enjoined to bring the Italian language back into the family.

Fortier's (2000) example of Italian younger generations instructed to acquire the ethnic language brings us to one of the key cultural tools employed in migrancy to remember home or 'flag' the homeland (Billig 1995). Acting as a tool of national identification (Fishman 1972), ethnic language learning and usage is considered among the most common, continual, everyday performances of reinforcing ethnic identity and consciousness in new surroundings (Burrell 2006; Edensor 2005). In her research with three ethnic groups (Huguenot refugees, Eastern European Jewish

immigrants and Bagladeshi sojourners) in the Spitafields area of London, Kershen (2006, 102) highlights the role of mother tongue in becoming 'part of the carapace of memory that comforts those in a strange land'. Familiar sounds, in the forms of songs and 'kitchen talk', create across the three groups 'a dwelling place', where their members can set down their roots and accommodate change in an alien society (Kershen 2006, 103). In migration literature these 'ethnic enclaves' along with the family initiate children to bilingual fluency (Isajiw 2010; Kershen 2000). Gregory *et al.* (2012; 2013) showcase how grandparents, parents, teachers and music teachers within the Bangladeshi British Muslim, Tamil Hindu, Ghanaian Pentecostal and Polish Catholic communities in London introduce second and third generations to the language of the old country through acts of worship. Mosques, temples, churches, weekend and evening schools and domestic settings become vital loci of intergenerational learning, where children become multilingual by performing and reciting religious texts/songs of symbolic, historical, cultural and political significance to their community's faith heritage.

Another pivotal cultural tool in re-constructing the old home are ethnic media. As Anderson (1994, 322) has argued, the 'communications revolution of our time has profoundly affected the subjective experience of migration'. Accordingly Isajiw (1990, 64) reports that ethnic media, in the form of radio, television and press, involve critical means of ethnic identity retention, as they perform three significant functions for the ethnic community: (i) they serve as a means of 'being in touch' with the ethnic community (in the country of settlement) by informing its members of events and community activities, thus reinforcing members' knowledge of their ethnic community and facilitating their physical participation in it, (ii) they mould the public opinion and attitudes within the community by providing its members with an 'ethnic' perspective on the events taking place in the host society and (iii) they foster and reinforce ethnic symbolism through artistic representations shaping the ethnic consciousness and identity of those who are regularly exposed to them.

Atkins and Bowler (2001, 274) argue that the 'language of origin may be abandoned before diet changes'. Appealing to the taste and olfactory sense, food is considered one of the most powerful activations of memory, evoking culinary odours, images and rituals of the home left behind (Kershen 2002; Petridou 2001). As Herbert (2006) shows in her research on South Asians in Leicester, recollections of food are intrinsically linked with memories of growing up in the place of origin, confirming that the 'home' is not only about inhabiting a specific place, but an embodied experience through what one smells, touches, tastes and hears. South Asians told about the abundance of fresh food in their home countries, recalled market places, prompting memories of powerful specific smells, and brought to mind routinised rituals¹⁵ shared with relatives and built around food regimes, reflecting their self-identity and rural backgrounds. Food plays an intrinsic role in homemaking: 'the transporting of family recipes' (Kershen 2006, 109) handed down through generations and the recreation of homeland tastes facilitates the continuity of home away from home. Kershen (2006) demonstrates how the reproduction of diets of home for the Huguenots refugees has been at the core of the community's home-building project and continuation. Similarly, Gardner (1993) underlined the importance for Sylhet families in Britain of eating fish and rice especially imported from Bangladesh: eating homeland (*deshi*) produce signifies belonging, ensuring that those abroad remain part of the *desh*. Lastly, ordinary processes such as purchasing products produced in the homeland, and cooking traditional ethnic dishes, have also been interpreted as important nationally oriented identity markers, drawing boundaries between émigrés' domestic worlds and the outside world of the host society (Burrell 2006). These accounts are tied up with ideas of viewing culturally defined food choices and patterns of eating as 'characteristic' of a people and a country, reflecting traditions and beliefs of specific nations (Palmer 1998, 187; Okely 1983).

¹⁵ For the relationship between food and ritual see Sutton 2001, 19-42.

2.2.5 Identity and Class in Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field

In the previous subsections (2.2.2; 2.2.3; 2.2.4) I outlined discourses on cultural identity and migrancy, transnationalism and transnational families to interpret how participating families construct their identities in-between Greece and Albania. This subsection focuses on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field. While the critiques I outlined above (see 2.2.2; 2.2.3; 2.2.4) offer understanding of identity modifications in migration, the sociologist's conceptual trinity is particularly useful in translating these modifications into the level of everyday life, based on individuals' lived experiences.

The concepts of habitus, capital and field have been broadly used by scholars as a tool for analysing social classes and education. However, as Feng-Bing (2005, 39) argues, Bourdieu's theoretical model can be 'equally powerful' in treating discourses on ethnicity given its emphasis on 'individual history, genetic mode of thought linked to that history and conditionings of an individual's lived experiences'. This research uses Bourdieu's key concepts as a heuristic device aiding data analysis and interpretation in three levels. Firstly, they elicit the educational role of the family group. Secondly, they provide meaning for the specificities and heterogeneities encountered in families' negotiations of ethnic identity as a result of their personal histories and sociocultural backgrounds (see first paragraph of 2.2.5). Lastly, they allow the exploration of class stratification processes within families manifested on a cultural basis. This subsection provides definitions of habitus, capital and field and then focuses on their role in class differentiation, primarily from a cultural perspective.

The concept of habitus refers to 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions' inculcated by experience and teaching beginning in early childhood. As a theoretical tool habitus enables an analytic focus on the *history*, which constitutes part of the subject by combining elements of both personal history and objective structures (Fiske 1992; Reay 1996). As Bourdieu puts it, 'the habitus- embodied

history, internalised as a second nature and so forgotten as history- is the active presence of the whole past which is the product' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 56). 'Sedimented' dispositions become apparent in a person's behaviour, body postures and social practices such as ways of eating, walking, standing, speaking, feeling, thinking, acting upon the world, getting on with people and making sense of the environment (Bourdieu 1977; May and Powell 2008). These routine performances *enacting* the past and bringing it back to life produce objective meaning, bridging the individual-society dichotomy (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 73). Despite its durable quality, habitus is not eternal or fixed. As a product of history, it remains *open* subjected to experiences and affected by them in a way that reinforces or modifies its structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 133). Habitus, therefore, becomes capable of generating thoughts, perceptions and actions, but is also limited to the historically and socially situated conditions of its own production (Feng-Bing 2005).

The concept of habitus relates to this of the field. Fields can be understood as areas of struggle, where class formations materialise as groups seek to maximise their assets for power and privilege within a social space and the acquisition of a particular habitus. Individuals' social positions in different fields are 'determined by the allocation of specific capital, i.e. inherited assets' (Mahar *et al.* 1990). As a person's position in different fields alters over time, so do the corresponding dispositions that constitute habitus. Capital functions in relation to a field, and for a field to acquire meaning capital must exist within it. Bourdieu (1977, 178) defines capital as 'all the goods, material and symbolic' that agents compete for their control within the various fields. These resources can present themselves in three fundamental guises: as *economic*, *cultural capital* and *social capital* (Bourdieu 1986). A fourth form, the symbolic capital, denotes what is to be valued or not within the fields of struggle, with the non-valuable characteristics attributed to the inferior social groupings (Crompton 2008; Skeggs 2004). Of particular significance to this research are the forms of social and cultural capital, with the latter becoming the focus of analysis in treating strategies of class reproduction in Albanian families (see chapter 5).

Let me first turn to the notion of social capital. Bourdieu (1986, 247) described social capital as the aggregate of collectively-owned actual or potential resources that a group provides its members. The relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, defining a group, are the product of individual or collective investment strategies aimed at transforming contingent relations into directly usable ones, which imply durable obligations subjectively felt or institutionally guaranteed. The reproduction of social capital presupposes 'an unceasing effort of sociability' (Bourdieu 1986, 250): group members enact, maintain and reinforce their network connections through a series of material and/or symbolic exchanges in combination with social institutions, where mutual knowledge and recognition is affirmed and reaffirmed.

In Bourdieu's (1986) work, cultural capital concerns culturally valued taste and consumption patterns including forms of knowledge or cognitive acquisitions, equipping social agents with competence in deciphering cultural relations and artefacts. Systems of domination manifest in all areas of cultural practice and symbolic exchange including things such as preferences in dress, sport, food, music, literature, film and so on, or what Bourdieu (1984) refers to as *taste*. All judgments of taste, including the aesthetic, are governed by the habitus. Within cultural production class differentiation arises in that aesthetic distinctions identify different positions in the social space: 'the taste classifies the classifier' (Bourdieu 1984, 6). Social subjects are classified by their classifications between 'the distinguished and the vulgar, in which the position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed' (Bourdieu 1984, 6). It therefore becomes clear that the value of cultural knowledge rests on its capacity to produce and perpetuate demarcation: the sense of distinction is based in social closure, where groups optimise the accumulation of their cultural capital by excluding other groups (Codd 1990).

Aesthetic dispositions are transmitted through family. Class habitus derives from an individual's position in a particular family form with its corresponding economic, cultural and symbolic capital, becoming 'a factor of social difference'

(Fiske 1992, 163). The family becomes the site of providing individuals with the highest form of cultural capital, which according to Bourdieu (1984) signifies the manner of choosing 'high-value' cultural products. When consuming cultural products, the value of such products selected is determined by the value of the chooser that is in turn defined by the manner of choosing. Family, thus, becomes the connection between class trajectory and individual trajectory: for those borne into the ruling class, its habitus is like a second nature to them, while for those newly arrived, the cultural capital is something they continuously need to strive for and work at (Wilkes 1990).

Summary

This section shed light on identity formation in uprooting and regrounding to provide an interpretive framework of how participating families construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania.

In the first three subsections I drew on discourses from postcolonial and cultural studies, sociology and anthropology re-conceptualising identity, culture, ethnicity and the family through migration. Initiated in the nineteenth century, these critiques deconstructed identity essentialisms by emphasising its socially constructed nature. In the course of 1980s and 1990s mass migration movements, dialogues on diaspora and globalisation furthered the destabilisation of identity questioning assimilationist ideologies and nativist formations. In cultural studies, the cultural and historical diversity of the globalising world found expression in hybridity and the emergence of double consciousness and new ethnicities, where the search for identity and roots is anchored both to the homeland and the society of settlement.

This sense concept of double-or-multiple membership is at the heart of transnationalism and transnational families, which participating families are a form

of. Transnationalism allows immigrants to manage their lives by building and retaining relationships with both the country of settlement and that of origin. Transnational families hold together by constructing belonging in cross-border links and home-building projects. Social capital transmission among geographically dispersed family units takes multiple forms, from regular visits and contacts to care-work practices and involvement in community associations fostering ties with the homeland. Home-building materialises in memory-work and practices of reclaiming and reprocessing habits, objects, rituals and histories uprooted in migration. Food, ethnic language and media (radio, press and television), are among the key cultural tools employed to make 'home' in migrancy.

Bourdieu's conceptual trinity, discussed in the last subsection, aids to translate participants' identity modifications into the level of everyday life, based on their individual experiences. It also elicits the role of the family as an educator and allows the exploration of class demarcation encountered in the Albanian families, primarily from a cultural perspective. Habitus is a system of durable, transportable dispositions inculcated by teaching and experience to gradually become a person's second nature. Fields are areas of struggles, where class formation materialises as individuals maximise their assets for power to acquire a particular habitus. The resources individuals compete for in the social space take the form of economic, social and cultural capital. Cultural capital, transmitted through family, refers to culturally valued taste equipping social agents with competence in deciphering cultural relations and artefacts. Its input in class demarcation rests on its capacity to perpetuate social closure.

2.3 Memory in uprooting and regrounding

2.3.1 Introduction

In section 2.2 I discussed cultural identity formation in migrancy as well as the cross-border activities and the home-building processes transnational families engage with to foster belonging in the diasporic realm. This section focuses on

memory work in migration. It contextualises the relationship between participants' identities and memories, initiating history and heritage creation. The section acts as a connecting point between the 2.2 and 2.4 sections: while memory recall is deeply shaped by identity formation (see 2.3.4), the activation of memory goes hand in hand with history and heritage making in migrancy, treated next (see 2.4). In the Albanian families' daily routines, the remembrance of the old homeland was at the heart of constructing history and heritage in the country of settlement: from oral accounts to visual and material culture and embodied practices (see 7.3; 7.4).

The section opens by exploring the social nature of remembering to then focus on memory forms that participants engage with, namely collective memory, autobiographical, cultural and bodily memory. The cultural tools stimulating remembering, and therefore acting as mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage, come next, followed by discourses showcasing the relationship between memory and identity. The section closes by highlighting the role of memory in migrancy.

2.3.2 Forms of memory in focus and the socialisation of memory

Traditionally studies on memory have focused on its two functions of enacting dialogue with the past: the individual (i.e. mental, neuro-cognitive) and what has been regarded as collective memory. Individual and collective remembering are not oppositional operations of memory, on the contrary they occur in tandem, and their technical separation should be seen as a reflection of contrasting discipline perspectives (Wertsch 2002). Individual memory has been primarily the subject matter of the psychological discipline, whereas the social nature of remembering has become the focus in sociology, anthropology, history, archaeology, heritage and cultural studies. Collective memory bears multiple faces. Wertsch (2009) argues that there can be as many definitions of collective memory as practitioners treating its topic: from 'social memory' (Burke 1989), 'collective memory' (Halbwachs 1992 [1952]) and 'bodily memory' (Young 1996) to 'public

memory' (Bodnar 1992), 'cultural memory' (Berliner 2005) and 'historical memory' (Megill 2007).

As a concept, collective memory owes much of its introduction to the sociological enterprise in the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). Continuing Durkheim's legacy in sociology, Halbwachs (1992 [1952]) established connections between social groups and their collective memory, arguing that each social grouping develops a memory with its own past to construct its unique identity, sustain its solidarity and guarantee its continuity (see also 2.3.4). Halbwachs (1992, 182 [1952]) asserted that collective memory is always 'socially framed' in that social groups determine what is remembered, and group members, in turn, 'call recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory'. The Halbwachsian tradition views individual and collective memory in a dialogical relationship with each other: individuals make sense of their own personal experiences and recollections in the course of their confrontations with their groups' frames of memory or shared cognitive schemes (Apfelbaum 2010).

Despite criticism over his social deterministic approach (Misztal 2003a), Halbwachs' theorizations have remained a focal point in researching the social properties of remembering. Yet, within sociology and more recently social psychology, the intention to skip an oversocialised conception of the individual has led to more intersubjective approaches to memory. According to the later, cultural forms and social contexts construct and constrain remembering, which nevertheless remains an individual act (Misztal 2003a). The fact that a collective does not have a memory of its own right, has its followers in the sociological discipline, where Misztal (2003a, 11) argues that we should imagine the relationship of collective and individual memory to that of language and speech as formulated by Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1966):

Language, as a collective product, is separated from the variety of uses to which particular speech acts may be put; thus it is, like collective memory, an idealized system. Variations in individual memories, which can be compared to the scope of freedom with which we use language in particular

speech, reflect the degree to which a given culture permits conscious changes and variations of the narrator in the contents, symbols, and structures of collective memory.

In the domain of cognitive sociology, Eviatar Zerubavel (1996; 1997) underscores the intersubjective nature of memory, acknowledging both its personal and social qualities. In Zerubavel's (1997, 98) account *mnemonic battles* are connected to the personal dimensions of memory giving rise to narratological pluralism. On the other hand, memory remains social as much of what we remember is filtered, and consequently distorted, through our *socialisation* in *mnemonic communities* (Zerubavel 1996, 286). The latter involve mechanisms aiding a group to retain and cultivate 'memories that are commonly shared' (Zerubavel 1997, 96). Mnemonic communities socialise new arrivals to their mnemonic traditions, i.e. the *rules of remembrance* favouring certain viewings of the past against others and regulating what needs to be memorialised or forgotten (Zerubavel 1996). This process of *mnemonic socialisation* is deemed crucial to new members' incorporation into the collectivity and the acquisition of a social identity: 'listening to a family member recount a shared experience...implicitly teaches one what is considered memorable and what one can actually forget' (Zerubavel 1997, 87). Being social presupposes, according to Zerubavel (1996) the ability to experience events that have happened to groups and communities long before one becomes their member, as if these events constituted part of one's own past. This *sociobiographical* theorisation of memory accounts for feelings of pride, pain or shame that members of a community experience with regard to events that happened to their groups long before they joined them. Family is considered the very first community within which a person learns to interpret the past, and is therefore critical in his/her mnemonic socialisation. Zerubavel (1996, 286) made explicit that 'all subsequent interpretations of our early "recollections" are only interpretations of the way they were originally experienced and remembered within the context of our family'. Children learn to remember within the family environment, guided by parental intervention and family reminiscence (Fivush 2007). As we do not remember ourselves in early childhood, we tend to rely on

accounts circulated by elder members of our family, and as a result, many of our actual memories are recollections of stories we heard from adults in childhood.

The psychological discipline has not remained 'untouched' by the individual-collective dialectics on memory. Despite its preference for traditional conceptual frameworks in interpreting autobiographical memory over the last thirty-five years, cognitive psychology has increasingly urged for the study of memory in relation to larger system of self and life goals (Conway *et al.* 2004). Personal, autobiographical, or else memory of the self, broadly refers to the 'source of information about our lives' (Rubin 1986), which, although not accurate, is considered 'mostly congruent with one's self-knowledge, life themes, and sense of self' (Barclay and DeCooke 1988, 92). Through their Self-Memory System Conway and Pleydel-Pearce (2000) established connections between the working self and autobiographical knowledge, elaborating the selective nature of individual remembering and forgetting. The self and autobiographical memory interact reciprocally with the former constraining what is remembered and the latter constraining possible selves. The goal-oriented nature of this process ensures that memories, which fulfil personal requirements, become accessible and prioritised for remembering, whereas these, which conflict with the self, are distorted, inhibited and forgotten (Conway 2005; Williams and Conway 2009). Motivation and affect are central in autobiographical memory: the stories we tell ourselves and others of our lives are influenced by self-identity goals, values, beliefs and the image we wish to create for ourselves at any given time (see also 2.3.4). Hence, autobiographical memory provides a sense of identity and continuity, as the past is recreated and reconstructed by highly developed self-schemata in order to fit 'self-theories' of how individuals considered they were likely to act (Barclay 1986; Ross 1989; Straub 1997).

The individual and social nature of remembering has also taken cultural and bodily forms. Cultural memory has been viewed as an individual and social phenomenon, a product of collective agency where 'the past is continuously modified and redescribed even as it continues to shape the future' (Bal 1999, vii). In Assmann's (1995, 129) account, cultural memory is characterised by its distance

from the everyday, having its fixed point in 'the figures of memory': the 'fateful events of the past' whose memory is preserved and embodied in cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance). The German Egyptologist ascribes a set of characteristics to the nature of cultural memory among which: (a) *its concretion of identity* according to which cultural memory preserves the stored knowledge from where a group derives its sense of unity and peculiarity, (b) *its capacity to reconstruct* invoking that every society recreates its past in accordance to its frame of reference by relating its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation and (c) *its formation* in that its 'objectivation or crystallisation of communicated meaning and collective shared knowledge is a prerequisite for its transmission in the *culturally institutionalised heritage of a society*' (Assmann 1995, 130).

Another form of memory reflecting the 'affective or emotional turn' in memory studies is bodily memory, denouncing Descartes's mind-body division (Callard and Papoulias 2010). Casey (2000) has identified *habitual* and *traumatic* memories among the major categories of body memory. Habit memory refers to the capacity of producing a certain performance, for instance reading, writing, or riding a bicycle (Connerton 1989). It is 'pre-reflective and presupposed in human experience': as pre-reflective it forms 'a tacit, a pre-articulate dimension of human experience', while as presupposed habitual knowing to recall signs and skills, it serves as *familiaris* in dealing with daily surroundings by successfully conducting rules and forms (Casey 2000, 149). Traumatic memories involve the painful surfacing of events of a traumatic nature; they 'arise from and bear on one's own lived body in moments of duress' (Casey 2000, 154). Their episodic nature implies that they are remembered as such: a succession of diachronic, irreversible events makes up such memories ensuring the datability of their episodes. Emotion is vividly evoked in the recall of traumatic memories: although there is no intention for the body to re-experience the trauma, its recollection assures access to the original scenes that formed part of the painful incident (Bal 1999). This transgenerational transmission of traumatic, powerful memories has been described by Hirsch (1992; 2001; 2008) as *postmemory*, or else the relationship of

the second generation to the trauma of the first. Even though these knowledges and experiences preceeded the birth of children, they were so deeply and affectively conveyed to them by their parents, that they constitute memories of their own right (Hirsch 1999; 2008). Hirsch (1997) developed postmemory in relation to the children of the Holocaust survivors, yet she asserted that it can be usefully applied to other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences.

2.3.3 The cultural tools of memory

Remembering and forgetting is a culturally mediated process that occurs in a symbolic space encompassing semiotic vehicles, devices and human activities of memory practices (Brockmeier 2002). In the sociohistorical and sociocultural tradition such semiotic systems take the form of an endless variety of 'cultural tools' through which remembering is generated, channeled and mediated between individuals and their mnemonic communities (Wertsch 1998). These instruments that individuals employ to make sense of their history are divided into two broad categories according to the form of the mediation they offer: those that reside on explicit linguistic forms to represent the past, such as narratives, and those that rely more on embodied practices (Wertsch 2009). Within memory's larger connective structure, semiotic vehicles stimulating remembering translate into cultural artefacts, including oral and written accounts (textbooks), visual media (film and television), material objects (from souvenirs to museum exhibits), institutions, memorials and architectural or geography structures, where the past is embodied and objectified (Brockmeier 2002; Connerton 1989).

The past is communicated, recounted, understood, interpreted and transmitted through language and dialogue (Assmann 1995; Eyerman 2004). As a memory practice, i.e. a human activity enacting remembering, narrative is critical in transmitting cultural memory. Narrative discourse fulfils roles of cognitive, social and emotive quality, thus its nature corresponds to that of cultural memory, comprising not simply knowledge and practical experience, but also moral and

aesthetic values (Brockmeier 2002). Tschuggnal and Welzer (2002) point out that narrative concerns the most significant form of making meaning of human affairs: we give shape to interpret our personal experiences, intentions, actions and feelings through narrative; we structure our individual lives, while we also understand and re-create the lives of others. On a collective and national level, narratives communicate the past in the form of 'founding myths and stories', where different collectivities tell who they are and where they come from (Eyerman 2004, 162). Through the construction and recounting of these 'master narratives', "we are remembered and 'they' are excluded': narratives frame structures which 'voice and silence conditioned what can be said and by whom' (Eyerman 2004, 162).

Beyond oral crafts, nationalising mythologies are passed down from one generation to another through traditions and embodied practices including rituals, ceremonies and public performances that reestablish connections among the members of the group confirming their membership. Commemorative ceremonies are of cardinal importance in shaping and transmitting communal memory. Through their *formalism* and *performativeness* these 'enacted cults' articulate memory encoded in ritual language and bodily practices expressed in postures, gestures, movements, speech, singing, dance, clothing and other socially negotiated practices (Connerton 1989). The effectiveness of these rituals as 'mnemonic systems' lies in their ability to go beyond the engagement of performers' cognitive memory, to the realm of habit-memory. 'For if the ceremonies are to work for their participants' according to Connerton (1989, 71), then 'participants must be habituated by these performances... [and] this habituation is to be found in the bodily substrate of the performance'.

A more extensive account on the multi-dimensional nature of mnemonic systems, devices and vehicles fabricating memory's connective structure on a national level is offered by Nora in his *Realms of Memory* (Kritzman 1996a; 1996b; 1998). In his original seven-volume work (*Les Lieux de Mémoire*) the French historian elaborates how memory attaches itself to "memory places" (Nora 1996, xv), which he divides according to their (i) symbolic nature, referring to

commemorations, pilgrimages, anniversaries and emblems, (ii) functional nature, comprising manuals, autobiographies, and associations, (iii) monumental nature such as cemeteries and buildings (iv) and topographic nature, namely libraries, archives and museums (Miztal 2003a). Of material or non-material nature, these bastions, 'boundary stones of another age, illusions of eternity' (Nora 1989, 12) represent the concretized form of the past in the present called upon to construct, reconstruct and legitimate the collective identity of the French nation's imagined community (Anderson 1991; Antze and Lambek 1996; Winter 2010).

2.3.4 Memory and identity

Remembering the past is inexorably linked to our sense of identity. As Megill (2007, 45) argues memory arises in self-designation for it 'serves to stabilise and justify the self-designations that are claimed'. Miztal (2003a, 133) traces the idea of identity rooted 'in the persistence of the subject matter through time' in the writings of philosopher John Locke. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1836, cited by Miztal 2003a) Locke treated memory as the essential criterion for personal identity, emphasising that it is consciousness through remembering that ensures psychological continuity and makes us who we are. Locke's ideas have influenced contemporary accounts, asserting that the notion of sameness, integral to any individual and group identity, is sustained through remembering. On an individual level, telling stories about our personal past aids us in constructing meaning of our unfolding life history and the world we live in, becoming a source of the self (Giddens 1991). Without memory, a sense of identity is lost: 'life cannot be lived without the consciousness of a personal past, and someone who has lost it through illness or ageing is generally regarded as disqualified to normal life' (Tosh 2006, 3).

Similarly to personal memory, memory in the form of history and tradition is 'a cognitive map' assisting individuals and collectives 'to orient who they are, why they are here and where they are going' (Eyerman 2004, 161). Social memory becomes the expression of a collective experience that identifies a group by

providing it with a sense of its past (Fentress and Wickham 1992). This circular relationship between collective memory and identity (reiterated from a different viewpoint in 2.3.2) owes much of its naissance in the Durkheimian school of thought, viewing memory as the fundamental ingredient in the production of society and its solidarity (Miztal 2003b). Within this tradition, collective memory is associated with the endorsement and recollection of a common historical experience passed on through commemorations, 'which remember a group through calling upon a common heritage, with a shared past as a central component' (Eyerman 2004, 161). Collective memory unifies its members through the construction of collective narratives locating individuals and their biographies within it. Cultivating a sense of togetherness and cultural solidarity within the group, these grand historical narratives confirm the cardinal importance of a collectively shaped, if not collectively experienced past, in the formation and legitimisation of a group's identity (McDowell 2008).

Identities and memories are inherently selective in that they serve particular ideological positions, needs and interests of the present (Gillis 1994). What is remembered is determined by the individual or the group's assumed identity (Gillis 1994; Novick 2007). More importantly we remember the past in light of present circumstances, and therefore, our memories are partial in that they fulfil identity requirements on a personal and a communal level at a particular time and within a particular space (Walker 1996). These qualities make up the subjective nature of identities and memories, suggesting socially constructed representations of reality, changing over time and within specific contexts. As Gillis (1994, 3) confirms 'we are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities', while Foote (1998, 28) highlights that as times change 'people look back on the past and reinterpret events and ideas. They look for patterns, for order, and for coherence in past events to support changing social, economic and cultural values'. In the course of remembering, cultures and traditions are created and suppressed, identities validated and contested. The preferred readings of the past, a product of identity and memory selectiveness, structure possible telling and impose certain interpretations against others, to reinforce a sense of natural belonging, purpose

and place (Lowenthal 1985). Within the selection process, histories become embellished with inaccuracies and myths verifying that the 'art of forgetting' in memory construction is equally critical to identity formation (Forty and Küchler 1999).

2.3.5 Memory and Migrancy

Contemporary theories have predominately conceived memory *in situ*, yet 'migration rather than location is the condition of memory' Creet (2011, 9) argues. Across different time and place frames, generations, media, individuals and communities, it is movement, which stimulates memory and our anxieties and desires for pinning its geographic and temporal origins (Creet 2011). Memory in all its forms, physical, psychological, cultural or familial is regarded to play a crucial role in the context of resettlement and diaspora for it ensures a sense of continuity to the dislocations of individual and social identity (Ganguly 1992; Wills 2005).

Zofia Rosińska (2011) articulates the role of memory in the emigratory experience. According to the philosopher, the inability to return intensifies a sense of longing for home, injecting into the emigration project traits typical to melancholy: a sense of estrangement, sadness, solitude, a want of meaning for life, and most significantly, an unsettled sense and a loss of identity (Rosińska 2011). This 'melancholy of no return' has also been recorded in accounts by Cheng (1997) and Haigh (2006), where assimilation and incorporation of the other into the dominant culture are interpreted as a lack, a loss of self or a wound sinking the excluded subject of the nation into full-blown depression. In view of that Rosińska (2011, 39) suggests that memory has a triple function in the melancholic condition of displacement: 'it is identity-forming by maintaining the original identifications, it is therapeutic because it helps bear the hardships of transplantation into a foreign culture and it is also community-forming, by creating a bond among those recollecting together'. Rosińska's (2011) theorizations find expression in literature treating the relationship of identity and memory on the ground, at times from the lens of culture and ethnicity.

For Burrell and Panayi (2006), narrated memory in dislocation can transform into a powerful tool of reconciling the geographical realities of migration. Experiences of displacement force and compel a confrontation with the past in that migration suggests a colliding journey through place and time, where the past unavoidably becomes equivalent to Lowenthal's (1985) foreign country. By recalling, talking about and thinking of events and peoples, discontinuities and discordancies between places of departure and arrival are reduced, as they come together in the émigrés' life stories. As Tolia-Kelly (2006a, 170) puts it, within the descriptions of environments of past residency, 'the routes [become] part of the fabric of the daily environments', enabling diasporic actors to construct 'a collage of safety, security, familiarity and, above all, an affirmation of identity'.

Ritivoi (2002) argues that remembering and recounting the past satisfies migrants' urge for adjusting and reconciling now and then, here and there, as it allows subjects to focus on themselves as active agents and protagonists in their own lives. Nonetheless, connectedness between past and present into a coherent story and self is not always a straightforward affair; rather it may involve disjunctures or points of uneasiness. In her account of Irish women's narratives in Britain, Ryan (2006) borrows the concept of 'reflective nostalgia' from McDermott (2002, 402), allowing the critical engagement with positive and negative memories of the past to achieve coherence in transition and mobility. Originally defined as homesickness, a painful longing for a distant time and place, nostalgia does not necessarily imply a return to an idealised past, but can help us reconcile our need for continuity with the challenges posed by change and discontinuity in the process of adjusting to new environments (see also 2.4.3).

In the diasporic realm, where place is decentred and dispersed into multiple settings, memory becomes a primary modality in émigré identity formation 'through the social dynamics of remembrance and commemoration' (Gilroy 1994, 204). The 'double processes of unforgetting and remembrance' stitch together elements of the past drawing lines of continuity 'that buttress common grounds of

belonging.... providing...ontological security' in building life in a new environment (Fortier 2000, 159, 163). For Burrell and Panayi (2006, 13), this notion of remembering home when away from 'home' is viewed as 'memory in action, the perpetuation, but *recreation*...of the homeland in new surroundings'. In public space, the memorialisation of the homeland takes the form of churches, schools, charities, newspapers and satellite television links. In the private realm, individual memory takes the role of 'concealed ethnicity' (Burrell and Panayi 2006, 15), shared, sustained and reinforced by the family and community. The vestiges of the homeland pervade migrants' domestic spaces encapsulated in stories of betterment, success, and tropes of survival; tales and legends passed down from grandparents to grandchildren; domestic objects and embodied practices of producing and consuming ethnic food.

Summary

In this section I treated memory-work in migrancy, providing an interpretive framework of the relationship between participants' identities and memories, initiating history and heritage making.

The first subsection outlined the social nature of remembering focusing on the forms of memories that individuals engage with in the course of constructing history and heritage. Remembering is socially framed: social groupings determine what their members remember and, accordingly, individual recall is informed by the frames of memory of the group individuals belong to, or what Zerubavel (1996) defines as *mnemonic communities*. Like collective memory, autobiographical memory does not exist in a vacuum: the self constrains what is remembered and conversely individual memory constrains possible selves. Individual and social remembering take cultural and bodily forms. Cultural memory preserves the stored knowledge from which a group derives its sense of unity and peculiarity, while non-verbal articulations of memory, such as habit and traumatic memory, refer to the

capacity of conducting a certain performance and the surfacing of emotional events of traumatic nature.

The second subsection shed light on the cultural tools employed by participants to connect with and create history and heritage. I emphasised that remembering is generated, channeled and mediated through mnemonic devices taking the form of linguistic and embodied practices, and aided by cultural artefacts, ranging from visual media to material objects and architectural structures. As a form of linguistic expression, narrative transmits cultural memory, which on a collective and national level translates into founding myths, affirming a group's origins and identity. Likewise, commemorations transmit cultural memory on a group level through their *formalism* and *performativeness* engaging participants' habit-memory (Connerton 1989).

In the third subsection I set the theoretical ground for establishing the relationship between participants' memories and identities. I showed that remembering the past is inexorably linked to one's sense of identity. The notion of sameness is sustained through remembering and what is remembered is determined by the individual's or group's identity. Remembering and forgetting go hand in hand in manipulating personal and historical accounts to fulfil particular ideological positions, needs and interests of the present. These theorisations find expression in migrancy, treated in the last subsection, where memory ensures a sense of continuity to the dislocations of personal and social identity. Migration shapes the way individuals remember: memory is therapeutic, identity and community forming in the emigratory experience, where the recounting of life histories reconciles now and there, here and there, past and present. From an altogether different level, ethnicity activates migrants' memory. The memorialisation of the homeland in new surroundings takes multiple forms: from churches, schools and charities in a public context to stories, objects and embodied practices in the émigré's domestic sphere.

2.4 Heritage and history making in uprooting and regrounding

2.4.1 Introduction

In the previous section I focused on memory work by exploring memory's personal and social dimensions, its different forms, its cultural tools, its relationship with identity and its role in the migratory experience. As I showed in the last subsection, memory plays a crucial role in the creation of history and heritage in uprooting and regrounding, treated in this section. In particular, this section contextualises the connection between Albanian families' identities and conceptualisations/constructions of history and heritage at crossroads of two homelands (see chapters 6; subsections 7.3; 7.4). It also provides a theoretical framework for the mechanisms employed by individuals to engage with history and heritage (see 7.2). I treat the relationship between identity, heritage and history by looking at top-down and bottom-up traditions in creating heritage and history. Bottom-up approaches engage with voicing the stories of those 'hidden' from history and heritage phenomena corresponding, thus, to the stigmatized and oppressed nature, epitomising the Albanian migration experience in Greece. I conclude with examples from history and heritage making in migrancy.

2.4.2 Approaches of constructing heritage

This subsection discusses top-down and bottom-up approaches (Smith 2006) of constructing heritage and history. I firstly focus on the modernist 'strand' (Harvey 2001, 323) having its roots in Enlightenment rationality and the nineteenth century nation-building in Western Europe. I then call attention to traditions emanating from below as envisaged in subaltern, intangible heritages and the development of a participatory historical culture. Promoting the democratisation of the past, these bottom-up trends began in the refashioning of social history in the 1960s and

1970s, acquiring further prominence in the context of the 1980s postmodern and poststructuralist turns of multivocality.

2.4.2.1 Top-down nature approaches

Lowenthal (1985; 1998) identifies four attributes of the to the past (that can be taken as synonymous to heritage in this respect) conferring benefits on a people. Firstly, its antiquity gains status among societies by its virtue of antecedence, and more importantly, by evoking the idea of continuity and 'its essentially modernist ethos of progressive, evolutionary social development' (Graham and Howard 2008, 5). Secondly, societies create emblematic landscapes in which certain artefacts attain a revered status for fulfilling individuals' needs to connect the past with the present in 'an unbroken stream' (Lowenthal 1985, 57). Thirdly, the past becomes beneficial in that it provides a sense of termination: what has happened in it has ended and is not part of the ongoing present. Finally, the concept of sequence allows societies to locate themselves in a linear and directional temporality connecting past, present and future. These four qualities ensure that heritage becomes a source of 'familiarity and recognition, reaffirmation and validation, individual and group identity, guidance, enrichment and escape' (Lowenthal 1985, 38).

Lowenthal's beneficial aspects of heritage contextualise Harvey's (2001, 320) claims that 'every society has had a relationship with its past, even those who have chosen to ignore it'. Harvey (2001, 320) provides a comprehensive temporal framework of what he calls the 'heritageisation' *process*, treating the common association of heritage with modernity as problematic, and bringing in examples from the ancient and medieval period, to amplify how heritage has always been with us, affirming ideologies of the present. However, it is within 'the ethos of [this] singular and totalised modernity' (Graham *et al.* 2005, 29) that we should trace, according to Smith (2006), the roots of this particular set of discourses and cultural practices dominating heritage discussions throughout the twenty-first century. What Smith (2006, 29) calls the 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD) is the

offspring of nineteenth century European cultural principles, values and ideas, taking dimensions of universality and seeking to establish top-down approaches of interpreting the past in the service of nationalist mythologies (Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Dietler 1994; Kristiansen 1993; Sklenar 1983).

In a historical perspective, Enlightenment rationality and the French Revolution gave rise to the establishment of the first nation-states¹⁶ consolidated in notions of citizenship, territory, mass participation, universal education and civic ideology (Connor 1994; Díaz-Andreu 2001; Hobsbawm 1990). Concepts of language, ethnicity and race were added in the map of nationhood in the aftermath of the 1870s “unifications” of Italy and Germany, based on the claim of common descent and shared culture (Smith 1991, 11; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Kedourie 1966). Meanwhile, in the course of colonial expansions, dialogues on race established and naturalised connections of cultural and ethnic identity with concepts of biology and ‘blood’ (Trigger 1989), perpetuating significations of states as ‘homogenous racial-cum-national’ units (Jones 1997, 44). Archaeology and museums were among the key apparatuses employed to ensure and express ‘social cohesion and identity’ (Hobsbawm 1983, 263). Rediscovering, forgetting or misremembering the past went hand in hand with the manipulation and display of its material remains (Kohl 1998; Richard 2002; Trigger 1984). Nationalising mythologies and ‘invented traditions’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) were embodied and objectified in ‘monumental vestiges’ (Butler 2006, 465) as portable and non-portable antiquities were credited the role of repositories, ‘containers’ and purveyors of cultural and national identities *par excellence* (Boswell and Evans 1999; Kaplan 1994; Pieterse 2005).

Greece was no exception to the rule of abusing material culture to bolster national pride and morale (Hamilakis 2002; Kotsakis 1991). The glorification of the classical past within Western Hellenism ideologies left its permanent imprint to the foundations of Modern Greek state, consolidating its national, ethnic and cultural

¹⁶ In Western Europe, these were namely France, Great Britain, Spain and Denmark.

unity in the masterpieces of its lost and redeemed golden age (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; 1999; Morris 1994; Smith 2003). The manufacturing of common myths (Appadurai 1996) made its first steps in purification programmes cleansing the “sacred” classical remains from barbaric Turkish and Frankish relics (Athanasopoulou 2002; Yalouri 2001) contaminating the loci of the nation’s imagined community (Anderson 1991). During the second half of the nineteenth century the incorporation of Byzantium in the national historical narrative promoted the fusion between elements of Byzantine Christian Orthodoxy and Western Hellenism in modern Greek identity formation (Kotsakis 1998), leading to what has been termed ‘indigenous Hellenism’ (Hamilakis 2007, 57). This linear trajectory of cultural and spiritual unbroken continuity permeating the Hellenic identity through the millennia has deeply shaped connotations, interpretations and meanings invested to the concept of heritage in a Greek context. From history textbooks (Avdela 2000; Frangoudaki and Dragona 1997) and museum exhibitions (Avgouli 1994; Gazi 1994; 2008; Mouliou 1996; 2008) to archaeological projects, producing monumental landscapes and new “Disneylands” (McNeal 1991), the heritage phenomenon in modern Greece has predominately taken the form of nationalising narratives legitimised by scholarly knowledge (Alexandri 2002).

The nineteenth-century strand has largely associated heritage with notions of materiality, inheritance/patrimony, aesthetic value, authenticity and innate value (Smith 2006). Materiality constrains the understanding of heritage to a thing, a corpus of objects, sites and monuments, buildings, places and landscapes or any other form of concrete structure with identifiable boundaries. The idea of inheritance denotes that current generations have the ‘duty’ to pass on untouched these aesthetically pleasant masterpieces to future generations for their benefit and the forging of a common identity (Glendinning 2003; Smith 2006). The ‘stewards’ of the past (architects, historians, archaeologists) safeguard the project of *patrimoine* by protecting its ‘authentic’ value from the damaging properties of non-expert social agents, preventing the latter’s engagement with heritage in the present. Authenticity and aesthetic artisanal values draw from Romanticist ideas associated with John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896)

emphasising 'the historicity of buildings' and arguing for their 'protection' from later additions, by promoting 'conserve as found' practices in what was considered to be the object's original state (Smith and Waterton 2009, 291). This continuous search for authenticity, omnipresent in heritage practices since the nineteenth century, has propagated perceptions of intrinsic merit in material culture, where the physical object is believed to naturally possess cultural, social or moral values within its fabric (Graham *et. al.* 2005).

The modernist understanding of heritage has been heavily criticized for failing to adopt *holistic* approaches to the nature and meaning of the heritage experience for socio-culturally diverse groups. On an identity level, the mainstream conception has been inextricably linked with nation-building projects and homogenising mythologies, obscuring, devaluing and rejecting ideas and beliefs representing other forms of identity, including the personal, local, regional, sub-national and supranational (MacDonald 2003). From a social class perspective, the nineteenth century strand has systematically served the aspirations and ideologies of the ruling elites and upper middle classes, affirming their power and control in defining what consists the heritage portfolio, namely 'the grand and spectacular' buildings and artefacts identified with the self-same groups (Graham *et al.* 2000, 42). Within this 'self-perpetuating oligarchy' (Hewison 1987, 55), the historical, cultural and social trajectories of the disenfranchised and the oppressed including women, indigenous communities, ethnic, gay, lesbian groups and working classes have remained (and to a large extent still are) silenced from heritage discourses (Dubrow and Goodman 2003; Gard'ner 2004; du Cros and Smith 1993; Smith 1993; Vanegas 2002; Watkins 2003; Wedgwood 2009). Lastly, the conventional connotation of heritage, resting purely on the notion of 'materiality', has privileged the tangible at the expense of the intangible, or more precisely has treated these qualities as two distinct entities creating polarising debates (Smith and Akagawa 2009). Values, emotions and cultural knowledge featuring prominently in subaltern and non-Western heritage experiences become separated from the traditional meaning of heritage in the modernist theorisation (Atalay 2008). It is these affective and personal subjectivities interwoven in subversive conceptualisations of heritage

that the top-down-character approaches have largely ignored and these of a more bottom-up nature aim to address.

2.4.2.2 Bottom-up nature approaches: the democratisation of heritage and history

For Graham et al. (2000, 258), 'heritage may represent the dominant ideological discourse, but that also ensures that it can become the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent'. In Harvey's (2008) terms, these are the 'small' heritages: alternative and subaltern, they resist officialdom by engaging with the everyday, the ordinary and the banal. The conception of 'small heritages' endorsing local, personal and intimate meanings of the past owes much of its naissance to cross-disciplinary trends and developments calling for engagements *from below*. What has been termed in literature as *history* and *heritage from below* is the offspring of theoretical thinking springing from an array of fields, including 'popular', public and oral history, memory and heritage studies driven by the principle of soliciting the stories of 'those who seldom have speaking parts in the national drama' (Sangster 1994, 6).

2.4.2.2.1 Subaltern heritages and the intangibility of heritage

Almost a decade ago, Lowenthal (1993, 3) claimed that 'widespread enthusiasm has changed what heritage is about'. No longer is heritage limited to the realm of grand personages and monuments of great moment...but now 'celebrates the vernacular and the typical' (Lowenthal 1993, 3). No longer is it restricted to artefacts, but has moved into 'the realms of ideas and expression...[as] intangible culture is newly viewed as group legacy alongside building and paintings, postherds and townscapes' (Lowenthal 1993, 3). And no longer is heritage confined to history. Once restricted to 'a respectively remote past...it now embraces even last year' (Lowenthal 1993, 4). Lowenthal's (1993) remarks reflect the intellectual shifts and theorisations of the last four decades calling for the 'democratisation of access to the past' (Walsh 1992, 170) crystallised in the promotion of subaltern heritages and the emphasis on the intangibility of heritage (Munjeri 2004).

The recognition of the unspectacular, commonplace and less durable artefacts of humble citizens traced its beginnings in the later half of twentieth century and the criticisms of historians Hewison (1987; 1988) and Wright (1985) attacking the 'heritage industry' for its elitist-driven concerns acting as a politically conservative backlash to social, cultural and economic changes in a post-war world. Taking the debate one step further, and expressing his opposition toward the Hewison agenda for assuming that all heritage offers a sanitised version of the past, Samuel (1994, 158) sketched a far more open-ended view of industrial heritage celebrating the 'little platoons' over the high culture of the proverbial 'great and good'. In this democratic form of heritage, the mundane, the anonymous, the domestic and the feminine were appraised for providing a 'wider form of belonging' through the construction of a 'pluralist' past (Samuel 1994, 160, 308). The endorsement of what has been admitted under the rubric of the 'vernacular' (Graham *et al.* 2000), 'parallel' and 'alternative' (Butler 2006, 471) achieved further recognition in the context of the 1980s postmodern and poststructuralist turns of multivocality (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1994; Habu *et al.* 2008; Whitley 1998). Endorsing the heterogeneity of identity, ethnicity and culture (Bhabha 1994; Donald and Rattansi 1992; Hall 1996b; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996), postmodern and postcolonial knowledges promoted divergent and dissenting conceptualisations of heritage by emphasising a responsibility on cultural translation (Robins 1999). The latter required the exploration of 'the profoundly perturbed and perturbing question of our relationship to others- other cultures, other states, other histories, other experiences, traditions, peoples, and destinies (Said 1989, 216). For some, these calls took the form of 'provincializing heritage' through apprehending non-Western histories, subaltern memories and other modernities (Butler 2006, 475; Chakrabarty 2000).

In practice, the decreasing appeal of the nation-state 'as the foremost container of identity', featuring prominently in these discourses, marked the growing recognition of ethnic, local and personal experience within the heritage trajectory (Harvey 2008, 31; Inglehart and Baker 2000). The repositioning of the

heritage sector 'in an environment in which demands for multiculturalism and the realities of migrations and demographic shifts clash increasingly with ethnic strife, culturalist rascisms, and a general resurgence of nationalism and xenophobia' (Huysen 1995, 35) found expression in initiatives promoting education and social cohesion (Harvey 2008). Issues of access, empowerment and social and cultural inclusion put forward by community groups, fighting for greater consideration of their needs in the appropriation of the past, materialised from 'eco-museum' movements, where heritage professionals worked with local communities to respond to their developmental needs (Corsane and Holleman 1993; Davis 1999; 2005; 2008) to HLF (2007) policies 'widening participation among people of all ages and backgrounds'. Museum exhibitions, such as the Peopling of London Project showcasing the city's 'cosmopolitan' and 'culturally diverse' nature (Merriman 1995, 13) or the Black History Month (2012), established in 1987 in the UK, celebrated subaltern and 'hybrid heritages' (Graham *et al.* 2000). More recently, exhibitions such as 'Belonging: voices of London's refugees' highlighted the salience of personal experience in 'what it means to belong' among refugees in London, displaying memory objects brought from the place of origin (Kean 2008, 64).

In the academic front, the exploration of dissenting heritages in the context of a polyvocal postmodern world shed light on practices of *heritage from below* on a local and domestic scale. Echoing the term *history from below* Robertson (2008, 147) described *heritage from below* as a resistant form of heritage, memorialising '*from within* the lives and thoughts of those otherwise hidden from history'. The memorial cairns on the island of Lewis off the north-west coast of Scotland, marking lieu de *mémoire* of class conflict, suggested one such example 'galvanis[ing] and coher[ing] local communities around alternative constructions of identity and narratives of place' (Robertson 2008, 147). In the more private, intimate realms, heritage from below movements turned attention to routine material cultures and practices transforming mundane settings, such as domestic interiors, into active sites of memory work. Borrowing from recent trends in memory studies, treating memory production as a dynamic process swirling around practices, performances and places of the everyday, these alternative traditions brought up examples of

mementoes, keepsakes and heirlooms transforming the homespaces of the émigré into loci of 'emitting history' (Tolia-Kelly 2010, 86; Atkinson 2007; 2008; Bruno 2003; Pahl 2012; Symonds 2004; Terdiman 2003).

On an altogether different scale, the aforementioned theoretical developments of the last three decades have turned the attention from revered objects, sites and artefactual integrity to the hitherto unremarked embodied practice and the emotional spectrum (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman 2009a). These intangible expressions, in the form of cultural values, traditions, customs and life-cycle performances are at the core of Albania families' heritage making in-between Greece and Albania.

In the eve of the twenty-first century, the concept of the intangibility of heritage acquired increasing recognition among critics, arguing that the worth attributed to artefacts, or more recently to events and performances of intangible expressions, is less about their intrinsic merit than a complex array of cultural values, meanings, demands and moralities (Graham *et al.* 2005; Lira and Amoêda 2009; Smith and Akagawa 2009) (see 2.1.4). Smith (2006) associates the proliferation of the non-material nature of heritage with the growing prominence of non-Western conceptualisations of heritage, challenging hegemonic ideas of materiality in heritage, and the increasing awareness in the West that other cultures, particularly those from Africa and Asia, perceive the nature and meaning of heritage differently¹⁷. Awareness was promoted in the context of lobbying of organisations such as ICOMOS and UNESCO by countries from these regions and the 'weight of scholarship' by non-Western heritage commentators and practitioners (Smith 2006, 55).

The broadening of the definition of heritage to include non-material forms led in 2003 to the establishment of UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of*

¹⁷ Within non-Western literature heritage is perceived as occurring and preserved in social networks and takes the form of music, dance, food, language, theatre and other performances, oral history, tradition, knowledge and skills held by individual craftspersons, musicians, dancers and others (Smith 2006).

the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) (UNESCO 2012a). In its website UNESCO (2012b) defines intangibility as the 'practices, representations, expressions as well as the knowledge and skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage'. From oral traditions and performing arts to festive rituals this form of 'living cultural heritage' provides people and communities with 'a sense of continuity and identity' (UNESCO 2012b). It has been suggested that the ICHC challenges the AHD traditional understanding of heritage associated with the material, the grand, the monumental, the 'good' and that of aesthetic and universal value by acknowledging and privileging Asian, African, South American and Indigenous manifestations and practices (Aikawa 2004; Seeger 2009). On the ground, intangible cultural heritage projects have set their attention to various aspects and forms of living heritage: from multicultural arts festivals featuring dance, music, crafts and food (McCleery *et al.* 2009) to practices of recording partition stories and memories with healing qualities (Gandhi and Gandhi 2009).

2.4.2.2.2 Public history: toward a participatory historical culture

Deeper roots in exploring processes of ordinary people's making meaning of history can be traced in the development of public history (Ashton and Kean 2009a; Kean 2010; Kean *et al.* 2000). As a concept, 'public history' is slippery and baffling, offering shelter to all forms of 'popular' history whether that is oral history, 'people's history' or 'heritage studies' (Liddington 2002). Yet, as Liddington (2002, 84) argues, public history's meaning shifts from practitioner to academic settings: Public History *practice* concerns the popular presentation of the past to a range of audiences, namely through museums, heritage sites, film and historical fiction, while the study of Public History focuses on 'how we acquire our sense of the past through memory and landscape, archives and archaeology' and how these pasts are then presented publicly (see also Liddington and Smith 2005). Jordanova (2000, 126) emphasised the multi-dimensional nature of public history pinpointing that the former 'involves 'history' in many senses': from the academic discipline and the dissemination and display of its findings to a wide range of audiences utilising all available media, to the past itself in many varying forms and 'a diffused awareness

of that past,' which differs 'from person to person, group to group, country to country'.

The different connotations invested to the concept of public history are the result of its distinct profile within different national cultures (Liddington and Ditchfield 2002). The origins of public history are traced back to the mid-1970s graduate unemployment in the United States, where the environmental historian Robert Kelley (1978, 16) employed the term to refer 'to the employment of historians and historical method outside of academia'. Despite its focus on vocational issues, the US version of public history adopted radical orientations as the Vietnam generation of historians challenged 'old-white, elite claims to exclusive possession of the past' advocating the launch of projects setting peoples' memories 'active and alive' (Liddington 2002, 85). A more political approach was endorsed in the emergence of public history in Australia, where 'historians-on-the-waterfront' fought for the preservation of traditional working-class industrial suburbs and the country's history was reconsidered under the prism of Europeans invading the land of native Australians (Liddington and Ditchfield 2002). It was through Australia that the radical thinking of Public History flowed to the 'heritage-bedraggled Britain' in the 1990s, where Raphael Samuel is regarded to have rescued 'people's heritage' from 'heritage bashers' (Liddington 2002, 87).

Even though, according to Kean (2008), Public History is considered to have arrived relatively recently on the British shores of historiographical and heritage practices, it can be said that its foundations have already been set in the refashioning of social history trends during the 1960s and the 1970s. Parallel to the development of radical movements, shaking the political world for the recognition of rights of socially marginalised groups, *history from below* traditions expressed their allegiance and commitment to record the lives of those excluded in the historical praxis (Moran 2004). The initial efforts of this democratic scholarship concentrated on rescuing the everyday life and practices of working classes from the 'enormous condescension of posterity' and the elitist-driven concerns of the top-down history (Thompson 1980, 12 [1963]). The social historians of the 1970s

argued that the experiences of working class men and women remained 'hidden' or ignored from history 'often because of historical indifference or of who wrote history' (Kean 2004, 7; Rowbotham 1977). Voicing similar concerns of researching the construction of historical knowledge in the context of ordinary peoples' lives, Raphael Samuel set the foundations of a 'new history' by establishing the *History Workshop* movement in the 1970s (Kean *et al.* 2000, 14). In its early days the movement set its attention on the familiar intervening in debates about the direction of history in schools and national life. Since then it has expanded its horizons by embracing routine, everyday material in the construction of the past arguing that 'what is seen and what is experienced in our everyday lives is as likely to be as significant in our understanding and creation of history as the reading of books and archives' (Kean *et al.* 2000, 15; Samuel 1976).

Integral to this 'different kind of enquiry' is the prominence of personal and collective memory eroding boundaries between 'professional' and 'amateur' practitioners, re-enactors, local and family historians (Kean 2008). Under the impetus of poststructuralism and postmodernism discourses, encapsulated in Foucaultian and Gramscian writings, memory became associated with the particularistic, the embedded, the local, the personal and the subjective (Jenkins 1997; Radstone 2000). Viewed as the Other of history (Megill 2007), memory opened new dimensions in traditional historiography by valuing a different form of historical evidence and knowledge, residing in local lore, television, 'hidden' curricula, autobiographies and stories, legends and songs that a child might learn at a grandparent's knee (Samuel 1994) (see 2.1.4). In the field of oral, public and new history, practitioners seized upon memories to disturb and contest the dominant understandings of the past (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003; Portelli 1997). Memory, as Frisch (1990, xxiii) argued, stood 'as an alternative to imposed orthodoxy and officially sanctioned versions of historical reality;...[as] a route to a broadly distributed authority for making new sense of the past in the present'.

In practice, the democratising movement in history, meant a shift in focus from studying institutions that produce history and their beliefs, to seeking to

understand the relationships between different versions of history in the public as communicated through a multiplicity of institutions and media including school, government, ceremonies, popular amusements, art and literature, stories told by families and friends and landscape features designated as historical either by government or popular practice (Glassberg 1996). The focus on 'studying the minds of the audiences' where all these versions of the past communicated in society 'converge and are understood' (Glassberg 1996, 11) was coupled with new approaches, emphasising the many different meanings audiences attach to the same historical representation as a result of their diverse cultural and social backgrounds and experiences (Frisch 1990). As Carl Becker (1932) remarked back in the 1930s, every person is his or her own historian, creating idiosyncratic meanings of the past fashioned out of individual situations, circumstances and experiences, emotional needs, adorns and aesthetic tastes. Departing from this premise and drawing from Marxian views prevalent in social history, Green (1981, 169) argued that the central task of historians should be 'to bring to explicit awareness this embedded sense of history, to help people find their own histories, and to aid them in understanding their role both in shaping and interpreting events'. To a large extent these accounts reflect the increasing tendency within public history viewed as the work 'of a thousand different hands' (Samuel 1994, 8), where people and historians are both subjects and active agents in creating and producing histories (Archibald 1999; Ashton and Kean 2009b; Winter 1996). In this 'participatory historical culture' a more democratised historical consciousness arises as the past is treated 'as a shared human experience, rather than a ground division for suspicion' (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998, 190). As Glassberg (2001, 210) argued a decade ago, the erosion of boundaries between history scholars and the public is not a matter of reaching out to "the public", but rather one of 'reaching in to discover the humanity they share'. Historians' recognition of their 'personal needs for the past'- as much as the public's- is deemed critical to different understandings of the past: 'we can establish who we are only by writing from a place, from a community, from a location in the world' (Glassberg 2001, 210).

Sharing similar motives of democratising interpretations of the past, family history evolved as a grass-roots practice questioning the principles of traditional historical discipline by attending to the private, domestic details of daily life (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003). Ephemeral and personal items such as diaries, dates of births, marriages and deaths, census returns, memories, photos and heirlooms become valuable sources of the family historian to construct a notion of self and reject the 'conventional cultural institutions as the sole arbiters of legitimacy and value' (Brennan 2000, 48; Stewart 2009). In their engagement with ordinary peoples' lives, family historians, similarly to their colleagues in other historical fields, take the role of 'the maker of a narrative': they only record the details that fulfil their purposes and individual requirements (Kean 2004, 13). This practice jettisons the modernist, scientific view of the unfolding historical process 'in favour of a more internalised and intersubjective invention of the past' (Brennan 2000, 49).

The site of the family itself has become a focal locus of intimate and subjective connection with the past. In Ashton and Hamilton's (2003; 2009) study of contemporary historical consciousness, the family was the principal site in processes of exploring, teaching and learning about the past across all cultures and religions. 'Archivists' actively constructed accounts of the past to be preserved within their families in the form of taking and collecting photos, recording videos of major events or recording the memories of an older relative (Ashton and Hamilton 2009). Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) illustrated the role of family rituals, reunions and celebrations of national holidays in connecting with the past and building relationships in the present. Families relived and re-interpreted the past in these informal social gatherings: they talked about 'old times', brought loved ones back and, by looking at younger family members, made connections between past and present events, being reminded of their origins (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998). The guardians and tellers of such family myths shape and reconfigure the family's identity and ethos, providing a sense of continuity and rootedness in the family by explaining how the past has led to the present (Finnegan 2006). Storytelling goes beyond 'personal reminiscing': the tales and sayings shared between older and younger family members formulate family tradition, as the transmitter passes on

about the past what she/he thinks is important for descendants to know about (Byng-Hall 1990, 216). For Halbwachs (1992, 54, 80 [1952]) this 'common familial past' constitutes the framework of the family memory and the family's 'traditional armor' (see also Billig 1990). To synthesise its armor each family safeguards its own principles and traditions drawn from society, which become nevertheless distinct, as 'they are little by little pervaded by the family's peculiar experiences and because their role is increasingly to insure the family's cohesion and guarantee its continuity' (Halbwachs 1992, 83 [1952]).

The concepts of subaltern and intangible heritages and this of a participatory historical culture find expression in history and heritage making in migrancy, treated next.

2.4.3 The making of history and heritage in migrancy

The making of history and heritage in migration is tied up with meanings, remembrances and re-imaginings of 'home'. The vestiges of homeland pervade the domestic space of the émigré: from stories recalled, produced and shared among family and community members to material and visual culture on display (or hidden) and embodied practices, such as these of performing traditions, customs, rituals and instilling values in younger generations. Rooted into migrants' everyday routines, these re-constructions of the old country jiggle between the national and the personal, blending and stitching together narratives of homeland with a capital 'H' with more intimate, private moments encapsulated in images of childhood, upbringings and memories of leaving home and resettlement. In this subsection I first explore émigrés' engagements with personal and national histories to then look at how these 'storytellings' are crystallised in the construction of heritage.

For an 'ethno-national' identity to endure and survive the displacements of migration, 'a strong sense of personal identification with the nation has to be present' in the new destination, 'where any 'flagging' of the homeland is likely to be non-existent or confined to migrant circles that are not always easily accessible'

(Burrell 2006, 66). As I argued in subsection 2.3.5, ethnic consciousness becomes a primary modality in émigré identity formation. In the sphere of engaging with the past this is played out in 'collected memory and myth' acting 'for minorities, for the less powerful and most of all for the excluded' as a source of strategies for survival reinforcing a sense of self (Samuel and Thompson 1990, 19). In her research with Leicester Polish, Burrell (2006) highlighted the salience of national history as a unifying force of triggering and preserving émigré national consciousness outside the homeland. Stories of national struggle, invasion, occupation, freedom and independence, surrounding events of the partitions era and the Second World War, allowed respondents to express their emotional empathy with the historical fate of the Polish nation and their solidarity to ancestors. Communicated either *en passant* through family fables and Polish schools lessons, or in the course of embodied commemorations and celebration of national days, these teachings enforced a sense of heritage among community members, providing moral guidance for sustaining Polish identity in migrancy (Burrell 2006).

Diasporic conditions do not necessarily imply uniform narrations of home and homeland within the same ethnic group. Povrzanović Frykman's (2002) work with the well-established Croatian diaspora in Sweden and Croatian refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, arriving in the country in the aftermath of Yugoslavia's collapse, underpinned notions of multivocality in homeland narratives among co-ethnics. For the former, the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina marked the realisation of a long-awaited dream, the birth of their homeland as an independent country, while for the latter, the war events brought to mind traumatic memories of violence, identity loss, rupture and displacement. Different internal, personal war experiences among the members of the two groups suggested different symbolic spaces of constructing ethnic and national identity and belonging, which in turn reflected in collective fantasies and meanings of home and homeland. While the members of the Croatian diaspora praised the independence of the hitherto imagined homeland in the recalling of national poems and objects on display in their domestic spaces in Sweden certifying their Croathood, the encounter of military attacks for Croatian refugees during the war marked individualised senses

of home grounded on stories of everyday life experiences in the physical spaces of their lost homes. Having experienced the transformation of their home regions into political spaces of negotiable war as a result of nationalist projects, Croatian refugees did not adorn their houses with emblems of Croathood (carrying for them personal tragedy connotations), but struggled instead to create agreeable material surroundings in flats they could seldom choose on their own and which would hopefully turn into their own new homes in the course of their daily lives.

Like national collective autobiographies (Connerton 1989), migrants' remembrances and retellings of personal histories are constructed to 'find comfort of identifying with [their own selves]' (Ritivoi 2002, 30). Drawing from Moodie's (2000, 60) concept of 'good old days' shaping memories of older people, and McDermott's (2002, 404) 'disjunctures' between past and present, Ryan (2006, 197) illustrates how migrants' life-history testimonies jiggle between 'good' and 'bad old days' in their effort to establish connections between then and now. In her work with Irish women migrating to Britain in the 1930s, the motif of 'good old days' encapsulated stories of childhood in the country of origin and mobility in the migration destination (Ryan 2002; 2003; 2006). Women depicted their childhood as a time of happiness, innocence, freedom and close family relationships bringing to mind simple pleasures of running on the fields and picking up mushrooms, while the early years in the migration destination were seen as a time where life was exciting, full of pleasures and women were young, mobile actors changing jobs with relative ease and gaining their financial independence (Ryan 2002; 2003). Narratives of youth and mobility perceived as 'good old days' were also encountered in Gardner's (1999) interviews with Bengali elders in London's East End, where males took up employment in ethnically mixed factories, moved around public transport and attended cinemas, coffee-bars and other places of 'leisure' during their early years in London. These images were in sharp contrast with elders' current conditions out of employment, gravity of physical health and dependence on the Welfare State, all acting as a source of negative feelings for their present and future lives.

In migrants' tellings, the motif of 'good old days' has also taken the form of idealisations of 'home' acting as a counter-point against racist stereotypes of backward peasantry, poverty and privation stigmatising social trajectories in new countries. Herbert (2006) demonstrated how South Asian males in Britain constructed a 'former golden age', when life was unequivocally better, by emphasising middle-class identity and cultural and symbolic capital. Stories of superior lifestyles in a pre-migration context, materialised in the acquisition of British education, the consumption of Western imported food and ownership of a 'good family Mercedes', were construed as a coping mechanism that helped to alleviate respondents' dismay with aspects of life in Britain and particularly experiences of racism in the 1970s, hindering opportunities for employment (Herbert 2006, 136).

As a powerful re-enforcing tool, the past can also act as a repository of bad memories or 'bad old days' (Ryan 2006). In Ryan's (2006, 208) study of Irish women, the 'bad old days' translated in stories of economic deprivation, lack of opportunities, family conflicts and dull lifestyles of Irish countryside in the 1930s making up a collage of economic, social and cultural factors justifying women's decisions of leaving home. These negative memories are often overcome through 'poor man made good' motifs embodied in stories of success by escaping conditions of poverty and finding economic security in the migration destination (Thomson 1999, 34). Weber-Newth (2006, 82, 86) recorded such tales of high work morale among East Europeans arriving in post-war Britain 'with only what [they] were wearing' as one respondent claimed, and managing to own after years of hard work, their own property in Britain, 'a visible expression of personal achievement and embodiment of financial security'.

Transgressing boundaries between the personal and the national in intergenerational talk, Rosenzweig and Thelen's (1998) survey provided useful insight to rationales and motivations driving such processes, which also have implications in a migration context. In the course of their engagements with the past respondents identified, among the most common themes they wished to pass

down to their children, the struggle of human beings to make a better world for themselves and for those who came after them. By presenting national and family tales as stories of struggle and survival, and by making explicit to their children that achievements of political freedom to personal wealth are the fruits of dedication and hard work by real individuals, participants expressed their will in making sure that young people felt 'responsible for determining the course of events instead of merely accepting their fates as automatic rights or unearned gifts' (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998, 193). These findings are of particular relevance in the diasporic realm, where stories of displacement establish themselves 'as narratives of betterment' providing moral guidelines for building lives in new environments, while simultaneously commemorating values of life before (Burrell and Panayi 2006, 16).

In the next four paragraphs I focus on the making of heritage in migrancy, providing a theoretical context for participants' heritage constructions at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. Specifically, the paragraphs below illustrate how migrants' histories are inscribed in different forms of heritage, including material and visual culture in their homespaces and embodied practices. These involve the preservation of traditions and customs associated with the old homeland and the inculcation of values in new arrivals within the family.

In her study of material culture, Susan Pearce (1997) includes within the definition of the concept a variety of objects: from pink champagne and works of literary fiction to exhibits in museums and art galleries. According to Pearce (1997), objects serve to define who and what we are to ourselves and to others: they suggest our alter egos, our parallel selves in that our use and understanding of them communicates 'us' and our identity as effectively as the spoken word. Pearce's (1997) remarks find expression in the sphere of the domestic, where material culture appears both as 'our appropriation of the larger world and often as the representation of that world within our private domain' (Miller 2001a, 1). Domestic objects symbolically express and articulate the integration of the owner with his or her social context, in that they 'represent dimensions of similarity between the

owner and others': shared descent, religion, ethnic origin or life-style (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, 38).

The experience of uprooting and re-rooting involves the creation of intimate spaces where history, heritage and identity are inscribed in home possessions brought from the old country or acquired since arrival (Miller 2008; Pahl and Pollard 2008; Tolia-Kelly 2006b; Walsh 2006). As Parkin (1999) has pointed out, once migrants have experienced loss or forced expulsion, they continue to bear the fear of dislocation. In the home setting of the *émigré*, visual and material artefacts acquire prominent status as touchstones of cultural and biographical narratives, establishing connections with sites, sounds, environments, textures and landscapes of enfranchisement and belonging (Attan 2006; Boym 1998; Pahl 2004; Savaş 2010). From an ethno-national point view, material and visual culture transforms migrants' home domains into forums of national space, emitting historic accounts of 'tribes and families' from the place of origin (Turan 2010, 44). In the mundane world of the everyday, the 'flagging of the homeland' (Billig 1995) manifests in domestic furnishing and decorations: from wooden crafts, hand-embroidered cushions and historic books to religious icons, souvenirs and postcards, objects 'become critical for the continuation of cultural memory' of displaced peoples fostering a sense of collective identity and consciousness (Turan 2010, 44). At times, these sacred artefacts from *émigrés'* traversed journeys stitch together national, local and migrational memory-histories, denoting that their presence is not only significant in the construction of stories of identity on national scales of citizenship, but also in those of more individual nature (Tolia-Kelly 2004a). Visual culture in particular is regarded to create a territory of belonging and being for migrants by enacting embodied, sensory connections to past homes, natures, places, people and family life. Tolia-Kelly (2004b, 686) shows how paintings, photographs, pictures and fabrics in South Asian homes in North West London form part of a sense of heritage central to the sustenance of the self in that they offer aesthetic, sensual and psycho-sociological inclusion, as women continuously traverse 'British' landscapes within and without Britain. From this standpoint, 'every home can be considered an affirmation of identity', as domestic artefacts mediate feelings of discordancy and

discontinuity in the diasporic realm, by providing safety, familiarity and security as solid points of connections with life encountered before and during migration routes (Tolia-Kelly 2006a, 153). For Mehta and Belk (1991), these 'transitional' material possessions, brought over from homeland and treasured as heirlooms by successive generations, constitute tangible references of enfranchising with family history, evolving thus into an important aid to identity in migrants' new homespaces.

Beyond artefacts, the making of heritage in the migrancy realm can be located in embodied practices of continuing traditions, customs and rituals associated with the old country. Such practices channel national imagination outside the homeland, reproducing migrants' national bonds and ensuring their bodily participation in the 'worshipping of the nation' (Gellner 1983, 56-58). In her research with Italian, Polish and Greek-Cypriot communities in Leicester, Burrell (2006) showed how her participants celebrated nationhood by identifying with national days, events and traditions through joint performances of singing, poetry, dancing and ritualised activities. From celebrating Mothering Sunday and name days to painting eggs before Easter, respondents stressed the importance of passing these down to their children, and reproducing these exactly the same way they would be practiced in the homeland (Burrell 2004).

The preservation, dissemination and sharing of cultural values outside the homeland further establishes connections among co-ethnic migrants, marking a sense of collective heritage. Burrell (2004; 2006) highlighted how values of hospitality, and codes of shame, honour and respect determined community members' social relationships, interactions and ways of living. The Polish remembered the cultural tradition of hospitality in customs of keeping empty seats for unexpected visitors during the Christmas Eve dinner, while codes of shame, honour and respect explained the maintenance of customs of introduced marriages in Greek-Cypriot and Italian families. Establishing norms of (accepted) behaviour, the circulation of cultural values ensured communities' closeness, providing its

members a sense of security and emotional belonging, of immense significance in cases, where the host society seemed unwelcoming, or even hostile.

Taking the theorisation of heritage in diaspora one step further, Buciek and Juul (2008) invent the term 'monuments of distance' as opposed to the 'monuments of events' (battlefields, national heroes, buildings, memorial sites, stones and so on) representing the heritage of dominant groups. Favouring a *polyspatial* form of heritage, the 'monuments of distance' crystallise in the connection of roots and routes (Gilroy 1993), the crossroads of old and new homes (Buciek and Juul 2008). Their meaning denotes both the objects representing the journey, as well as the whole spectrum of diaspora's transnational activities, including practices of repeated visits to the old homeland, building houses and showcasing wealth and social status by taking part in the celebration of life-cycle events.

Summary

In this section, looking at history and heritage in migrancy, I outlined my interpretive framework shedding light on the connection between Albanian families' identities and conceptualisations/creations of history and heritage. I also provided a theoretical ground for contextualising participants' mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage. I treated history and heritage in migration in the wider context of constructing these concepts from above and from below. Bottom-up approaches, voicing the stories of the disenfranchised, correspond to notions of stigmatisation 'haunting' participating families' history and heritage discourses in Greece.

I associated the top-down nature approaches with the modernist strand, manipulating the past in the service of nationalising mythologies objectified in portable and non-portable antiquities. In the latter half of the twentieth century calls for the heritage 'of the people' rather than for 'the people' challenged these

nineteenth century Eurocentric history and heritage traditions marking the recognition of the unspectacular, the common place and the vernacular (Samuel 1994). Alternative, parallel, dissenting and subaltern heritages achieved further recognition in the context of postmodern and postcolonial movements endorsing the fluidity of identities, ethnicities and cultures and emphasising responsibilities for comprehending the stories of the Other. In practice, these intellectual shifts, undermining the imaginative coherence of the nation-state, marked the growing interest on the non-Western, the ethnic, the local and the personal finding expression in initiatives and projects promoting social and cultural inclusion, heritage from below traditions and phenomena of intangibility. In the domain of history, the voices of those excluded from historical drama were solicited in public history movements tracing their roots in the refashioning of social history in the 1960s and the 1970s. Placing memory at its core, history from below trends embraced a social form of knowledge eroding the boundaries between 'professional' and 'amateur' practitioners and privileging the development of a participatory historical culture, where people are active agents in creating histories. Sharing similar democratic motives to public history, family history evolved as a grass-roots practice transforming ephemeral and personal items into research material. The site of the family itself was considered a pivotal locus of connecting with history: family stories and memories circulated in intergenerational talk suggested the family's traditional armor, providing a sense of continuity and rootedness among its members.

The concepts of subaltern and hybrid heritages along with that of a participatory historical culture found expression in heritage and history making in migrancy, where the vestiges of 'home' and homeland pervade the émigré's domestic space. Grand historical narratives communicated in interfamilial storytelling sustain émigré national consciousness enforcing solidarity among community members. The recalling and sharing of personal biographies (i) jiggled between 'good' and 'bad old days' reconciling the past and present self, (ii) enacted the idealisation of 'home' acting as a counter-point against negative stereotyping encountered in the country of settlement, or (iii) established themselves as

narratives of success, providing moral guidelines for building lives in new environments. Material and visual culture in migrants' homes transformed private settings into sites of historical identification with landscapes of belonging, tradition and self-identity providing familiarity and security in the discontinuity of the diasporic realm. The performance of traditions of the old world' ensured migrants' physical participation in the worshipping of the nation, while the dissemination and sharing of cultural values outside the homeland fostered connections among co-ethnic migrants, marking a sense of shared heritage.

Chapter 3

The Albanian families in an Albanian and Greek context

3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers background material explaining how participants' pre-and-post migration experiences influence identity formation and history and heritage construction in-between Greece and Albania. It is divided in two sections: the Albanian and the Greek context respectively. The Albanian context focuses on the Albanian culture and the structure of the family concluding with an overview of Albania's history. In the Greek section I outline the chronology and development of the post-1990 Albanian migration to Greece.

3.2 The Albanian context

This section provides contextual information interpreting individuals' identity building and history and heritage construction relating to the old country (see 6.2; 7.2; 7.3; 7.4.2; 7.4.3). The first subsection outlines the structure of the Albanian family and the key principles and ideals informing the Albanian culture. Albania's historical background forms the second subsection, divided in three parts: (i) a brief historical overview leading to Enver Hoxha's leadership, (ii) Albania under Hoxha (1941-1985) and (iii) the transition to democracy. The English literature on Albanians is not very extensive, and therefore throughout this section I had to rely on a few authors (see 8.5).

3.2.1 The Albanian culture and the structure of the family

Traditionally, the Albanian family has many members and forms the basic social unit in Albanian society (Marmullaku 1975). Its structure is patriarchal, patrilineal, exogamous and patrilocal, deeply influenced in northern Albania by the tribal organisation (Young 2000). The latter consolidated its structure during the Ottoman period, when sparsely populated mountainous Albania witnessed considerable autonomy and occasional outright independence (Fischer 1999). Tribes¹⁸ varied in size and structure. A tribe could equally represent a small local lineage of a group of families in a village or a clan, subdivided into lineages localised in one or several places. Each tribe was ruled by its hereditary chief (*barjaktar*). Different clans, comprising groups of houses (*mehola*), were led by a hereditary head (*krue*). Land, pastures, forest and water rights were held communally in each tribe. Supreme power rested with the assembly of the entire tribe, whereas the council of elders passed verdicts on matters of justice according to, unwritten until 1933, oral customary laws and traditions known as 'Canon of Lekë Dukagjini'. Promulgated by the tribal chieftain Lek III Dukagjin (1410-1481?), the *Kanun*¹⁹ governed all aspects of social, political and economic life in mountainous Albania, providing, among others, regulations for family organisation, the boundaries of fields and the payment of taxes (Durham 1910; Vickers 1999). Even though Albania's post-1990 opening to the West had profound impacts on the tribal society of the north, Marmullaku (1975, 83) notes that 'like any traditional social institution, the tribal organisation, has left deep marks on the people's psyche and way of life'. Such influences are not limited to the large family size and functions of joined household found in contemporary rural Albania, but extend to the preservation and maintenance of values, customs and traditions prevailing the Albanian society, and particularly the northern (Young 2000).

¹⁸ There is little agreement among Western scholars on the definition of 'tribe' (Alb. *fis*) in an Albanian context (Backer 2003, 142). Backer (2003, 142) argues that the *fis* refers to a patrilineal descent group: a group of related households tracing common ancestry in the male line.

¹⁹ According to Schwandner-Sievers (2001) in northern Albania reference to *kanun* varies by specific names given to it, deriving from mythical medieval tribal rulers and forefathers believed to be the founders of codifiers of the *kanun*. Thus, there is the so-called '*kanun* of the mountains', or the '*kanun* of Skanderbeg' of the '*kanun* of Lekë Dukagjin' that 'people proudly claim composes a part of their identity and oral tradition' (Schwandner-Sievers 2001, 101).

Backer (2003) described the structure of the Albanian family as 'a patriarchal triangle' whose social elements were (a) patrilineal descent, confirming that the right to the offspring belongs to the father, (b) village exogamy and (c) inheritance in the male line. Patrilineality rests on the teachings of the unwritten law ('a man has blood and a woman kin'), sealing the principles of male inheritance (Hasluck 1954, 25). Exogamy implies that a woman marries outside the village, with men living with their wives in their natal homes (patrilocality). Hence, the core of the Albanian household consists of agnatically related men, who live with their parents under the same roof.

Sexual division of labour is gender defined by *Kanun*. Sex role differentiation becomes evident in the Albanian household. Males' activities, work and social life allow them to interact with all other males inside and outside the community (Backer 2003). Women's home cleaning and catering tasks keep them restricted to the confines of the household. At the top of the intra-familial role system is the master of the household, known as *Zot i shtëpisë*, holding absolute control of the family's communal and private life (Hasluck 1954; Whitaker 1976). His duties include (i) being in charge of the household management and the division of wealth and labour among family members, (ii) acting as a family representative and a decision maker in matters of blood feud-debt, marriage, education, employment and (iii) ensuring that the 'house is highly respected in the eyes of all outsiders' (Young 2000, 16). In contemporary terms, the master of the house becomes a mediator for his family, balancing between the observance of *Kanun* customary laws, representing the old society, and the modern outside world.

Women's low social standing in Albanian society is tied up to the rules of *Kanun*, quoting that 'a woman is known as a sack made to endure as long as she lives in her husband's house' (Young 2000, 20). A woman is a possession of the father's household, and upon marriage, that of her husband's (Whitaker 1981). It is taken for granted that a woman's purpose in the world is to marry and have children (Post 1998). Children were betrothed in infancy, early childhood or before

birth (Durham 1910). The bride's price paid by the groom's family to that of the bride was based on the latter's purity, willingness to work hard and the good reputation of her and her family. To ensure their daughters' chastity, families used to prevent them from attending school, regarded as 'a place of love stories' (Post 1998, 236). Post (1998) notes that in late-1990s Albania, a number of parents still prevented their daughters from enrolment to secondary school or University on the fear of being injured, raped or meeting someone and being wedded to him, breaking the traditional norms. Hoxha's campaigns of gender equality targeting betrothal temporarily brought some results. A 1960s study showed that twenty-four per cent of marriages conducted in Albania were arranged without the couple's consent, twenty-eight per cent were initiated by the parents, whereas forty-eight percent couples chose their own partners (Hall 1994). Fischer (1999) notes that infant betrothal continued to exist during Hoxha's leadership in secret, affirming the marital tie as an act of establishing socio-economic links between two families, rather than an emotional union of two people.

Upon her marriage, the new bride (*nuse*) becomes an addition in the workforce of her husband's family. Until she bears a son, she is regarded as the most inferior person in the household (Young 2000). Stahl (1986, 107) explains the widespread preference for the male offspring in Albanian society destined to act as a pillar of the house in the future: having a son 'is essential for life after death, since he is the one who will take care of your soul; and it is always the son who carries on with the life of your household; he also inherits the property; goes to war; defends you; and also avenges you'. While the birth of sons brings joy in the family, that of girls brings disappointment, as they are destined to become members of another household. 'When a girl is born the very beams of the house begin crying' (Post 1998, 113) an Albanian proverb has it.

The *Kanun* provides further insight into the nature of the Albanian society, including hospitality and blood feuds. Both concepts are related to personal honour, highly valued in Albanian culture and ensured by the *besa* (oath or binding promise). The equivalent of a life-long promise, the oath shapes the morality of

Albanians, acting as the cornerstone of all personal and social conduct. It takes the dimensions of a 'religious utterance' for whoever uses it is legally bound to it, and for whoever promises falsely, 'the mark of dishonour remains on his family until the seventh generation' according to the *Kanun* (Young 2000, 42).

Post (1998, 32) points out that hospitality 'forms an underpinning of national consciousness', regarded as the most common attribute of Albanians in historical observations. 'Any time of the day and night, one must be ready to receive a guest with bread and salt and an open heart, with fire, a log of wood, and a bed' reports Senechal (1997, 33) adding that 'if a guest enters your house, even though he may be in blood with you²⁰, you must say to him 'Welcome!'. Young (2000, 46-47) notes that there are thirty-eight articles in the *Kanun* providing guidelines on how to treat 'the Guest', thirteen articles on the 'Violation of Hospitality' and fourteen articles on 'The Conduct of the Master of the House Toward the Guest'. The observance of the *Kanun* rules of hospitality rests within the duties of the master of the household, where as a 'proper' host he is expected to greet visitors, talk, drink, smoke with them and offer accommodation for an indefinite time.

In a society valuing honour more than life, it comes as no surprise that according to the *Kanun* 'an offense to honour is not paid for with property, but by the spilling of blood or by a magnanimous pardon' (Young 2000, 41). According to Hall (1994), the act of spilling blood to cleanse somebody's personal honour emerged as a common law institution of social control in Albania at a time, where the Ottomans were unable to provide protection of their subjects against major crimes. Acts of offence instigating the blood feud can vary from beating someone and breaking into someone's house to violating an agreed truce or dishonouring a woman (Lopasic 1992). Blood feuds resulting in the death of males can go on for generations. Women, due to their low social status, children and priests do not normally form targets of such practices. The agreement on a payment or the

²⁰ The expression of being 'in blood' with somebody refers to blood feuds treated in the next paragraph.

sharing of a piece of land becomes a means of mediation between the families in feud, whose reconciliations takes place through a mediator, who is usually a revered male elder of the tribe or the village (Young 2000). The social, economic and cultural consequences of the blood feuds were profound for the families and clans of the north. Aside from the numerous death of males (Vlora 1973), the hiding of men in feud in their houses or these of their distant relatives, caused hardships to the family left behind, with women forced to undertake all agricultural work (Whitaker 1976). Blood feuds were restricted during Hoxha's regime to revive in the aftermath of the Communist rule (Fischer 2007b; Vickers and Pettifer 1997).

3.2.2 Historical background

The following three subsections offer an overview of Albania's history until the collapse of the Communist rule (see Appendix I). I firstly focus on the Albanian national awakening leading to the establishment of the Albanian state in 1912 and the monarchy of King Zog until the outbreak of WWII. The second subsection presents the economic, social and cultural policies of Enver Hoxha's regime, while the last outlines Albania's transition to democracy.

3.2.2.1 A brief historical overview leading to Hoxha's leadership

Present-day Albanians claim direct and uninterrupted descent from the ancient Illyrians (Hall 1994). There are numerous theories on the origins of Illyrians, and whether or not they are the ancestors of modern Albanians²¹. Vickers (1999, 1) claims that today it is generally accepted that by the seventh century BC certain tribes sharing 'a common Illyrian language and culture' had settled in the territory, which is known today as Albania (Figure 1).

²¹ For further discussion on Illyrian archaeology see Wilkes 1992.



Figure 1. Albania and its Balkan neighbouring states (Young 2000, xv).

From the seventh to the fifth centuries BC Greek colonists founded Dyrrachium and Apollonia alongside these Illyrian settlements (Hammond 1992). In 168 BC Illyria succumbed to the Roman conquest, and the area, which is regarded today as central Albania, formed part of the Roman province of Macedonia (Harding 1992). The building of Via Egnatia by the Romans provided a trade route, linking the cities of Apollonia and Dyrrachium on the coast with Constantinople and the Middle East. By the second century AD the native population had become known as Arbërs (Hall 1994). Arbërs came under the rule of the Eastern Byzantine Empire, after the split of the Roman Empire (395 AD) (Hall 1992). During the eleventh century a distinctively Albanian society was crystallised and the term *Albans* assumed a territorial character (Hall 1994). The twelfth century AD marked the transition to feudalism, with a series of noble families dominating Albania (Hall 1994). Internal crisis and external attacks ravaged Albania, a part of which came under Ottoman

rule in 1431 (Hall 1994). Albania's most revered national hero, Skanderbeg²², secured the country's independence until his death in 1468, and by 1479 the Ottoman control of all the Albanian-inhabited regions was completed (Vickers 1999).

As a part of the Ottoman Empire, the Albanian population experienced mass conversions to Islam²³, frequent uprising and emigration, mainly to southern Italy (Hall 1994). Its non-Muslim population was divided into semi-autonomous religious communities, known as *millets* by the Ottoman rulers. While Albanian Muslims belonged to the same religious group as Turks and Bosnians, Orthodox Albanians formed part of the *millet* of the Greeks and Serbs (Misha 2002). Since 'religion was not associated with nationality in Albania' (Fischer 1995, 26), the Ottomans undertook 'coercive measures in order to prevent the teaching of the Albanian language' (Misha 2002, 38; see also Vickers 1999; Zalavani 1969). According to Misha (2002), Albanians were deprived from the right to employ their mother language: Muslim Albanians could only attend Turkish schools and the Orthodox Albanian population could only receive Greek education. Education was at the heart of Albanian nation building tracing its roots in a handful of 1830s and 1840s intellectuals, residing outside in what is know today as Albanian territory, and mostly in Europe and the political and economic centres of the Ottoman Empire. Having come in contact with the ideas of Western scholars, travellers, poets, ethnographers and philologists, these Albanian patriots preached that 'culture could be gained only in the mother tongue' (Skendi 1967, 121). But the emphasis on language alone 'was not sufficiently effective incentive to national awakening: patriotic content was also needed' (Skendi 1967, 123). The recreation of the past in the writings of nineteenth-century Albanian poets, ethnographers and folklorists undertook such purposes by constructing a common Albanian history. In the works of nationalist Albanian writers the myth of origin took shape in the theory of Illyrian

²² George Castriot Skanderbeg (1405-1468) is an Albanian national hero born to the noble Kastrioti family in Northern Albania and given as a hostage to Sultan Murad II. In 1443 Skanderbeg left the Ottoman army to defend Albania against the Ottoman Empire as a local ruler of Krujë district (Winniffrith 1992).

²³ Until the 16th century almost every part of Albania was Christian: Orthodoxy was dominant in the south and Roman Catholicism in the north (Hall 1994).

descent, providing evidence of Albanian historical continuity in Kosovo and in areas of southern Albania contested by Serbs or Greeks (Misha 2002). In folklore, the Arbëreshi (Italo-Albanians) maintaining the language, customs and traditions of the fatherland, sang nostalgically the heroic past of the Albanian ancestors, from which Skanderbeg emerged as a national hero (Lubonja 2002). Skanderbeg's achievements against the Ottomans served a double function in national identity construction: (i) they encouraged Albanians to 'forget' their Ottoman past, which the nationalists considered the source of all evil and (ii) they established cultural affinity with Europe by reminding the West of Albania's sublime sacrifices to defend its regions from the Asiatic hordes (Misha 2002)²⁴. The construction of the Albanian national culture crystallised in the eradication of religion viewed as an indicator of foreign influence and a divisive factor among Albanians, who were a mixture of Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic Christians (Draper 1997; Hall 1994). During the second half of the nineteenth century, patriots increasingly projected nationalism as an alternative to existing religions ('the religion of Albania is Albanianism'²⁵) ascribing to the movement a secular character (Judah 2002, 12). On November 1912, and after a series of Albanian revolts, Ismail Kemal, 'the father of Albanian independence' (Fischer 1995, 31), convened an assembly of eighty-three Albanian patriots, and with the support of Italy and Austro-Hungary, declared the country's independence²⁶.

The Great Powers recognised the independence of Albania²⁷, which until 1920 witnessed the occupation by the armies of its Balkan neighbours, including Greece, Serbia and Montenegro (Biberaj 1989). Issues of 'national development strategies' (Pano 1992, 22) shook Albania's political stability until the mid-1920s

²⁴ This combination of Orient and Western elements in Albanian collective memory, has promoted contradictions in the country's relationships with Europe ever since: Europe is the cradle of civilisation and the dream of wellbeing, but it is equally the immoral for the hardships caused to Albanians, including the partition of Albanian-inhabited territories to neighbouring Balkan states (Misha 2002).

²⁵ The 'mythologising saying' (Bayraktar 2011, ¶ 1) comes from the Albanian intellectual Vaso Pasha (1825-1892).

²⁶ For an overview of the political situation leading to Albania's declaration of Independence see Zalavani 1969.

²⁷ For the demarcation of Albania's frontiers by the Great Powers see Biberaj 1989 and Zalavani 1969.

when Ahmed Zogu transformed Albania into a monarchy as 'Zog I, King of Albanians'. Zog emerged as a political personality from the parliamentarian party referred to as "progressives" (Pano 1992, 22), supporting the establishment of law and order throughout Albania as a prerequisite for social and economic reforms. Before assuming the role of the monarch, Zog served as Albania's prime minister (1922-1925) and president (1925-1928) (Vickers 1999). Despite his intentions of building national unity and consciousness, Zog's failed attempts to recover Albanian economy²⁸ lead to the country's gradual subordination and loss of freedom in 1939 by the Italians. The twenty-year Italian-Albanian defense alliance, signed in 1927, enabled Italy to assume responsibility for the training and equipping of the Albanian army, creating pro-Italian cells in its military. When Italian forces invaded Albania in 1939, the Albanian army was so infiltrated that it was of little use to either side (Fischer 2007a). King Zog appealed to his subjects to fight the Italians until the last drop of blood before fleeing to Greece with his wife and newborn son (Fischer 2007a). The leader's escape along with his reluctance to arm the population, wishing to resist the Italian invaders, made him unpopular in the Albanian population (Pano 1992).

3.2.2.2 Albania under Enver Hoxha (1941-1985)

During the Axis occupation (1939-44) Albania was ruled by a series of puppet collaborationist Italian and German governments, headed by Zog's political opponents (Pano 1992)²⁹. Due to their cooperation with the Fascists, these groups discredited themselves in the eyes of a large segment of the Albanian population, thus paving the way for a new ruling class to emerge (Pano 1992). The power vacuum was filled by the Communists lead by Enver Hoxha. The son of a middle-class Muslim family of Gjirokastra, Hoxha (1908-1985) came in contact with radical, left wing politics in the course of his residence in Paris and Brussels.

²⁸ According to Fischer (2007a, 21) in the eve of Zog's era, Albania had the least developed economy in Europe: over 90% of the population were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, but only 9% of the land was arable; industry was 'non-existent' or of the 'handicraft variety'; and transportation facilities were 'primitive'.

²⁹ Pano (1992, 28) reports that the Albanians who collaborated with the Italians and the Germans came from 'the ranks of the pre-war political and economic elites', from a group of Zog's exiled political opponents, who had returned to their homeland, and from the Catholic clergy and intelligentsia.

Following the communists' victory in the 1945 elections, the national Constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a People's Republic in 1946 and approved a new constitution inspired by Stalinist principles (Fischer 2007b). Hoxha was the prime minister of the new Communist government, which was established in March of the same year. His political programme was built on maintaining himself and his party in power, achieving effective control of all aspects of Albanian life, modernising the country based on the Leninist-Stalinist model and safeguarding Albania's sovereignty and territorial integrity (Pano 1992). The leader's persistence in accomplishing these goals brought him into conflict with members of his own party; with Yugoslavia (1948); the Soviet Union (1961); China (1978) and the majority of the world's Communist parties, resulting to Albania's isolation in the late 1970s (Pano 1992; Vickers 1999).

After solidifying his power by purging his political opponents, Hoxha launched his harsh socioeconomic and cultural policies (Fischer 2007b). The construction of the 'economic base' of socialism materialised in the transformation of Albania from 'a backward agrarian nation to a modern industrial-agricultural state' (Pano 1992, 44). With the assistance of Soviet and Chinese credits, industrialisation was promoted through nationalisation, the collectivisation of agriculture, the expansion of farm output and the upgrading of social services. Despite remaining the least economically developed country in Europe, in the aftermath of Hoxha's leadership, Albania had achieved remarkable industrial growth and infrastructural improvement in the form of rural electrification and land reclamation (Fischer 2007b).

In the sociocultural realm, the ideal of the 'perfect new socialist man', defined by his 'stable Albanian identity and Communist consciousness', was accomplished through educational and Stalinist social engineering (Vickers and Pettifer 1997, 3). In 1964 Hoxha launched the 'Ideological and Cultural Revolution' seeking to 'cleanses' Albanian society from 'alien ideologies' and attitudes, traditions and institutions, which impeded the regime's vision for national unity and

modernisation. From an ideological perspective, the new socialist person was called to take part in a struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideas, liberalism and conservatism, threatening the success of the socialist revolution (Prifti 1978; 1979). In practice, the 'revolution' in Albanians' sociocultural life took effect in the establishment of gender equality, abolition of institutional churches, reforms in the education system and eradication of spirits of individualism, poor labour discipline and indifference in political authority (Pano 1992).

Hoxha had a genuine interest in transforming the status of women, whose role was restricted in society by the *Kanun* culture. Women's emancipation was a prevalent theme in the Communist propaganda, where the family was viewed as one of 'the last strongholds of feudalism and bourgeois individualism and ideology' (Pichler 1995, 75). The institution of gender equality in 1946 Albania's Socialist constitution was followed by a series of social and economic programmes having a profound impact in women's lives. Women entered the workforce and enjoyed improved access to education and medical-and-child-care. Marriage and divorce were regulated and infant betrothal was punished. Nonetheless, gender discrimination was not fully eradicated. Conservative attitudes still persisted in the domestic sphere, where women were faced with 'old male prejudices' and rarely any of them were exempted from fulfilling their traditional housework duties (Logoreci 1977, 182).

The destruction of traditional attitudes through 'revolution' did not leave the legacy of organised religion untouched. Within the regime's ideological makeup, Albania's religious diversity was seen as a representative of the old conservative world, hindering the country's social advancement and national unity (Lubonja 2002). The communists blamed religion for condoning the arranged marriages of children, ordering peoples' lives and denying gender equality (Vickers 1999). In 1967 places of worship were closed down; churches and mosques were destroyed, converted into cultural centres, sports halls, theatres and storehouses; traditional religious observances were substituted with secular festivals; parents were given official lists with pagan, Illyrian or freshly coined names to name 'the new breed of

revolutionary Albanians' and Albania proclaimed itself the first atheist state in 1967 (Logoreci 1977, 157).

Proper education and 'correct' cultural influences were key elements to effect modernisation for the construction of the new socialist Albania (Fischer 2007b, 262). Hoxha placed education highly on his agenda, treating schools as apparatuses for inculcating loyalty to the Communist party, the nation and the Marxist-Leninism doctrines. The school reforms of the early 1970s reflected such objectives, establishing academic study, production work and military training as its main components for six-to-eighteen-year-old children's education (Pano 1992). Despite its investment with propagandistic connotations, the Albanian educational system made remarkable progress under the Communist rule. Hoxha tackled Albania's illiteracy level³⁰, with campaigns enrolling thousands of people in evening classes and by making eight-year primary schooling mandatory. In 1950 the country's literacy rate rose to 70%, its educational facilities were expanded and its first University was established in Tirana in 1957 (Fischer 2007b).

The development of culture in communist Albania reflected Hoxha's ideology of 'extreme nationalism in the context of a state-of-siege with aspects of traditional Stalinism as a goal' (Fischer 2007b, 251). The Albanian Labour Party's³¹ nationalist aspirations were omnipresent in all areas of cultural life: from paying homage to heroes of Albanian nationalism to attaching importance to the observation of the country's national anniversaries, preserving national monuments, historic towns and cities designated as 'museum cities' and enhancing the nation's cultural heritage by promoting folk songs, dances and costumes (Prifti 1979). Academic, cultural and artistic work established connections and a sense of rootedness between past and present. From historical and linguistic studies to textbooks, traditional histories, literature for children, general literature, drama, film and exhibitions the story narrated presented the Albanian Party of Labour as the honourable descendant of Albania's glorious past. The Illyrian battles, the time

³⁰ Albania's illiteracy level was 85% in 1939 (Fischer 2007b).

³¹ The Communist Party of Albania was renamed in 1948 the Albanian Party of Labour (Pano 1992).

of Skanderbeg and the Albanian renaissance became parallels of the triumphant victories of the Communist Party, Albania's 'saviour' from the darkness of the capitalist world (Lubonja 2002, 94). Like every nationalistic project, there were heroes and anti-heroes. In the first category Hoxha and medieval hero Skanderbeg were the most exalted characters of communist literature and art. Anti-heroes included the Roman invaders, the Turks, the Serbs, the Greeks, the Nazi-Fascists and their Albanian collaborators, marking Albania's eternal 'liberation struggle' against the powers of evil (Lubonja 2002, 95). As the Albanian-American scholar Arshi Pipa (1990, 121) suggested, Hoxha's cultural policy not only provided people with a sense of their own past, but also inculcated 'xenophobia, slavophobia, isolationism [and] ethnic compactness'.

The growth of an educated population encouraged the development of literacy and artistic activity leading to the emergence of an Albanian intelligentsia. By the early 1980s Albania published approximately one thousand books per year, thirty newspapers and fifty journals. Technically, Albanian culture was flourishing under Communism. In reality, the creative spirit of the nation's intellectual and artistic community was handicapped by rigorous ideological and political controls exercised by government censors (Pano 1992). Writers and artists were instruments of government policy and mere deliverers of its official propaganda, providing the population with the necessary immunity against the 'decadent', 'bourgeois' and 'revisionist' ideologies (Pano 1974).

Like arts and literature, the regime saw the press, radio and television as key devices for political indoctrination and mass education. The Albanian Party of Labour devoted considerable amount of its resources on television, regarded among the most effective mediums of circulating its propaganda. The restriction of freedom of expression turned the Albanian press in 'one of the dullest and least informative' in Eastern Europe, leaving people in complete ignorance of what went inside and outside their country (Logoreci 1977, 177). Forbidden to travel until the

mid-1970s³², Albanians' sole source of connection with the outside world were foreign radio and TV broadcasts. Even though these practices were not prohibited by the law, they were discouraged for exposing citizens to 'pernicious imperialist (western) or revisionist (Soviet and Yugoslav) influences' as an official campaign against international broadcasts revealed in 1973 (Logoreci 1977, 177).

Resistance against restrictions of daily life and oppression of cultural and intellectual freedom was widespread across Albanian society. The youth opposition over the Party's isolationist politics came to the fore in a 1973 report produced by the Labour Youth of Albania expressing its discontent over partisan war themes dominating the lives of their generation (Pano 1974). Popular discontent, emerging from heightened repression, worsened in the 1970s and 1980s by the decline of living standards as a result of Hoxha's brutal economic policies of agriculture collectivisation.

Hoxha died in April 1985 at the age of seventy-six. Eight days of official mourning followed. For the country's three million inhabitants this was a traumatic and momentous event. Signs of grief were everywhere: from the pilgrimages of whole villages to attend the leader's funeral in Tirana to citizens breaking down weeping by the coffin (Vickers and Pettifer 1997). As an old Albanian proverb has it, according to Vickers (1999, 210), 'when a father beats his son, the child cries, but still clings to him as the only protector he knows'.

According to Pano (1992) and Fischer (2007b) the ex-ruler's legacy remains complex and rather negative. On the one hand, there are some notable achievements, including improvements in industry, education, healthcare, cultural activity, women's rights, living standards and reduction of divisive factors in Albanian society, such as religious differences. Hoxha is also credited with completing the construction of Albania as a nation-state by enhancing a sense of national unity among its citizens and safeguarding the country's territorial integrity.

³² Foreign travel restrictions did not apply for the Party elite, who also enjoyed the use of private cars, not available to the wider Albanian population until 1991 (Vickers 1999).

Nonetheless, these achievements appeared short-lived, mainly due to the ruler's extreme approaches. The political oppression of his leadership scarred Albanians on a psychological level, making the transition from command socialism to a market-oriented democracy one of the most challenging in Eastern Europe (Fischer 2007b). The restrictions imposed to peoples' daily lives led to rejection of all aspects of Hoxha's ideology, starting with the authority of central government (Pano 1992; Fischer 2007b). In the post-Hoxha years, Albanians' alienation from communism took the form of extensive destruction of public property and state symbols. Government buildings and public transport were set on fire across the country, factories and co-operative farming enterprises were burnt and greenhouses and irrigation systems were vandalised (Young 2000). Education was degraded content- and-quality-wise (Fischer 2007b; Vickers and Pettifer 1997). The younger generation set alight school buildings perceived as reminders of an oppressive past, while access to education was reduced by the revival of blood feuds, forcing thousands of school-age children to remain at home³³. The explosion of trafficking put under threat women's rights: thousands of women were transported abroad for prostitution, while others were kept at home out of fear of such a possibility. Under these conditions, Albanians found themselves in a severe identity crisis resulting in an unprecedented brain drain of mass exodus to the West. In the first ten years following Hoxha's death, 20% of the population fled Albania to escape the hopeless situation of home (Fischer 2007b).

Fischer (2007b, 267) asserts that in the aftermath of Hoxha's regime, Albanians faced the challenging task of building up from the ground, or even reinventing their country's political, social and economic structure in a context of 'weak' civic nationalism. In rejecting Hoxha's ruthless nationalism, Albanians returned to regionalism and a certain anti-nationalism, hindering processes of the construction of a civil society (Fischer 2007b; Lubonja 2002). In this sense Hoxha may have put at risk or even damaged Albania's independence (Fischer 2007b).

³³ Vickers and Pettifer (1997) report the inclusion of boys as targets of blood feuds in post-Hoxha's Albania.

3.2.2.3 The transition to democracy

Two days after Hoxha's death, Ramiz Alia (1925-2011) was elected first secretary of the Albanian Party of Labour. Hoxha's legacy left the new leader with multiple challenges, with that of the economy being the most pressing. By the mid-eighties, Albania had the lowest living standards in Europe, resulting to the population's increasing disenchantment of the regime. In December of 1990 under the pressure of students, intellectuals and young workers coupled by the demise of the Eastern Bloc communism overwhelming Europe, Alia was forced to launch a decree legalising the establishment of alternative political parties (Pano 1992). During the same month the Democratic Party of Albania (DPA) was legalised and a new constitution was put into effect, authorising a multiparty political system and the population's civic liberties. The legal and the foreign policy sector also witnessed notable changes. Alia's reforms focused on the re-establishment of the Ministry of Justice to protect citizens' civil rights, the lifting of the abolition of religion and the activation of a new passport law, granting citizens the right to travel abroad (Vickers and Pettifer 1997). In the foreign policy sector, Alia established Albania's diplomatic relations with Western Europe and Balkan neighbours in an attempt to find markets for Albanian exports and modernise the nation's economy through foreign capital and technical expertise (Pano 1992). Despite further reforms of the education and the cultural sector, Albania's precarious economic conditions gave rise to violent demonstrations and strikes. Successive waves of unrest swept the country until the March 1992 elections, when the DPA came into power with Dr. Sali Berisha as its president. In the aftermath of its election, the Democratic Party announced that the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act would act as the basis of the Albanian society. DPA leaders also demanded that Albania abides to the four principles of the Paris Charter, which included a free-market economy, self-determination, free elections and the right to own private property (Vickers 1999).

When the DPA assumed control, the concept of a civil society was barely developed in a state, whose population wished to become Westernised. By opening

the way to democracy, the newly elected government also 'opened the floodgates to corruption' (Young 2000, 4). Berisha's totalitarian behaviour along with widespread bribery led to great divisions in the Albanian society. The collapse of the fraudulent 'pyramid' investment schemes, which were supported by the government, ravaged the Albanian economy, plunging the country into havoc. Deteriorating economic conditions and Berisha's refusal to resign in 1997 marked Albania's 'descent into anarchy' (Vickers 1999, 245): countrywide the looting of armouries provided the population with an estimated one million lethal weapons (Young 2000). Amidst international calls for the country's restoration to order, Albanians went to the polls in June 1997 giving the opposition, led by the Socialist Party, a chance to form a new government and to cease violence (Vickers and Pettifer 1997).

Summary

In this section I provided background information putting into context participants' identity formation and history and heritage construction relating to the old country.

The Albanian family is the basic social unity in Albanian society. It is patriarchal, patrilineal, exogamous and patrilocal bearing influences from the tribal organisation and the *Kanun*. Sexual division of labour is gender-defined by *Kanun*: males interact with other males inside and outside the community, whereas women's homecleaning and catering tasks keep them restricted in the household. At the top of the intra-familial role system is the master of the household, holding absolute control of the family's private and communal life. Women's low social standing is tied up to the *Kanun* culture. Hospitality underpins Albanian consciousness. The observance of the *Kanun* rules of hospitality rests within the duties of the master of the household. Practices of 'spilling blood' to cleanse somebody's personal honour have their roots in Ottoman times resulting in the death of males across generations. The agreement of a financial payment or the

sharing of a piece of land become means of achieving mediation between the families in feud.

I divided Albania's historical background into three subsections: (a) a historical overview leading to Hoxha's leadership, (b) Albania under Enver Hoxha (1941-1985) and (iii) the country's transition to democracy. Present-day Albanians claim uninterrupted descent from ancient Illyrians, settling in what is known today as Albania from the seventh century BC. Following the Roman conquest and the establishment of the Byzantine Empire, Albania became part of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. The construction of Albanian national identity, leading to the country's national independence in 1912, was crystallised in language, common history and the eradication of religion. In 1913 the Great Powers recognised the independence of Albania, which in the late 1920s was transformed into a monarchy under Ahmet Zogu. Albania was invaded by Italy in 1939.

In the aftermath of WWII, the communists assumed control. Under the leadership of Hoxha, Albania experienced harsh socioeconomic and cultural reforms. The leader promoted industrialisation through nationalisation and collectivisation of agriculture. In the sociocultural realm the 'Ideological and Cultural Revolution' based on Marxist-Leninist doctrines materialised in the establishment of gender equality, the abolition of institutional churches and reforms of education. Literature, the arts, press, radio and television were key devices for political indoctrination, mass education and propaganda circulation. Resistance against restrictions of daily life and oppression of cultural and intellectual freedom triggered Albanians' discontent returning to regionalism and anti-nationalism in the aftermath of Hoxha's era.

3.3 The Greek context

In this section I provide background material contextualising participating families' identity formation and history and heritage evolving around their settlement and birth (in the children's case) in Greece (see 6.3; 7.2; 7.3.2; 7.3.3; 7.3.6; 7.4.2; 7.4.3.1; 7.4.3.2). The section is divided in three subsections: (i) the context and chronology of Albanian migration to Greece, (ii) the development of the Albanian community in Greece: the first years and (iii) that of Albanians building lives in Athens.

3.3.1 Context and chronology of the Albanian migration to Greece

Burrin e njeh kurbeti/gruan e njeh djepi: 'A man becomes a man out in the world (*kurbet*), a woman becomes a woman over a cradle' the Albanian proverb has it (Papailias 2003, 64). Deriving from the Turkish *gurbet*, the sentimentally loaded *kurbet* refers to the journey and sojourn in a foreign land for work and family support (Barjaba and King 2005). Labour migration was common among Albanians in the Ottoman Empire, partly as a response to the country's harsh agro-pastoral economic environment (Barjaba *et al.* 1992; Pichler 2002). Yet to become a *kurbetlli* (emigrant) was not merely a matter of economics. Over centuries the act of being 'absent' to support the ones 'left behind' acquired moral values and connotations of pride and fearlessness, for it involved taking risks and making sacrifices (Barjaba and King 2005). The terminology and ideology of *kurbet* survive in Albanian folklore and memory: *kurbeti* folk songs and narratives, evoking the sufferings of migration for the migrant and the family left behind, offer cultural meaning to loss and sacrifice that have acquired a new intensity in the context of post-communism migration (Mai and Schwandner-Sievers 2003).

Practices of *kurbet* were widespread throughout the Albanian history, except for the 'artificial interlude' of Hoxha's isolationist regime (King 2005, 135). During the second half of the fifteenth century Christian Albanians resisted the Ottoman incursion and the conversion to Islam by fleeing to southern Italy and

Greece. Scattered across Calabria, Sicily and other regions, the Albanian diaspora in southern Italy, known as Arbëresh, numbers around 200.000 members (Barjaba and King 2005, 6). The descendants of these Albanian émigrés have preserved their language and traditions for five centuries (King and Vullnetari 2003) (see 3.2.2.1). In southern Greece, Albanian migrants settled in Attica, Boetia, Eubea, Peloponese and the Cycladese, at that time under Latin lordship (Duclelier 1992). These areas came under the Ottoman rule in the late fifteenth century. King (*et al.* 1998) notes that in some of these areas this population, numbering 200.000 members (Anderson 1997), conserves a medieval form of the Albanian language, known in Greek as *arvanitika*. In the early twentieth century Albanian migration expanded overseas to North America, Argentina and Australia, whilst regional flows to Greece, Bulgaria and Romania grew bigger (Barjaba *et al.* 1992; King *et al.* 1998). The post-1990 exodus of Albanians to the West should therefore not be seen as an isolated episode having no precedent, but as a wider phenomenon connecting with centuries-old movements and travelling, transcending Albania's sociocultural history (Pichler 2002).

The origins of the post-communist Albanian migration lie on the domino effect of democratisation across Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the Iron Curtain dismantling and the severe political and economic chaos, prevailing Albania's transition from communism to liberalisation (King and Vullnetari 2003). Copying the examples of their counterparts in East Germany, in June 1990 around 5,000 Albanians sought refuge in Western embassies in Tirana, where they were given exile in various EU countries (King and Vullnetari 2003). Between 1991-1992 governmental instability and economic chaos sparked boat exoduses to Italy and mountain crossings to Greece, resulting in an estimated of 200,000 Albanian fleeing the country (King 2005) (Figure 2).

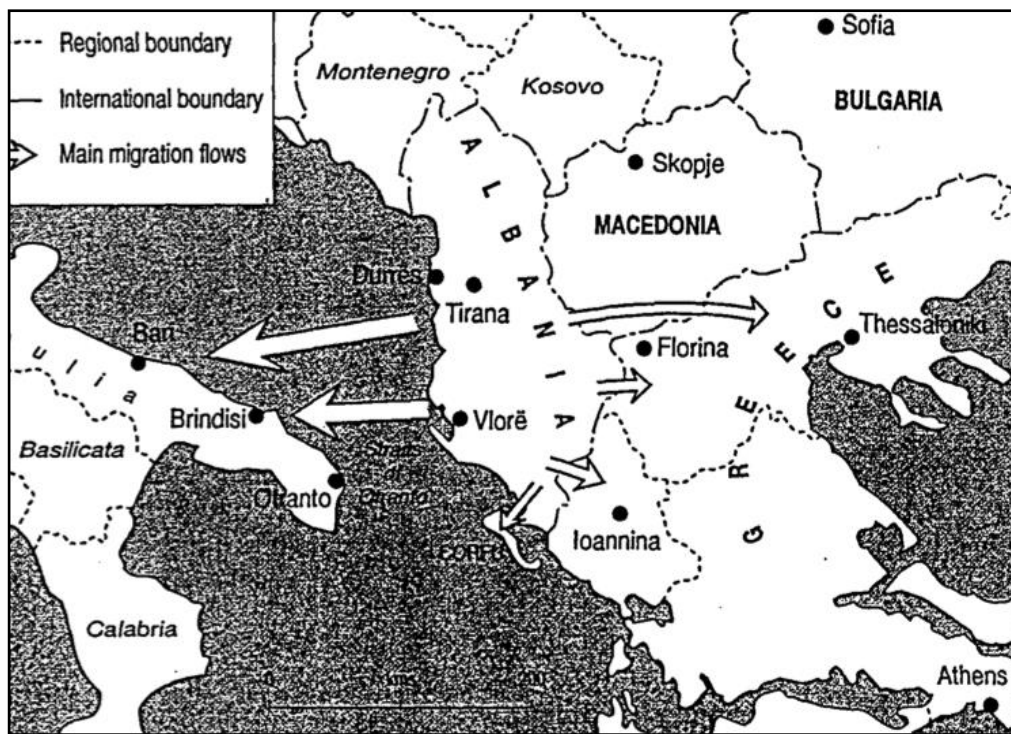


Figure 2. Albania and its neighbours: main migration routes (King 2003, 287).

The following three years were marked by economic progress and stability, yet the Albanian economy remained unable to cater for the country's active population, resulting in 400,000 Albanians living and working abroad (King 2005). Around eighty to ninety per cent of this figure worked in Greece, where it was easy to cross the borders due to geographical proximity and employment in the informal economy³⁴. During 1996-1997, the collapse of pyramid investment schemes swept the country to economic and political turmoil (see 3.2.2.3), triggering another boat exodus to Italy, while migration to Greece swelled (Korovilas 1999). By the end of the decade, the 2001 Albanian Census indicated that 600,000 Albanians were living abroad³⁵ (King 2005).

Two main motivations have caused post-1990 Albanian migration: the strategy of economic survival and that of personal liberation and self-expression

³⁴ In a Greek context informal economy means illegal, clandestine, unregistered, cheap and non-insured employment (Droukas 1998).

³⁵ According to the 1989 Census the population of Albania was 3,182, 417. This figure dropped to 3,069, 275 in the 2001 Census (King 2005).

(King 2005). Above all, scholars (Barjaba and King 2005; Kule *et al.* 2002) view Albanian migration as the most effective means of individuals and households left with no income, earning opportunities or social support structures³⁶ after the collapse of the communist state. Albanian migration has also been understood as an opportunity for self-realisation and fulfilment tied up to the existence of contradictory cognitive orders in Albanian culture (King and Mai 2002; 2004). Drawing by Artan Fuga (1998), Barjaba and King (2005, 22) explain that these two conflicting cognitive worlds involve: (i) the *homogenous* world, producing an ontologically secure and solid social and moral order based on legitimisation of authoritarian power and (ii) the *heterogeneous* world, which proliferates the construction of a mixed social environment by recognising difference as a constitutive part of everyday life expressed in democracy and freedom of thought and action. Before the collapse of the communist state, the *homogenous* world was represented in the authoritarian rule of Hoxha and his successors, while the heterogeneous world was either excluded or infiltrated clandestinely via foreign influences (Barjaba and King 2005, 22). In the years preceding 1990, the co-existence of conflicting cultural and political models accelerated through Italian, Greek and Yugoslavian television. The subversive viewing of these foreign programmes provided the starkest lifestyle contrast between Albanians' black and white bleak routines and the colourful 'good life' of the neighbouring West (Mai 2001; 2004). The consumption of the images of the West exacerbated younger Albanians' dissatisfaction with unfulfilling working and leisure opportunities, lack of resources and material goods, leading to rejection of aspects of Albanian culture, including patriarchy, conservatism, denial of pleasure, pervasiveness of control and surveillance (King and Mai 2004; Mai 2001) (see 7.3.6; 7.4.3.2). As Mai (2005, 547) underpinned, while the older generation was willing to accept the renunciation of individual pleasure and the authoritarian values and morals prevalent in Albanian

³⁶ Barjaba and King (2005, 22) include within social support structures 'collective services' providing 'a platform of basic social welfare' for the population, such as kindergartens, canteens, homes for elderly having no family support and rural medical centres. Under the impetus of the 'free-for-all liberalism', characterising post-communist years, these services were closed down (Barjaba and King 2005, 22).

society, Albanian young people were eager to enjoy 'a plurality of lifestyles, to engage in sex, leisure and education' like their peers in Western Europe.

3.3.2 The development of the Albanian community in Greece: the first years

During the first years Albanian migration to Greece was male-dominated, initially of short-term nature and gradually acquiring a more stable character (Labrianidis *et al.* 2001). Much of the movement was clandestine, with males crossing the borders in remote places in the mountains, usually with the help of guides or traffickers (King *et al.* 1998). Adopting 'chain migration' patterns (Vullnetari 2007), these first male arrivals, established under severe working and settlement conditions, networks of information and exchange for women, children, relatives and friends to arrive later (Hatziprokopiou 2003).

The element of cross-border shuttle migration coupled with the massive deportations of Albanian immigrants and the subsequent re-entry of some of these back to Greece makes the community's estimated presence in Greece difficult (Fakiolas 2003). According to the 2001 Census data, Albanians constitute the largest ethnic group of the country's immigrant population (56 per cent), numbering around 443,550 members³⁷. Almost half of this population (207,042) resides in the Athens conurbation (Iosifides *et al.* 2007). There is no gender balance, however, Albanian women's participation in migration, holding a share of forty per cent in the 2001 Census data, is thought to have intensified in recent years as a result of family reunification (King 2003). Accordingly, calculations by Baldwin-Edwards (2008) on the 2001 Census data regarding the second generation³⁸ bring the Albanian ethnic group on the first place (36.6 per cent) with 44,000 members. The Albanian migration to Greece has also evolved from an age structure point of view. King and Vullnetari (2003) highlight that the working-age dominated patterns have been

³⁷ The 2001 Census estimated 10,964, 020 residents in Greece (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005).

³⁸ The authors include individuals born in Greece, who did not acquire Greek citizenship through *ius sanguinis*, and presumably had not obtained it through naturalisation procedures by 2001 in the second generation.

enriched by 'migrating grannies'. These are the first generation's parents joining the family (son or daughter) in the country of settlement. Migrating grannies are of immense economic, social and emotional significance to Albanian families. By looking after the children, particularly in a pre-school age, they allow parents to work and have free time for themselves at a lesser financial cost, while the reunification of elderly with their migrating families 'serves a comfort zone' in the context of Albanian society, where the institution of the family is particularly strong (King and Vullnetari 2003, 32).

Greece's first, albeit short-lasting, reception of Albanians was warm, driven by curiosity of exploring cultural connections and repressed historical memories of Balkan brotherhood after forty years of isolation (Papailias 2003). Soon the 'lost brothers' became the embodiment of national threat and primitive savagery, legitimising migration policies of tight police control and massive deportations (Fakiolas 2003; Karydis 1996; Georgoulas 2001). Triandafyllidou and Veikou (2002, 191) associate Greece's reluctance to adopt a comprehensive policy framework on migration 'to the ethnocultural definition of Greek nationality' and citizenship consolidated on common ancestry, language, culture and religion. Based on the exclusionary concept of the 'hierarchy of Greekness' (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002, 192) setting boundaries between insiders and outsiders on ethnic and religious criteria, Greece's legal framework opted for regularisation programmes, minimising Albanians' access to Greek citizenship acquisition. There have been three regularisation programmes so far (1998, 2001, 2005) providing valid permits to 300,000 Albanians (Gogonas 2010). However, it should be noted that even regularised migrants tend to remain in a state of 'semi-legality' as residence permits, for those having legally lived less than ten years in Greece, can only be renewed for a period of one to two years (Gogonas 2010, 71). Due to immense delays in such processes, immigrants find themselves applying for a new permit by the time their 'old' one is issued (Triandafyllidou and Maroufof 2009). Until recently, immigrants' naturalisation remained (and to some extent it still is) a grand taboo for the Greek society. Immigrants needed to have completed a legal residency of ten consecutive years out of the last twelve to be eligible to apply for a

Greek citizenship. In early 2010 the socialist government introduced a new law, according to which foreign nationals of a legal status living and working in Greece for seven consecutive years were able to naturalise, vote and run in local elections. The same law ensured eligibility for naturalisation to children born in Greece by migrant parents, whilst for those not born in Greece, Greek citizenship was to be acquired after completing six consecutive years in the Greek education system.

Similarly to the Greek state's response towards Albanian arrivals, the Greek media's initial gestures of humanism and solidarity gave way to stigmatic labelling (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999; Triandafyllidou 2002). Anti-Albanian sentiments and 'Albanophobia' (Karydis 1996; Pavlou 2001) reproduced in terror stories on 'waves of infection crossing the Greek frontiers: AIDS, hepatitis B, cholera, ebola' (Serematakis 1996, 489). According to Kapllani and Mai (2005) Albanian scapegoating in the Greek media evolves around three strands. The first discursive set portrays the Albanian migrant as the ruthless 'barbarian' (Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001), committing crimes of extreme ferocity. The ethnicisation of criminal behaviour prevalent in such accounts attributes Albanians' acts of cruelty to their 'cultural heritage', rather than particular social or political factors. The second layer presents the Albanian migrant as the embodiment of backwardness: Albanians are associated with an imagined 'civilisation of poverty' (Kapllani and Mai 2005, 165) as they are caught stealing 'worthless objects' that Greek criminals would not consider 'worthwhile'.

The third discursive strand constructs the cultural image of Albanians as 'invaders' and 'traditional enemies' of Greekness (Kapllani and Mai 2005, 165). The Albanian migrant is thought to disturb and disrupt the Greek nationality, sovereignty and social cohesion by his/her imposition as a minority. These discourses have their roots in long-held disputes of territorial and ethnic nature, and social and cultural dynamics in the recent history and economies of the two countries. The first issue concerns the territory of south Albania, whose geographical boundaries and ethnological composition have consisted a heated debate between the two countries for nearly two centuries. Konidaris (2005) notes

that an important parameter informing the debate in the modern era concerns the way the Ottoman rule divided the area's population. According to the author (Konidaris 2005), for the Ottomans being Greek also meant being Orthodox Christian, and therefore, Orthodox Albanians, Vlachs and smaller ethnic groups, residing in the area, were classified as Greek (see also Kallivretakis 1995; Kondis 1994). This classification provided additional evidence for the Greek claims, emphasising throughout the twentieth century, that the area is 'geographically, historically, ethnologically and culturally connected with the northern Greek territory of Epirus since antiquity' (Konidaris 2005, 66). This explains the term 'Northern Epirus' employed in Greek public and political discourses to refer to the area, a term that the Albanian side rejects as irredentist. In the first half of the twentieth century Greece many times (1912-1913, 1914, 1916, 1919, 1946) tried to annex this part of Albania without success, while the territorial claim continued to form part of Greek governments' political agendas until the late 1980s (Konidaris 2005) (Figure 3; Figure 4).

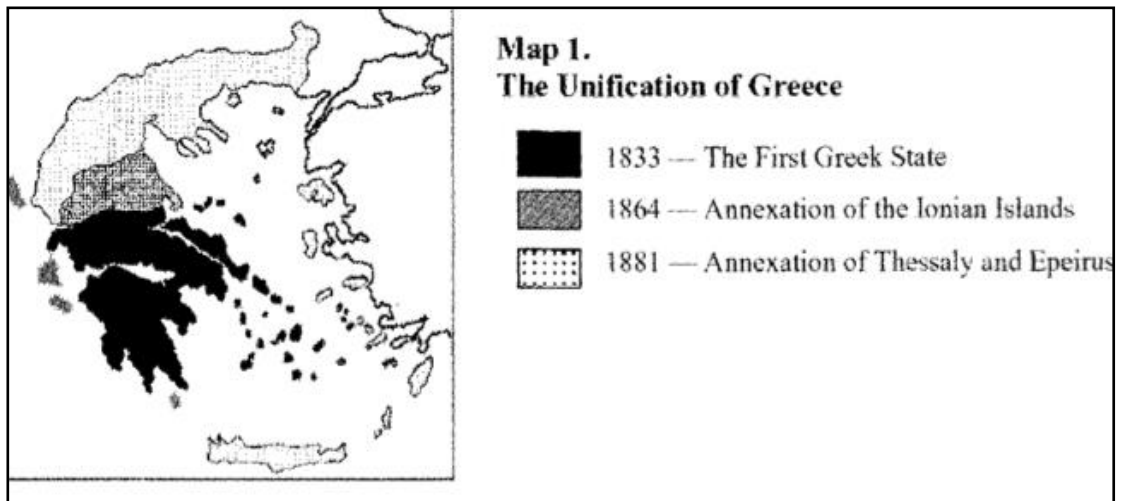


Figure 3. Map indicating the stages of the unification of Greece (Alexandri 2002, 192).



Figure 4. The region of Epirus stretching across Greece and Albania.

Grey: approximate extent of Epirus in antiquity.

Orange: Greek region of Epirus.

Green: approximate extent of largest concentration of Greeks in "Northern Epirus", early 20th century.

Red bottled line: territory of Northern Epirus.

(en.wikipedia.org, accessed on 15/9/2012)

Added to that, the rights of the Greek minority, inhabiting parts of southern Albania, remained a source of concern for the Greek government throughout the 1990s, creating tensions in Greek-Albanian relations.

The second source of dispute among the neighbouring countries has built around the Chams, an Albanian-speaking and predominately Muslim population living in north-western Greece (Vickers 2002; 2007) (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Chameria within Albania and Greece (www.wikipedia.org, accessed on 15/9/2012)

Their relations with the Greek government have been problematic across the twentieth century, especially after the latter expressed its intentions of including the Chams in the exchange of populations, based on religious affiliations, with Turkey in the 1920s. The Chams' relationships with the Greek state deteriorated during World War II and Greece's subsequent occupation by the Axis powers. Chams, living in the Greek territory of Epirus, collaborated with Italian and German forces and fought against Greek partisans. In 1944 the Allied forces commanded Greek partisans to push the Chams out of Greece and into Albania. The violent clash that followed and the extensive reprisals by the Greek guerrillas against Cham civilians resulted in the migration of almost the entire Cham population to Albania (Antonopoulos 1995; Kallivretakis 1995; Kondis 1995; Konidaris 2005). Since the collapse of the Communist rule, the Albanian government has repeatedly called for the Chams' repatriation to Greece or the restitution of their properties by the Greek state, but for the Greek side this remains a 'non-existent issue' (Vickers 2002; 2007).

Mai and Schwandner-Sievers (2003, 943) further trace the roots of the construction of the Albanian migrant by the Greek media as Greece's 'constitutive

other' in social and cultural dynamics rooted in the recent history and economies of the two countries. These dynamics were identified by Kapllani and Mai (2005, 167) as follows: (a) Greece's disappointing economic performance and nationalist foreign policy throughout the 1990s accelerated its perception as the most problematic member of the EU, (b) the collapse of the Soviet Union meant that Greece lost its 'privileged geopolitical position as the eastern bulwark of NATO' having to face unresolved territorial disputes with Macedonia and Albania and (c) the post-1990 arrival of Eastern Europeans in Greece, following the collapse of communism in the Balkans, sparked feelings of anxiety in the Greek society. The existence of newcomers questioned the moral and geopolitical boundaries of Greek national identity crystallised in territorial integrity, ethno-linguistic and religious homogeneity, and cultural proximity to Western Europe (Kapllani and Mai 2005; Kitromilides 1990; Veremis 1983). Vamvakas (2000, 136) added that because of cultural and physiognomic proximities between Greeks and Albanians, Greek media discourses invested in *Albanianness* all undesirable memories and connotations of Greekness, including poverty, experiences of social unrest, authoritarianism and the necessity of internal and international emigration. The aforementioned issues combined with the fact that the Albanians form the overwhelming majority of Greece's migrant population, explain according to Kapllani and Mai (2005, 168), why *Albanianness* has epitomised 'aspects of Greekness which have been selectively disavowed and rejected in the historical processes of the formation of the Greek national culture'.

The negative stereotyping of Albanians by the Greek media has led many of them to take recourse to subversive strategies, aiding them to cope with individual exclusion and generate trust within the host society (Mai and Schwadner-Sievers 2003). These strategies entail elements of ethnic and religious identity *encryption* and involve patterns of name changing and baptism (Kasimati 1998; Kretsi 2002; Labrianidis *et al.* 2001; Psimmenos 1995). As a strategy of concealing one's religious identity, name changing mostly concerns Albanians with Muslim names

given the prevalence of Christianity in contemporary Greek society³⁹. Apart from a 'survival strategy', name changing blurs the ethnic boundaries between Greeks and Albanians (Pratsinakis 2005). The adoption of Orthodox names in combination with the fluency in Greek language enables Albanian migrants to present themselves as 'Greek Albanians'⁴⁰, receiving the preferential treatment the latter enjoy from the Greek government (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002, 191). Hatziprokopiou (2003) locates baptism among the uniquely 'Greek' expressions of intercultural relationships between natives and Albanians, aimed at facilitating the latter's adjustment and acculturation in the host society. The godparents are Greeks, usually friends, neighbours, bosses or colleagues, who volunteer to baptise the migrants' children. For Albanians, baptism cements interpersonal relations with locals or symbolically verifies a relationship with a Greek person. For Greeks, on the other hand, baptism signifies the salience of Orthodox religion as a marker of national identity (Triandafyllidou 2000), reflecting at the same time their willingness to contribute in Albanians' acculturation in the host society (see 6.3.2).

Kapllani and Mai (2005, 165) suggest that Albanians' cultural constructions by the Greek media are 'powerful tools in enforcing lived conditions of marginalisation and exclusion... defin[ing] the areas of society in which [they] are expected to position themselves, and most importantly, remain'. This statement reflects Albanian migrants' labour trajectories in Greece, where the combination of stigmatisation and the long period of illegality (from 1990 to 1998) led to their employment in informal economy correlated to highly exploitative working conditions (Iosifides 1997; 2001). Albanians primarily undertook badly paid, 'dirty', heavy manual jobs, requiring few or no qualifications and which the local population rejected (Iosifides and King 1998). In rural areas, they were employed in agriculture, sheep and goat herding, building projects and the cutting of timber (King *et al.* 1998). In urban centres, Albanians worked as cleaners/decorators (in houses, buildings, or offices), as painters and builders on construction sites (private

³⁹ For further discussion on name changing adopted by Muslim Albanians in Greece see Pratsinakis (2005).

⁴⁰ Triandafyllidou and Veikou (2002) define Greek Albanians, as Albanian citizens, mostly from southern Albania, of Greek ethnic origin and Christian Orthodox religion.

house-building, repair works, large public engineering projects) and as un-skilled or semi-skilled workers in small firms (manufactures, removal firms, hotels, restaurants, and take-aways) (Baldwin-Edwards 2005). Women were employed in the domestic and household sector as cleaners, baby-sitters and carers for elderly (Lazaridis and Psimmenos 2000). Hatziprokopiou (2004, 330) argues that by undertaking occupational roles of an evident 'servile' character Albanians created space for 'a class of servants' occupying the lower strata of the class 'pyramid' in the Greek society.

The occupational deskilling of Albanian migrants in Greece and Italy is well rehearsed in literature (Iosiifides and King 1998; Lazaridis 1996). In his research with Albanians in Thessaloniki, Hatziprokopiou (2003) reported that the majority of his interviewees, hired as assistants in bakeries, kiosks and super-markets in Thessaloniki, held 'white-collar jobs' in their home counties or had advanced professional and university training. Barjaba and King (2005, 17) argue that Albanians are willing to accept these low-status jobs as they earn much more than they could pursuing their careers in Albania.

3.3.3 The development of the Albanian community in Greece: building lives in Greece

The passage of time, the launching of three regularisation programmes (see 3.3.2) in combination with Albanian migrants' settlements in specific localities replaced the community's insecurity of the first years with stability and self-confidence. Even though exclusion from formal employment seems to persist, studies conducted with Albanians in the early 2000s documented cases of upward socio-economic mobility and a grand shift in their working conditions, such as access to stable, formal, better-paid employment and higher-status jobs (Hatzirpokopiou 2003; 2004; Lyberaki and Maroukis 2005). Under these conditions, employment became an important social and ethical value for Albanian migrants, 'an indicator of virtue and a path to well-being' (Hatziprokopiou 2004, 329).

Patterns of Albanian settlement and spatial distribution have been associated with the community members' socio-economic status. In contrast to other migrant groups, Albanians are rather dispersed across the urban and rural landscape minimising ghetto-like situations (Iosifides and King 1998; Labrianidis *et al.* 2001; Vaiou 2007). For early arrivals, low rent cost and employment opportunities were the main criteria of choosing somewhere to settle. These areas turned into 'nests' for the settling of the pioneers' direct family members, relatives and friends arriving at a later stage (Hatziprokopiou 2004).

Albanians' residential trajectories correlate to these of labour. Upward mobility in employment went hand in hand with migrants' upgrading of accommodation. The studies of the early 2000s have shown that Albanians in Athens (Lyberaki and Maroukis 2005) and Thessaloniki (Hatziprokopiou 2003) have left behind the first years' overcrowding housing situations in downgraded parts of the centre (see Psimmenos 1998) by moving into bigger/and or better flats in Athens or by buying furniture and appliances. These actions are associated with the presence and well-being of the children (Pratsinakis 2005).

The proximity of Albanian relatives and friends (as a result of pioneers' initial settlements turning into 'nests' for later arrivals) has enabled Albanians to strengthen solidarity ties. These informal networks, based on kinship and friendship, act as a fundamental source of information and support in Albanians' labour and market integration as well as their ways of socialising (Lyberaki and Maroukis 2005). In a survey of Albanian immigrants by Labrianidis *et al.* (2001), fifty-five per cent of participants claimed that their main route of finding a job was through the help of relatives and friends. Family and kinship ties drive 'social reproduction' processes with Albanian social life, built around affinities of relatives and friends (Iosifides *et al.* 2007). These constant, stable daily contacts encourage acts of reciprocity, helping Albanians to cope with everyday hardships.

Albanians' participation in civic organisations (Gropas and Trinadafyllidou 2005) or ethnic associations remains limited. Gogonas (2010) reports that there are

eleven Albanian associations in Greece, the majority of which are based in Athens, lacking a concrete political agenda that could promote the community's goals. Literature has brought up multiple reasons explaining Albanians' low membership in ethnic associations. Iosifides *et al.* (2007, 1353) link such phenomena with the associations' relative 'fragmentation' and the prevalent belief among Albanians that these institutions are ineffective in representing their needs. Michail (2009) underlines that Albanians' minimum involvement in ethnic associations derives from their fear of furthering their distance from the Greek community, and consequently, delaying processes of integration. Yet King and Mai (2009) support that Albanians' scarce interest in developing a broader-scale 'bonding' social capital in the form of generalised ethnic solidarity should be traced in reactions toward their communist past. The authors (King and Mai 2009, 132) explain that the way the Albanian national culture has been abused by the pre-1991 communist state makes it difficult for Albanians to embrace the celebration of a 'strong' ethno-national identity, as this seems too similar to the national-communist rhetoric of their recent past (see 3.2.2.2). These internal, 'de-collectivisation' tendencies manifest in the individualised nature of Albanian identities, rejecting the communist experience of enforced and abusive collectivism and hampering processes of ethnic mobilisation (King and Mai 2009, 132) (see 5.3.2).

Albanians' relations with the local population are acted out in neighbourhood and the workplace becoming principal loci of Albanian-Greek socialising (Hatziprokopiou 2003). Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005) report that Albanian migrants living with their families are more likely to have contacts with Greeks, compared to those living on their own, revealing the salience of family institution as a factor of 'acceptance' in the Greek society (see also Kasimati 2000; Psimmenos 1995). These interpersonal everyday contacts deconstruct cultural barriers and prejudices and often transform into interactive networks of assistance in job-finding, teaching of the Greek language and material help (Vaiou and Stratigaki 2008). Pratsinakis (2005) comments that Albanians, who considered remaining in Greece, tend to be more oriented toward the Greek society by creating networks with Greeks. Such practices manifested in the acquisition of

Greek and the enrolment of children in Greek state schools (Iosifides and King 1998; Vaiou and Stratigaki 2008). Particularly the latter was viewed by parents as a prerequisite to their offspring's incorporation in the host society by ensuring the provision of education in the Greek language and the socialisation with local children.

Summary

In this section I provided background information contextualising participants' identity, history and heritage construction relating to their settlement (or birth) in Greece. Post-1990 Albanian migration to Greece was driven by economic and self-liberation-and-expression motives. In its initial stages Albanian migration was male-dominated and of clandestine nature. Women's participation in migration intensified over time as a result of family reunification. Albanians form the largest ethnic group of Greece's immigrant population, with the vast majority residing in Athens. Greece's lack of a comprehensive migration policy framework prevented Albanians' from acquiring a Greek citizenship. The Greek media propagated Albanian scapegoating crystallised in criminal behaviour, poverty, backwardness and portrayals of ethnic 'invasion'. In order to cope with negative stereotyping Albanians turned to subversive strategies, generating trust in the host society. Stigmatisation and illegality resulted to Albanians' employment in the informal economy correlated to highly exploitative working conditions. Men and women undertook badly paid, low-status jobs, which in the passage of time became vehicles retrieving dignity and confidence. Upward labour itineraries correlated to these of living standards. Albanians' incorporation in the Greek society was facilitated by networks of kinship and friendship providing access to the labour market and mutual support in times of hardship. The community members' intention of building bridges with the Greek society manifested in building networks with Greeks, speaking Greek fluently and enrolling children in Greek schools.

Chapter 4

Methodological Approach

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces my methodological framework divided in six sections. The first section provides insight to the historical context of critical ethnography forming this project's methodology. The research design follows next comprising of the research methods employed, the recruiting of families, negotiating access and consent and the methods for analysing ethnographic material. In the last three sections I discuss ethical considerations, my engagement with reflexivity and positionality and the trustworthiness of data and results.

4.2 Critical ethnography: historical context and emancipation

After forty years of history it still remains a challenging task to define critical ethnography. 'No answer is likely to satisfy critical ethnographers themselves' according to Qauntz (1992, 448) 'because to define the term is to assume an epistemological stance in which the social world can be precisely defined- a position that is not very critical'. For some critical ethnography encompasses studies that employ 'anthropological, qualitative, participant-observer methodology but which rely for their theoretical formulation on a body of theory deriving from a critical sociology and philosophy' (Maseman 1982, 1). Yet others adopt a more emancipatory orientation describing critical ethnography as 'a form of an empirical project associated with critical discourse, a form in which a researcher, utilising field methods that place him/her on-site, attempts to re-present... the 'culture' of people living in assymetrical power relations' (Qauntz 1992, 448). According to Noblit *et al.* (2004) there are many definitions of critical ethnography, the existence of which

should be traced to the methodology's multiple origins and its embeddedness in the expansion of qualitative research methods.

The marriage of Critical Theory with interpretive ethnography has its roots in the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, when anthropologists were calling for the 're-invention' of the field (Hymes 1972) and Marxist academics were emphasising class struggle as the basis for social arrangement (Madison 2005). In search for a methodology that would recognise the subjectivity of human experience, Neo-Marxists united with ethnographers by sharing a commitment to the underdog (Thomas 1993). In more detail, Quantz (1992) places the beginning of this 'dialectic' (Anderson 1989, 249) between research methods and social theory in the 1960s and 1970s United States and Britain. By centering research on prostitutes, drug cultures and youth gangs, the studies of deviance sociologists in the US constructed a methodology that advanced the cause of marginalised people. In British social anthropology, symbolic interactionist studies were influenced by French Althusserian Neo-Marxist thought, which 'attempted to get beneath the social consciousness to the material basis for that consciousness' (Quantz 1992, 455). Furthering these developments the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham linked reflected experience with theoretical grounding and ethnographic approaches with Marxist theory. These theoretical advances found expression in the 1980s ethnographies of education in the United States and Canada, where 'the discursive traditions of critical theory' were strengthened by a method 'to incorporate experience', and 'the experiential methods' of educational ethnography were deepened by critical discourse (Quantz 1992, 461). Since then, critical ethnography has expanded its theoretical basis by incorporating thinking from new race, gender, sexual identity and postcolonial social movements (Foley and Valenzuela 2005; Villenas and Foley 2002).

From an ontological perspective, the disenchantment with the positivist paradigm was reflected in critical ethnography's endorsement of a 'materialist-realist ontology', according to which the real world 'makes a material difference in terms of race, gender and class' (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 24). Bound up in this

materialist ontology are a value-laden orientation and a critical epistemology directing the researcher's work. Carspecken (1996, 6-7) locates the value-laden orientation of critical researchers in the following aims:

1. Research is to be utilised in cultural and social criticism
2. Researchers are opposed to all forms of inequality
3. Research should be used to uncover oppression, challenge and change it
4. 'All forms of oppression should be studied and challenged'
5. Mainstream research contributes to cultural oppression and therefore 'correct epistemology' should aim for 'equal power relations'.

Accordingly, critical epistemology involves the following (Carspecken 1996, 9):

1. Starting from the premise that 'thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations which are socially and historically constituted' a critical epistemology needs to be precise about the relationship of power within research claims, validity claims, culture and thought
2. 'Critical epistemology must make the fact/value distinction very clear and must have a precise understanding of how the two interact'
3. Critical epistemology must have a theory of how symbols are used to represent identity and how power and social relations are implicated in this symbolic representation, and change this symbolic representation.

Carspecken (1996) makes it clear that working the divide between the powerful and the powerless by uncovering the material conditions of inequality, embedded in particular historical and cultural constraints within society, lies at the heart of critical ethnography. As Quantz (1992) has argued for ethnography to be 'critical' it should form part of an ongoing, larger 'critical' dialogue: the 'project' of critical ethnography should have conscious political intentions manifested in the materialisation of emancipatory goals. Inherent to this politically engaged attempt to reformulate power is the production of knowledge verified in praxis. Within the critical tradition, knowledge, built into self-revelation, modifies the consciousness of the disenfranchised, liberating them from the oppressiveness of their social arrangements (Foley 2002; Jordan and Yeomans 1995). The transformation of society through the revelation of self-knowledge arises in processes of 'praxis'.

Linked to the 'act of critique', the 'praxis' element draws the line between traditional and critical ethnography, where the ethnographer 'resists domestication' by employing her/his political position, skills and privileges to voice the stories of those restricted to silence (Madison 2005).

The adoption of critical ethnography as a methodology was deemed appropriate in the context of my study given Albanian families' stigmatised and disenfranchised status in Greece. The methodology's emancipatory orientation and its intention to challenge oppression through social and cultural criticism fits with my goal of improving participants' marginalised conditions by voicing their stories, which deconstruct otherness and criminality attached to Albanians in Greece.

4.3 Research design

This section presents the thesis research aim and questions along with the reasons for choosing to focus on families of Albanian origin. The research questions of this thesis determined the methods of data collection employed, outlined next. The section concludes by providing insight into processes of recruiting families, negotiating issues of access and consent and analysing ethnographic material.

The aim of my thesis is to explore how identity informs the conceptualisations of history and heritage of five Albanian families in Athens and Piraeus. The research questions addressed are:

1. How do individuals and families, as a group, construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania?
2. How do these identity formations affect what stories individuals and families choose to tell, and what they consider as their history and heritage (or not)?
3. How do individuals and families make history and heritage between two homelands and what mechanisms do they employ to connect with them?

I treated these questions primarily from adults' perspective without excluding the views of children. My intention was to examine how adults' living memories from

Albania shaped families' socialisations processes, identity formations and history and heritage constructions between the old and the new country.

The choice for the family group rested on a series of reasons some of which were outlined in subsection 2.1.3. To reiterate, families were selected for filtering societal discourses and ideologies through their own family culture and belief systems (Dallos 1991; 1997). Families also suggest an interesting case as they play a crucial role in an individuals' socialisation (Hill 1981; Isajiw 2010; Isajiw and Makabe 1982). In this bi-directional process parents and children introduce each other to symbols and meanings of the ethnic culture and that of the host society, performing roles of child and parent socialiser respectively (Ambert 1992; Espiritu and Tran 2000; Fortier 2000). Families were further chosen for their potential to act as mnemonic communities, communicating to their new arrivals the *rules of remembrance* (Zerubavel 1996, 286) (see 2.3.2). My preference for families was also informed by recent studies affirming that the former can act as a focal locus of intimate and subjective connection with history and heritage (Ashton and Hamilton 2009; Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998). Lastly, I focused on the family given its salience as an institution in Albanian society (see 3.2.1) as well as its importance in facilitating Albanians' 'acceptance' by the Greek society (see 3.3.3).

The Albanian ethnic group made a good case study for looking at identity formation and history and heritage making in migration for a number of reasons. Firstly, according to the 2001 Census data, Albanians constitute the largest ethnic group of the immigrant population in Greece (56 per cent) numbering around 443,550 members (see 3.3.2). Secondly, Albanians are among the first groups to have arrived in Greece in the aftermath of Iron Curtain dismantling, offering a longer history of integration compared to other migrant groups, such as those of Asian nationalities (Baldwin-Edwards 2008). What is more important from a family perspective in a Greek context is that Albanians tend to migrate in families (Baldwin-Edwards 2008; Vaiou 2007) (Figure 6).

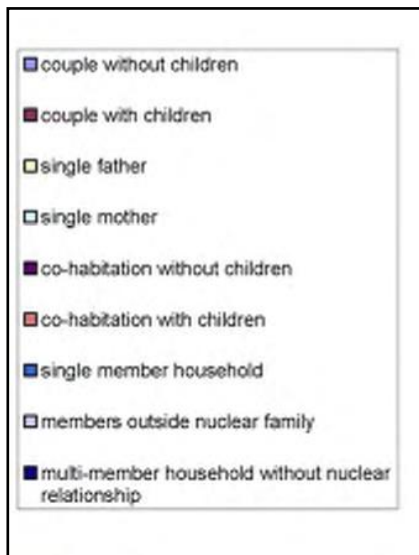
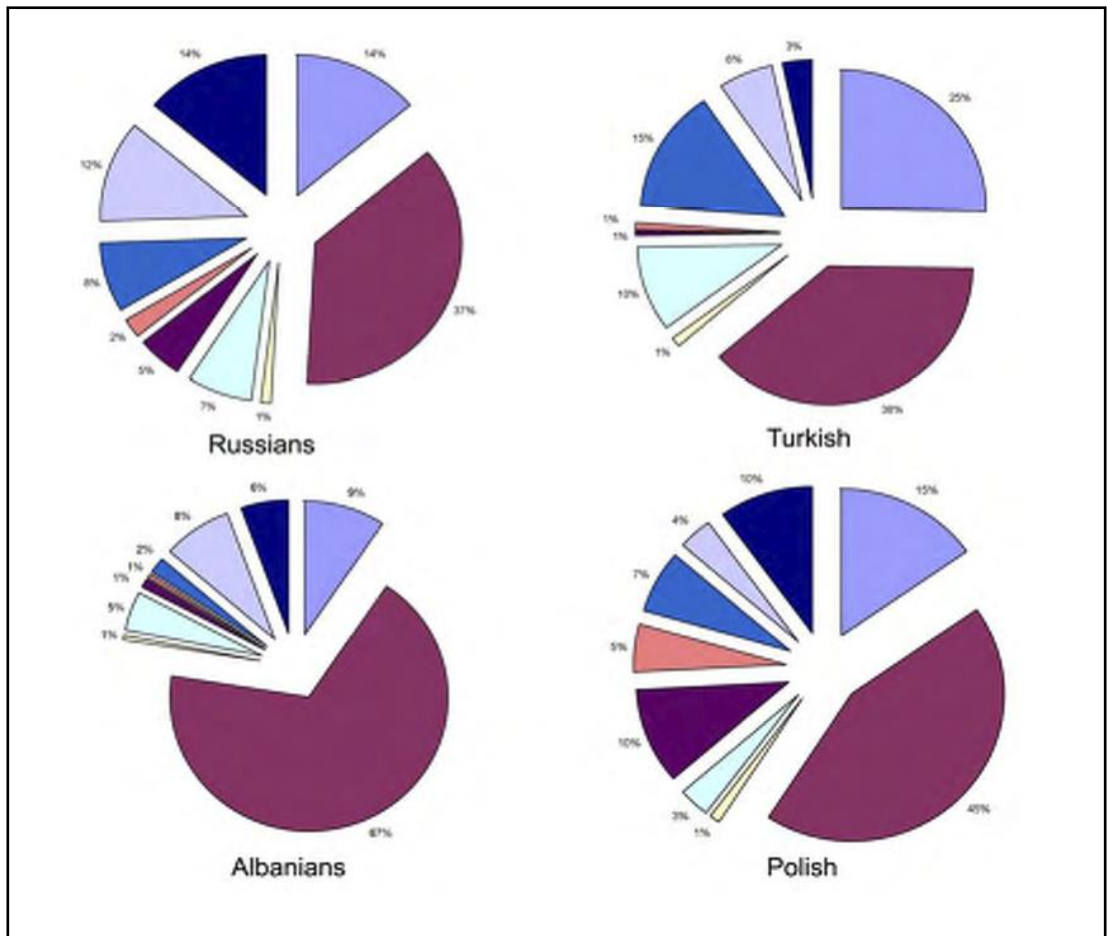


Figure 6. Family types in Athens by nationality: “nuclear family” type (Baldwin-Edwards 2008, 14).

From a history and heritage making point of view, the Albanian ethnic group appeared of interest in that it shared deep historical associations with the host society. Like Greece, Albania formed part of the Ottoman Empire (1301-1922) between 1481-1912. From the fifteenth until the seventeenth century a number of Christian Albanians fled Ottoman incursion, settling in the southern parts of Greece, which at that time were under Latin lordship (Barjaba *et al.* 1992) (see 3.3.1). In some of these areas, the population until today speaks a medieval form of Albanian language, known in Greek as *arvanitika*. Also, the Albanian ethnic group became the object of this study due to its stigmatised status in the Greek media and public discourse. Albanian scapegoating displays unique features (compared to other migrant groups) deriving from disputes of territorial nature, as well as social and cultural dynamics in the recent history and economies of the two countries (see 3.3.2).

4.3.1 Research methods

The research aim and questions outlined above (p. 135) determined my methods of data gathering. Ethnographic and participatory approaches were deemed appropriate for placing myself 'on-site' (Quantz 1992, 449) to represent Albanian families' lived experiences embedded in asymmetric power relations. The empirical and collaborative nature of these methods was useful in enabling participants to shape the focus of this study according to their aspirations, motivations and frameworks of understanding. In my engagement with ethnographic methods, exploring 'the nature of particular social phenomena...in everyday settings', I employed participant observation and ethnographic interviews (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3; Atkinson *et al.* 2001). The application of participatory practices sought to limit the dichotomy of 'objective' researcher/ 'subjective' researched for a dialogical relationship to develop between my theoretical knowledge and families' experiential knowledge (Small 1995; Hajdukowski-Ahmed 1998; van de Riet 2008). Participatory approaches drawn from the methods of visual ethnography and a series of techniques helping me to understand the children's social world. During fieldwork, I did not use pre-set

observation guides or interview protocols. However, as data collection progressed, conversations with adults and children evolved around a certain set of themes, mostly deriving from a combination of data sources instead of one (see Appendix II).

4.3.1.1 Participant observation

Participant observation involves ‘establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting’ (Emerson *et al.* 2001, 352). Participant observation has formed one of the core methods of collecting data in this study. The method was effective in immersing myself in families’ daily routines, and hence being able to acquire ‘the insider/outsider’ perspective of identity formation tied up in history and heritage making between old and new countries (Spradley 1980). In my engagements with children, participant observation provided understanding of their social world by treating them as informed and engaged social actors in their own right. As James (2001, 246) asserts ethnography views children as ‘competent informants about and interpreters of their own lives and of the lives of others and is an approach to childhood research, which can employ children’s own accounts centrally within the analysis’.

I initiated participant observation with each family by allowing members to fully guide me through their daily routines: from assisting in the preparation of meals and having dinner and lunch with all families to listening to children’s stories, playing with them, or helping them with schoolwork. Table 1 offers a detailed view of the activities I observed and/or participated in during my visits in families’ houses. The column on the right indicates which research questions (or which part of these) participant observation helped to answer.

Table 1. Types of activities observed/participated in in families’ houses and research questions answered.	
Types of activities	Research questions (RQs)
Daily activities	

	Producing diets of home	RQ1: Identity
	Doing the housework	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Heritage construction (cultural values)
	Children doing schoolwork	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with history
Leisure activities		
	Exposure to Albanian media	RQ1: Identity
	Exposure to Greek media	RQ1: Identity
	Parents and children's social networks	RQ1: Identity
	Children playing	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Heritage construction (cultural values);
	Watching documentaries of ancient Greek history	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with history
	Children's hobbies (drawing, dancing, playing the piano, downloading songs etc.)	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: History making
	Adults reading history books to children	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with history
Cross-border contacts with Albania		
	Receiving visitors from Albania	RQ1: Identity
	Keeping in touch with family 'left behind'	RQ1: Identity
Communication patterns		
	Communicating in Greek	RQ1: Identity
	Communicating in Albanian	RQ1: Identity
	Adults teaching children Albanian	RQ1: Identity

Histories circulated among adults and children		
	National histories	RQ1: Identity; RQ2: Conceptualisation of history; RQ3: History making
	Personal histories	RQ1: identity; RQ2: Conceptualisation of history; RQ3: History making
Adults' discussions		
	Experiencing exclusion and stigmatisation in Greece	RQ1: Identity

Beyond home settings, participant observation occurred in multiple sites providing insight to locales, rituals and social networks at the core of the families' interaction with the public sphere of the Greek society. During a substantial part of my visits I followed participants to a range of leisure and school activities presented in Table 2. As in Table 1, the column on the right reveals which research questions (or which part of these) participant observation outside the home space helped to answer.

Table 2. Types of activities observed/participated in outside families' houses and research questions answered.		
Types of activities		Research questions (RQs)
Leisure activities		
	Building friendships with Greeks	RQ1: Identity
	Children's extra-curricula activities	RQ1: Identity
	Parents and children's social networks	RQ1: Identity
	Participants' use of their neighbourhoods (playgrounds, cafés, parks, shopping malls, flea markets)	RQ1: Identity
	Museum and site visiting	RQ1: Identity; RQ2:

		Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Theatre performances	RQ1: Identity
	Literature festivals	RQ1: Identity
	Book presentations	RQ1: Identity
	Adults' participation in classes of Modern Greek	RQ1: Identity
	Community centre exhibitions	RQ1: Identity
Children's school activities		
	Celebrating Greek national days	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Children's school fieldtrips in the countryside	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with heritage

As a participant observer I took on multiple roles including that of (1) a researcher, (2) an archaeologist, (3) a tutor, (4) a guest, (5) a family friend and (6) a guardian. These roles were not mutually exclusive and slightly varied among participating families. They also tended to vary by the location of collecting data. For instance, when taking the children to extra-curricula activities, I was perceived as a guardian, whereas when joining the families in relatives' houses I was introduced as a family friend.

In the perception of family members, my role as a researcher took multiple forms. In the beginning, the research process and the research practices (particularly writing fieldnotes) triggered the curiosity of participants, who asked where would my research degree lead career-wise. Individuals wished to find out what led me choose the Albanian community instead of other ethnic groups and in

many cases, they expressed their enthusiasm for focusing on their community. Also, my role as a researcher made parents and children wonder which of their daily and leisure activities were relevant to my study. Adults were eager to contribute in the research process by inviting me to activities (museum visiting) or showing to me examples of material culture (T-shirts featuring the Albanian flag) they regarded to be important for my study. Lastly, my presence as a researcher in families' domestic settings, coupled with the fact that I was seen as a 'role model' by participants (see 4.4), increased parents and children's interest in telling stories about the old homeland or promoting practices of preserving the Albanian aspect of their identity. For instance, the mother in one family claimed that she would start sharing with her son Albania's official narratives, after realising during our discussions that he was mature enough to comprehend the complex nature of these events. Accordingly, the mother in another family introduced a game of Albanian talk for one day to her daughter, following our discussions on the role of the Albanian language in a family context and the widespread usage of Greek, at the expense of Albanian, in interfamilial communications. These learning experiences, initiated by the research process, formed part of the data collection in the course of my fieldvisits.

My background in history triggered parents' questions on historical disputes in Greek-Albanian relations. In such cases, I actively sought to take a back-seat position, allowing participants to become the experts by expressing their opinions to their children and me.

The tutor role persisted throughout the study and was associated with offering assistance in children's schoolwork. Children of early primary school ages asked if '*I was a teacher*' and in some families my involvement in their daily routines was initiated through these practices. My role as a tutor was pivotal in building relationships of trust and rapport with family members (see 4.4).

I was treated as a guest during the first couple of weeks of visiting families' houses, where I was offered to sit in the living room, have something to drink and

eat. In two families my guest-role and the topic of my thesis stimulated the production of diets of home. Mothers cooked Albanian dishes, including *tave kosi* and *tarator*, to introduce me to the Albanian cuisine (see 6.2.2).

As a family friend, I was introduced to families' social networks and was invited to social gatherings. This role gained prominence over time. For older and younger generations I was a '*good company*' and a person to share their memories about the old country as well as the joys and anxieties encountered in the migration destination. My role as a guardian developed concomitantly with that of the family friend. In the course of joining families to their outdoor activities, I was expected to take responsibility of children by holding their hands while crossing the street. In domestic settings my role as a guardian took the form of keeping children company whilst parents were doing the housework.

4.3.1.2 Ethnographic interviewing

I adopted Heyl's (2001, 25) definition of ethnographic interviewing referring to 'those projects in which researchers have established respectful, on-going relationships with their interviewees, including enough rapport for there to be a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposefully with the researcher the meanings they place on events in their worlds'. Ethnographic interviews with Albanian families took the form of 'collaborative storying' taking place in multiple sessions and enabling family members and me to co-produce 'a mutual understanding by means of sharing experiences and meanings' (Bishop 2005, 126). In their vast majority interviews with individuals formed informal, spontaneous conversations in the course of other activities. For instance, I initiated discussions with mothers while they were preparing family dinners or doing the housework. I followed similar practices when playing with children or when having dinner with the family. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) consider this type of non-directive open-ended questioning among the forms of ethnographic interviewing being hard to differentiate from participant observation. A significantly smaller amount of interviews acquired a more narrowed focus, yet remained informal and semi-structured in its nature. In such cases, I

either audio-recorded conversations or kept notes, depending on participants' requests.

Interviews allowed participants to express their world-views, experiences and circumstances employing their own language (Becker 1970; Holstein and Gubrium 1995; Spradley 1979). These conversations brought up internal aspects (i.e. feelings, thoughts, perceptions) of identity formation, history and heritage making, which were not easy to discern through participant observation. Representative examples included adults' motives of sharing stories from their childhood in Albania with their children or perceptions of the Greek national history. Also, discussions with participants offered insight into the content of national and personal histories circulated in interfamilial talk, and into a range of activities I was not able to observe, such as families' trips to Albania. Table 3 presents the themes around which discussions evolved coupled with the research questions these helped to answer.

Table 3. Discussion themes and research questions answered.	
Themes of discussions	Research questions (RQs)
Daily activities	
Producing diets of home	RQ1: Identity
Parents' professions and working conditions	RQ1: Identity; RQ2: Conceptualisation of history and heritage
Leisure activities	
Exposure to Albanian media	RQ1: Identity
Exposure to Greek media	RQ1: Identity
Participating in ethnic group functions	RQ1: Identity
Social networks	RQ1: Identity
Children's extra-curricula activities	RQ1: Identity
Cross-border contacts with Albania	

	Receiving gifts from Albania	RQ1: Identity
	Receiving visitors from Albania	RQ1: Identity
	Keeping in touch with family 'left behind'	RQ1: Identity
	Trips to Albania (activities conducted, motives and feelings of visiting Albania)	RQ1: Identity
Communication patterns		
	Intergenerational transmission of Albanian: motives and methods	RQ1: Identity
Migration experience		
	The trip to Greece	RQ1: Identity; RQ2: Conceptualisation of history and heritage
	The first years of settlement in Greece	RQ1: Identity; RQ2: Conceptualisation of history and heritage
	Reasons for leaving Albania	RQ1: Identity
	Reasons for selecting Greece as a migration destination	RQ1: Identity; RQ2: Conceptualisation of history
	Thoughts of returning to Albania	RQ1: Identity
	Experiencing exclusion and stigmatisation in Greece	RQ1: Identity; RQ2: History making
	Deconstructing 'racist' ideologies	RQ1: identity
	Tools employed by adults to learn Greek	RQ1: Identity
Perceptions of identity		
	Participants' perceptions of their transnational identities	RQ1: Identity
Heritage making		

	Adults' perceptions of the Albanian heritage	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage
	Cultural values (description, meanings and motives of inculcating these in children)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Traditions and customs (meanings and motives behind performing these)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Life-cycle events (description)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
History making		
	Adults' thoughts on the teaching of Greek and Albanian national history to their children	RQ2: Conceptualisation of history
	Participants' thoughts on the Greek and Albanian national history	RQ2: Conceptualisation of history

	Personal and family histories (content, motives behind storytelling, thoughts on what consists participants' personal histories)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of history; RQ3: History making and mechanism of connecting with history
	National histories (content, motives behind storytelling, thoughts on what consists participants' national histories)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of history; RQ3: History making and mechanism of connecting with history
	Employment of sources/tools to connect with history and heritage	RQ3: Mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage
Albanian families' life in the aftermath of the Greek economic crisis (see Appendix III)		
	Employment conditions	RQ1: Identity
	Relationships with Greeks	RQ1: Identity
	The recent rise of the fascist party in the Greek parliament	RQ1: Identity
	Considerations of leaving Greece	RQ1: Identity

Lastly, interviews with participants took the form of telephone conversations, while I was based in London. These one-hour conversations, taking place once every two months, helped to keep in touch with families' daily routines, leisure activities and changing realities from distance (see Appendix III).

4.3.1.3 Recording fieldnotes

Fieldnote writing is a core ethnographic process (Geertz 1973). Fieldnotes involve '*inscriptions* of social life and social discourse' in that they 'inevitably *reduce* the welter and confusion of the social world to written words that can be reviewed, studied and thought about time and time again' (Emerson *et al.* 1995, 8). In my study I used field notes to record participants' practices and perspectives, as well as my personal feelings shaping the research process.

In the course of my first visits in families' houses fieldnotes were broad and descriptive as I was trying to get an overview of the social situations composing families' daily routines. Writing down field notes contemporaneously with the collection of data enabled me to carry forward an initial form of analysis by identifying analytic themes and 'check out' for different alternatives deconstructing or rejecting these patterns (Emerson *et al.* 2001). This process led to more *focused* and *selective* observations locating processes of identity formation and history and heritage making, narrowing down the scope and content of field notes recorded (Spradley 1980). However, until the end of the end of the field study, my field notes remained descriptive, including incidents and events, which at a first impression did not appear relevant, but acquired significance in the context of returning back to the data at a later stage.

Condensed note taking took place immediately after each field visit. After leaving each family's house, I spent around an hour writing down brief records of the family visit recording significant actions by jotting down key words (Clifford 1990; Emerson *et al.* 1995). These compressed summaries acted as mnemonic devices to construct a more detailed account later.

In my fieldnotes I tried to include as much as possible participants' actual words and folk terms (Spradley 1980). These 'situated vocabularies' offered information about the ways in which members of a particular culture 'organise their perceptions of the world', engaging in the 'social constructions of reality'

(Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 145). Terms such as 'housewife' employed by the mothers to describe their childhood years in Albania, or by daughters to describe their involvement in the housework, incorporated 'stock-of-knowledge and practical reasoning' for family members (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 145). The ideal of a good housewife endorsed by the older members of the family and passed down to children in the new country reflected aspects of the Albanian patriarchal culture, placing childrearing and housecleaning among females' fundamental tasks (see 3.2.1; 7.4.3.2).

After each field visit I recorded personal feelings, thoughts, impressions, awkward moments and any sort of verbal or non-verbal interactions occurring in my contacts with the families. These introspective entries, similar to 'a fieldwork journal' (Spradley 1980), encompassed the personal side of fieldwork and formed a useful source of data in uncovering how my personal judgements shaped the research process. The ethnographic record was enriched with interview transcriptions and photos, capturing families' daily and leisure activities. Photos of individuals' rituals served as a visual log for putting together the bits and pieces of family visits at the end of the day.

4.3.1.4 Participatory methods

The application of participatory approaches combined visual ethnographic methods and a series of techniques providing insight to adults and children's social worlds.

The use of visual methods among scholars conducting research in the domestic interior is widespread in social anthropology (Hurdley 2006; Miller 2001b; Pink 2004), sociology (Da Silva 2000) and cultural geography (Tolia-Kelly 2010). In my study visual and material culture in families' home spaces elicited speech data by stimulating conversations on family members' social life between Greece and Albania (Hurworth 2003). From photos brought from Albania to tablecloths and residence permit cards, these material possessions encouraged individuals to 'use their homes as a material and sensory prompt through which to talk about their

self-identities and experiences' (Pink 2007, 28). The use visual techniques expanded to children's drawings prepared at home or their schools. Drawings have long been used in participatory approaches of childhood and family studies, allowing children to freely express themselves by producing their own data (Gross and Hayne 1998; Moussouri 1997a; Wesson and Salmon 2001). Children's sketches acted as visual representations of themes and environments associated with their trips to Albania and social and cultural experiences in Athens. These visual accounts empowered younger participants to become analysts of their own lives by elucidating the meaning of the symbols employed (Boyden and Ennew 1997; Gabb 2008; 2009; Punch 2002). Table 4 presents the themes around which discussions, emerging from visual ethnography, developed along with the research questions answered.

Table 4. Themes and research questions answered.		
Themes of visual ethnography methods		Research questions (RQs)
Leisure activities		
	Social networks	RQ1: Identity
	Children's extra-curricula activities	RQ1: Identity
	Families' use of the neighbourhood	RQ1: Identity
	Trips to the Greek countryside	RQ1: Identity
	Participation in ethnic-group functions	RQ1: Identity
	Museum and site visiting	RQ1: Identity; RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with heritage
Cross-border contacts with Albania		
	Visits to Albania (children's drawings and photos)	RQ1: Identity
	Receiving gifts from Albania (daily goods and clothing)	RQ1: Identity
	Receiving visitors from Albania (photos)	RQ1: Identity
Communication patterns		
	Albanian textbooks and fairytales	RQ1: Identity
	Modern Greek course books	RQ1: Identity
	Greek textbooks	RQ1: Identity

	Albanian-Greek dictionaries	RQ1: Identity
Heritage making		
	Family-and-personal-history identity related themes (photos, objects)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Cultural identity themes (objects)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
	National identity themes (objects, photos, children's drawings)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Life-cycle events (photos)	RQ2: Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
	Traditions and customs (photos, objects)	RQ2:

		Conceptualisation of heritage; RQ3: Heritage making and mechanism of connecting with heritage
Mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage		
	Greek mythology books	RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with history
	Modern Greek history books	RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with history
	Albanian copy of the <i>Kanun</i>	RQ3: Mechanism of connecting with heritage

Other participative techniques employed to contextualise my understanding of children’s social worlds involved walking interviews. The latter took the form of walks guided by the children in the spaces they inhabited: their schools; the playgrounds, parks and cafés their parents used to take them; and the streets, churchyards and football pitches they met their friends in. The ‘physicality and mobility’ of these methods provided insight to families’ use of the neighbourhood in the course of their daily routines (Clark and Moss 2001, 28).

4.3.2 Recruiting families

Five Albanian families, residing in Athens and Piraeus, participated in this study. I recruited families based on the criterion that they had children, who were enrolled in Greek schools. Families with children would allow me to explore how adults’ migration experiences and memories from Albania interacted with children’s incorporation in the Greek society (through the education system and other extra-curricula activities) to inform identity building and history and heritage co-

construction in families. The children in all families were born in Greece and enrolled in Greek schools. Throughout the thesis adults are referred to as the ‘first generation’ and children as the ‘second generation’, following definitions by Portes and Zhou (1993) and Thomson and Crul (2007). According to the commentators (Portes and Zhou 1993; Thomson and Crul 2007) the ‘second generation’ includes children born in the host country of one or more immigrant parents, or having arrived in the host country before primary-school age.

I named Albanian families after their areas of residence in the regions of Athens and Piraeus (Figure 7).



Figure 7. The regions of Attica and Piraeus. The three orange circles indicate Albanians families’ locales, whereas the yellow circle stands for my place of residence. The Neos Kosmos and Dafni families are based in the areas near the centre of Athens (www.web-greece.gr, accessed on 12/9/2012)

The families participating in this study varied in form: from nuclear to more inclusive groups, where extended family members, such as grandparents and aunts,

played a crucial role in the children's identity formation. These varieties in family forms are presented in Table 5, providing an overview of participants' profiles.

Table 5. The participants' profiles.					
Family	Extended members	Parents	Children	Parent's level of education	Parent's Profession
The family of Labrini Galatsi	Grandmother Dourata (63) Aunt Elizabeta (55)	Kostas (40) Adelina (36)	Zamira (12) Skerdilaid (7)	High School (both)	Fast Food delivery (father) Occasional carer of elderly & poet (mother)
The family of Neos Kosmos	N/A	Artan (47) Drita (37)	Plato (13) Mirela (6)	High School (both)	Construction (father) Domestic keeper (mother)
The family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi	Grandmother Neta (65)	Edwin (44) Nora (38)	Erion (13)	BA Graduate (father) High School (mother)	Car painter (father) Cleaner (mother)
The family of Dafni	Grandmother Arditia (60) Grandfather Saban (70) Aunt Gentiana (33)	Adlint (40) Eugenie (24)	Panaretos (5) Aphrodite (3) Elektra (3)	High School (both)	Construction (father) Waitress & cashier (mother)
The family of Palia Kokkinia	N/A	Arben (39) Blerina (37)	Petros (11) Orpheus (3)	BA Graduate (father) High School (mother)	Construction (father) Cleaner (mother)

Parents and extended members in all five families migrated from Greece to Albania between 1990 to 1997. Adults undertook low status, 'servile character' jobs in the migration destination, with males mostly working in construction, and females in the domestic sector (Table 5) (see 3.3.2). Parents' education backgrounds and professions in Greece provide insight into how class influences history and heritage making, as it will be shown in the next chapter (see chapter 5).

Fieldwork took place in three stages: between early May-mid July 2010, late December 2010-mid June 2011 and end of August 2012-mid of September 2012. I gathered data primarily through visits to families' houses and these of their relatives and friends. During a substantial part of my visits, I followed family members to outdoor daily and leisure activities in the vicinity of their houses, the centre of Athens and the Greek countryside. Visits occurred once to twice a week and lasted from two to eight hours each depending on families' agenda, working and schooling commitments.

4.3.3 Negotiating access and consent

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, 41) note that 'the problem of obtaining access to the data looms large in ethnography'. Not surprisingly, challenges multiply when conducting research in more intimate environments such as these of home settings and within specific cultural contexts.

I approached the first two Albanian families by mobilising existing personal networks in May 2010. During the second fieldwork period these families introduced me through 'snowball' techniques to three other families. 'Snowball' research strategies, where one 'subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on' are often used to access the so-called 'hidden and hard-to-reach populations' (Atkinson and Flint 2001, 1). Both personal networks and 'snowball' techniques proved useful in

establishing contacts with families given the latter's 'hard-to-reach', stigmatised status in the Greek society.

Achieving access and consent revealed varying gender dynamics among Albanian families. In three families it was the females (mothers, aunts, grandmothers) openly inviting me to take part in their daily routines by '*keeping their children company*', whereas in the other two it was the fathers acting as family representatives and giving their approval for my home visits to commence. During my first meeting with each family, I introduced myself to family members and shared with them details on the content and purpose of my project. These initial discussions quickly evolved around families' lived experiences in Athens, the family 'left behind' and the childhood years in Albania. The fact that I was living abroad acted as a point of connection with the mother of one family, when I first met her; both of us felt '*disconnected*' from the family 'left behind' and '*more at home*' in our countries of residence.

Relationships of rapport built up visit after visit. In most families it was my relationship with children and mothers that determined the frequency of my visits. Children often asked '*when I was visiting next?*' and mothers invited me to take part in family rituals they considered to be relevant for my study, such as children's school festivities. These close relationships with mothers or other female members, such as aunts and grandmothers, influenced processes of collecting and analysing data. In each family, I had more privileged access to different people, who were usually female. These participants acted as a richer source of information compared to others, and therefore their views were presented to a larger extent in the thesis. After a month of field visits families became '*used of my presence*' in their daily routines and started introducing me as a family friend to their social networks (Vetere and Gale 1987). This gradual establishment of trust was the outcome of offering hands-on assistance in areas specified by family members (see 4.4).

4.3.4 Analysing ethnographic material: coding and theorising

In ethnography, data analysis follows an open-ended approach; it begins in the pre-fieldwork phase by identifying research questions and continues in processes of collecting data and writing analytic reports and memos, where initial research questions are redefined. This flexible theorising entails a constant interplay and continuous ‘back and forth’ movement between data and ideas with analysis of data feeding into research design and data collection (Hammersley and Atkison 2007, 159). Glaser and Strauss (1967) have encapsulated these iterative processes in the concept of ‘grounded theorising’, where theory is developed out of data analysis and subsequent data collection is guided strategically by emergent theory.

I sought a dialectical interaction between data and ideas by employing grounded theory methods in my process of analysis. The logic behind these methods entails a cyclical process of collecting data, progressing with analysis, going back to the field for further data and refining the emerging theoretical framework (Charmaz 2005; 2006). Grounded theory strategies aid ethnographers to increase the analytic incisiveness of their studies by allowing them to (i) compare data with data from the *beginning* of the research, (ii) compare data with emerging categories, (iii) demonstrate relations between concepts and categories and (iv) raise description to abstract categories and theoretical explanation (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001). I followed the grounded theory cyclical process by conducting fieldwork in three stages (see 4.3.2). Emergent ideas and analytical categories from the first fieldwork season directed subsequent data collection during the second and the third fieldwork periods.

In grounded theory methods coding is the first step in theory building: it involves a dynamic process of raising raw material to a conceptual level (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Analysis began with initial or open coding⁴¹: breaking down data and

⁴¹ The terms of ‘open coding’, ‘axial coding’ and ‘selective coding’ are drawn from Strauss and Corbin 1998.

delineating concepts that stand for these raw blocks of data. The discrete parts of data, forming identified concepts, were closely examined and compared for similarities or differences. For instance, across participating families I identified different media and sources employed by individuals to engage with history heritage, which were accordingly labelled as 'mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage' (see Appendix IV). I then divided this concept into the different tools utilised by individuals to produce history and heritage meaning, which included 'documentaries and historical films', 'the Greek national curriculum and classroom teaching', 'past-related talk', 'commemorations of national anniversaries', 'visits to heritage sites and museums' and practices of reading 'books' (see Appendix IV).

Throughout analysis I utilised the qualitative software NVivo to facilitate the integration process (Bazeley and Richards 2000). NVivo does not dictate following a deductive approach in the analytical process. It stores coded ideas and concepts, generating from the data, in 'nodes' and provides 'logical Trees' for synthesising data into different interconnected analytical categories. Taking memos in NVivo was useful in constructing my theoretical argument. From the initial stages of analysis, I kept detailed memos recording thoughts, reflections, understandings and meanings of concepts extracted. These 'private conversations with the self' (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001, 167) enabled me to elaborate comparisons between identified concepts, discern patterns and establish variations for theoretical relationships to emerge. As a product of analysis, this form of pre-writing facilitated processes of presenting findings by helping to connect raw, verbatim data imported in NVivo with my theoretical argument.

As coding proceeded, I elaborated relationships through developing comparisons among identified concepts, linking thematic categories to their sub-categories at the level of their *properties* and *dimensions* (axial coding). *Properties* concern the characteristics of a category 'the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning', while *dimensions* refer to 'the range along which general properties of a category vary, giving specification to a category and variation to the theory'

(Strauss and Corbin 1998, 101). Sub-categories answer questions about the phenomenon providing the concept with greater explanatory power. For instance the sub-categories of 'ways of communicating in Albanian', 'producing and consuming diets of home', 'personal networks', 'participating in ethnic-group functions', 'exposure to Albanian media', 'contacts with Albania' and 'trips to Albania' involved different forms across families of the larger phenomenon of maintaining the Albanian aspect in constructing identity in the diasporic realm (see Appendix IV). Axial coding did not prevent me from naming new phenomena: axial and open coding are not sequential acts (Strauss and Corbin 1998).

The systematic establishment of connections among analytical categories led to integrating earlier coding to a coherent storyline, a theoretical framework (selective coding). This explanatory scheme was constructed on a central category labelled 'identity, history and heritage at the crossroads of Greece and Albania'. Under this category four major interrelated analytical categories were subsumed: (a) cultural and ethnic identity formation at the crossroads of Greece and Albania (see chapter 6), (b) mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage (see 7.2), (c) history making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania (see 7.3) and (d) heritage making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania (see 7.4) (see Appendix IV).

Codes of naming phenomena, or else 'in vivo codes', emerged both from literature review and the field (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Lofland *et al.* 2006) (see Appendix IV). A number of conceptual codes were adapted from literature review treating identity, memory and heritage and history work in migrancy. Theory-driven codes included: 'producing and consuming diets of home' adapted from Kershen (2006), the 'contacts with Albania' adapted from Levitt (2001b), the 'myth of return' adapted from Anwar (1979), the 'participation in ethnic-group functions' adapted from Isajiw (1990), the 'survival' strategies adapted from Pratsinakis (2005), the 'documentaries and historical films', the 'visits to heritage sites and museums' and the practices of reading 'books' adapted from Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998), the 'traditions and customs' adapted from Burrell (2004; 2006), the 'transitional' material and visual culture adapted from Mehta and Belk (1991) and the 'ways of

living in the new country' adapted from Moussouri and Johnson (2006). Emergent codes from the field involved either topics brought up by participants or themes that were relevant in participants' lives. Codes emerging from topics brought up by participants included the the experience of exclusion and stigmatisation; national histories; personal histories, such as Enver Hoxha's regime, ways of growing up in Albania and the migration experience; cultural values and life-cycle events; the Greek national curriculum and classroom teaching; and commemorations of national anniversaries (see Appendix IV). Codes stemming from topics that were relevant in participants' lives comprised ways of communicating in Albanian and Greek; personal networks; exposure to Albanian media; trips to Albania; and past-related talk (see Appendix IV).

Once the data were coded, I produced a thick, descriptive account of each family highlighting its particularities, idiosyncrasies and unique elements (see chapter 5). The treatment of families as separate cases allowed for heterogeneity and multivocality to emerge within the same ethnic group (Merriam 1998). These thick accounts were then merged together to conduct a cross-case analysis, providing a wider, holistic view of the dataset, by pinning down commonalities and differences (see chapters 6; 7).

4.4 Ethical considerations

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, 210) argue that people must 'consent to be researched in an unconstrained way, making their decisions on the basis of comprehensive and accurate information about it', and that they should be 'free to withdraw at any time'. I secured parents' oral consent to participate in the study at the first or the second meeting with each family. Sustaining consent was facilitated throughout fieldwork by engaging in discussions with participants on the purpose of my project, its aims and objectives. This ongoing dialogue enabled family members to express their views on my research, directing me toward practices and elements that they thought '*were of interest*'. To secure participants' official informed consent I followed the guidelines of the UCL Research Ethics Committee, from

which the study received approval in April 2010. Information sheets and informed consent forms for parents/guardians were produced in English and Greek and then translated into Albanian (see Appendices V; VI).

Albanian Ethics forms acted as a point of connection with one of the families: Zamira was enthusiastic about the idea of a Greek researcher handing out to her family documents in Albanian, given the language's stigmatisation in Greece. Parents and grandparents signed the Albanian forms during our last meeting. For the father of the family in Neos Kosmos these forms were of trivial significance, revealing different cultural practices. Artan found 'no purpose' in signing the consent forms, joking that he '*could not afford a lawyer to take [me] to court*' in case his family was harmed by my research. In accordance with the UCL Ethics Committee instructions, children's oral consent was audio-recorded after securing parents' written permission (see Appendix VII). I employed lay terms to explain my project to children of early-primary school age, presenting my study in the form of '*a school assignment*'. This approach secured the agreement of younger participants, who felt empowered by assisting me to '*score highly*' as Mirela claimed. In keeping with the UCL Research Ethic's Committee guidelines, I ensured participants' anonymity and confidentiality by employing pseudonyms, some of which were selected by family members. Adults and children also gave their oral and written consent of their photos included in the thesis. With the exception of Figure 10, I decided not to have participants' faces blurred respecting their requests (Alderson and Morrow 2004; Gorin *et al.* 2008; Nutbrown 2011; Robson 2011; Skanfors 2009). There were cases, where parents insisted that I included more better-looking pictures of their children in the thesis (than the ones I selected), and others where individuals felt that they were not represented in the thesis unless they had their pictures put in the text. I blurred the child's face in *Figure 10*, as this concerned a controversial issue within the family (see 5.4.2) (cf. Flewitt 2005).

Another ethical consideration of increasing significance to critical and more traditional ethnographies concerns that of power differentials between researcher and researched (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Postcolonial and feminist

critiques have increasingly expressed 'exploitation' concerns of those studied, arguing that the research relationship is oppressive and that truly ethical research is impossible (Patai 1991). Critical ethnography addresses power imbalances by engaging researchers with projects of social justice serving emancipatory goals. Method-wise, I established less hierarchical relationships with participants by employing collaborative techniques, allowing family members to become 'analysts, interpreters and social critics of themselves' (Freidenberg 1998, 174).

My moral commitment to improving the quality of life of Albanian families manifested in practices of 'giving back' and responding to families' agendas and concerns. 'Giving back' took the form of contributing in the improvement of children's school performance, which was of immense significance to adults, who viewed education as the sole pathway of escaping social exclusion in Greece (see chapter 5). Children enjoyed having me as an informal teacher confirming that our tutorials boosted their self-confidence, while grandparents and parents felt relieved for having someone, who could assist in areas that created anxiety in the family, as they could not be of help. Adults expressed their gratitude and thankfulness by sharing with me their offspring's school achievements or by acknowledging my willingness to pass on knowledge. In some families, practices of 'giving back' expanded to acting as '*a role model*' or being '*a good influence*' to the children as parents said. In the family in Alsos Veikou Galatsi the fact that I was granted a scholarship to pursue a research degree in a much-revered Western European country in the family's eyes, represented an excellent opportunity, according to parents, to communicate to Erion the pathways of studying abroad.

Practices of 'giving back' also involved (i) taking children to extra-curricula/leisure activities or working commitments, (ii) keeping children company when parents were at work, (iii) filling paperwork in Greek regarding parents' national insurance and residency permits and (iv) using my personal contacts to help participants in situations, where adults were deceived by Greek private companies. All areas of assistance were identified by participants, whom I made

aware from the beginning of fieldwork of my commitment to produce something '*tangible and beneficial for them*' by the end of the study.

4.5 Reflexivity and positionality in critical ethnography

The commitment to reflexivity is a fundamental theme in critical and noncritical ethnographic work, where it is widely acclaimed that there is no such thing as value-free research. Reflexivity refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the researchers' orientations shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values that these locations confer upon them (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This acknowledgement rejects the idea that research can be conducted in an autonomous realm devoid from the wider society and the biography of the personnel. Within the critical discourse the concept of reflexivity is inexorably linked to *positionality*. Positionality implies that critical ethnographers are explicit about the groups and interests they wish to serve as well as their own biography (Noblit *et al.* 2004). Madison (2005) argues that at times it becomes impossible to discern the difference between reflexivity and positionality, as both call us to acknowledge how our power, privilege, biases and political position shape the research process by affecting our perceptions and roles as observers as well as reflect on our moral responsibility regarding representation and interpretation.

Throughout fieldwork I engaged with the concepts of reflexivity and positionality by 'turning back' on myself (Davies 2008, 4), to acknowledge how a number of factors shaped the research process. These included my biography, values, intentions and gender.

From my first meetings with families I remained open about my personal history. I presented myself as a member of the dominant society growing up in an up-market southern suburb. Yet, I had to secure funding to be able to pursue a research degree in the UK. As the different family members opened themselves to me, I also found myself sharing emotions and intimate stories about myself and my

social reality, including my relationships with the family 'left behind', or issues that troubled me during fieldwork, such as my father's health issues. In some cases mutual experiences, such as this of living away from one's family, acted as a point of connection with participants (see 4.5).

Throughout the research process I was honest to family members about my intentions for undertaking this study. As Quantz (1992) clarifies what differentiates critical ethnography from other forms is the effort of researchers to remain frank about their values to participants and the reader. During my conversations with individuals I clarified that my motive of exploring and recording their experiences and stories was linked to their ethnic group's stigmatisation in Greece. Revealing my own value perspective to participants facilitated the building of trust. Individuals initiated discussions about social exclusion, approving in this way the salience of my project.

My intentions and my four-year-and-ongoing residence in a Western European country shaped the way family members viewed me. All five families treated me as a non-typical Greek, or '*a Greek from abroad*' as participants used to call me. What was regarded as a cosmopolitan background had three effects in my interactions with participating families; it acted as a point of bonding with mothers of some families as mentioned above (see 4.5). It encouraged children to express their double memberships in the Greek and Albanian collectivities respectively. For instance, when I told the seven-year-old son of the Labrini Galatsi family that I was born in Athens but live in London, the child replied that he was '*from two countries: Greece and Albania*'. Lastly, in participants' perceptions my residence in the UK meant that I was not a member of the dominant society, who had negatively stereotyped them, but a person, who had come in contact with more modernised and progressive ideas. Hence, parents and their relatives felt comfortable in sharing with me poignant stories of oppression, as they felt that I could comprehend and recognise the discriminative attitude of the Greek society toward them.

My gender also influenced the research process. Even though gender dynamics and relations seemed to have shifted in the context of migration, elements of the Albanian patriarchal mentality persisted among families (see 7.4.3.2). As a female researcher, my presence in families' daily routines was associated with female-oriented tasks, including assistance in childrearing and housework. My relationship with families' male adults remained less developed in that I had to follow culture-specific patterns of men socialising with men and women with women. In most instances data gathering occurred while keeping company to women doing housework routines or when playing with children. This was accelerated in a couple of families by the fathers' heavy working commitments resulting to the formers' absence from home throughout the day. Yet, family dinners and lunches, as well as outdoor activities provided chances of developing my relationship with males in their wives' presence.

4.6 Trustworthiness of data and results: credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability) and confirmability (objectivity)

Within a critical realist epistemological context the questioning of value-free research necessitates the removal of trustworthiness criteria from the positivist frame. Lincoln and Guba (1985) responded to the constructed, value-laden and situational nature of social research, by proposing alternative parallels to the traditional nature sciences criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. These include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, ensuring 'that the findings of an inquiry are...worth taking account of' (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 290).

Credibility establishes the degree to which concepts and interpretations of data are plausible and believable for the research participants. Ethnographic research has been questioned as to whether ethnographers can go beyond knowing anything other than that which expresses their personal standpoint and experiences (Davies 2008). Yet Davies (2008) argues that ethnography can lay claim to credibility

through its employment of multiple sources of evidence and methods of collecting data, which allow for triangulation and testing of diverse nature of data. I enhanced credibility by utilising a collage of methods of data collection (see 4.3.1). The participatory element of my methods of data collection fosters credibility, as 'ethnographers are compelled to cope with social interactions, that are for the most part, on somebody else's terms and understandings; their ability to do so...lends the validity of practice to their conclusions and interpretations' (Davies 2008, 96).

The concept of dependability requires from the researcher to take into account 'both factors of instability *and* factors of phenomenal or design induced change' (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 299). In other words, the ethnographer is called to consider the ever-changing, ephemeral nature of the research setting and be open to adapt his/her approach to new inputs emerging during the period of study (Hamberg *et al.* 1994). The open-ended approach of ethnographic, participatory and grounded theory methods I adopted in my study allowed me to be flexible in adapting its scope to Albanian families' concerns and motivations. Also, the acceptance that all knowledge is contingent, partial and incomplete in nature does not imply sinking into a relativist hole in which no evaluation or improvement of knowledge is possible (Davies 2008). Davies (2008) asserts that in ethnographic research fieldworkers must be concerned with the improvement of knowledge within the confines of their own research project by continually cross-checking the information they obtain and the interpretations they develop. I addressed dependability and evaluation of knowledge by returning to the same topic, asking the same question under varying circumstances and supporting verbal assertions with observations.

Transferability judges the extent to which the outcomes of the inquiry can be transferred to different research settings. In my thesis I employed ethnographic and participatory approaches to explore identity, history and heritage work in five Albanian families of Athens and Piraeus. The results of this study are specific to the particularities of its context, and are therefore 'generalisable in the context of the particular theoretical debate rather than being concerned [with the extension] to a

larger collectivity' (Davies 2008, 103). Researchers are encouraged to judge and identify for themselves which findings resonate with them and they can apply to their cases. I facilitated processes of transferability by providing a thorough description of the research context's idiosyncrasies and distinctive characteristics.

Confirmability is achieved when interpretations and study results are confirmed from the data and can therefore be judged or corroborated by other researchers. Ethnographic and grounded theory methods ensure confirmability on the premise that analysis starts and builds from the data (Hamberg *et al.* 1994). I further improved my study's confirmability by engaging with reflexivity and positionality. Being explicit about my biography, socio-cultural background and worldviews enabled me to demonstrate how my values, motivations and aspirations informed my thesis. Keeping an 'ethnographic journal' (see 4.3.1.3) proved useful toward this direction (Guba 1981) in that it offered insight into how my personal feelings, thoughts and assumptions shaped the product of this research.

Summary

This chapter outlines my methodological framework. The adoption of critical ethnography as a methodology was deemed appropriate in the context of this research, given participants' stigmatised status in Greece and my intentions of addressing these imbalances by voicing their stories. Family groups were chosen for their capacity to filter societal discourses through their culture and belief systems; their crucial role in individuals' socialisation; their ability to act as mnemonic communities and loci of intimate connection with history and heritage; their salience as an institution in Albanian society; and their importance in facilitating Albanians' 'acceptance' by the Greek society. The Albanian ethnic group made a good case study of looking at identity formation and history and heritage making in migration, for its tendency to migrate in families, its deep historical associations with the host society and its negatively stereotyped status.

My research questions determined my methods of data collection, including participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, visual ethnography techniques and walking interviews. Five Albanian families participated in the study, conducted in the domestic and public settings of Athens and Piraeus during a nine-month fieldwork. I secured access and consent through personal networks and snowball techniques. In processing with analysis, I employed grounded theory methods, allowing a constant interplay between data and ideas. I addressed ethical considerations by adopting collaborative techniques and practices of 'giving back' to families. In my engagement with reflexivity and positionality I turned back on myself to acknowledge how my personal history, values, intentions and gender shaped this thesis. I addressed issues of trustworthiness of data by enhancing credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Chapter 5

Five families, five stories: Albanian families and identity formation

5.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an examination of the stories produced by the five families participating in this research. Each family story is divided in two parts: (a) the family's vignette shedding light on its personal and social background and sociocultural practices in the new country and the (b) family's narrative of ethnic and cultural identity. The provision of families' intimate sketches serves double purposes: (i) it gives insight to how the personal and the social are among the identity markers mediating history and heritage meaning and (ii) it demonstrates how personal, social and cultural experiences and backgrounds inform the building of ethnic identity, which suggests an additional lens through which the past is filtered to become history and heritage. This chapter answers two research questions. Firstly, families' vignettes and ethnic and cultural identity narratives illustrate how individuals and families, as a group, construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. I will discuss identity in-between two homelands in more detail in chapter 6. Secondly, my interpretation of families' stories deepen our understanding of how individuals and families' identity formation affect what the former consider as their history and heritage or not. In chapter 7, I will present and analyse individuals' conceptualisations and creations of history and heritage in more depth.

Families' portrayals are interrelated to their cultural and ethnic identity narratives. Vignettes provide insight to families' notions of Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) *habitus*, referring to sedimented 'dispositions', acquired over time, frames of

reference and mental schemata through which individuals are oriented to act upon the social world (see 2.2.5). Families' social and cultural practices interwoven in their daily realities, are determined by these 'systems of durable, transportable dispositions' (Bourdieu 1977, 72), suggesting different internalised modes of thought and behavior, transmitted from parents to children. This diversity of modes of thinking and acting leads to different narratives of negotiating cultural and ethnic identity within each family. Hence, the multivocality encountered in families' accounts of ethnic and cultural identity, outlined in the second part of each family's story, links back to their *habitus*, explaining how an individuals' personal history can affect one's state of mind and behaviour. As families' discourses and practices reveal, *habitus* is not to be perceived as an eternal unchangeable entity, but as 'an open system...that is constantly subjected to experiences, and accordingly constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structure' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 133). The flexibility of *habitus* coincides with the cultural-historical approach to identity, as proposed by Larraín (2000), adopted in this research (see 2.1.2). Emphasising the socially constructed nature of identity, the cultural-historical approach offers explanation for the implications and modifications arising in Albanian families' milieus as a result of their migration experiences and settlements in new lands.

5.2 The story of the Labrini Galatsi family

5.2.1 Vignette: introducing the family of Labrini Galatsi

Kostas, forty, and Adelina, thirty-six, have two Greek-born children, Zamira, twelve, and Skerdilaid, seven. They live in a one-bedroom flat in the area of Labrini Galatsi in Athens (Figure 7, p. 155). The father works double shifts, as a free-lance flyer distributor and a pizza delivery driver. Adelina is a poet, who used to work as a journalist in an Albanian newspaper circulated in Athens. Since the newspaper closed down, the mother has been devoting her time in housework and childrearing, occasionally working as an elderly-carer.

In the early 1990s, Kostas was about to finish a sports college, when he left Albania 'to try [his] chances' in Greece. Adelina joined him a couple of years later. Both parents emphasised cultural and symbolic capital in a pre-migration context manifested in (i) above-average urban lifestyles, including trips to Poland and East Germany at a time of extreme isolationism in Albania (see 3.2.2.2), (ii) educational achievements and (iii) parents' high-status professions and academic credentials. Kostas was born in the northern rural town of Pukë, but spent his life between East Berlin and the cities of Lezhë and Librazhd, following his father, a military officer for the communist party. Adelina divided her upbringing between Tirana, Warsaw and Lezhë as a result of her father's diplomat occupation in the communist party. The mother was proud of her father's academic credentials having obtained three University degrees. Like Kostas' mother, Adelina's mother was a bank accountant. Both parents passed down to Adelina their love for literature and learning through reading, encouraging her to come first in class. Kostas also scored high throughout his primary and high school years.

Adelina and Kostas' personal and family backgrounds in combination with their migration experiences shaped their social and cultural itineraries in the country of residence. On a social level, Pratsinakis (2005) reports that Albanians' severe stigmatisation in Greece has promoted the formation of close-knit networks within the community built around affinities of relatives and friends. Like the rest of the families participating in this study, the Labrini Galatsi family's social network in Athens built up around kin living nearby. Adelina's mother passed by for coffee on weekdays and during the weekends Kostas' nephew came to play over with Zamira and Skerdilaid. On a cultural level, parents' pre-migration biographies informed the family's agenda, placing focal importance on children's learning experiences in formal and informal contexts. Parental habitus influenced the children's cultural development through mechanisms of social class reproduction, transmitting cultural capital from older to younger family members (see also Fyfe and Ross 1996). Such mechanisms involved practices of parents contributing in children's school excellence, children's hobbies and weekend family activities. Adelina assisted children with schoolwork and both parents passed down to their children their

passions for sports, reading and creative writing. Kostas had both children enrolled in kickboxing, where Zamira was a national champion (Figure 8).

(Figure removed to protect research participants' anonymisation)

Figure 8. Zamira's kickboxing medals in the family's living room.

As a poet, Adelina transmitted her love for literature and creative writing to Zamira and Skerdilaid, who read Greek literature on a regular basis and participated in fairy-tale writing competitions. The priority of enriching one's learning experience was manifested in an array of weekend activities they *'did together as a family'*, as Adelina said. From attending theatre performances and book presentations to visiting museums and watching cinéfil movies, the educational role of the family group reproduced class habitus by ensuring that children were equipped with aesthetic dispositions of cultural knowledge (Bourdieu 1984; Codd 1990; Harker 1990).

Tomanovic (2004, 354) argues that when family lifestyle is oriented towards 'public and institutional spaces', children's everyday life is also oriented towards these spaces and 'their social networks are more diversified'. This corresponded to the family's lifestyle, where parents' personal, social and cultural backgrounds promoted activities of interacting with and integrating in the Greek society. These practices informed family members' conceptualisations of cultural and ethnic identity, leading to the emergence of transnational formations.

5.2.2 'Greece and Albania [form] equal parts of me': toward the emergence of a transnational identity

The emergence of a transnational or plurilocal identity, denoting double identifications and decentred place attachments, prevailed mother and children's accounts (Vertovec 1999). Conceptualisations of ethnic allegiances reflected processes of 'cultural diasporisation' (Hall 1996a, 448) and hybridisation in the

family, where the search for identity and roots was not limited to origins, but anchored both to the old homeland and the society of settlement (Gilroy 1987). Contrary to the rest of the family, the father, as it will be shown below (see p. 176), emphasised the Albanian aspect in children's identity formation.

'Greece is not a foreign country, but my home': Adelina's phrase encapsulated her deep ties with the new country, which were the outcome of perceptions on Greek-Albanian historical and cultural connections and personal experiences rooted in Athens. Drawing from the old country's curriculum, Adelina emphasised that *'Greeks and Albanians were like cousins [...] coming from the same tribe, the Pelasgian'*. The Albanian scholar Piro Misha (2002) confirms the mother's comments, reporting that the Albanian nation's myth of ethnogenesis is constructed on the mythical Pelasgians. Greek-Albanian historical connections consolidated on cultural similarity perceptions: quoting Adelina, the *'Balkan neighbourhood and brotherhood'* produced uniform mentalities between the two nations. From a biographical perspective, Adelina explained that her daughter's birth coupled by the settlement of her mother in Athens, instigated processes of *'laying roots'* in the country of residence. Until then, Adelina kept the *'myth of return'* (Anwar 1979) alive. Gradually she found herself *'loving and perceiving Greece as her own country'* from small things, such as supporting the Greek football team to bigger ones, such as developing the urge to improve aspects of the Greek society. After seventeen years in Athens, Adelina admits feeling *'more familiar and comfortable in Greece than in Albania'* despite the family's destitute living conditions.

The mother's bonding with the migration destination influenced perceptions of her children's relations to the old and new homeland. *'No matter how much I talk to my children about Albania, for them it still represents the country where their parents were born...[and] where they meet their parents' beloved persons'* said Adelina. Deconstructing essentialist understandings of ethnicity, grounded on common heritage and lineage, by clarifying that *'love does not emerge by being related to somebody by family blood, but through sharing experiences on a daily*

basis', Adelina confirmed her children's loose connections with relatives 'left behind' as a result of geographical separation. She further emphasised identity's socially constructed nature, where individuals define, negotiate and produce ethnic identification through social interaction inside and outside ethnic communities. The mother argued that her children may suggest that '*Albania is their mother country*', but in reality, '*they are not Albanian...because they do not live there; [on the contrary] it is in Greece where they made their first steps, watch TV and receive their education*'. Kostas opposed his wife's views. He regarded Albanian as children's mother tongue, and not as '*a second or foreign language*' as Adelina referred to it. With this in end, the father addressed the children more often in Albanian compared to the mother, coinciding with results by Gogonas (2009; 2010).

Parents' conflicting views of their children's ethnic affiliations promoted the emergence of a transnational identity in the younger generation. Children's attachments to more than one place unveiled in our private conversations and their confessions in the parents' presence. Zamira's frustration of not being able to define which country she belonged to came up a few times in our discussions. The daughter felt embarrassed of her plurilocal identity blending Greek and Albanian elements. The term 'multiculturalism', defined in her geography textbook, reminded her '*who she and her family was*', causing her discomfort for standing out of the classroom crowd. Toward the end of fieldwork Zamira shared her thoughts with me on her dual ethnic affiliations. '*I don't know who am I*', she said, '*everything around me in this house reminds me of Albania, the language, the traditions, the customs; Albania is my mother country, but it is here where I live; I feel both of them [Greece and Albania]...equally close to me*'. Double belongings unfolded in Skerdilaid's accounts, after he became aware of my status, '*originating from Athens, but living in London for the last few years*' (see 4.5). The seven-year-old claimed that he comes '*from two countries: Greece and Albania*'. Indeed, the child expressed his ethnic affiliation to the old or the new homeland depending on the conversation context. When his mother questioned the Albanian aspect of his identity by commenting that his grandmother spoke better Albanian than he did, because '*she comes from Albania*', the son replied to her '*where do you think I am from? I am*

from Albania'. On the other hand, when Adelina referred to Greece and Albania's WWII defending strategies against the Italians, Skerdilaid projected himself as a member of the Greek community by constructing a collective 'We': '*we [the Greeks] won the Italians*'. Gardner and Mand (2012, 973, 976) report similar cases of having 'two homes' or not being 'tied down' to one place or location in investigating the translational identities of aged 9-10 British Bengali children. Like Zamira and Skerdilaid, the children in the researchers' (Gardner and Mand 2012, 970) study claimed that they were both British and Bangladeshi signifying that 'home' and 'away' are part of the same social field.

The family's 'double consciousness' (Gillroy 1992, 193) manifested in multiple forms built into the fabric of its daily life (see chapters 6; 7). These reproduced among others in (i) patterns of communication, where Greek and Albanian intermingled, (ii) visual and material culture displaying the connection of the old and the new home, such as Greek and Albanian flags (iii) leisure activities, such as museum and site visiting, introducing children to the heritage of the old and the new country, (iv) children's social networks involving Greek and Greek-born children of Albanian descent and (v) practices of producing and consuming diets of the old homeland, performing Albanian customs and traditions, yet enrolling children in Greek schools.

5.3 The story of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family

5.3.1 Vignette: introducing the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi

Nora, thirty-eight, and Edwin, forty-four, live with their thirteen-year-old son, Erion, in a one-bedroom flat in the district of Alsos Veikou Galatsi in Athens (Figure 7, p. 155). Since their arrival in Athens in 1994, Nora has been working as a housekeeper and Edwin as a car painter.

The parents' professions are in direct contrast with their education and lifestyle trajectories in the old homeland. Nora emphasised symbolic capital in her privileged urban upbringing divided between East Berlin and the northern city of

Lezhë, where she followed her father, working as an army officer. Her mother, who was *'a mathematical brain'*, according to Erion, was a bank accountant. Nora considered herself among the *'lucky'* children in Albania, dressed in polished clothes and enjoying exclusive consumer goods. Edwin's childhood years did not resemble to these of his wife, however, his academic achievements and prestigious employment explained the family's emphasis on their son's educational development. The father grew up in the impoverished rural town of Peshkopi in northeastern Albania, where winters were harsh and schoolchildren carried wood for the classroom's woodstove, to keep the room warm. Edwin's father was a lorry driver and his mother a housewife. For Nora and Erion, it was a major accomplishment that Edwin was granted a scholarship to pursue a bachelor's degree in aircraft engineering at the University of Vlorë. Mother and son emphasised the father's cultural and symbolic capital in a pre-migration context: Nora admired her husband for his academic credentials and Erion was proud of his father working as an air-forces engineer in Albania.

Edwin, on the other hand, showed no enthusiasm of his achievements in a state *'which had no future'*, as he said. The father regretted spending his most productive years in Albania, where skills and knowledge gained proved useless for his future life in a capitalist society. Edwin's remorse reflected the widespread disavowal of Hoxha's ideology in post-communist Albania, marking phenomena of *'identity crisis'* and giving birth to the myth of the West appearing *'as the strongest drive for the creation of a new identity'* (Lubonja 2002, 101) (see 3.2.2.2; 7.3.4).

Edwin and Nora's backgrounds, individual experiences and professional occupations shaped their sociocultural conditions and practices in the place of residence. Nora's heavy working commitments prevented her from having days off. Her decision to work additional hours came as a result of Edwin's salary being reduced due to the Greek economic crisis (see Appendix III). The mother's work overload minimized chances of socialising, triggering the son's discontent *'for not going out enough with his family'*. The family's social network consisted of Albanian relatives living in walking distances. Nora's aunt stopped by on weekday evenings

and Erion often slept at his cousins' during the weekends. On Saturday mornings Erion met his Greek friends in the neighbourhood, whereas on Sundays he joined his father to play basketball. Edwin met his Albanian friends for coffee on Sunday mornings.

On a cultural level, the parents' personal histories and migration experiences lead Nora and Edwin to invest in Erion's education, regarded as the sole pathway of escaping exclusion. Social marginalisation formed an integral part of the couple's experienced reality in Greece (see 6.3.1), where *otherness* epitomised Albanianess in public and media discourses. '*If you don't study hard, you will end up working in a car servicing like me*', Edwin told Erion. Pratsinakis (2005) reported similar views among Albanian parents treating their children's schooling as a vehicle to upward socioeconomic mobility and higher social status jobs. In view of that, Erion took tutorials in English and the family possessed a series of English textbooks and CDs for practicing English. Being able to speak a global language was of major importance according to Edwin, who said that '*not speaking English is similar to being deaf*'. Having no knowledge of the English language, parents employed all available means to optimise their son's cultural capital. Presented by Nora as the highly educated person in the family, Edwin was in charge of Erion's school performance helping him in science and technology projects (Figure 9).

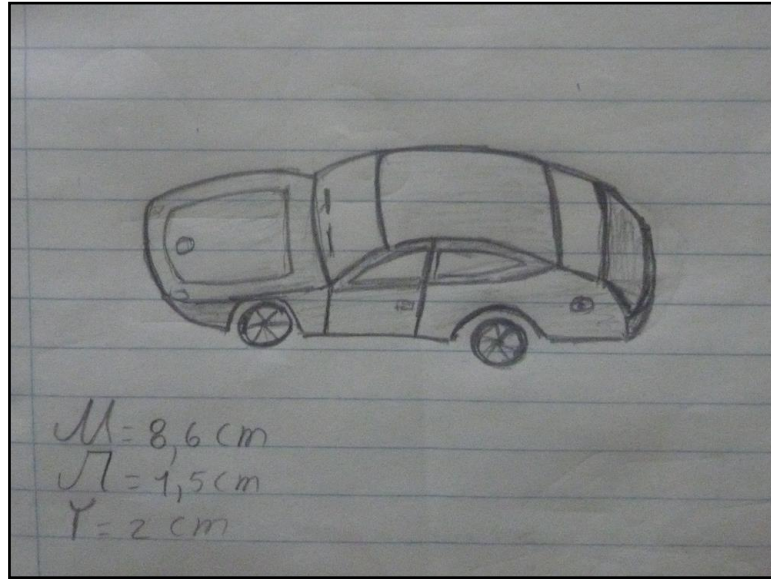


Figure 9. Drawing by Edwin for Erion's technology project.

Parents' life-histories, migration experiences and perceptions, acquired during their upbringing in Albania, informed the family's narrative of ethnic and cultural identity. These identity conceptualisations influenced the members' interpretations of history and heritage in the new homeland.

5.3.2 'It may not be the history of the state, but it is my own history': the prominence of personal and supranational (Balkan) histories in identity formation

Storytelling on past life in the old homeland was a common practice among family members. As Nora clarified, the narratives shared with her son about Albania '*may not be [about] the history of the state, but [about] my life history: how we spent time during the summer, climbed up in trees and went to the beach on our own*'. Parents' emphasis on personal and family histories was an intentional decision, informed by their migration experiences and sets of values, adopted during past life in Albania.

The migration project shaped parents' perceptions of official historical narratives thought to deepen the intersection of history and politics. The couple

emphasised that each nation-state projected its nationalist agenda in the construction of the past by investing different meanings to historical events, which in turn caused frictions among countries (see also 2.4.2.1). This was particularly felt in the family's familiarisation with the Greek history textbook, coloured with *'notions or racism and nationalism'* quoting Edwin. The father brought as an example Ancient Illyria's territorial size, appearing much smaller in his son's Greek history textbook compared to what he was taught in Albania. He also alluded to Greek popular claims obscuring Albania's position in WWII (see 7.3.3). The contested nature of nationalising mythologies, permeating the history of Greek-Albanian relations, explained the scarcity of their references in parent-child conversations. According to Erion, his parents were the sole source of familiarising with the old homeland's history, yet it was unlikely *'for Skanderbeg and other Albanian heroes'* to come up in daily conversations. From Nora's perspective, avoiding national history talk was a matter of eliminating the chances of boosting her son's patriotism, following beliefs that *'societies should overcome their historical disputes and live peacefully with each other'*.

Values acquired during upbringing in Albania formulated parents' views of dominant historical discourses. Edwin and Nora stressed the importance of narratives going beyond the national to the supranational, by expressing their concerns over the Greek state's lack of intention to teach its schoolchildren the histories of its neighbouring Balkan countries. *'First the Balkans, and then India'* underlined Nora, who thought *'it was a pity'* that schoolchildren in Greece learned the history of geographically distant countries but *'did not know who their neighbours were'*. The mother drew from an Albanian saying to elaborate her argument: *'it is better to have a good neighbour, than a good cousin'*. Back in Albania, building relationships of trust with neighbours was of vital importance: people asked neighbours for consumer goods in case they run out, while in the course of weddings, neighbours opened up their houses for visitors to stay over, in case families did not have enough room for their guests.

From a different perspective, Edwin argued that students' familiarisation with Balkan history was pivotal in enhancing Balkan cohesion by promoting political and financial alliances. '*Where will you set up your business? In the neighbouring country!*' the father told me to support his argument. The couple's emphasis on the personal and the supranational element in forming one's identity can be linked to wider post-communist movements in Albania, denouncing Hoxha's state of siege nationalism and leading to regionalism, anti-nationalism and the celebration of identities of an individualised nature (Mai 2005; King and Mai 2009) (see 3.2.2.2). The shift toward 'the Balkan neighbours' reflects foreign policies in post-Hoxha's Albania, where a multinational regional cooperation in the Balkans was actively sought under commercial and economic drives (Pano 1992) (see 3.2.2.3).

Parents passed down to Erion stories from the family's past in interfamilial talk (see 7.3.5; 7.3.6). These narratives mostly concerned childhood and adulthood moments from the parents' life in the old homeland, fulfilling current needs and ideologies. Visual culture in the family's domestic interior, such as photos brought from Albania, acted as tangible stimuli of eliciting biographical and family histories (see 7.4.2).

5.4 The story of the Dafni family

5.4.1 Vignette: introducing the family of Dafni

Adlint, forty, and Eugenie, twenty-four, live together with Adlint's parents, Ardita, sixty, and Saban, seventy. The parents have three Greek-born children, Panaretos, five, and three-year-old twins, Aphrodite and Elektra. The family lives in an old spacious two-bedroom flat in Dafni, near the centre of Athens (*Figure 7*, p. 155). The eighth person in the family, Adlint's sister, Gentiana, thirty-three, lives half-an-hour-drive away from the family with her partner, but pays visits on a daily basis. Ardita and Eugenie are the breadwinners of the family, working as a housecleaner and a waitress respectively. Adlint works in construction, but had difficulties finding a job during the last couple of years due to the Greek economic

crisis (see Appendix III). Saban started working in construction in the aftermath of his arrival in Athens, but stopped after going through a heart operation. The grandfather spends his mornings and afternoons doing the grocery shopping for the family, while the mother takes care of the twins and does the housework. The grandmother does the rest of the housework and the cooking after returning from work.

Social dynamics in the family suggested different approaches of raising children, shaping their personal and cultural developments. Ardita and her daughter Gentiana are particularly close to the family's first child. According to Gentiana this was due to an incident taking place shortly after the child was born. At that time the aunt used to live together with her parents, Panaretos, her brother and sister-in-law. After her brother's bedroom was burnt down, the family decided for hygiene reasons that the newborn spends most of the day in the grandparents and aunt's shared bedroom, which was not affected by the fire. Gentiana told me that Panaretos spent all day at their bedroom (instead that of his parents). Eugenie, on the other hand, was closer to the twins. She confessed that *'her life dream [of having girls] had come true'* when Aphrodite and Elektra were born, showing me a picture of her *'huge'* pregnant tummy.

Adult habitus influenced the children's personal and cultural identity building. These processes were reflected in the relationships developed between the grandmother, the aunt and the older child, and the mother and the two younger children, respectively. Ardita had adopted 'high' and 'middle status' (Merriman 1989, 152) habits from her family and schooling experiences in Berat, where museum and heritage site visiting involved a popular form of engaging with heritage. The grandmother passed these on to her daughter, Gentiana, who undertook such visits during her trips in Greece and Albania. The aunt linked her interest on deepening her understanding about the past to her wider passion for learning by being a diligent student, reading literature and writing poems. Until leaving Albania, Gentiana worked at a printing centre, contemplating what University programme she would follow.

Panaretos spent the weekends with his aunt, going to the beach or the local park, visiting the zoo or staying inside to practice the Greek alphabet with her. Gentiana presented herself as the sole person in charge of her nephew's educational development. She bought Panaretos books to improve his Greek literacy skills and used a series of media to enrich his learning experience. For instance, she employed a puzzle featuring the two hemispheres, on display in the family's living room, to teach the child the continents. Panaretos also used to join his grandmother and sisters to the playground, take taekwondo lessons or visit Albanian kin together with his grandparents. The grandmother enhanced her nephew's learning experience by initiating him to museum-visiting culture through their visit to the National History Museum.

Eugenie was mostly involved with her daughters' upbringing. The mother, who had a rural upbringing in Thebes of southern Greece, built the children's socialisation mostly around visits to her natal house. The three-year-old twins enjoyed having their nails and hair done by their mother, who was trained as a nail specialist after finishing high school in Athens. The father and the grandfather were less involved in children's upbringing.

Grandparents, parents, and relatives' sociocultural histories and personal experiences introduced cultural practices influencing children's ethnic affiliations. Different biographies led to different narratives of belonging bringing to the fore identity implications and clashing perspectives in the family group.

5.4.2 *'You are not Greek, you are Albanian' versus 'in my children's generation people won't tell a Greek-born Albanian child from a Greek': identity conflicts in the family group*

Ethnic identity discourses arising in the family group revealed family members' contradictory perspectives. The aunt encouraged the development of

Albanian aspects in children's identity formation, whereas the grandmother and the mother either made the children feel uncomfortable with their Albanian origins or emphasised Greek elements in their upbringings. Conflicting opinions over ethnic membership in the family left the older child confused of his affiliation to the Greek or the Albanian ethnic group.

Throughout my meetings with family members, the aunt made continuous efforts to make her nephew feel comfortable with his Albanian origins. Examples included Panaretos expressing his anger against Albanians for '*fighting against the Greeks*' after participating in his kindergarten's celebrations of the 'Ohi Day'⁴². Gentiana deconstructed the child's misapprehensions explaining that Albanians and Greeks fought together against the common Italian enemy. She then asked Panaretos '*where do you think you come from?*' and the child replied he was Greek. Gentiana brought up the language spoken at home to remind the child of his Albanian origins (see also Burrell 2006; Fishman 1972), but Panaretos countered her argument, confirming that his teacher does not allow him to speak Albanian in the kindergarten. Practices, such as these, exposed the aunt's intention to project her perceptions on the child's identity formation, highlighting the Albanian elements and disregarding the Greek ones, primarily developed through his enrollment in a Greek kindergarten. During one of our walks to the playground, Panaretos asserted his Greekness by emphasising that '*the flag waving in his kindergarten building was that of Greece*'. The waving of the flag, which the five-year-old refers to, is considered by Billig (1995, 10) among the routine forms of celebrating the nation: pupils in Greek schools, like their US counterparts in the author's example, stand each morning in front of the national flag, whose waving marks the reproduction of the nation-state 'upon a dialectic of collective remembering and forgetting, and of imagination and unimaginative repetition'.

Gentiana's projections on Panaretos' ethnic identity formation went as far as being put off for presenting himself as Greek, instead of Albanian, to other

⁴² The '*Ohi Day*' Greek national anniversary refers to the Greek Prime Minister's negative response to Mussolini's ultimatum on the 28th of October 1940.

Greek-born children of Albanian descent. One such incident involved Panaretos joining his aunt and me on the beach, wearing a baseball cap featuring the Albanian flag on its rounded stiff brim. While playing on the sand, a child approached Panaretos asking him where he was from. The child replied he *'was from Greece'*. Gentiana, who was following the children's conversation, told Panaretos off for claiming he was Greek. The aunt said to me later that day, that in order to boost Panaretos' confidence for his *'different ethnic origins'*, she asked a Greek friend of hers to tell the child *'nice things about Albania'*. The Greek friend's confessions of wishing to visit Albania and learn the language prompted the spelling out of Albanian words by the child, who *'could not believe in his ears'* quoting Gentiana.

Contrary to the aunt, the grandmother's practices encouraged Panaretos to conceal his Albanian origins in Greece, at least in public. This became evident in an incident, where Panaretos joined Ardita and me at the playground, dressed in a T-shirt and a baseball cap featuring the Albanian flag (Figure 10)⁴³.

(Figure removed due to protect research participant's anonymisation)

Figure 10. Panaretos dressed in T-shirt and baseball cap featuring the Albanian flag.

Both the T-shirt and the baseball cap were gifts from his father, who, according to the aunt, had strong patriotic feelings toward his home country. The grandmother strongly disapproved the child's outfit telling him *'do you think it's proper being dressed like the Albanian flag'*? She urged him to return home and change. From Ardita's perspective, Panaretos' T-shirt and cap were only to be worn in Albania (*'It's OK if you dressed like that once or twice in Albania, but here?'*), confirming their inappropriateness in a Greek context. Gentiana criticised her mother's reaction for *'conveying'*, as she said, *'wrong messages'* to Panaretos, furthering his feelings of insecurity regarding ethnic affiliation. For the aunt, the selection of the specific outfit was the outcome of the child's assertion of his Albanian identity as a result of his conversation with her Greek friend. As the aforementioned examples

⁴³ I blurred the child's face in this figure, as the theme represented concerned a controversial issue within the family (see 4.4).

revealed, the reception of mixed messages regarding ethnic membership made Panaretos feel puzzled over his identity switching from Greek to Albanian depending on the context.

Eugenie's discourses underpinned notions of invisibility (cf. Buciek *et al.* 2006) permeating her and her children's upbringing in Greece. The mother associated the prevalence of the Greek layer in her and her children's ethnic identity formation with their fluency in Greek. For Eugenie, speaking Greek with '*no accent*' was the outcome of having spent '*more than half of her life*' in the country of settlement and being enrolled in a Greek school at the age of twelve. The arrival in the new homeland at such a young age made it difficult for Greeks to identify her Albanian background. This was more the case with her Greek-born children's generation: '*it will be impossible for a Greek to tell a Greek from a Greek-born child with Albanian origins*', the mother told me.

The three women's clashing perspectives in regard to children's ethnic allegiances can be explained according to their habitus. Gentiana, Ardita and Eugenie's different personal experiences and histories produced different narratives of national belonging. The aunt did not see herself within the wider category of the '*Albanian Other*' (Gogonas 2010, 73), or '*economic migrant*' as she said, claiming that neither she nor her family were thinking of migrating until the collapse of the pyramid investment schemes in 1997 (see 3.2.2.3). Gentiana employed a series of '*disidentifying*' strategies to '*break up an otherwise coherent picture*' (Goffman 1963, 44) of Albanian negative stereotyping in Greece. These strategies evolved around (i) her school excellence, (ii) her employment in the local printer shop, (iii) the safety and security motives, instead of financial, driving her migration project and (iv) her academic excellence, as a bacteriologist in the Technological Educational Institute of Athens. Having recourse to her ethnic background, Gentiana established connections with Albania by the time she arrived in Athens through getting involved in the Albanian cultural scene (see 6.2.4). Lastly, the aunt reconnected with her country of origin by visiting her natal village every summer.

These practices strengthened her Albanian belonging in Greece and explained her intentions of forging Albanian elements in Panaretos' identity building.

Even though Gentiana arrived in Athens at the same time as her mother, Ardita was more affected by the ethnic group's scapegoating and social exclusion in Greece. The fact that being Albanian was considered 'a serious social drawback' (Psimmenos 2001, 186) by the dominant society (see 3.3.2), made the grandmother self-conscious of her ethnic origins. Her reaction toward Panaretos' outfit encapsulated her discomfort of displaying his Albanian origins in a hostile environment. Eugenie's emphasis of Greek elements in children's identity can be associated with her arrival at an early age in Greece. The reception of Greek education, the acquisition of Greek at a young age and the clear preference for its usage in the home domain, promoted the mother's assimilation in the Greek society, making her and her children's Albanian elements invisible.

5.5 The story of the Neos Kosmos family

5.5.1 Vignette: introducing the family of Neos Kosmos

Drita, thirty-seven, and Artan, forty-seven, have two Greek-born children, Plato, thirteen, and Mirela, six. They live in a self-owned three-bedroom flat in an old building of Neos Kosmos, near the centre of Athens (*Figure 7*, p. 155). Since their arrival in Athens, Drita has been working as a housecleaner and Artan as a foreman constructor. After returning from work, Drita catches up with housework, where Mirela is happy to assist. Artan watches Albanian TV or listens to Albanian music. Plato attends football lessons during the weekday evenings and Artan always asks him '*how many goals [he] had scored*' (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Plato's football medals.

Mirela spends her spare time dancing and playing with her dolls. Plato plays online games and downloads music and films.

The family's social network is built around Albanian neighbours, friends and relatives in Athens. Weekday socialising is frequent during the summer, when the day is longer, and the family invites friends and kin for dinner or meets them in the local playground or café. On Saturdays, Drita takes Mirela to work with her and Plato invites over his Greek-born neighbour of Albanian descent or meets with his Greek friends to play basketball. On Sundays, Artan goes out for coffee with friends and, later in the day, the family exchanges house visits with relatives and friends, where they share meals, listen to Albanian music and dance.

The family's social practices, woven into the fabric of their daily lives in Athens, reproduce 'durable dispositions' (Bourdieu 1977, 72), linking back to parents' family backgrounds. The couple grew up in a small, impoverished village, five-minutes drive from the central western city of Lushnjë, with their family houses in walking distance from each other. Drita's parents were farmers and breeders and the mother regularly assisted in the feeding of domestic animals. Artan's mother worked as a nursery teacher and his father as a music teacher. The rural landscape determined the couple's experienced realities in Albania. Parents spent a substantial part of the day outdoors, surrounded by domestic animals, playing with their friends, climbing in trees and making tree houses. Values of brotherhood, fraternity and togetherness were at the heart of parents' descriptions of life in the home village, fostered by the spatial proximity of relatives' houses. Parental habitus informed the family's mechanisms of accumulating social capital in the new country. Parents inculcated in their children the '*sense of freedom of outdoor living*', greatly treasured in the hazardous environment of Athens, by taking them to their grandparents' places. In the country of settlement, Drita and Artan's nostalgia over brotherhood and fraternity experienced in the home village, triggered their extensive socialising with Albanian kin and friends in Athens. Children actively participated in this form of socialising, inviting their second-generation Albanian friends and relatives during weekends, birthdays and holidays.

The family's habitus was modified by the parents' migration experience. Even though education was not highly valued in the couple's pre-migration accounts, in the country of residence children's educational development was of focal relevance to the family's agenda. Both children took English tutorials and Plato learned French. Drita went through schoolwork with Mirela and parents regularly expressed their concerns over their children's school performances. Similarly to the family in Alsos Veikou Galatsi, the couple saw education as the sole vehicle of their children's upward socioeconomic mobility.

Parents' ways of growing up and family backgrounds, grounded in the home village, informed mechanisms of reproducing cultural capital in the new country, influencing children's identity formation.

5.5.2 'In Albania it is the sons taking care of their parents': cultural values as a form of belonging to the Albanian nation

Subscription to cultural values acquired during parents' upbringing in Albania, such as these of '*sons taking care of their parents*' and women '*being good housewives*', shaped family members' ethnic identity in the new homeland (see 7.4.3.2). The continuation of these cultural norms by family members in the country of settlement established the former's affiliation to the Albanian nation.

The family 'left behind', particularly the father's parents, was a constant concern for Artan, regularly coming up in our discussions. During our first meeting Drita told me that Albania it is the sons, especially the younger, taking care of their parents and living at their parental homes together with their wives. The mother employed this argument each time she explained to me why her husband, as the sole son in his family, was in charge of sorting out the details and covering the costs of his father's leg operation. Artan's concerns over his parents went beyond his father's health issues to that of providing them with '*a better life*' by improving their living conditions. According to Drita, Artan always found something to fix or renovate at his parents' house, each time the family visited the home village. Artan's transnational-care work practices (Baldassar and Baldock 2000) can be interpreted in the wider context of Albanian society's patriarchal structure rooted in the *Kanun* culture, according to which sons are the primary providers in parents' future social security (Stahl 1986; Young 2000). King and Vullnetari (2006) add that caring for one's parents remains highly honourable in the Albanian society, where it is customary for middle-aged and elderly parents to live together with one of their sons, who is referred to as 'the son of old age' (*djali i pleqërisë*) and whose role is to look after the parents in their later years.

An additional cultural norm deepening the family's connections with the old homeland was this of females prepared to become 'good housewives', as Mirella spelled out while playing dolls with me. Drita told me that she was introduced to the housework routine from an early age, helping her mother in cooking and outdoor cloth washing. She elucidated that it was necessary for her daughter to be familiar with the housework in order to be able to take care of her own household in the future. At six years of age Mirela was familiar with tidying up her room, making her bed, setting the table, folding her clothes and taking care of the family's flowers (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Mirela folding her T-Shirts.

In many of her kindergarten drawings Mirela depicted herself and her mother doing the housework. The child commented that she would teach her daughter to do the housework, as her mother did with her, and explained in detail what the housework routine involved. Drita's practice of encouraging her daughter to become a good housewife links to cultural ideals of the patriarchally controlled Albanian society, where a woman's purpose in the world is to marry, bear children and work in the house (Hall 1994; Post 1998; Young 2000) (see 3.2.1). As in her father's case, the subscription to gender-related values associated with the community of origin, shaped Mirela's ethnic identity in the country of birth establishing her membership to the parental homeland. Gardner and Mand (2012) provide similar cases of gender influencing British Bangali children's identity and relationships with Bangladesh. Within the study 9-10 aged females described in their diaries how

domestic chores, such as as cooking, cleaning and looking after younger siblings, formed a core part of their daily lives at their homes in East London.

5.6 The story of the Palia Kokkinia family

5.6.1 Vignette: introducing the family of Palia Kokkinia

Blerina, thirty-seven, and Arben, thirty-nine, have two Greek-born children, Petros, twelve, and Orpheus, three. They family live in a two-bedroom apartment of the Palia Kokkinia district in Piraeus (Figure 7, p. 155). Since their arrival in Greece, Arben has been working in construction and Blerina as a cleaner in the local kindergarten. The last couple of years, Arben had to move to Zakynthos Island in Western Greece to find a job in construction. During my field visits I did not engage with the father, as I only met him once during a social gathering.

Parents' occupations in the country of settlement were in direct contrast to their education, employment and lifestyle trajectories in the old homeland. Blerina told me that she did not wish '*to leave home*' for Greece. She enjoyed her work in Albania as a bridal make-up and hairstyle specialist. The mother had an urban upbringing in the city of Fier in southwest Albania, where her father worked as a carpenter and her mother as a nurse. She had blissful memories from her high school years in Korçë and Berat, where she studied textile production. Even though Blerina wished to advance her studies, her father did not allow her enrolment at the University, regarded as 'place[s] of love stories' (cf. Post 1998, 236), putting at risk his daughter's arranged engagement (see 3.2.1; 7.4.3.2). Arben grew up in the village of Libofsha, near the city of Fier. His father was a lorry driver and his mother a bank accountant. For Blerina, that Arben held a university degree in Albanian literature and worked, as a high school teacher, back in homeland was a major accomplishment. The mother emphasised her husband's cultural and symbolic capital, picturing him as the sophisticated, intellectual figure of the family.

Arben and Blerina's individual experiences and employment itineraries shaped the family's social and cultural conditions in the country of settlement. As a temporary single-mother, Blerina organised her social life around Albanian friends and kin living within walking distances. On weekdays, Blerina's sister-in-law collected Orpheus from nursery school and then looked after the two children until their mother arrived from work. Weekends were busier for Blerina and her sons, exchanging visits to friends and relatives' houses or visiting Blerina's Albanian friend on Salamis Island, 2km off-coast Piraeus. During the summer evenings the mother took Orpheus to the local playground, where she met other Albanian female friends. Petros met his Greek and Greek-born friends of Albanian descent to play hide and seek, tag and dodgeball.

Parents' biographies generated the enrichment of children's learning in formal and informal contexts. The mother's unfulfilled University dream triggered her urge to optimise her sons' cultural capital. This was felt stronger in the migration destination, where the parents' jobs furthered their exclusion in the host society (see 3.2.2). In order to improve her younger's son counting and reading skills, Blerina employed all available resources from the kindergarten she worked for (CDs, reading games, books) to teach him the numbers, colours and geometric shapes. The older son's learning experiences were more challenging for the mother due to the former's dyslexia. Apart from helping Petros with schoolwork, Blerina took him to field trips, offered by the kindergarten she worked for (Attic Zoo park) or the council programme she attended to learn Modern Greek (New Museum of the Acropolis and Greek Parliament building) (Figure 13).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 13. Petros at the New Acropolis Museum in Athens (2009).

The parents' migration experience strengthened the family's Albanian belonging and shaped ideas of members' selfhood and conceptualisations of what consists the family's heritage or not.

5.6.2 'My child we are not Greeks, we are Albanians': the nurturing of the Albanian identity in the family group

Affiliation to the Albanian nation influenced perceptions of selfhood and triggered clear-cut distinctions between 'our' and 'others' history. Albanian belonging was prevalent in the mother's accounts, shaping children's cultural and ethnic identity formation by fostering connections with the old homeland.

In Blerina's narratives, Greek and Albanian identity were mutually exclusive. For her, it seemed obvious that the second generation, including her Greek-born children, would perceive themselves as Albanian and thought of Albania not only as their parents' homeland, but their own. This explains the mother's 'shock' when her older son claimed 'he was Greek' after attending his kindergarten's national anniversary, commemorating Greece's War of Independence against the Turks. Petros constructed a collective 'We' to include himself in the Greek community

telling his mother: *'the Turks hated the Greeks, they hated us and killed us'*. Blerina instantly explained to him that *'[they] are Albanians, [they] are not Greeks'*, however, the child insisted that *'[his] mother is Albanian, but [he] is Greek'*. The mother associated her son's ethnic identity misconceptions to his *'young age'*. Petros was five years of age back then, and therefore, was not conscious of his Albanian origins. Six years after the incident, the son's membership to his parents' ethnic group is no longer under dispute. Quoting Blerina, *'Petros likes feeling Albanian, feels Albanian'* and expects his fellow Greeks to respect him for being ethnically different.

According to the mother, the family's relation with the Greek official narrative was strictly confined in the notion of *'mutual respect'*, excluding chances of children identifying with the nationalising mythologies of their country of birth. Blerina said that the second generation (including her son) *'respected the Greek national history'* and participated in national anniversaries *'with as much passion as his Greek counterparts'*, even though the heroes revered in these rituals originated from a homeland that *'was not theirs'*. However, Blerina did not disregard the Greek history from Petros' learning experiences. *'Since we live here...I believe that my child should learn the Greek history'*, she told me. Indeed, Petros' familiarisation with the Greek past was not limited to his formal education and school visits to archaeological sites and museums. His mother took him to museums and historic buildings when visiting these with her classmates from the council programme (see 5.6.1). Nonetheless, the complete omission of Albanian history in the Greek curriculum deepened the mother's discontent: *'Albanian schoolchildren take part in national anniversaries, sing the folk songs and learn history the way the Greek school teaches it to them...but [they] will never know our history'*, she went on. Blerina's comments on the lack of teaching of Albanian history in Greek schools context are confirmed by Gogonas (2009), who notes that the Greek education system has shown limited institutional support in the teaching of Albanian language and culture.

The attachment to the Albanian history, presented by Blerina as *'theirs'*, manifested in parents' intentions of introducing children to past narratives of the old homeland. Blerina mentioned that Petros *'often asked questions about Albania'*. She added that her grandfather, who fought in WWII and *'was like a hero'* to the child, could have acted as an inspiring source of Petros' familiarisation with the recent Albanian past, had he not passed away. National past-related talk on Albania was primarily a father-son affair, as Arben *'was more into history'* according to his wife. Blerina confessed that she rarely shared Albanian historical narratives with her son, unless he asked her. She felt that her son was not mature enough to comprehend and interpret the complex nature of such events. Hence, the mother employed life histories to forge her son's bonding with their country of origin (see 7.3.5). Petros was also introduced to Albanian national history by visiting archaeological sites together with his family during his trips in the parental homeland (see 7.2.6).

Summary

This chapter provided an examination of families' narratives divided into (i) intimate vignettes, offering insight into individuals' personal and socio-cultural backgrounds and experiences in a pre-and-post-migration context and (ii) accounts on cultural and ethnic identity. Bourdieu's concept of habitus acted as a heuristic device for exploring interrelationships between families' social portrayals and affiliations to the Greek and Albanian ethnic group or both. Personal, social, cultural and ethnic elements, exposed in families' narratives, acted in relation to one another, influencing identity, history and heritage-work and leading to heterogeneity and multivocality in the same ethnic group. I discuss in more detail families' identity construction and history and heritage creation in-between Greece and Albania in chapters 6 and 7.

In the family of Labrini Galatsi, the parents' above the average pre-migration lifestyles and educational achievements shaped the family's agenda in Athens.

Cultural capital was accumulated in the family through a series of practices: from introducing children to parental hobbies and museum visiting to attending book festivals. Promoting interaction with the Greek society, these activities, coupled with individuals' perceptions and histories of settlement and birth in Athens, proliferated the establishment of a plurilocal identity in the family. Members' double belongings took multiple forms: from displaying visual and material culture to performing Albanian customs and enrolling children in Greek schools.

In the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, symbolic capital, emphasised in a pre-migration context, led to practices of resisting social exclusion in Greece by optimising the son's educational development. Parents' experience of communism and migration, along with ideas of Balkan brotherhood and societal beliefs, promoted the emergence of an individualised identity, which yet turned toward the Balkans. These ideologies circulated in mother-son storytelling prompted by visual material in the family's domestic interior.

In the Dafni family, the grandmother and aunt's lifestyle in a pre-migration context encouraged the accumulation of the older child's cultural capital through various activities: from museum visiting to going through the Greek alphabet. On the other hand, the mother's rural upbringing in Thebes encouraged childrearing practices built around socialisation with friends and relatives. Disassociating herself from the image of the Albanian economic migrant, the family's aunt took recourse to her ethnic background, emphasising her nephew's Albanian belonging. On the contrary, the grandmother's experience of stigmatisation in Greece led to acts of discouraging children's assertion of an Albanian identity in Greek public spaces. For the mother, the early arrival in Greece instigated processes of emphasising the invisibility of Albanianess in children's identity building. Adults' divergent approaches toward children's ethnic affiliations were reflected in the older child's claims of belonging, either to the Greek or Albanian ethnic group, depending on the conversation context.

In the family of Neos Kosmos, rural upbringings encouraged affiliation to the Albanian nation grounded in village-oriented lifestyles. The parental habitus, built around fraternity, brotherhood and the 'freedom of outdoor living', encouraged practices of maximising social capital in the country of settlement by socialising with kin and friends and sending children to grandparents' villages in Albania. In the course of connecting with the old homeland's ideals, parents inculcated in their children cultural values, permeating their past lives in Albania. The continuation of these cultural norms in the new surroundings mirrored individuals' claiming for a more rural Albanian identity represented in patriarchal upbringing and the *Kanun* culture.

Lastly, in the family in Palia Kokkinia, the mother's patriarchal upbringing, preventing her from pursuing a University degree, in combination to her husband's academic achievements in a pre-migration context, influenced parents' provision of cultural capital to children. The mother's claims of not wishing to leave her home for Greece generated processes of taking recourse to her ethnic background. Albanian belonging prevailed the mother's accounts, making clear-cut distinctions between the family's (national) history and that of the host country. The circulation of national and personal histories in interfamilial talk in combination with visits to heritage sites in the grandparents' areas of residence promoted the children's cultural ties with the parental homeland.

Departing from the families' narratives of ethnic and cultural identity, the next chapter delves deeper into participants' identity formation at the crossroads of Greece and Albania.

Chapter 6

Cultural and ethnic identity formation at the crossroads of Greece and Albania

6.1 Introduction

Chapter five offered a detailed account of each family's story, shedding light on members' individual histories, sociocultural backgrounds and negotiations of cultural and ethnic identity, informing conceptualisations of history and heritage. In this chapter I discuss identity formation by addressing the research question of how individuals and families, as a group, construct their identities on a cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. Participants' ethnic and cultural identities shape their connections with and creations of history and heritage, presented in chapter seven.

The chapter is divided in two sections. The first section outlines patterns and mechanisms comprising the Albanian aspect in individuals' identities, while the second focuses on the migration component and the incorporation of elements of Greek culture in families' identity building, as a result of settling in Athens and Piraeus. Throughout the two sections the fusion of Greek and Albanian elements in participants' identities gives rise to phenomena of 'cultural diasporisation' (Hall 1996a, 448) and 'double consciousness' (Gilroy 1992, 193), where the search for identity is not limited to origin, but anchored both to the homeland and the society of settlement.

6.2 The Albanian aspect of identity

Daily rituals and cross-border links with the old country demonstrated the families' intentions of retaining Albanian elements in constructing their identities at their new homes. According to data analysis participants employed the following ways of claiming membership to the old homeland. These included (a) ways of communicating in Albanian, (b) producing and consuming diets of home, (c) participating in personal networks and (d) ethnic-group functions, (e) being exposed to Albanian media, (f) retaining contacts with Albania and (g) undertaking trips to Albania (see appendix IV). These 'external aspects' (Isajiw 1990, 36) of participants' Albanian identity invoked 'internal' ideas and feelings of their ethnic group.

6.2.1 Ways of communicating in Albanian

'Ethnic language' is considered among the most socially significant ethnic patterns and one of the key cultural tools employed in migrancy to remember home (Isajiw 1990; Kershen 2006). For Albanian families, the language employed in daily talk reflected individuals' ethnic affiliations. This subsection presents data deriving from participant observation, ethnographic interviews and visual ethnography conducted in families' houses. Following data analysis, the subsection (i) offers insight to family members' language choices, (ii) highlights adults' motives for passing down Albanian to their children and (iii) illustrates adults' practices of encouraging their offspring to refresh their skills in Albanian.

Daily communication patterns unveiled Greek and Albanian elements amalgamating in family members' cultural identity, promoting phenomena of 'turning transnational' (Al-Ali 2002a, 116). Aside from the family in Dafni, parents in all other families predominately spoke Albanian to each other, also observed by Gogonas (2010). Eugenie and Adlint were the sole parents in the study to communicate mainly in Greek. I interpreted the parents, and particularly, the mother's preference for Greek, in the context of her arrival in Greece at a young age, resulting in her loss of fluency in Albanian. Contrary to the rest of the adults,

who made the journey to Athens after completing high school in Albania, Eugenie migrated to Greece, where she went to high school, at the age of twelve.

In contrast to the adults' conversations, grandparent/parent-child communication was a mixture of Albanian and Greek, with the latter employed '*a bit more often*' according to Erion. For some families the dominance of Greek over Albanian prompted feelings of remorse. Drita regretted the idea of turning communication-in-Greek with her children '*into a habit*'. The mother rationalised such choices, as both she and her husband, along with their children, employed Greek in their working and school environments respectively. Families' communication patterns, intermarrying languages of the old and new country, are in harmony with results of Gogonas (2009; 2010), Chatzidaki (2005) and Maligkoudi (2009) conducting research on first and second generation Albanians in Greece.

Children's conversations with their age-mates, including siblings and Greek-born ethnic Albanian friends, showed a preference for the use of Greek, corroborating with findings by Gogonas (2009; 2010). Parents gave different explanations for their children's language choices. For Adelina, Greek expressed children's culture as it '*is here [in Greece] where [Zamira and Skerdilaid] made their first steps, watch TV, and receive their education*'. For Eugenie, speaking Greek with '*no accent*' helped to achieve Albanian invisibility (see 5.4.2). Gogonas (2009, 103) encountered similar practices in the language choices of Albanian adolescents in Athens, noting that they '*are well aware of the subordinate position of their ethnolinguistic group in Greek society as a result of the widespread stigmatisation this group has suffered*'. However, data collected through participant observation indicated that children's choice of Greek also relates to factors associated with the functional use of language⁴⁴. Children switched from Greek to Albanian depending on the pragmatic and social context. For instance, when interacting with their Greek-born peers of Albanian descent, who were more fluent in Greek than in Albanian, children employed Greek. On the other hand, in conversations with

⁴⁴ For the functional use of language in bilingual children see Reyes 2006.

adults, such as their grandparents, who spoke little or no Greek, they switched to Albanian.

My ethnographic interviews with adults uncovered a series of motives behind the transmission of Albanian to children, including (i) ethnic identity retention, (ii) the educational value of the Albanian language, (iii) the wish for children's capability to communicate with grandparents 'left behind' and (iv) and the family's possible future repatriation. The ethnic identity retention motive, met across the five families, was supported by findings of Chatzidaki (2005) and Milesi (2006). Despite Greek-Albanian mixture in families' communication, Albanian represented for the adults children's '*mother tongue*⁴⁵'. For Adelina, the maintenance of Albanian language in the second generation reinforced feelings of belonging to the Albanian collectivity outside the parental homeland. Reflecting on her own case, the mother confessed that '*when you find yourself in a foreign country you feel the urge to keep things as they were in your native country*'. Passing on Albanian to the younger generations was seen by Adelina as part of this process of 'flagging' (cf. Billig 1995) the homeland in the fabric of daily life by staying close to one's roots. Gentiana held similar views, emphasising the critical role of the language of the old home in consolidating children's Albanian consciousness (see 5.4.2).

Different opinions over children's use of Albanian caused severe conflicts between parents. Over time Adelina's motivations of teaching children Albanian shifted from ethnic identity retention to that of the educational value⁴⁶. Zamira's birth in Athens, in combination with the arrival of Adelina's mother in the migration destination, encouraged the mother to view Greece as her '*own country*'. From this perspective, Adelina regarded the transmission of Albanian to children similar to that of any other language (see 5.2.2). This positioning was in direct contrast to

⁴⁵ I borrowed Isajiw's (1990) definition of 'mother tongue' described as the language first learned in childhood and still understood. The ethnic language is not necessarily the mother tongue of those who report themselves of being of a specific ethnic origin.

⁴⁶ Contrary to Gogonas' (2010) study, where the majority of the sixteen Albanian parents interviewed, mentioned the educational value as the main drive of passing on Albanian to children, in my research only Adelina mentioned this motivation.

Kostas' view, according to whom, Albanian remained the children's '*mother language*' and was therefore vital in preserving their Albanian identity.

Another reason, leading the parents of the family in Neos Kosmos to pass on Albanian to their children involved a sense of guilt toward the grandparents 'left behind'. The couple's '*obligation*', quoting Drita, to make sure that Mirela and Plato speak Albanian can be understood in the context of the core value of the family institution in the Albanian society and the exceptionally strong bond between grandparents and grandchildren (Hall 1994). As an Albanian proverb has it, older people love their grandchildren more than they do their children: 'the sugar of the sugar is even sweeter' (King and Vullnetari 2006, 800).

In the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, the idea of a possible return to the parental homeland drove Albanian language transmission. During our discussions, Nora mentioned that many Greek companies, expanding their branches in Albania, are interested in hiring staff fluent in both languages. Gogonas (2010) and Zinn (2005) reported similar motives of repatriation, triggering parents' projects of maintaining the language of the old home within the second generation of Albanians in Greece and Italy.

The adults saw the transmission of Albanian within the responsibilities of the mothering role. This has been rehearsed in migration literature (Al-Ali 2002a; 2002b; Kershner 2006), where mothers hold a crucial role in children's acquisition of the old homeland's language. Adelina taught Zamira to read and write in Albanian by the time she was four and Drita addressed her children only in Albanian during her first years in Athens. However, Albanian mother-child teaching was not always a smooth experience. Petros' dyslexia discouraged Blerina from going through Albanian fairytales with him, nonetheless the mother kept on practicing with her son the Albanian alphabet. The teaching of Albanian was facilitated by a textbook sent by Blerina's mother from Albania (Figure 14).

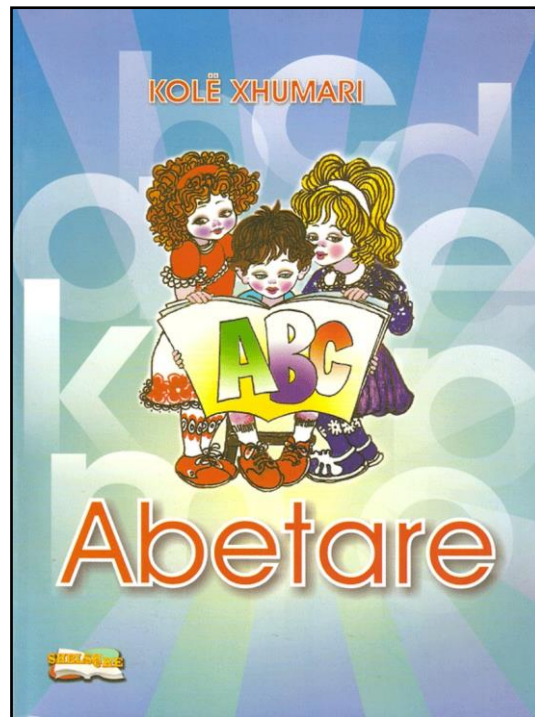


Figure 14. Albanian textbook employed by Blerina to teach Petros the alphabet.

Relatives in the Labrini Galatsi family provided insight to the prominence of the wider family in improving children's capacity in Albanian. Adelina's brother underlined the grandmother's role in aiding Zamira to learn Albanian, functioning, thus, as 'a cultural and linguistic link between Greece and the home country' (Gogonas 2010, 112). Zamira's *'first fairy tales were in Albanian'*, the uncle told me, attributing his niece's fluency in Albanian to the fact that *'she grew up with her grandmother'*, who did not speak Greek at that time. Clyne (1982) reports that relationships with older relatives unfamiliar with the language of the host country elicit the use of the minority language. In case of the Labrini Galatsi family, this became possible through phenomena of 'migrating grannies' (cf. King and Vullnetari 2003), where Adelina's mother fulfilled her duty of childrearing.

Conversations with adults, participant observation and visual ethnography revealed that parents used a series of techniques to improve the younger generation's contact with Albanian. These involved (i) hiring Albanian teachers, (ii) enrolling children in Albanian cultural centres, (iii) making use of reading material,

(iv) introducing children to Albanian TV and nursery songs, (v) inventing games of 'Albanian talk for one day' and (vi) and sending children to grandparental villages.

Greece's geographical proximity to Albania turned visits to the old country into the most popular medium of refreshing children's contacts with Albanian (see 6.2.7). Mothers elaborated the trip's relevance in children's Albanian immersion, emphasising that the former started to speak Albanian as soon as they found themselves in exclusively Albanian-speaking environments. Literature has confirmed the salience of the trips to the old home in promoting language learning, especially for extended periods (Borland 2006; Gogonas 2010; Zinn 2005), as in case of families' children, spending at least a month in grandparents' towns and villages.

Reading material, such as textbooks and fairy-tales brought from Albania, formed an additional teaching device, aiding parents to improve their children's literacy skills (Figure 15).

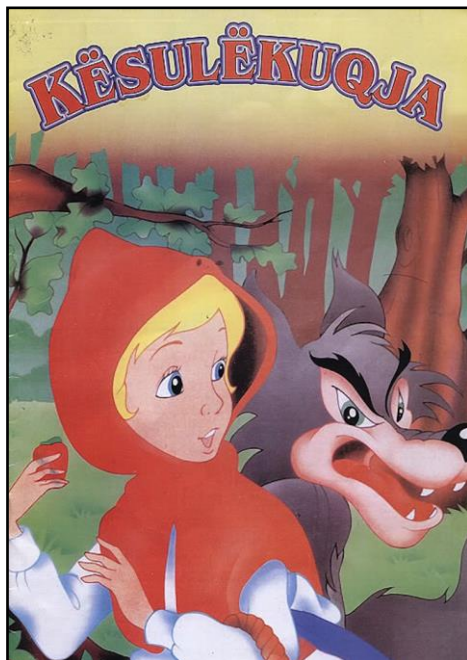


Figure 15. The fairy tale of 'Kësulëkuqja' (for 'Red Cap') read by Drita to Mirela.

Mothers utilised Albanian course books to teach their children mathematics, go through the alphabet with them or read poetry to enrich their vocabulary. Older

children used these resources to refresh their Albanian: Zamira read Harry Potter in Albanian, whilst Erion started reading Pinocchio in Albanian after taking tutorials in the respective language (Figure 16).

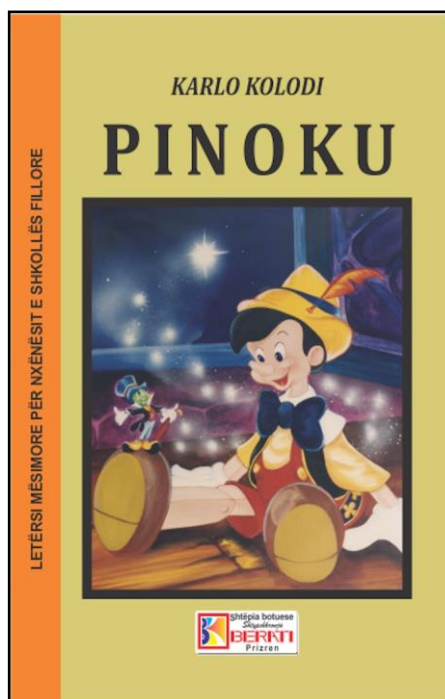


Figure 16. Erion's copy of the Pinocchio fairy tale in Albanian.

The presence of reading material contrasts with Gogonas' (2010) study on first and second generations Albanians in Athens, where the majority of sixteen parents interviewed mentioned a lack of printed material in their homes, apart from Albanian newspapers.

In the families of Alsos Veikou Galatsi and Neos Kosmos, parents reported enrolling children to Albanian classes. Nora and Edwin hired an Albanian teacher to improve Erion's literacy skills, while Drita had Plato enrolled in an Albanian association in the vicinity of the family's house. Both mothers explained their decision of leaving their children's literacy competence to professionals by lack of time. The children's reactions toward Albanian lessons varied: Plato enjoyed his two-year-enrolment in the community centre, while Erion felt embarrassed for taking such lessons in the parental homeland, arguing that it is like '*an Albanian*

enrolled on the first grade of high school taking lessons to learn Albanian'. For the thirteen-year-old, it made more sense to have these lessons in Athens, where he was losing contact with *'the mother language'* as he said, rather than grandparents' village, where he practiced Albanian daily.

The presence of Albanian media, such as that of Albanian satellite TV, in two families' houses improved children's connections with the language of the parental homeland (see 6.2.5). Other, albeit less common, mechanisms involved inventing games of *'Albanian talk for one day'* in the Neos Kosmos family and introducing children to Albanian nursery songs in the Palia Kokkinia family (see also Louie 2006).

6.2.2 Producing and consuming diets of home

The production and consumption of the old country diets played an intrinsic role in participants' home-building projects. Across the five families, participant observation and discussions illustrated that the use of family recipes and the recreation of savoury and sweet tastes and smells from the old homeland (cf. Kershen 2006) facilitated the continuity of *'home'* away from home. Savory dishes included pies, *tarator*, pickled vegetables, *tave kosi* and cornbread. Deserts involved yoghurt, jams, *petulla* and drinks *dhalle* and *raki*. Although these are not exclusively Albanian dishes, their preparation in the country of settlement evoked culinary odours, images, rituals and customs of the home left behind, unveiling that *'home'* is not only about inhabiting a specific place, but an embodied experience through what one smells, touches and hears (see also Herbert 2006). The recreation of diets of home acted as a *'flag of a sense of identity and belonging'* (Palmer 1998, 187), re-connecting adults with their origins and introducing children to the Albanian cuisine. Ordinary practices of buying Albanian cheese (*gjizë*) in Athens (Figure 17), consuming food brought by relatives from Albania, or preparing drinks uncommon in a Greek context, translated into Albanian identity markers defining boundaries between families' ethnic group and that of the host society.



Figure 17. Stuffed peppers with gjizë cheese by Blerina.

Lastly, family members made comments of food being healthier and tastier in the parental homeland than in Athens, and noted that Greek and Albanian cuisines are similar.

Following their mothers' examples women told me of making fruit jams and pickling a variety of vegetables. According to Ardita, these processes were common ways of preserving food in Albania, where few people had refrigerators (Figure 18).



Figure 18. Drita showing to me a jar filled with pickled onions.

Homemade yoghurt was popular across participating families, continuing long-held cooking traditions across generations (Figure 19).



Figure 19. Homemade yoghurt by Nora.

Panaretos explained that he was familiar with yoghurt making through his grandmother, who prepared yoghurt for the family twice a week. Adelina mentioned that she used yoghurt to make *tarator*, a chilled soup with fried courgettes, cucumber, garlic, egg omelet pieces and olive oil (Figure 20).



Figure 20. Tarator by Adelina.

Zamira loved her mother's *tarator*, and Kostas commented that this was a popular dish during the summer in Albania, where people had it with a cold beer. The Dafni and Neos Kosmos families reported using homemade yoghurt to prepare *dhalle*, a

popular summer drink in Albania made of shaken yoghurt with cold water and served salted. Drita prepared *dhalle* for her brothers during their first years in Athens, and Plato confessed that *dhalle* was 'the first thing [he] wants to have' when he arrives at his grandparents' village. *Raki*, a heavy alcoholic drink made from distilled pomace, was another popular drink produced by adults in the country of settlement, or brought over from Albania. Following Albanian customs I observed females serving their male visitors *raki* together with Turkish coffee (Figure 21).



Figure 21. Drita serving Turkish coffee and raki to male guests.

Lastly, Adelina's mother used to make fried dough, called *petulla*, for her grandchildren. The grandmother told me that it was customary for people in Albania to have *petulla*, when a woman was giving birth to a child: either visitors brought the woman in labour *petulla* or the woman's family offered them *petulla*.

The preparation and consumption of certain dishes such as savory pies, *tave kosi*, baklava and rice pudding desserts brought to life childhood memories bound up to the place of origin. Built around daily and more special, such as this of New Year's, food regimes, these embodied reminiscences, brought to life rituals reflecting adults' self-identity and backgrounds. The making of filo pastry for savory pies and baklava awakened blissful memories from growing up in Albania. According to Adelina, savory pies were among the signature dishes of the old homeland's cuisine. Like her mother, Adelina often prepared spinach, herb, leek and mincemeat pies for her family (Figure 22).



Figure 22. Adelina's herb pie.

The mother recalled her and her cousin's unsuccessful attempts to open filo pastry at the home village of her aunt, who used to warn them that '*they will never become good housewives*'. Adelina's comment can be understood in the wider context of Albanian patriarchal culture, where the role of women as defined by the *Kanun* is confined to catering tasks, housecleaning and childrearing (see 3.2.1). The preparation of baklava prompted memories from New Year's Day in the old homeland, where local women used to unofficially compete for the crunchiest and thinnest philo pastry. Adelina and Blerina gave descriptions of their mothers keeping them out of the house throughout the dessert's preparation. According to the latter, the women's mothers dried up the filo pastry (so that it becomes crunchy when baked) by placing it on bed sheets, covering the house's floor.

Recollections of food were intrinsically linked with the place of birth. Adults told about the abundance of fresh and good quality food in their hometowns and villages, '*tasting better*' than in Athens. Comments such as these explained the large quantities of food products brought over by visitors from Albania, ranging from turkey meat, fresh butter, wine and *raki* to eggs, fruits (Figure 23) and desserts (Figure 24).



Figure 23. Fruits brought by Erion's grandmother from Albania.



Figure 24. Secer pare dessert brought by Erion's grandparents from Peshkopi (NE Albania).

The cooking of the old homeland recipes acted as an Albanian identity marker, but also served as a cultural link with the country of residence. Greek and Albanian cuisines are similar according to adults and children, in that they both bore strong Turkish influences, deriving from the countries' centuries-long Ottoman pasts. Adelina told me that there were no Albanian restaurants in Athens, as 'we

[Greeks and Albanians] have the same food: pies, steaks, fried meatballs, moussaka, stuffed wine leaves...'

6.2.3 Personal networks

Participation in personal networks, such as family and friendship, especially in adults, fostered connections with the old country. Common nationality did not necessarily imply socialising: Albanian origins were not a good enough reason for Drita to trust her Albanian's friend husband, whom she had only met once, to take Mirela to the local playground together with his daughter. Yet, the feeling of originating from the same country enacted empathy and compassion: Adelina told me of encouraging her daughter to invite an Albanian classmate of hers to her birthday party; the Albanian boy was rarely invited by other classmates in their social gatherings.

Participant observation, informal conversations and walking interviews indicated that parents' social life is primarily built around Albanian relatives, friends and neighbours, coinciding with findings by Pratsinakis (2005) and Hatziprokopiou (2003). Unlike the majority of adults, children mentioned that their friends consisted of a mixture of Greek and second generation Albanians, also observed by Gogonas (2010). Socialising mostly took place in private spaces, with families exchanging house visits with relatives and friends (Figure 25).

(Figure removed to protect research participants' anonymisation)

Figure 25. Zamira offering a desert to her grandmother during a house visit (2011).

Public spaces were more popular choices for men, who met with their male friends in cafés, and for the whole family during the summer time. In their research with Albanian households in Athens Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005) also noted that men socialised relatively more than women in public spaces, indicating clear-cut gender roles. Public settings of socialising included playgrounds, in case of women (Figure 26), local cafés, in case of men, and squares for both sexes.

(Figure removed to protect research participants' anonymisation)

Figure 26. The local playground where Blerina used to take Orpheus.

Families socialised with friends or relatives at *tavernas* and restaurants rather occasionally. These venues were used for special occasions, such as celebrations of a child's birth, naming ceremonies, birthday gatherings and Albanian weddings.

The families' Albanian relatives and friends lived in most cases in the same neighbourhood or in walking distances. This spatial proximity encouraged mutual help by participants and their relatives and friends, strengthening solidarity ties and helping them to cope with everyday hardships. Similar to results by Iosifides *et al.* (2007), these daily interpersonal contacts translated into (i) looking after their relatives' children, (ii) lending each other money and (iii) offering assistance in times of sickness. For instance, when Adelina was stuck in bed due to severe back pain, Kostas' aunt dropped by on a daily basis to do the cooking and the housework. Families also helped their relatives and friends by exchanging with them things they no longer needed, including children's clothes, toys or kitchen appliances.

6.2.4 Participating in ethnic group functions

In migration literature, practices of participating in ethnic associations such as clubs, societies, or youth organizations, as well as in functions sponsored by ethnic organisations such as concerts, public lectures and dances is regarded among the external aspects of retaining elements of ethnic identity outside the country of origin (Isajiw 1990). Such practices were met in three families, taking the form of (i) participating in community events, (ii) being involved in the production of such events and (iii) enrolling children in ethnic associations.

As poets, Adelina and Gentiana '*fostered connections with the homeland*', as they said, by subscribing themselves to the Albanian literature club '*Drita*' (light in Albanian) in Athens. The women's membership introduced them to a series of Albanian cultural events in Athens, ranging from film festivals and book presentations to art exhibitions and concerts. Gentiana and Adelina told me that they were personally involved in these events, either by taking part in poetry competitions or by presenting their poetry in literature nights (Figure 27).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 27. Gentiana reading one of her poems during a poetry night held by the 'Drita' club (1999).

Children were active participants of such events. Zamira shared with me that she won the first prize in a competition of reading out loud Albanian poems, held by an Albanian community association some years ago in Athens.

In the family of Neos Kosmos, conversations with Drita and Plato shed light on members' participation in ethnic group activities through the enrolment of children in community associations, offering courses in Albanian. According to Drita, apart from improving Plato's literacy skills, the classes made her son familiar with the cultural heritage of the old homeland, namely folk songs, dances and historical narratives. Plato narrated to me one such narrative, according to which the Albanian army tried to avert Italian troops from entering the Greek territory in WWII. Contrary to the Greek popular claims, stressing Albania's limited resistance to Italian occupation, the association communicated the second generation the official Albanian narrative, emphasising the army's contribution in the prevention of Italian troops from entering the Greek borders (see also 7.3.3).

6.2.5 Exposure to Albanian media

The media of the old homeland are considered among the pivotal cultural tools in constructing 'home' away from home. For all the five families, the Albanian satellite TV and press, were critical means of Albanian identity retention.

Participant observation conducted in families' houses illustrated that Albanian satellite TV acted as a powerful visual and sensory reminder of the old home, updating family members, particularly men on political events in Albania such as national elections. Watching satellite TV was deeply embedded in the daily routines of adult males, who followed the news every evening. Mothers watched Albanian TV to a lesser extent, yet told me of following documentaries and comedy series broadcasted by Albanian channels.

Satellite TV also introduced younger family members to aspects of the Albanian heritage, and particularly folk music. From having coffee to having dinner with company, traditional Albanian music formed an integral part of social events in the families of Palia Kokkinia and Neos Kosmos. The songs' video-clips familiarised children with folk dances and elements of traditional Albanian costumes, such as the *fustanella* (a traditional skirt-like garment from hand-woven heavy linen cloth) and the *qeleshe* (cream-coloured skullcap out of felt). Children's watching of Albanian video-clips confirmed the role of Albanian media in reinforcing 'ethnic symbolism' (Isajiw 1990, 64) through artistic representations, shaping the ethnic consciousness and identity of those, who are regularly exposed to them.

Until 2010, Adelina's employment as journalist in the Albanian press kept the family 'in touch' (Isajiw 1990, 64) with its ethnic community in the country of settlement. The mother's work in one of the largest Albanian newspapers circulated in Athens introduced family members to various Albanian community events: from film festivals to music concerts and exhibitions of Albanian artists (see also 6.2.4). Following her mother's steps, Zamira told me that she was in charge of the children's column in the same newspaper. The daughter showed me a copy of

her column, featuring interviews with second-generation Albanian children and Greek musicians as well as a number of cultural events that the family attended in Athens (Figure 28).

(Figure removed to protect research participant's anonymisation)

Figure 28. Page from Zamira's children's column for the Albanian newspaper circulated in Athens (2009)⁴⁷.

6.2.6 Contacts with Albania

Transnationalism, the experience of dividing lives between two or more countries, poses questions of identity and belonging. Across the five Albanian families, the desire for Albanian belonging translated into 'a feeling of collective welfare and unity' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002, 3) produced and transformed in solidarity ties and transnational networks, connecting geographically dispersed family members. Data collected through participant observation in families' houses, indicated that similarly to Levitt's (2001b) *transnational villagers*, participants maintained continuous cross-border contacts with beloved persons 'left behind' by receiving visitors and gifts from Albania, online and telephone conversations and texting. Interview strategies and visual ethnography techniques provided insight into participants' deeper feelings of maintaining solidarity ties with family in Albania.

⁴⁷ The newspaper's name is not provided to protect participants' privacy.

Families received visits from relatives during school breaks and national holiday, including Christmas, Easter and the summer. Length of visits, divided between children's places and that of relatives, varied from a week to a month, depending on visitors' working commitments (Figure 29).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 29. Blerina's parents visiting the family from Albania during Christmas (2010).

Visiting grandparents spent most of their time with their children and grandchildren. Grandmothers contributed in their customary duties of grandchild rearing and assisting in housework. Quoting Nora, her mother visited the family during Erion's school exams *'to keep an eye on the son, make sure he does enough reading for the exams and prepare some proper food for him'*, while the parents were at work.

Online texts, chats and telephone conversations were another way of keeping in contact with family in Albania. These transnational connections took the form of routinised activities built into the fabric of parents, and to a lesser extent, children's daily lives. Children texted their cousins in Albania and adults exchanged news with their parents on children's social itineraries in the new country.

Lastly, grandparents and relatives from Albania sent gifts to families in Athens and Piraeus. Hand-knitted cardigans, jumpers, vests and sock sleepers

activated family members' bodily, sensory memories, reinforcing their attachments to beloved persons, spaces and landscapes of past lives (Figure 30).



Figure 30. Mirela's favourite hand-knitted vest sent by her grandmother in Albania.

Blerina was moved by her aunt's gifts from Albania, who always made sure to send something to every member in the family. Accordingly, Mirela told me that her grandmother's note, included in the package of gifts sent by her grandmother from Albania, '*smelled exactly like her*'. Crossing national boundaries, some of these objects, such as Albanian folk costumes (Figure 42, p. 254), T-shirts (Figure 69, p. 317) and tennis wristbands, featuring the Albanian flag, fostered individuals' connections with their Albanian roots.

6.2.7 Trips to Albania

Discussions with participants as well as visual material in families' domestic interiors highlighted the salience of parents' birthplace in constructing older and younger family members' identities and fostering a sense of Albanian belonging in the new country. Albania formed the place of summer return, the locus of emotionally invested life-cycle events and that of refreshing contacts with the grandparental and parental culture in the form of (a) the Albanian language (see 6.2.1), (b) grandparents' environments and ways of growing up, (c) national history

through visits in historic sites (see 7.2.6) and (d) customs followed in life-cycle events (see 7.4.3.3).

Families drove back home during holiday including Christmas, Easter and summer. Children stayed at grandparents' places for over a month, whereas parents' working commitments reduced their visits to a couple of weeks. Parents placed meeting with family 'left behind' and introducing children to their environments of growing up among the fundamental motives of visiting Albania. As Adelina explained Kostas' father took Zamira and Skerdilaid this summer to Pukë '*to deepen children's contacts with relatives there*' and connections with parents' places of upbringing.

Parents and children reported dividing their visits between their parents and parents-in-law (Figure 31).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 31. Nora with Erion as a toddler at her in-laws in Peshkopi (NE Albania) (2002).

Their social itineraries involved catching up with relatives and participating in life-cycle events such as weddings, funerals and celebrations of a child's birth (see 7.4.3.3). These family reunions reaffirmed notions of continuity and Albanian membership in the diasporic realm, establishing the existence of 'a distinct kin-based collective identity' (Sutton 2004, 253) grounded in kin connections and

creations of new ties. Practices of spending time with parents, visiting relatives and participating in family rituals, when in the old homeland, are common among temporary returnees in migration literature (Salih 2002a; 2002b).

The regular trips to Albania were among the most effective means of strengthening children's contacts with the parental home culture in the form of values and places of growing up (see also Louie 2006). Spending time with grandparents formed a major part in children's daily routines in the '*mother country*', as Erion referred to Albania. Grandparents' places of residence shaped parents and children's activities, flirting with the urban or the more rural, according to the region. Photos from the Labrini Galatsi family unveiled urban-related activities, including taking trips to the country-side and visiting historic sites and museums. On the contrary, accounts from the family in Neos Kosmos, revealed rural-oriented bodily experiences permeating children's visits. Mirela described her grandparents' multi-storey house with big gardens of watermelons, melons, grapes and strawberries. Growing fruits and vegetables and feeding domestic animals such as chickens, turkeys, pigs, sheep, and rabbits was an integral part of the grandparents' daily routine, which Mirela observed and usually took part in. The six-year-old took a picture of a cow at her grandmother's village house (Figure 32). She told me that her grandmother, who had '*many cows and baby cows*' taught her how to milk them during her latest trip to Albania.



Figure 32. Cow at the grandparents' village house in Albania (2011).

Generating a sense of freedom, these physical experiences were deeply inscribed in children's memory for being in direct contrast to their 'domesticated' lifestyles in their birthplaces, where there was *'hardly any space for children to play'* according to Petros. Within the Labrini Galatsi family this agricultural way of living was captured in the daughter's depictions. Zamira showed me a drawing of her aunt's village, featuring a woman with a headscarf standing in front of her cottage house with chickens and other domestic animals running around (Figure 33).



Figure 33. Zamira's depiction of her aunt's village in Albania.

The twelve-year-old told me about waking up early, collecting chicken-eggs, walking in the cornfields, climbing the hills to watch the sunset and sleeping outdoors with her cousins while in her aunt's village. She added that *'there was no traffic, but only the birds singing'* in the village and that locals left their houses *'unlocked as everybody was friends with each other'*. Gardner and Mand (2012) found similar bodily experiences accompanying British Bengali children's visits to Bangladesh. In the authors' study (Gardner and Mand 2012) children described Sylhet as dramatically different to London: an out-of-doors place, with rice fields, mango trees and ponds, where children could bathe in, run, see animals and play.

The parents of the Neos Kosmos family emphasised the role of these back-and-forth movements in familiarising children with the values rooted in parental and grandparental upbringing, not readily available in the urban lifestyle adopted in the new country. The short return to the grandparents' villages acted as a window of opportunity for children to experience the country-side living, encapsulated in activities of going fishing and running outdoors. Nonetheless, this flirting with the

'old' life triggered at times parents' discontent of their children's restrained lifestyle in the centre of Athens. During our discussions, Artan expressed his frustration over his son spending endless hours in front of the PC. Drita added that their children did not climb in trees, as she and her husband used to do, while growing up in Albania.

6.3 The migration aspect of identity

The migration experience is the object of analysis in the second section, presenting families' accounts associated '*with one of the most important events in their life*', as Kostas referred to it. Exclusion and stigmatisation, encountered throughout participants' lives in Greece, and ways of settlement in the new country form the core of this section, investigating the incorporation of the migration/Greek layer in families' cultural and ethnic identity formation.

6.3.1 Experiencing exclusion and stigmatisation

During our discussions family members shared with me experiences of being the subject of exclusion and '*racism*', as they referred to it, in the new country. Albanian scapegoating occurred on multiple levels in participants' daily routines, including (i) interactions with members of the Greek society, (ii) personal relationships with the Greeks, (iii) the Greek media, (iv) the Greek school context and (v) the Greek legal framework. The fact that I was living abroad, and was therefore perceived as a non-typical Greek, made adults more comfortable in telling me such stories (see 4.5).

Adults' accounts of interacting with members of the Greek society uncovered notions of exclusion and stigmatisation 'haunting' participants' arrival in the migration destination. The negative stereotyping of Albanians led adults to swap their first Albanian names for Greek Orthodox ones to secure employment. As Kostas made explicit, '*it was impossible for Albanians, especially those bearing Muslim names, to find work in Greece during the early 1990s*'. In accordance with the literature on Albanian migrants (Hatziprokopiou 2003; Pratsinakis 2005), fathers

viewed the adoption of Greek Orthodox names as a 'survival' strategy to cope with insecurity and social isolation encountered in the Greek hostile environment (see 3.3.2). The preference for names that kept religious affiliation with Islam hidden can be understood in the context of the core value of Christianity in Greek national consciousness and identity (Kitromilides 1983; Veremis 1983; 1990). Triandafyllidou and Veikou (2002, 192) note that the East has been 'a source of worry' for modern Greek identity, drawing inspiration from nineteenth century Western European nationalist ideals, and constructed in opposition to Islam and the Muslim world. In this context, Albanian names, and particularly Muslim names, take dimensions of 'a hostile Other' (Pratsinakis 2005, 201) in Greek society. As Kostas further explained, '*Albanians were not religious*', yet they were severely stigmatised within a strictly Orthodox society, whose hegemonic and repressive nature led them to denounce elements of their identity. It is noteworthy that name changing among adults remained confined to their working environments; in their personal relationships participants called each other with their Albanian names.

Other 'survival' strategies generating trust in the host society included practices of '*making a good impression*'. This constant effort of projecting a culturally and socially accepted image in interactions with the Greeks was particularly felt by Adelina during her first years in Athens. The mother forced Zamira to wear her patent ballet flats, instead of her trainers, in her school's Christmas festivity, to make sure that her classmates did not assume '*that Zamira had no pairs of fancy shoes because she was from Albania*'. Adelina regretted forcing her daughter taking precautions '*to not stand out of the crowd*', but, the fear of her child being criticised by her Greek schoolmates for being Albanian appeared to be stronger.

The projection of Albanian migrant as Greece's 'constitutive other' (Mai and Shwadner-Sievers 2003, 943) in the Greek media featured prominently in individuals' discourses. Adelina called attention to the ethnicisation of criminal behaviour sweeping the Greek TV during the early 1990s, where '*behind every single criminal act there was supposedly an Albanian*'. It is interesting that children

as young as seven-years-of-age, were aware of the Albanian community's 'criminalisation' in Greece. After following the news on the killing of two Greek policemen by Albanians, Skerdilaid told his mother that '*Greeks will once again start feeling scared of Albanians!*'. Relatives of the family in Neos Kosmos referred to portrayals of Albanians as '*animals or pigs unfamiliar with decent living standards*', supporting notions of animal primitiveness and wretchedness attached to Albanians by the Greek media.

These cultural constructions propagating Albanophobia in the host society hampered the development of trust between Greeks and Albanians. '*For us, Albanians, it was difficult from the beginning*' said Adelina, conveying stories of opening conversations with Greeks, who kept a distance from her, when she told them she was from Albania. Petros mentioned of breaking up his friendship with a Greek classmate for '*being racist against Albanians*', and Blerina added that there was some sort of rivalry in Greek-Albanian relationships: when Greeks realised that there was upward socioeconomic mobility within the family, they loosened their contacts with them.

The stigmatisation of Albanians in Greece had a tremendous effect in families' treatment on an institutional level. Edwin was initially denied the enrolment of his son to the council's summer camp due to his Albanian origins. Eventually, the father managed to enrol Erion in the summer camp by employing his Greek contacts commenting that '*when it comes to paying bills and taxes we are treated as Greeks; but when it comes to claiming our rights we are not treated the same way*'. Criticism toward the Greek legal framework is not uncommon among Albanian migrants in Greece: studies have highlighted the participants' deep discontent of fulfilling their responsibilities as Greek citizens, yet not being granted equal rights with them (Hatziprokopiou 2003; Pratsinakis 2005).

Parents also expressed their frustration over the Greek legal framework, when it came to acquiring residency permits or the Greek citizenship (see 3.3.2). Blerina talked to me in detail about the difficulties arising in securing one's

regularisation, referred to as *'a time-consuming'* and *'expensive'* process due to the *'massive bureaucracy'* of the Greek public sector. The *'hierarchy of Greekness'* (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002, 192) defining Greek citizenship regulations provoked Adelina's discontent, stressing that her children grew up in *'a disadvantaged position'*. The mother brought up Zamira's example of not being eligible to take part in the Pan-Hellenic kickboxing competitions because she was not a Greek citizen, claiming how such conditions put her children's *'sense of belonging and dignity at risk'*.

Parents deconstructed images of otherness and criminality connected to Albanians by the Greek media. Kostas and Edwin questioned phenomena of ethnicisation of criminal behaviour, arguing that human actions are the results of individuals' personal histories and should be treated as such (*'being a criminal or not is not a matter of somebody's ethnic origins'*). Parents' pride-in-family-and-work narratives (see also Hatziprokopiou 2004; Lyberaki and Maroukis 2005) served to construct a collective *'We'* against negative stereotypes, bestowing and re-narrating identity in alien and alienating environments. *'Here [in Greece] they call us thieves but things are different'* Artan told me, producing positive representations of his male compatriots as hard workers, undertaking heavy jobs, unlike the Greeks. Parents further reversed the Greek media's negative stereotypes by projecting themselves as *'Albanian family people actively offering to Greece'*, as they said, by having their children enrolled in Greek schools and obeying the law.

6.3.2 Ways of living in the new country

Families' migration experiences and settlements in Athens and Piraeus promoted the fusion of Albanian and Greek elements in identity building. This subsection discusses families' familiarisations with and attachments to the new homeland crystallised in (a) perceptions of cultural similarities between Greeks and Albanians, (b) the building of friendships with Greeks, (c) fluency in Greek, (d) discourses of possible (or not) return to Albania, (e) daily routines and leisure activities and (f) practices of buying property in the country of residence.

(a) Perceptions of cultural similarities between Greeks and Albanians

Families' settlement in the new homeland was informed by individuals' perceptions of their relationships with Greeks. Adelina told me that '*Albanians and Greeks are culturally similar in many ways*', which explained, according to the mother, why Albanians '*respected the Greek culture*' by not creating ethnic enclaves as '*people from Asians and African countries*'. Literature confirms the non-existence of ghetto situations by the Albanian community (Vaiou 2007), yet this is understood in the context of Albanian rationale adaptive strategies, aiming at the community's ethnic 'invisibility' in a hostile environment (Kokkali 2005). In my study, participants identified cultural similarities between Greeks and Albanians in themes of food, history and what can be described as a certain Balkan mentality or mindset. Adults noted that Greek and Albanian cuisines share many common dishes, as they have been influenced by the Turkish cuisine while forming part of the Ottoman Empire (see 6.2.2). On a historical level, individuals affirmed connections between Greeks and Albanians on common ancestry '*from the Pelasgian tribe*' (see 5.2.2) and common membership to the Ottoman Empire (see 7.3.3). Lastly, adults referred to a common Balkan mentality characterising Greeks and Albanians. Although adults did not clarify what this mentality entailed, through their accounts it became evident that this involved the salience of the family institution and the prevalence of patriarchal cultural norms in the Greek society.

(b) Building friendships with Greeks

A major part of families' connections with the country of settlement involved building friendships with Greeks. Children mentioned having Greek friends, coinciding with results by Gogonas (2010). The school environment and the neighbourhood formed pivotal loci for the second generation for developing friendships with their Greek age-mates. Adults developed relationships of trust and rapport with their employers, which did not, however, expand to social intercourse. Drita told me of her solid relationship with her employer, '*standing as a mother*' to her by offering assistance in daily hardships to house-and-mortgage-haunting. Hatziprokopiou (2003) reported similar cases, where working environments became

vital spaces of socialising between Albanians and Greeks, surpassing the level of simple interpersonal relationship to become networks of assistance.

Building friendships with Greeks acted as a bonding factor with the new country. Despite the fact that Albania was Erion's *'mother country'* as he said, it was in Greece that he felt more at ease, as this was the place he went to school and where his friends were. Accordingly, Blerina told me that *'it is the children who build friendships with Greeks'* and limit the chances of leaving the country of residence, and Gentiana expressed that it is highly unlikely to return to Albania *'as it is in Greece that she has built her strongest friendships'*. Parents' accounts coincide with results by Pratsinakis (2005, 207), who noted that Albanian respondents, considering remaining in Greece, tended to create *'networks with natives'*.

(c) Fluency in Greek

Family members' incorporation in the Greek society manifested in levels of fluency in Greek. Being enrolled in Greek kindergartens or schools, children's verbal and literacy skills in Greek were relatively more advanced than in Albanian. As stated in subsection 6.2.1, the second generation employed Greek almost exclusively to communicate with their siblings and Greek-born friends of Albanian descent. Aside from Eugenie and Gentiana, whose fluency in Greek was a result of their highschool or college attendance in the aftermath of arrival in the migration destination, all other adults had less developed literacy skills in Greek. Yet, this did not imply that these were poor. Parents reported reading Greek books and newspapers. On a verbal level, my observations in families' domestic settings confirmed that the majority of adults spoke Greek fluently. Greek played a vital role in interfamilial daily communication, corroborating with findings by Chatzidaki (2005) and Gogonas (2009; 2010).

Research on Albanian migrants in a Greece has linked the former's willingness of learning Greek to motivations to integrate in the host society (Iosifides and King 1998; Pratsinakis 2005). This became evident in Eugenie's

account, treating children's acquisition of the Greek language as a determinant factor for securing ethnic invisibility (see 5.4.2).

(d) Daily routines and leisure activities

Families' interactions with aspects of the Greek society were integral parts of their daily routines and leisure activities in the new country.

Workplaces were vital loci of socialising with Greeks according to parents. Relationships with employers encouraged the generation of trust and acted as a source of emotional up-lifting, assistance in house-hunting and improving Greek. Mothers acknowledged that their competence in Greek was significantly improved by the time they started working in exclusively Greek-speaking environments. Drita added that she felt relatively close to her Greek employers helping her physically and emotionally in the aftermath of her arrival in the migration destination and offering to serve as godmothers to her child.

Children's enrolment in Greek educational institutions facilitated their integration in their birthplace and incorporation in the Greek collectivity. As Adelina put it, her children '*were not Albanian*', because '*it is here [in Athens] where they... receive their education*'. This was also reported by Vaiou and Stratigaki (2008), where the enrolment in Greek schools, promoting socialisation with native children from a young age, was regarded to maximise the children's acculturation in the host society by Albanian mothers. Greek formal education introduced children to the host country's heritage through national anniversaries, classroom teaching, textbooks and field trips in sites and museums in Athens (see 7.2.3; 7.2.5; 7.2.6). In the course of these education trajectories, the second generation became mediators of familiarising the first with Greece's official historical narratives: national histories acquired in the classroom were circulated in interfamilial talk, while parents helped children with schoolwork.

In domestic settings, daily rituals of watching Greek TV and reading Greek books built bridges between participants and the country of settlement. My

observations along with parents' claims confirmed that Greek TV connected family members to the sociopolitical and cultural context of the Greek society: *'it is here [in Greece] where they watch TV'* said Adelina to emphasise her children's membership to the Greek ethnic group. Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005, 36) report that Greek TV becomes a 'vehicle of participation and familiarisation with local politics and social issues' for Albanians, as it is through Greek channels that the former acquire local knowledge. Parents and children also reported reading Greek literature, namely novels and fairytales, which introduced them to aspects of Greek mythology, history and culture (Figure 34).

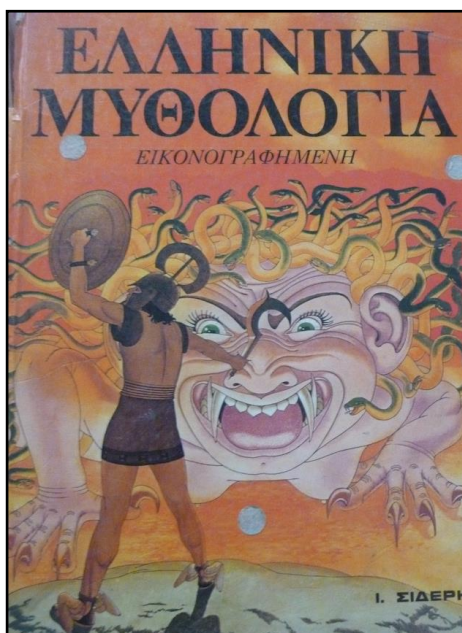


Figure 34. Old edition of children's book on Greek mythology in the Dafni family.

In the majority of families, these history-themed books were old editions given to parents by their Greek employers.

Children's enrolment in extra-curricula activities helped to build relationships with their Greek age-mates. In Skerdilaid's case, extra-curricula activities brought the child closer to aspects of the Greek folk culture, as his Saturday lessons on Greek folk dancing indicated. Also, outdoor leisure activities enabled family members to build bonds with their place of residence by familiarising themselves with their local surroundings. As discussions with parents

and children revealed, spending time in the neighborhood formed an integral part of families' leisure activities, which involved meeting in playgrounds, churchyards, and nearby parks to catch up with friends, play basketball and football (Figure 35).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 35. Nora and Edwin with Nora's parents in a local park (2001).

Families joined Greek annual celebrations on Shrove Monday taking place in local parks, introducing members to Greek customs and traditions, as well as landscapes in the vicinity of the families' houses. Weekend walks in the centre of Athens introduced participants to buildings and areas of historic/archaeological interest, representing the new country's ancient and more recent history. Individuals showed numerous pictures of their walks in the historic centre of Athens, including Plaka, Monastiraki, and visits to the Athenian Acropolis (Figure 36).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 36. Nora at the Athenian Acropolis (2000).

(v) Purchasing property in the new country

In migration literature buying property in the place of settlement unveils ambitions of integrating in the host society by displaying similarities and becoming 'invisible' through dressing up in a consumer identity (Buciek *et al.* 2006, 1993). Home-ownership was encountered within two families, buying flats in old buildings at central neighbourhoods of Athens, 'thereby contributing to the revitalisation of the local housing market' (Vaiou and Stratigaki 2008, 123).

In case of the family in Neos Kosmos, the purchase of a three-bedroom flat in the centre of Athens 'acted as a marker of membership' in the Greek society and 'one of settlement having acquired a longer time perspective' (Buciek and Juul 2008, 110). The acquisition of the flat posed questions of belonging to the new or the old homeland with family members taking sides according to their affiliations. Drita and Plato criticised the father's spending to improve the grandparents' village house in Albania, sustaining the myth of return. The mother expressed her doubts on whether the family would make any use of the village house after the

grandparents passed away, unveiling intentions of keeping connections with the old homeland to a minimum in the aftermath of losing direct family members 'left behind'.

Adelina's mother accounts shed light on the host country's hostile environment toward Albanians, limiting their bonding with Greece, even in cases where a flat has been purchased. The grandmother felt insecure of her home ownership status *'in a foreign country'*, sharing with me her fear of the Greek state *'taking away her property given the fact that she was not a Greek citizen'*.

(vi) The 'myth of return'

Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou (2005) have suggested that the geographical proximity of Greece and Albania renders return more likely. Yet, families' accounts revealed minimum chances of resettling in Albania, coinciding with findings by Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005).

Adults put forward a number of reasons hindering return. For the Labrini Galatsi family, the option of resettling in the old homeland seemed highly unlikely. The couple were contemplating leaving Greece, when close relatives of theirs took the way back, but Adelina insisted that they remained in Greece. For the mother it was events of personal significance that grounded her in Athens (see 5.2.2) and that made her admit that she *'no longer had the intention of returning to Albania'*. Ardita, on the other hand, acknowledged the impasse of the home village in terms of job opportunities, national health services, and quality of living eliminating chances of returning (see also Vaiou and Stratigaki 2008). In the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, the possibility of returning to Albania created mixed responses. Parents expressed the will of resettling in the home country by the time they retire and Nora mentioned the possibility of Erion seeking for employment in Albania in the future. Nonetheless, the mother clarified that *'she would not return to Albania in the near future'* for a number of reasons, including societal changes (*'people have become rude'*) and detachments from Albanian traditions, such as couples sharing the same place with their in-laws (see 3.2.1). Nora felt that the family's return

would eliminate her independence, as her social life would be controlled by her mother-in-law. Confirming Nora's comments, Kambouri (2008, 14) notes that for many Albanian women renting or owning a domestic space in the migration destination 'signifies a departure from the Albanian past, in particular the traditional attachment to the husband's family and mother-in-law'.

Children's school performance was the main reason minimising the possibility of return in the Neos Kosmos family. For Drita, the idea of forcing children to adjust to a new education system entailed risk, and consequently, low school performance. *'It would be difficult for us to leave Greece, as this would mean that our children missed one school year'* to catch up with the Albanian national curriculum, said the mother. Pratsinakis (2005) reports that Albanian parents' concerns of their children's education trajectories hamper the propensity of resettling to Albania.

Summary

In this chapter I addressed how individuals and families construct their identities on a cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. The first section focused on the Albanian aspect of families' identities, while the second drew attention to migration and Greek elements, incorporated in participants' identities as a result of residing in Athens and Piraeus.

The Albanian aspect in participants' identity involved (a) ways of communicating in Albanian, (b) producing and consuming diets of home, (c) participating in personal networks and (d) ethnic group functions, (e) being exposed to Albanian media, (f) retaining contacts with Albania and (g) undertaking trips to Albania.

Individuals' language choices influenced processes of belonging to the Greek or the Albanian ethnic group. Adults spoke Albanian with each other, children demonstrated a clear preference for Greek and parent-child talk combined both

languages. Adults' motives of passing on Albanian to children evolved around ethnic identity maintenance. Parents, especially mothers, engaged in a series of practices to refresh the younger generation's contact with oral and written Albanian, ranging from the use of reading material and the provision of Albanian tutorials to repeated visits in the old country.

The creation of recipes from the old homeland played an intrinsic role in families' homemaking. Adults introduced children to diets of home, which in the context of migration evoked culinary odours, rituals, customs and parental childhood moments from past life in Albania. Although these dishes were not exclusively Albanian, their connection with adults' birthplaces brought to life food regimes, reflecting individuals' self-identity and Albanian identity, drawing boundaries between families and the host society.

The families' personal networks, in the form of kin and friendship, reproduced attachments to the Albanian nation outside the old homeland. Adults' social life built around Albanian relatives, friends and neighbours, while children's friends was a mixture of Greek and second generation Albanians. Socialising mostly took place in home settings. Spatial proximity with relatives and friends encouraged acts of mutual support strengthening solidarity ties among individuals.

Participation in ethnic group functions fostered members' connection with the heritage of the old country. Contacts with the Albanian community in Athens manifested in taking part in cultural events, ranging from poetry and literature nights to art exhibitions, concerts and film festivals. In two families, parents introduced children to such practices by securing their involvement in poetry-related competitions and by enrolling them in Albanian associations.

Families ensured a sense of continuity of home away from 'home' by being exposed to Albanian media, such as television programmes and the press. These were important means of Albanian identity retention as they performed three significant functions: they (i) connected adults with the home country, (ii) shaped

younger and older members' Albanian consciousness and identity through ethnic symbolism and (iii) kept individuals in contact with their ethnic community in the country of settlement.

Transnational networks, connecting families with the family 'left behind', crystallised in cross-border contacts and regular trips to the grandparents' places of residence. Contacts with Albania took the form of receiving visitors and gifts and catching up with family members through online and telephone conversations. Families' back-and-forth movements to Albania reaffirmed parents' affiliation to the community of origin and immersed children in the old homeland's culture. Temporary returnees engaged in spending time with grandparents, catching up with relatives and participating in life-cycle events. Grandparents' areas of residence shaped parents and children's activities, flirting with the urban or the more rural according to the region. The rural experiences were inscribed in children's memories and were viewed by parents as windows of opportunity allowing their children to connect with ways of growing up, which were not readily available in the country of settlement.

The incorporation of elements of migration and Greek culture in participants' identity was reflected in the adults' stories of social exclusion and stigmatisation, and the ways of living in the new country.

Families' accounts unveiled marginalisation and stigmatisation 'haunting' their migration experiences. The cultural construction of 'Albanian Other' propagated by the Greek media led adults to 'survival' strategies of adopting Greek Orthodox names and striving '*to make a good impression*' in the host society. Albanian scapegoating determined participants' relationships with Greeks causing the breaking up of friendships and the cultivation of mistrust. Adults expressed their discontent over Greek discriminative migration policies and deconstructed concepts of otherness through pride-in-family-and-work narratives.

The families' ways of living in the new country presented individuals' attachments to Greece. Participants evoked ideas of Greeks and Albanians being '*culturally similar*' and highlighted the salience of building up friendships with Greeks, eliminating chances of returning to Albania. Individuals' fluency in Greek facilitated their integration in the Greek society. Children communicated in Greek with their peers and Greek played a pivotal role in interfamilial communication. Schooling and working environments promoted family members' integration in the Greek society. Daily rituals of watching Greek TV familiarised family members with Greece's socio-political landscape, while leisure activities enhanced families' interactions with the folk culture and the local landscape of the country of settlement. Purchasing property in Athens acted as a marker of membership in the Greek society, while chances of materialising the 'myth of return' appeared to be minimum among families.

Chapter 7

History and Heritage Making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania

7.1 Introduction

In chapter six I discussed how individuals, and families construct identity on a cultural and ethnic level in-between Greece and Albania. These processes filter individuals and families' conceptualisations of and connections with history and heritage, presented in this chapter. The chapter is divided in three sections: the (a) mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage and (b) history and (c) heritage making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania. These categories emerged from data analysis following the thesis' research questions (see appendix IV). In each section I specify which research questions I address.

7.2 Mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage

7.2.1 Introduction

This section presents the media participants employed to engage with history and heritage in the course of their daily lives in the place of residence and their back-and-forth movements in Albania. In particular, the section addresses the question of what mechanisms individuals and families use to connect with history and heritage. Families' encounters with history and heritage took place on multiple levels including the national, the local and the personal. Participant observation, conversational interviews and visual ethnography indicated a series of tools utilised by family members to mediate history and heritage meaning. These included (a) documentaries and historical films, (b) the Greek national curriculum and classroom

teaching, (c) past-related talk, (d) commemorations of national anniversaries, (e) visits to heritage sites and museums and (f) books. Different media were used differently in each family, depending on individuals' agenda, personalities, sociocultural backgrounds and personal and national identity requirements.

7.2.2 Documentaries and historical films

Watching films, movies and television programmes to deepen one's understanding about the past is regarded by Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) as among the most popular history-related activities in contemporary society.

In the families of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, Palia Kokkinia and Labrini Galatsi, documentaries and historical films brought individuals in contact with stories and images of diverse historical periods and lands. In Nora's case, TV watched back in the homeland covered periods from the Vikings to the French Revolution and WWII in Albania. During Hoxha's rulership historical films communicated adults to the official Albanian narrative: Nora and Adelina reported connecting with Albania's national hero by watching a '*Skanderbeg's movie*'⁴⁸ in cinema, and Blerina found out the same way about Dhaskal Todri (1730-1805), known for introducing the first Albanian alphabet. Documentaries broadcasted by Greek channels introduced family members to the new country's ancient and more recent histories. Petros mentioned watching a daily documentary that narrated the new country's postwar history, while Nora and Adelina expressed their interest on the Greek-Ottoman past by following the '*1821*' history series, as they said. The series presented, according to the mothers, the sociopolitical events leading to the Greek War of Independence (1821-1832) against the Ottoman Empire.

Participants' accounts highlighted personality aspects and perceptions of trustworthiness shaping their choices of heritage and history-connecting mechanisms. In families, where television and film watching were popular media of

⁴⁸ According to Lubonja (2002), the film '*Skanderbeg*' (Skënderbeu) was an Albanian-Soviet coproduction directed by Sergej Jutkevic in 1957.

engaging with the past, individuals admitted to being '*visual persons*'. For Nora, it was easier to recall a story '*when there was an image*' illustrating its meanings. Petros did not state to me the reasons for choosing documentaries to learn about the past, however the child's '*love*' for the specific medium could be linked to the fact that he was diagnosed with dyslexia. Nora and Edwin's account unveiled the culturally determined nature of trustworthiness criteria (cf. Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998), where documentaries were regarded by the parents as more reliable history-learning sources compared to academic books. The parents explained their preference of documentaries on their culturally specific experiences of growing up under the communist rule, where censorship of written sources were widespread, making them '*suspicious*' toward concepts of academic '*objectivity*' (see 3.2.2.2).

7.2.3 The Greek national curriculum and classroom teachings

Discussions with children, participant observation and visual ethnography revealed that the Greek national curriculum along with classroom teachings played a significant role in introducing the second generation to the new country's nationalising mythologies, symbols and legends. Despite its '*ethnocentric content*' as referred to by the parents of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family, the Greek history textbook prompted parent-child discussions on the Albanian national history.

In the families of Neos Kosmos, Alsos Veikou Galatsi and Labrini Galatsi, the second generation became familiar with Greece's '*flagging of nationhood*' (Billig 1995, 10) in the form of the national anthem, national heroes, art and architecture, embodying golden pasts and discourses of focal importance to the Greek national consciousness. Classroom teaching familiarised Mirela with the new country's national anthem and its most revered national heroes '*fighting against the Turks*', as the child emphasised, during the Greek War of Independence. Classroom teaching was the main source of Erion's understanding of the ancient Greek history and material culture. The thirteen-year-old talked to me about his high-school teacher, who was '*a non-typical Greek*', not restricting history teaching to the textbook content, but turning it into an engaging process by employing extra-

curricula books and introducing students to the ancient Greek art and architecture. In the family in Labrini Galatsi, the Greek history textbook introduced Zamira to legends surrounding the Elgin Marble rhetoric of primary significance in Greek collective consciousness. The daughter recalled a folk poem from her history textbook telling the story of the caryatids of Erechtheion '*mourning over the loss of their sister*', who was forcefully abducted to England by Lord Elgin⁴⁹.

Acknowledging the Greek history textbook's '*ethnocentric*' content, the members of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family made active use of the former's few references on ancient Greek-Illyrian relations to be reminded of the old homeland's ancient history. When coming across a map of ancient Greece and its surroundings, featured in Erion's textbook, the thirteen-year old pointed out that term '*Illyrians stands for ancient Albanians*' (Figure 37).

⁴⁹ The term 'Elgin Marbles' refers to a group of sculptures and architectural members of the Athenian Acropolis removed by Lord Elgin in 1801 and sold to the British Museum in 1816 (Hitchens 1997). The prominent status of the Athenian Acropolis in Greek collective consciousness has made the restitution of the marbles, especially since 1981, a matter of national significance and a 'National Issue' in Greek public discourse and official government policy (Hamilakis 1999, 310). For the tale recalling the mourning of caryatids see Douglas 1813 and Kakridis 1978.



Figure 37. Map of ancient Greece featuring its neighbouring ancient Illyria (circled in red) from Erion’s history textbook.

The child reported that his father had acted as a source of historical knowledge in this case. In a different instance, Erion reported coming across the term ‘Epidamnus’ in his history textbook. His mother told him that this was the ancient name for the city of Durrës, where his grandparents were currently based.

7.2.4 Past-related talk

‘Views on history are conveyed en passant’ Tschuggnall and Welzer (2002, 130) inform us, either through day-to-day conversations (Middleton 2002) or on more special occasions, where older generations communicate past events to younger ones. This process of constructing and sharing oral narratives in the course of dinner discussions, holiday celebrations, and family reunions is considered by Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) among the most gripping ways of making meaning of the past.

In the families of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, Palia Kokkinia and Labrini Galatsi, the communication of histories about the old and the new home, passed down social and cultural memories from parents to children and vice versa. In the course of storytelling, families were transformed into focal loci of exploring, learning and teaching history and heritage meanings, defining the rules of remembrance and affecting the depth of members' memories (Zerubavel 1996, 286). The circulation of these stories, jiggling between the personal and the national for the Labrini Galatsi family, or focusing primarily on the personal for the Alsos Veikou Galatsi and Palia Kokkinia families, was bound up with individuals' motivations, identity requirements and areas of interest.

In the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, the preference for life histories, or *'how we spent time during the summer climbing trees and going to the beach'* as Nora said, was associated by the mother with the negative connotations around nationalising narratives, regarded to perpetuate historical disputes among different countries. Nora emphasised that societies should learn to think beyond their historical disputes and live with each other in peace. The mother's beliefs minimised chances of circulating in the family Albanian national histories, thought to provoke Erion's patriotic feelings (see 5.3.2).

In the family of Palia Kokkinia, Blerina explained her emphasis on personal histories of childhood and high-school years in Albania within mother-son discussions, through *'comfort zone'* arguments. The mother left the narration of Albania's nationalising mythologies to her husband, who *'was more into history'*, as she said. She justified the limited reference of official stories in her conversations with Petros on *'the young of his age'*, preventing him from being able to comprehend the complexities of historical events. In the Labrini Galatsi family, participant observation illustrated that the sharing of national histories fulfilled identity requirements, promoting children's incorporation in the Greek and Albanian collectivity respectively. Perceptions of transnational identities crystallised in stories projecting common heroes and historical connections between Greece and Albania, serving the family's goal of establishing double belongings (see 7.3.3).

7.2.5 Commemorations of national anniversaries

Discussions with parents and children, participant observation and visual ethnography techniques revealed that families' participation in commemorative ceremonies of national anniversaries in Greece and Albania acted as a powerful medium of connecting with heritage. These emotional re-enactments of the past represented individuals' sense of forming part of a larger ethno-national collectivity, crystallised into human corporeal consciousness and praxis (Connerton 1989). For the second generation, the practice of these performative rituals, embodied in visual memorabilia in families' home spaces, fostered feelings of attachment to the Greek community. For adults on the other hand, children's participation in Greek national anniversaries stimulated reminiscing of paying homage to Hoxha's Albania.

Children's membership in the Greek school community ensured that they were witnesses and active participants in school festivities celebrating the new country's national days. Discussions with children and visual material in families' domestic interiors revealed that younger members familiarised themselves with events and legends of the Greek history by singing folk songs, spelling out folk poems and taking part in school plays, re-enacting nationalising myths. Through their *formalism* and *performativeness* these *enacted cults* (Connerton 1989, 43) of Greek master narratives shaped the children's cultural memories encoded in ritual language and bodily practices expressed in postures, gestures, movements, speech, singing, dance and clothing. Petros used a photo, taken by his mother, to share with me his excitement of taking the role of a Greek soldier in the school play (Figure 38).

(Figure removed to protect research participant's anonymisation)

Figure 38. Petros in the role of Greek Christian irregular soldier (Armatoles) at the school play (2011). The bottom of the stage features the 'freedom or death' slogan made popular during Greece's War of Independence against the Ottoman rule.

The eleven-year-old narrated to me the school play's scenario storying (the myth of Hibrihim's kissing of the head of the dead Papaflessas. For Petros, the combination of acting and singing folk songs, dressed in a Greek traditional costume, provided appealing stimuli for constructing a more comprehensible image of the Greek Ottoman past (*'it is more interesting because you can listen to the story'*). Like Petros, my conversations with Panaretos revealed that the five-year-old had vivid memories from taking part in his kindergarten's celebrations of national anniversaries. The child recalled folk songs and named Greece's so-called traditional enemies, such as *'the Turks and the Italians'*⁵⁰. Gentiana affirmed that her nephew *'absorbed like a sponge the [national] stories told at kindergarten'*. As the aunt claimed Panaretos' grandparents had skipped national past-related talk throughout the child's upbringing, *'boosting his appetite for myths'*.

Children and adults' accounts confirmed the effectiveness of these rituals as 'mnemonic systems' going beyond the engagements of performers' cognitive memory to the realm of habit-memory 'found in the bodily substrate of the performance' (Connerton 1989, 71). Emotional responses 'facilitating more intense and more prolonged affiliation' (Miztal 2003b, 126) were tied up to children's bodily performances. In recounting his school parade, commemorating the Greek War of Independence, Panaretos constructed a strong, collective 'We' against *'the Turks'*, declaring his membership to the host community.

Family photos and children's drawings in the home spaces of Labrini Galatsi, Neos Kosmos and Palia Kokkinia families affirmed the second generation's

⁵⁰ The Turks, the Germans and the Italians are among Greece's so-called 'traditional enemies' in Greek history textbooks and public discourses: the Turks as a result of the country's Ottoman past and the Italians and the Germans as a result of the country's occupation by the Axis Powers during World War II (see Frangoudaki and Dragona 1997).

participation in Greek national anniversaries. These visual traces on display acted as material and physical *commemorabilia*, essentially translucent media through which the *commemorandum*, the commemorated object, person or event, is honored (Casey 2000, 234). Looking at her photo on display in the family's fridge, Mirela recalled the folk poem she spelled out loud, while taking part in her kindergarten's celebrations of Greece's national anniversary (Figure 39).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 39. Mirela dressed in a Greek folk costume during her kindergarten's celebrations of the 25th of March national anniversary (2010).

Other photos in families' home settings featured children holding Greek flags (Figure 40), dressed in Greek folk costumes and taking part in school parades.

(Figure removed to protect research participant's anonymisation)

Figure 40. Skerdilaid holding a Greek flag during his sister's school celebration of the 25th of March national anniversary (2012).

Children's drawings, prepared in the kindergarten, depicted iconography embodying Greece's national struggles, thus, acting as a reminder of children's homage to the history of their birthplace. Panaretos' picture, inspired by the commemoration of the 25th of March anniversary, featured young boys dressed in the Greek folk costume, including 'the *fustanella*, the *tsarouhia* shoes, and the *fez* hat' as named by the child (Figure 41).



Figure 41. Panaretos' drawing featuring young boys dressed in Greek folk costumes.

The presence of such visual stimuli in families' intimate spaces established children's affiliation to the Greek community in that commemoration calls for 'overcoming the separation from which otherwise unaffiliated individuals would

suffer' by establishing among commentators 'a shared identity, more lasting and more significant than would be possible in an uncommemorated existence' (Casey 2000, 257).

The 25th of March national day, commemorating Greece's War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, was a chance for the Labrini Galatsi family to assert its double belongings. According to Adelina, Zamira joined her Greek classmates at the school celebrations dressed in an Albanian folk costume, sent by her grandfather in Albania (Figure 42).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 42. Zamira (third from left) dressed in an Albanian folk costume (2010).

To encourage her daughter to wear the Albanian costume, Adelina told Zamira that her uniform '*did not act as an offending symbol*' to Greece's national anniversary, as both Greece and Albania remained enslaved for centuries under the Ottoman rule. The mother pointed out similarities between the Albanian and other Greek folk costumes to boost Zamira's confidence over her outfit. As the daughter still felt self-conscious over her mother's idea, Adelina managed to convince her by reminding her of her Albanian origins: '*it's like going to a party...you would not wear the same dress as the hostess; you would wear your own dress*'.

Children's participation in national anniversaries made Adelina and Blerina recall the celebration of national days in Hoxha's Albania. Mothers brought to mind the cheerful atmosphere in stadiums, where school parades took place on the 1st of

May and the 28th of November, commemorating the establishment of the Albanian state. The celebration of national days were formal events, according to Blerina, with the communist party's local representatives forming part of the stadium audience along with the students' parents. Students took part in parades and showcased a series of choreographies they had rehearsed for days. Boys and girls were dressed in uniforms of navy skirts and trousers, with a white shirt on the top, and a red scarf signifying the red colour of the Albanian flag. As in the case of the second generation, adults' reminiscing of co-remembering the national past under Hoxha's leadership, unveiled the extensive participation in commemorations engaging 'not only minds or psyches but aspects of body and places as well' (Casey 2000, 247).

7.2.6 Visits to heritage sites and museums

Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) report that visits to historic sites and museums are among the most prevalent forms of connecting with heritage, associated with high levels of trustworthiness as a source of historical information. Members across the five families reported visiting heritage sites and museums. For the Labrini Galatsi, Dafni and Palia Kokkinia families, museum visiting was part of the social group's culture and a leisure activity practiced in Greece and Albania. For the Alsos Veikou Galatsi and Neos Kosmos families, who were not regular museumgoers, children's school field trips were an important source of connecting the older and younger generations with the ancient remains of the new country.

Literature in audience research in heritage sites and museums has well rehearsed the prevalence of motivations, value systems, identity requirements, aspirations and needs shaping the nature of museum visits and influencing visitor's heritage meaning (Jewell and Crofts 2001; Moussouri 1997b; Prentice 2001; Prentice *et al.* 1998). Scholars view heritage visiting as an act of *performance*, where the visitor is no longer regarded as a neutral vessel absorbing information constructed by professionals, but as an active agent producing meaning, based on attitudes, behaviours, emotions and personal experiences (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998; Bagnall 2003; Byrne 2009). Families' heritage experiences of

building bridges with the past through material remains provided support for these theorisations. Discussions emerging from family photos capturing such moments unveiled a series of social and cultural motivations triggering families' visits including education/participation, family event, life-cycle, entertainment, practical issues and identity work (Moussouri 1997b; 2007). These motivations provide insight to how participants' identities inform connections with and conceptualisations of heritage and history.

The education/participation motivation, defined by Moussouri (2007, 246) as 'the category of reasons related to the aesthetic, informational or cultural content of the museum and a desire to participate in the practice of the archaeology-related-communities', was encountered across the five families. Cultural and aesthetic drives came up in my conversations with members of the Labrini Galatsi, Palia Kokkinia and Dafni families. In these families socialisation into museum visiting constituted a mechanism of social reproduction and an act of accumulating cultural capital. Adelina passed on her passion for the ancient Greek material culture, representing the habitus of the dominant class (cf. Fyfe and Ross 1996), to her daughter, who found the Athenian Acropolis buildings '*interesting and beautiful*'. Going through the families' photos from visits to historic sites (Figure 43), Adelina explained that these activities were not that much about absorbing the information provided; rather they aimed at introducing her children to '*the culture*' of developing a socially accepted behaviour, when visiting such places, by acknowledging the grandeur of their awe-inspiring exhibits.

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 43. *The Labrini Galatsi family posing in front of the Parthenon (2008).*

In the Dafni family Ardita compared her visits to the Athenian Acropolis to these in Butrint and the medieval castle of Krujë, considered by the grandmother as aesthetically *'better places...leaving Western Europeans with their mouths open'*. She added that the Turks *'did not spoil [Albanians'] antiquities'* as was the case with *'the Acropolis'*, underlying Butrin's better, and therefore, more aesthetically pleasant, condition.

The informational value, along with the element of participation, appeared both in families, who were regular museumgoers and those who were not. In the families of Palia Kokkinia and Alsos Veikou Galatsi, parents expressed their intentions of participating in archaeology-related activities. In the Palia Kokkinia family, parents visited what they thought as *'iconic Albanian sites'* to affect children's educational experience and career choice. Petros said of being inspired to *'become an archaeologist'* after visiting Apollonia near his mother's hometown, in

southwest Albania. In the family of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi, Nora viewed her son's school field trips to archaeological sites as a chance of sharing an experience with him that was not normally included in the family's leisure activities. Members of the Palia Kokkinia and Neos Kosmos families drew attention to the informational nature of these visits: Blerina mentioned her son's eagerness '*of visiting new places, observing and learning new things*' and Plato saw his school visit in the New Acropolis Museum as an opportunity '*to learn*' instead of '*hang out in the [museum's] café like his classmates*'.

Accounts by the Labrini Galatsi family shed light on the 'family event' motive (Moussouri 2007, 246), where museum visiting is seen as 'a special social experience' for the whole family with a friend or relative. Adelina employed such descriptions to refer to the family's visit to the Athenian Acropolis with Kostas' mother visiting from Albania. As the mother explained, the visit acted as a point '*of sharing experiences*' with a relative '*greatly missed by the family*'. Ardita incorporated museum visiting in the life-cycle motivation defined by Moussouri (2007, 246-247) as 'a repeated activity which takes place at certain phases in one's life; usually related to childhood as it is considered an important part of children's development and education, and hence, something one should do when one has children or grandchildren'. As the grandmother claimed, places of historic interest can be ideal for visiting with children, who are '*eager and curious*' to discover unfamiliar landscapes and listen to stories about the past. The incentive of 'good parenthood' (Longhurst *et al.* 2004, 121) triggered Ardita to take Panaretos to the National History Museum in Athens, after one of her Greek employers told her grandson stories on the Greek national heroes.

Conversations with Drita unveiled motives of entertainment and practical issues (Moussouri 1997b; 2007), such as geographical proximity, leading to family's visit to a nearby archaeological site. The mother viewed the family's visits to the historic site of Philopappos Hill, at the vicinity of their flat, as a chance for recreation, in the form of joining the local Shrove Monday celebrations, having picnic with children and spending time outdoors.

Through their oral accounts, family members established links between museum/heritage site visiting and identity work motivations, on a personal, local and national level (Bagnall 2003; Howard 2003; MacDonald 2003). Adelina's personal history, and particularly her extensive interest in Greek mythology developed in the course of her school years in Albania, suggested powerful stimuli for paying multiple visits to the Athenian Acropolis. In the family of Palia Kokkinia, the construction of a local identity took shape in stories shared between grandfather and grandson during their visit to Berat castle. The grandfather fostered his grandson's incorporation to the local (southern Albanian) collectivity by sharing with him stories of the region's local heritage (Figure 44)⁵¹.

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 44. Petros at Berat castle (2009).

Petros described the traditional houses, surrounding the Berat castle, and told me about their listed status and how they were passed down from one generation to another. Lastly, Gentiana's account pinned down the role of museums and sites as 'national identity' expressions and sources of pride, providing tangible verifications of 'having a history' through the exhibition of their 'cultural objects' (cf. MacDonald

⁵¹ The Berat castle was largely built during the 13th century under the Michael I. Komnenos Doukas, who was the Despot of Epirus. Earlier parts of the castle were constructed under the leaderships of Byzantine Emperors Theodosius II (408-450) and Justinian I (527-565) (Baçe *et al.* 1996).

2003, 3-5). Visits to archaeological sites of cardinal importance to Albanian national consciousness, such as the medieval castle in Krujë, Skanderbeg's native region, acted as reminders of the old homeland's national struggles against traditional enemies. In recalling her visits to the castle, Gentiana referred to *'the Ottomans'* and *'the Western Europeans stealing'*, as she said, the sacred remains of Albania's *'golden past'*. She told me that Skanderbeg organised local leaders into the League of Lezhë, a federation aimed at uniting their forces for war against the Ottomans, adding that the national hero's body and helmet was taken from Albania to Austria *'for the same reason they took the Elgin marbles from you: because they thought you were not able to preserve these'*.

Visits to museums and heritage sites introduced family members to a wide spectrum of the Greek and the Albanian historical landscape of remote and more recent periods. Photos on display in families' domestic settings featured individuals in their excursions from Apollonia and the castles of Durrës (Figure 45) to the Athenian Acropolis and the temple of Poseidon at Sounion.

((Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 45. Zamira at the medieval castle in Durrës (2009).

7.2.7 Books

Families' accounts highlighted the salience of fiction and non-fiction reading in deepening one's historical understanding, providing evidence to Samuel's argument (1994, 14) that 'a ballad or a song, a novel or a poem, is as much a historical account as a cartulary or a pipe roll'.

In the families of Labrini Galatsi and Dafni printed material was a focal locus of familiarising the self with narratives of the remote and more recent past of Greece and Albania. Adelina and Gentiana claimed that they acquired much of their knowledge on Greek and Albanian history through these imaginative journeys. The Greek novel '*Wildcat under glass*' (Zei 1968), translated to Albanian, introduced Adelina to the tale of the Minotaur, while Kadare's (1998) '*The File on H.: a novel*' made the mother aware of Albanian myths, orally passed on from one generation of rapsods to the other. Literature reading was inexorably linked to the women's personal and sociocultural backgrounds: for Adelina it was an act reflecting her '*much-into-reading*' personality, whereas for Gentiana it represented a habit developed during her school years in Hoxha's Albania ('*skipping literature reading was impossible [during the school years]*'). The aunt's comment can be understood in the wider context of Hoxha's education policies, tackling Albania's low literacy rates (see 3.2.2.2).

Data collected through participant observation illustrated that women passed on their passion for literature to their partners and children by reading, and in case of Adelina, buying them history books. Gentiana could chose from a number of books in the children's room, referring to ancient Egypt, Byzantium, the history of humanity and Greek mythology, to read to her nephew each time she visited the family (Figure 46) (see 6.3.2).



Figure 46. Page from book on Greek mythology read to Panaretos by Gentiana and featuring the Athenian Acropolis.

Aunt-and-nephew-book-reading involved a mutual process of co-constructing meaning, where Gentiana encouraged Panaretos to interpret the messages conveyed by her readings. While going through the story, the aunt explained the boy the meanings behind it, regularly checking if he was following her by asking him to summarise the book's meaning in his own terms.

Summary

In this section I addressed the research question of what mechanisms families employ to connect with history and heritage. Data analysis indicated that participants employed a series of sources to mediate and construct history and heritage meaning, depending on their personal interests, experiences and sociocultural backgrounds.

Documentaries and historic films were powerful stimuli for connecting with national histories, tied up to participants' personality aspects and perceptions of trustworthiness. The Greek curriculum along with classroom teaching familiarised the second generation with Greece's mythologies, acting at times as a prompt for parent-child discussions on the national Albanian past. Interfamilial past-related talk, jiggling between the personal and the national, suggested an exceptionally engaging approach in passing down social and cultural memories, reflecting individuals' identity goals, perceptions and areas of comfort. Participation in commemorative ceremonies of national anniversaries in Greece and Albania affirmed respondents' sense of forming part of a larger ethno-national collectivity crystallised into human corporeal consciousness and praxis. As members of the Greek school community the second generation familiarised themselves with Greek legends through school festivities, while the visual *commemorabilia* of such performances in families' intimate settings, prompted parents' memories of celebrating national days in Hoxha's Albania. Visits to sites and museums in Greece and Albania either formed part of families' social and cultural lives or were undertaken in the course of children's school field trips. Motives driving these 'journeys' to the past included education/participation, family event, life-cycle, entertainment, practical issues and identity work on a personal, local and national level. Book reading suggested a focal locus of connecting members in two families with past narratives. The employment of literature as source of deepening historical knowledge reflected aspects of adults' personalities and reading habits acquired during their school years in Albania.

7.3 History making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania

7.3.1 Introduction

Remembering and forgetting the past is integral to our sense of identity (McDowell 2008). What we choose to remember, or how selectively re-create the past to turn it to history, is filtered by multiple identity markers (Graham and Howard 2008) (see 2.1.4). In this section I look at how Albanian families construct history to address two research questions: (i) how individuals and families make history between two homelands, and (ii) how individuals and families' identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level affect what stories they choose to tell, and what they consider as their history (or not). I treat history making as conveyed *en passant* (Tschuggnall and Welzer 2002, 130): in oral narratives, crafted and shared among older and younger family members, in the course of their day-to-day conversations and storytellings. Rooted into families' everyday routines, these verbal accounts jiggled between the personal and the national, stitching together stories of old and new homelands with capital 'H' with more intimate memories of childhood, leaving home and resettlement.

Following data analysis, the section opens by exploring the salience of personal experiences and ethnic identity perceptions in informing individuals' engagements with Greek and Albanian nationalising mythologies. The national histories circulated among family members follow next providing insight to individuals' affiliations to the Greek and/or Albanian collectivity. The last three subsections focus on the personal register comprising stories of marking stages in adults' life-histories including (a) Enver Hoxha's regime, (b) ways of growing up in Albania and (c) the migration experience.

7.3.2 The national register: personal experiences and ethnic identity affiliations informing interactions with mythologies

Family talk on the national past was informed and filtered by parents and children's personal experiences, aspirations, and affiliations to the Albanian and/or

Greek collectivity. Discussions with parents and children unveiled that the migration experience created different reactions toward official narratives within families: from (a) avoiding national past-related talk out of fear of boosting the second generation's nationalistic feelings to (b) challenging the authenticity of official narratives and (c) showing compassion for the new country's so-called 'traditional enemies'.

Two families skipped talk on the national past out of fear of bolstering their children's nationalist feelings, yet admitted different meanings behind the adoption of such practices. Nora and Edwin's denouncing of Albania's nationalising narratives was driven by beliefs of '*liberal, open-minded*' societies, leaving behind their historical disputes. The experience of coming in contact with conflicting interpretations of historical events through the Albanian and Greek national curriculum, as a result of their migration trajectory, lead parents to conclude that '*it is politicians instead of historians writing histories*'. In this context, parents discouraged the circulation of the old homeland's mythologies in the family, regarded to cause (like any other national history) frictions between different nation-states. The couple's approach can also be understood within the wider post-communist phenomenon of rejecting Hoxha's state of siege nationalism by turning to regionalism and even anti-nationalism (Fischer 2007b) (see 3.2.2.2).

In the family of Dafni, the sharing of the old homeland's official narrative with the younger generation was thought to promote Greek-Albanian rivalries, already tense in a Greek context, given the community's scapegoating. As Gentiana explained, overloading Panaretos from a young age with '*Albanians-did-this, and Albanians-did-that*' narratives would merely turn him into a fervent patriot, prone to racist behavior against the Greeks. Nonetheless, national heritage talk was not to be disregarded from future interfamilial conversations. National narratives were to be shared, according to Gentiana, when Panaretos grew older, fulfilling requirements of Albanian consciousness and identity building. The aunt perceived cultural memory similarly to Assman's (1995, 128) 'store of knowledge from which a group derives awareness of its unity and peculiarity', which is driven and

controlled by the group's 'need for identity'. In this context, the transmission of historical events, paying homage to Albania's glorious past would confirm, validate and reinforce her nephew's identity, making him '*proud of being ethnically different*' from the rest of the Greek society.

The migration experience in combination with the ethnic background informed parents' decisions of interpreting official narratives. In the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, parents questioned mainstream sources of historical knowledge, such as the Greek history textbook, for distorting aspects of the Albanian ancient past. Drawing from his seventeen-year experience in Athens, Edwin stressed during our conversations that the construction of Greek national history was deeply invested with notions of '*racism and nationalism*' (see 5.3.2). To reinforce his argument the father brought as an example Ancient Illyria's territorial size, presented much smaller than the original in his son's history textbook. Similar attitudes toward mainstream sources of historical authority have been reported among African Americans and American Indians by Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998, 156), who noted that the two ethnic groups tended to distrust mainstream sources of historical authority, such as the history taught in school, for 'ignoring', 'distorting' and 'lying' about their sociocultural and historical experiences. On a different level, Edwin's account underlines the selective nature of remembering and forgetting, where cultures and traditions are created and suppressed, and identities are validated and contested in light of the present (Gillis 1994; Lowenthal 1985; McDowell 2008; Walker 1996). By circulating and reproducing 'founding myths and stories' of the Greek collectivity, the Greek history textbook imposed who and what is to be remembered, and conversely, excluded (Eyerman 2004, 162). Edwin actively responded to phenomena of history exclusion by passing down to Erion oral counter-narratives, or '*the other side of the story*' as he referred to it, subverting the host country's nationalising mythologies.

Parents' stigmatisation and marginalisation in Greece encouraged their empathy toward other groups, forming targets of xenophobic behaviour in the host society. These groups consisted of Greece's so-called 'traditional enemies', who,

like the members of the Albanian community, disrupted notions of territorial integrity, ethno-linguistic and religious homogeneity and cultural proximity to Western Europe defining Greekness (Kitromilides 1990; Veremis 1983; Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). During our conversations Blerina conveyed her opposition toward Greek parents, who presented the Turks '*as bad people*' to their children, whom the latter were expected to '*hate*'. Having experienced severe exclusion in the Greek society, the mother expressed compassion toward the Turks, arguing that just because '*they were evil back then [during the Ottoman Empire], this does not necessarily make the current generations evil*'. Blerina's approach confirmed the salience of personal history, and specifically migration, in re-creating the past. The questioning of Greece's traditional enemies demonstrated that 'mnemonic selection' (Conway *et al.* 1997) is highly dependent on the context it occurs, based on cognitive and emotional relevance, sensory openness and sensitivity, or any other category of meaning and personal significance, employed to put together fragments of memory into meaningful schemata.

Affiliations to Greek and Albanian collectivity informed parents and children's relationships with the old and the new country's nationalising narratives. The mnemonic community of the family and that of the ethnic group provided Erion with 'lenses' (Zerubavel 1996, 286), influencing his perceptions of the Greek and Albanian national past. Viewing himself as part of the Albanian collectivity, the thirteen-year-old expressed in the course of our conversations that '*the Albanian history was more useful to learn than the Greek one*'; after all, it was '*his country's history*'. Erion shared parental views over the ethnocentric content of the Greek history textbook and deconstructed irredentist claims put forward by his Greek classmates. When the latter claimed that the regions of Sarandë and Gjirokastër used to belong to Greece, only to become part of the Albanian territory after the end of the Balkan wars⁵², Erion countered such arguments emphasising their irrationality: '*If somebody claimed that the earth belonged to him/her, would that make it him/hers?*'. The son's alignment to parental views, regarding contested

⁵² Until the 1980s the districts of Sarandë, Gjirokastër and Korçë have been the subjects of fierce disputes between Greece and Albania due to their ethnic Greek populations (see 3.3.2).

issues in Greek-Albanian historical relations, shed light on aspects of trustworthiness of different sources of connecting with one's past. Similarly to Rosenzweig and Thelen's (1998, 156) survey of African Americans, Erion distrusted the Greek textbook as a source of 'official' historical knowledge, evaluating more favourably accounts from eyewitnesses and relatives.

The formation of a transnational identity informed families' relationship with the Greek official narratives. Adelina explained that her familiarity with the Greek history was part of a larger phenomenon of finding herself building bonds with the new homeland. The mother compared her feelings for Greek history to that of the Greek football: she realised that she was attached to the new country, as soon as she started feeling that she wanted Greece to win a football match. Adelina told me that this process occurred gradually with children sharing with their parents what they learned at school and parents taking that with them, analysing it and building their knowledge of Greek history in the course of their children's education trajectories. Adelina's account demonstrates the salience of personal experience in members' interactions with the past, suggesting that what for some families, such as the Alsos Veikou Galatsi, can be contested stories, creating tensions between them and the members of the host society, for others it can be reconciliation stories, establishing goals of dual memberships.

7.3.3 The national register: the histories told

Discussions with parents and children along with participant observation and visual material in families' domestic interiors demonstrated that parents shared with their children Greek and Albanian national histories, primarily about the Ottoman and WWII periods. The popularity of narratives about the Ottoman past was the result of telling stories of (i) Albania's most revered national hero of that period, and (ii) Greece and Albania's shared Ottoman occupation. Accounts on the old homeland's national heroes sustained individuals' Albanian consciousness and identity, while stories of historical associations between Greece and Albania served to deconstruct otherness, attached to Albanianess in a Greek context. Parents and children's narratives about the Ottoman period brought to light aspects of the

Greek national history, confirming children's connections with the Greek collectivity and parents' familiarisation with the dominant narrative of the host country. Lastly, adult-child conversations on WWII primarily took the form of counter-narratives, where the first generation communicated to the second the Albanian perspective of contested historical events.

One of the most popular narratives shared between mothers and children was about Skanderbeg, regarded by Blerina as '*Albania's greatest hero*'. As the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family told me, the fact that Greece and Albania formed part of the Ottoman Empire, encouraged her to talk to Petros about the Albanian Ottoman past. This came as a reaction to what the child was taught at the Greek school. Blerina told Petros about Albania '*being occupied by the Turks for 500 years*'. She went on with Skanderbeg's story, explaining to him that the hero's original name was Gjergj Kastrioti, and that the Turks abducted him at a young age, but he later managed to escape and return to his native Krujë to defend Albania against the Ottoman Empire. Zamira reported being introduced to '*Skënderbeu's*' story, as he called him, through family talk, prompted by visits to the hero's grave memorial in Lezhë. The daughter described Skanderbeg's heavy replica sword and helmet featuring a horned goat on the top, which '*rescued him during one of his battles with the Turks*'. For the Neos Kosmos family, it was individual histories stimulating talk on the historical figure. The fact that Drita's mother was named after Skanderbeg's wife offered her the chance, as she told me, to share with her daughter the hero's story. The mother employed one of the family's Albanian textbooks to show me the hero (Figure 47).

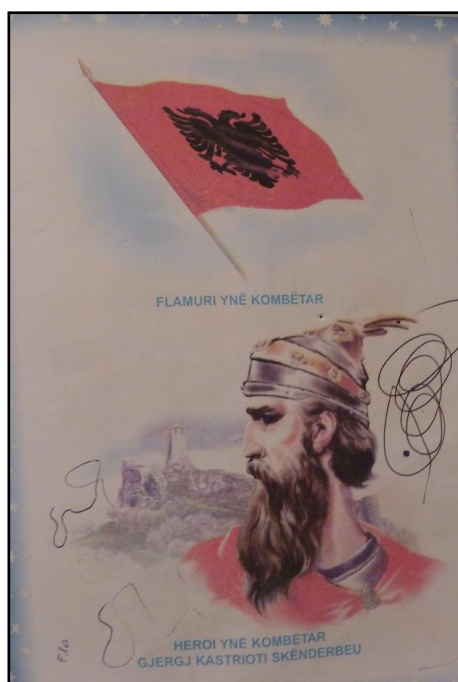


Figure 47. Skanderbeg and the Albanian flag on top featured on the first page of an Albanian textbook at the Neos Kosmos family's flat.

Drawing from her mother's accounts, Mirela presented Skanderbeg to me as '*a brave hero fighting to save Albania from the Turks, who wanted to spoil and occupy the country*'. The daughter mentioned that the '*bad Turks*' killed his wife and son. Drita, who was present in my conversation with Mirela, said that she was taught about Skanderbeg at school in Albania. Even though the mother '*could not remember much about the hero*', she confirmed that he was '*so famous*' that there was an equestrian statue of him at one of the most central squares in Tirana.

Parents' stories on Albania's most revered hero were often enacted by tangible stimuli, such as Skanderbeg's replica busts on display in families' domestic interiors. These visual reminders of the old homeland, bought as souvenirs on participants' trips to Albania, were put on prominent display in the latter's houses (Figure 48).

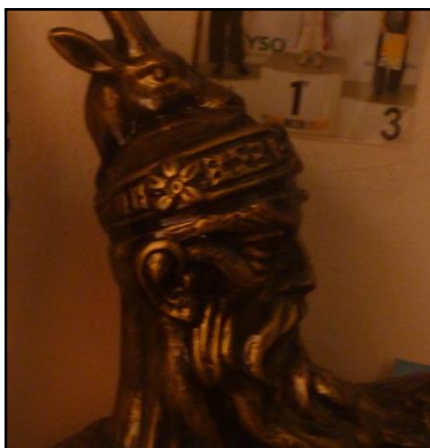


Figure 48. Skanderbeg's replica bust on display at the Labrini Galatsi family's living room.

In the flat of Adelina's mother, the presence of the souvenir bust prompted narrations of the 'History of Skanderbeg' epic poem, by Naim Frashëri (1846-1900), an Albanian national poet and a leading figure in the circulation of Albanian mythology surrounding Skanderbeg (Lubonja 2002) (Figure 49).



Figure 49. Skanderbeg's replica bust with the Albanian flag attached on the back on display in the living room of Adelina's mother.

Quoting Adelina's mother, '*Kruja o blessed town/wait o wait for Skanderbeg/ he is coming as a golden dove/ to save the motherland*'. According to Lubonja (2002) these lines are memorised by every Albanian schoolchild finishing elementary school.

The families' emphasis on Skanderbeg can be understood in the context of the historical figure's pivotal role in the official ideology of Albanian nationalism (see 3.2.2.1). During the communist years, forming an integral part of parents' experienced reality in the old country, the restructuring of Albanian national identity dictated that extreme reverence be paid to Albanian national heroes of Albanian nationalism (Zalavani 1969; Fischer 2007b). This was accomplished by drawing parallels between the partisan struggle against the Axis and Skanderbeg's struggle against the Sultan through stories, encapsulating the idea of 'freedom-loving people', continually fighting 'to overthrow the 'yoke' of foreign oppression' (Pipa 1978, 170). Under the aegis of the Albanian Party of Labour, the anti-Muslim character of Skanderbeg's resistance was obscured and omitted, to solidify the unification of the multi-religious Albanian nation (Misha 2002). In Albanian families, parents shared the values of the communist retelling, viewing Skanderbeg primarily as a hero of Ottoman resistance and making no reference to his religious background, thus, confirming that the act of forgetting in memory construction is just as crucial for the cultivation of identity (cf. Rowlands 1999).

Parent-child storytelling of Albania's most revered national hero unveiled the primary modality of memory in émigré cultural identity. Adults retained their Albanian consciousness in the country of settlement. In the sphere of popular history making this was played out in grand historical narratives circulated in intergenerational storytelling. Similarly to Burrell's (2006) research with the Leicester Polish, families' reminiscences, commemorating the homeland with a capital 'H', enforced a feeling of shared heritage and solidarity among Albanian family members. Stimulating pride and honour among the first and the second generations, these oral narratives, 'telling who we are through recounting where we come from' (cf. Eyerman 2004, 160) provided a cognitive, and simultaneously,

emotional/affective map, where the past acted as a temporal reference for individuals to orient themselves within it.

Beyond reinforcing membership in the Albanian collectivity, parent-child narratives of the Ottoman past brought to the fore cultural similarities and associations between Greeks and Albanians. These stories, often excluded from the official versions of the past in history textbooks and Greek school teachings, subverted notions of the 'Albanian Other' (Gogonas 2010, 73). I observed Adelina sharing with her children one such anecdotal story about Markos Botsaris (c. 1788-1823) to affirm the historical interconnections between Greece and Albania (Figure 50).



Figure 50. Markos Botsaris (c.1788-1823). Oil on canvas (unknown artist) at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (www.wikipedia.org, accessed on 24/9/2012).

The mother mentioned that according to an Albanian book, Markos Botsaris, who is a hero of the Greek War of Independence, '*is also a hero for Albanians*' by selling jugs in the latter's region with the Albanian alphabet hidden inside. Adelina added that Botsaris was in contact with persons wishing to learn how to read and write in

Albanian during the Ottoman rule, a time where *'only the Ottoman education was available'* in what is regarded today as Albanian territory (see 3.2.2.2). For the mother, Botsaris' act was of major significance to Albanians' national awareness, where *'first comes the language, and then the flag to unify a people'*.

In the Neos Kosmos family, a legend from the Ottoman times brought to the fore the relationships between Greece and Albania, challenging the new country's ethnic homogeneity. Drita's brother shared with the rest of the family and me a story narrated to him by his Greek employer. According to the story, the Plaka district of Athens took its name from an elderly local woman, speaking *Arvanitika*. The latter, also known as Arbërisht, is a dialect of Albanian spoken by the Arvanites, a population arriving in Greece during the Middle Ages from the region that is today known as Albania (Babiniotis 1998) (see 3.3.1). Drawing on the historic presence of *Arvanitika* in Greece, Drita's brother concluded that during the Ottoman times the *'moving of the populations between Greece and Albania'* must have formed a regular practice, facilitated by *'geographical proximity'* and the fact that *'there were no [internal] borders [in the Ottoman Empire]'*.

The families' stories about the Ottoman past also focused on Greek narratives triggered by parent and child visits to historic sites in Greece and children's enrolment in Greek education. From the parents' perspective, the circulation of Greek national narratives did not necessarily mean that these stories formed part of the family's heritage. Yet, this practice unveiled parents' familiarisation with the dominant accounts of the host country. On the contrary, for the majority of the second generation, the recollection of Greek nationalising mythologies went beyond intentions of expressing an interest in Greek history to that of claiming membership in the Greek collectivity.

Parent-child visits to historic sites in Greece, as part of children's school field trips, prompted discussions on the Greek national past. Nora told me that she shared with Erion a story on Kolokotronis, Greece's most revered national hero,

while visiting his prison at the Palamidi fortress of Nafplio (south Greece) (Figure 51).



Figure 51. The Palamidi fortress in Nafplio of Peloponnese built by the Venetians between 1711-1714 (<http://www.trekearth.com/>, accessed on 25/9/2012).

The mother, who had picked the story from a Greek documentary, told her son that in the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in the Peloponnese (1821), Kolokotronis told fellow Greeks that he would kill any of them hiding from, instead of fighting against, the Ottoman rulers.

Panaretos' drawings, prepared in the course of celebrating Greek national anniversaries in his kindergarten, prompted talk on the Greek national past between the child and me. These discussions facilitated by the display of visual material in families' domestic interiors (Figure 41, p. 253) confirmed that the five-year-old was aware of the host country's traditional enemies, national struggles and sufferings. *'In 1821 the Greeks fought against the Turks'*, because the latter *'wanted*

to take, and remain in, Greece' said the boy about the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman rule. Panaretos recalled the names of Greek national heroes and told me about '*the Turks destroying*' the Parthenon and using its column drums to make bullets⁵³. The child's recollections of the official Greek narrative were primarily the outcome of kindergarten teachings and participation in celebration of national anniversaries, reproducing 'master frames' (Eyerman 2004, 162) of nationalising mythologies and promoting his connection with the Greek ethnic group (see 7.2.5).

Families' discussions of WWII underpinned controversies causing uneasiness between Greek-Albanian historical relations. These disputed stories confirmed the politicised process of history being 'subject to contestation and bound up in construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of memory and identity' (McDowell 2008, 43). In the struggle over power, inherent in memory work, adults employed the discursive qualities of narratives to intervene and alter the younger family members' mnemonic systems. By competing with official narratives reproduced in Greek public discourses, teachers' teachings and history textbooks, parents and relatives actively tried to clarify Albania's position in contested historical periods, deconstructing children's misunderstandings and ascribing new meanings to the history of Greek-Albanian relations.

Adelina and Gentiana confronted the children's misapprehensions over Albania's position during WWII. When Skerdilaid asked his mother (in my presence) '*whether Albanians have fought against the Greeks?*' quoting a Greek classmate of his, Adelina assured her son that '*Albanians have never fought against the Greeks*'; on the contrary they fought together with the Greeks against the Turks and Italians. Adelina told me afterwards that the source behind this Greek-Albanian rivalry, brought up by her son, was part of a wider controversy, surrounding the

⁵³ The incident, which Panaretos had misunderstood, refers to the Venetian-Ottoman War in 1679 and the bombardment of the Parthenon (at that time serving as a gunpowder-storage for Ottomans) by the Venetians (Yalouri 2001).

representation of Albania in the 28th of October Greek national anniversary⁵⁴. The mother explained that teachers in Greek schools taught children that *'the enemies came from Albania'* without clarifying that it was not Albanians, but Italians fighting against the Greeks. Gentiana narrated to me a similar incident, where Panaretos was left with the impression that Albanians fought against the Greeks, after attending his kindergarten's celebrations for the respective anniversary. Quoting Panaretos, Gentiana said *'Albanians fought against the Greeks; I will kill Albanians, and punch them on the face for fighting against the Greeks'*. The aunt reassured her nephew that Albanians and Greeks fought together against the common Italian enemy. Like Adelina, Gentiana wanted to challenge any information or evidence resulting in identity conflict or crisis for her nephew. In Gentiana's narratives, the five-year-old seemed to feel betrayed by his parents' ethnic group coming in direct opposition to the Greeks, which the boy felt, at times, connected to (see 5.4.2). Similar reactions of anxiety and discomfort toward official past narratives have been reported by Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998, 58) among children of 'biracial' families. The descendants told of being 'hard' to sit in schools, where black teachers 'want you to hate white people for what they did' in slavery, stressing that 'it is confusing when you tell a kid to hate a race and that kid has that race in his family' (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998, 58).

The parents in the families of Palia Kokkinia and Alsos Veikou Galatsi have not shared the Albanian version of the old country's position in WWII with their children yet. However, their oral accounts were instructive of how they would handle such incidents in case they came up. In both families adults challenged Greece's school teaching of Albanians, collaborating with Italian troops during WWII. Edwin explained that Italian forces occupied Albania against the people's will during the leadership of King Zog I (*Zogu*) and Nora's mother, who was visiting from Albania during my field visits, added that *Zogu 'took all the gold with him'* and fled to Egypt, leaving the peoples' luck to Italian troops (see 3.2.2.1). The 'gold', that the grandmother refers to are the large sacks of gold, bribes given to Zog by Mussolini

⁵⁴ The 28th of October Greek national anniversary commemorates the Greek Prime Minister's rejection of Mussolini's ultimatum of Italian troops entering the Greek territory.

over the years (Fischer 2007a, 47; Pano 1992). Similarly, Nora noted that back in the old homeland they were taught that Albanians fought against Italians '*with all available means*' and Blerina asserted that the Albanians '*wanted to help the Greeks against the Italians*'.

7.3.4 The personal past: Enver Hoxha's regime

Enver Hoxha's regime left bittersweet memories to the adults, who portrayed an impoverished, isolated, and anti-religious, yet safe and stress-free Albanian society. Parents and relatives acknowledged negative and positive aspects of the '*dictator's*' legacy, at times feeling nostalgic about the sense of solidarity during the communist years, and others feeling regret about spending their most productive years in a state '*with no future*'. Adults did not normally discuss Hoxha's regime with their children, but, apart from Edwin's case, this did not necessarily mean they felt uncomfortable about their communist past. Adults' limited references to Hoxha was more the outcome of a topic not coming up in interfamilial conversations, rather than a strategy of keeping hidden from children certain life-histories. Consequently, the second generation was either not aware of Hoxha or merely knew that he was an Albanian politician.

In the course of our conversations adults depicted images of Albania's cultural landscape at the '*time of the dictatorship*', as Blerina referred to Hoxha's regime. Nora alluded to Hoxha's policies promoting Albania's cultural heritage, including that of annual folk dance festivals at the ruler's hometown, gathering dancers across Albania dressed in traditional local costumes. Blerina and Adelina told me about the ex-leader's birthday, holding the status of a national holiday and celebrated as such with poetry competitions, dedicated to Hoxha, running in schools, the radio, the TV and poetry clubs. In communist Albania, according to Adelina, poets were expected to produce works honouring the ruler; otherwise their reputation was devalued in contemporary literature circles. Participants also depicted images of a society, where the communist discourse formed an integral part in shaping citizens' cultural interests and orientations. Drita's uncle told me that people used to read Marx and Lenin to deepen their knowledge of communist

principles, while Adelina confirmed that under Hoxha's leadership it was *'in fashion'* to talk about the communist party, which was perceived *'as the Sun of the Universe bringing light to Albania'*. Her mother added that Hoxha was something similar *'to a god'* for Albanians, with every house having the ex-leader's photo on prominent display.

Adults' narratives encapsulate Hoxha's ideal of constructing what the ruler used to call *'the monolithic unity...of the Albanian people'* (Hoxha 1984, 5) manifested in all areas of cultural life: from paying homage to leading patriots of Albania's national movement to attaching importance to the observation of the country's national anniversaries and enhancing the nation's cultural heritage by promoting folk songs, dances and costumes (Prifti 1979). Within this cultural atmosphere *'dominated by a doctrinaire propaganda exalting nationalism'* (Pipa 1990, 121), academic, cultural, and artistic work became subject to rigorous ideological and political controls exercised by government sectors. From historical and linguistic studies to textbooks, literature and drama, the story dictated was that of the Partisan Party as Albania's *'saviour'* from the darkness of the capitalist world (Lubonja 2002, 94). As reiterated in Adelina's account on the celebration of Hoxha's birthday, the regime saw television and radio as key devices for political indoctrination and propaganda (Logoreci 1977). The emphasis on Marxist-Leninist doctrines mentioned by Drita's uncle can be interpreted in the context of Hoxha's 1964 programme of *"Ideological and Cultural Revolution"*, based on these doctrines, and seeking to effect national unity and modernisation (see 3.2.2.2).

Even though family members agreed that the communist years were not the *'golden age'*, quoting Adelina, some of them acknowledged positive aspects in Hoxha's legacy. Adelina and Nora referred to the regime's contribution in the country's infrastructure. Adelina told me that the electricity reached every single village and Nora stressed that by *'1975 there was a school in every village in Albania'*. The mother praised Hoxha for making school attendance mandatory, especially in deprived rural areas, where parents sent children to work from a young age. Scholars have verified the women's comments on the ruler's

contribution in Albania's infrastructure and education. Fischer (2007b) and Hall (1994) note that, despite remaining the least economically developed country in Europe in the aftermath of Hoxha's leadership, Albania achieved remarkable infrastructural improvement in the form of rural electrification and land reclamation. Likewise in education, Communist reforms combated the 85% illiteracy rate of 1939 by enrolling thousands of people in evening classes and establishing eight-year-mandatory-schooling (Pano 1992; Vickers 1999).

Another positive element of Hoxha's legacy was that of creating '*a safe society*', quoting Adelina's mother. The latter told me that women could walk alone on the street even late at night: '*anybody trying to harm you would be reported to the police and loose his/her job*'. Nora explained that in this safe environment, the chances of '*children taking the wrong path in life*' were limited. Drugs, alcohol and cigarettes were not part of the parents' '*innocent and naïve*' realities, according to Nora, as none of these products were readily available in Albania. These images were in sharp contrast to the hazardous environment of the big city of Athens, where the raising up of children exacerbated parents' concerns over the former's futures.

The image of a peaceful society was coupled with that of a stress-free way of living, where people were leading '*simple, carefree lives*', according to Adelina. The mother added that people '*did not have any worries back then*', as the state had everything prepared for its citizens: from jobs to health services and nursery schools for toddlers. Adelina's comment can be understood in the wider context of women's emancipation during Hoxha's rulership, where social and economic programmes, allowed them to enter the workforce and enjoy improved access to education and medical-and-child-care, had a profound impact in their lives and status within society (see 3.2.2.2).

Adults' descriptions of Hoxha's Albania brought also to life images of an impoverished society, where people, nonetheless, experienced a sense of equity and solidarity, as they enjoyed access to the same goods. Drita told me that each

family was assigned certain amounts of food: her eight-member-family was given half a litre of milk per day. The mother added that *'there was not much meat either'* but *'people were not jealous of each other'* as *'they all had the same'*. For Adelina, the equal distribution of daily goods promoted a strong sense of belonging and camaraderie among people; *'we were equal, because we were poor'* the mother said. Kambouri's (2008, 11) Albanian women in Athens made similar depictions of Albania taking the form of a 'motherland.... a peaceful, tranquil and hospitable place....[where] friendly neighbourhoods and open homes were accompanied by ironic remembrances and lack of consumer products'. Such descriptions were in direct contrast to participants' experienced reality in the new country, where capitalist economy made them aware of the consumer goods they could not afford.

Negative aspects of Hoxha's legacy involved extreme isolation and minimum contact *'with the outside world'*. Adelina and Nora told me that during the communist years travelling abroad was strictly restricted to persons *'of trust'*, who were members of the communist party. Adelina's mother added that the regime was very careful in selecting people who were to travel abroad: *'people may not return, or they may return and share with their co-citizens their experiences from abroad'*. In cases, where travellers did not return, their families were persecuted and made redundant. Women's accounts confirm the isolationist character of Hoxha's oppressive regime, imposing travel restrictions on peoples' daily lives: citizens had to obtain permission to move internally, few Albanians had direct contact with foreigners and travelling abroad was strictly restricted to the Party elite (Vickers 1999) (see 3.2.2.2). Indeed, as it became apparent from accounts by Nora, foreign TV channels were Albanians' sole 'periscope to observe the outside world' (King and Mai 2009, 112). Even though Albanians were strictly discouraged from watching foreign channels (Logoreci 1977), Nora, who was introduced to the Italian culture in the form of Italian songs, language, and polished lifestyle, told me that people from the cities of the south and the north systematically followed Greek and Italian broadcasts⁵⁵ (see 3.2.2.2).

⁵⁵ Logorecci (1977) notes that the number of television sets in private use was estimated at about 35,000 in 1974. In 1979 the Albanian population stood at 2.5 million (United Nations 1980).

Outlawing religious practices, prevalent in Hoxha's rulership (Vickers 1999; Vickers and Pettifer 1997), created mixed responses among adults, according to their religious or non-religious beliefs and backgrounds. As an atheist, Nora applauded in our conversations Hoxha's atheist policies of knocking down places of worship including mosques, orthodox and catholic churches. Similarly to the Albanian proverb, quoting 'where the sword is, there lies religion' (*'Ky e'shte shpata e'shte feja'*) (Skendi 1967, 20), Nora viewed religion as the '*cause of conflicts and disputes*' dividing Albanians, who were a mixture of Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic Christians (see 3.2.2.1). Gentiana also endorsed in her sayings Hoxha's irreligionist propaganda, encouraging Albanians to believe in their own power for the rebuilding of society. The aunt recalled Hoxha addressing the nation quoting '*we, Albanians unite our forces to work together, and do not expect goods to arrive from God in the sky*'. The abolition of religion encountered in individuals' accounts should be regarded in the context of what is known as Albania's 1964 'Ideological and Cultural Revolution', projecting a new socialist ideology of modernisation and seeking to 'cleanse' Albanian society (Vickers and Pettifer 1997, 98) from conservative customs and religious beliefs, viewed by the communist party as 'a form of perpetuating foreign control' threatening the integrity of the nation (Fischer 1995, 45) (see 3.2.2.2).

Accounts by the Neos Kosmos family unveiled that despite the regime's intentions to build up an anti-religious society, there were people practicing their faith in their houses. Even though Drita and her husband could not be christened under Hoxha's rulership, the mother made clear that the banning of religion did not affect the family's practicing of religious customs, such as fasting, as '*everybody had the right to do what he/she wanted in his/her house*'. The mother's accounts are confirmed by Vickers and Pettifer (1997, 99), who emphasise that even though Albania proclaimed itself as 'the world's first atheist state, it could not eradicate all religious beliefs and practices, but merely drove them underground: young boys were secretly circumcised, mass was celebrated clandestinely, and many continued to listen to religious programmes broadcast by radio stations in Italy and Greece'.

Regret often interrupted parents' nostalgia over the innocent years in communist Albania. Edwin's references to the regime awakened bitter memories of the '*wasted years*' in '*cut-off from the West*' Albania, where the skills acquired in school and academic education were proven trivial for future life in the capitalist society. The exhaustive readings on Marx, Engels and Lenin, the acquisition of Russian and the "voluntary' undertaking of public tasks' (Pano 1974, 54), such as planting trees, were all part of '*this useless knowledge*' according to the father. Equally, the tremendous efforts to be granted a scholarship, to be enrolled in the Albanian University and to work in the state's air forces was regarded as a complete '*waste of time*' by the father, who regretted spending his most productive years in a country, where conditions of economic and political isolation slashed the chances of personal dreams, such as career progression.

Edwin's account reflects the widespread discontent of his generation⁵⁶ stemming from the severe restrictions imposed by the communist regime to peoples' daily lives, including that of intellectual and cultural freedom, and the partisan war themes, dominating the lives of young people (Pano 1992). The "voluntary' public tasks' (Pano 1974, 54) and the readings on Marx, Engels and Lenin, described by the father as '*useless skills*', refer to Hoxha's focus on the doctrinal purity of Marxism-Leninism, crystallised in the early 1970s school reforms, where academic study and production of work were the main components' for six-to-eighteen-year-old children's education. These circumstances, in combination with the decline of living standards in the 1970s and the 1980s, resulted in vigorous rejection of Hoxha's ideology, giving rise to phenomena of identity crisis within post-communist Albania (see 3.2.2.2). On the one hand, the withdrawal from nationalist-communist myths and symbols, as a result of the 'heavy abuse of the nationalist ideology by the communists' (Lubonja 2002, 101), proliferated the emergence of identities of highly individualised nature leaving behind the regime's collectivism (Mai 2005; King and Mai 2009). On the other hand, the rejection of

⁵⁶ Edwin is forty-four years old.

communist experience gave birth to 'the myth of the West', aimed at separating Albania from the eastern world by appearing 'as the strongest drive for the creation of a new identity and a new inspiration, and at the same time the finding of a new big brother to provide support' (Lubonja 2002, 101). According to Lubonja (2002, 101), one of the strongest slogans shared by students at the beginning of the democratic movement in the late 1980s was 'we want Albania to be like the rest of Europe'.

Mothers and grandmothers' accounts uncovered notions of being apologetic for their communist past. It was only in the aftermath of the regime's collapse that people realised '*who Hoxha was*' said Adelina's mother, while Blerina explained that she was too young '*back then*' to be aware '*of what was wrong*'. Today she finds it totally unacceptable that people with dissident political views '*were thrown into jail*'⁵⁷. Adelina referred to the '*communist stigma*' 'haunting' her in the migration destination, as '*the citizens of Western capitalist societies*' viewed Hoxha's leadership as '*tainted*' and criticised its followers for not being able to foresee that there was no future in this political programme. Women's statements are understood in the wider post-communist movement of denouncing everything having to do with Hoxha, from ideology and symbols to the authority of central government (see 3.2.2.2).

Parents' diverse feelings, and in many cases rejection, of their communist experience in Albania, explains why Hoxha's era was not a popular topic in family talk. None of the families felt uncomfortable discussing communist Albania in their children's presence however, this period did not seem important enough to become a regular conversation topic with their children, apart from a couple of instances. In the first case, parents from the family in Neos Kosmos told me that that the severe hardships during Hoxha's rule gave them courage and confidence to face '*poverty again*' as a result of the Greek economic crisis kicking off in 2010 (see Appendix III). In the second instance, Petros reported that his father had introduced

⁵⁷ For the imprisonment of political dissidents in communist Albania see Elsie 2012.

him to the material remains of communist Albania during a trip to the old homeland. The eleven-year-old talked to me about the use of military bunkers (*bunkerë*) being ‘*everywhere in Albania, even below the sea*’ and serving as lookouts and refuge points (Figure 52).



Figure 52. Bunker built during the rule of Enver Hoxha (1941-1985)
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bunkers_in_Albania, accessed on 1/8/2012).

Blerina thought that bunkers were ‘*a complete waste of money*’, which could have been invested on the building of roads and blocks of flats. Indeed, Fischer (2007b) confirms that the sacrifices demanded from the people for the cost of security during Hoxha’s regime were extreme with armed forces absorbing 10 or 11 per cent of country’s GNP.

7.3.5 The personal past: ways of growing up in Albania

Personal reminiscing was a common practice among parents and grandparents built into the fabric of their everyday lives, habits and routines. Adults re-connected with their past life in Albania as they shared childhood memories with their children in the course of daily conversations. Recalling and engaging with life histories served multiple purposes shaped by contemporary contexts and families’ frames of memory (Halbwachs 1992 [1952]). Through these intergenerational narratives, adults passed down knowledge and practical experience as well as moral

and aesthetic values, all elements of their cultural memories (Brockmeier 2002). Data analysis indicated that parents' processes of conveying biographical histories to children (a) made parents' feel nostalgic about values and upbringing in Albania, (b) encouraged children to appreciate their current lifestyles in Athens by comparing them to adults' destitute living conditions in Hoxha's Albania and (c) distorted adults' negative (ethnic) essentialisation in Greece by projecting grandparents and parents' privileged lifestyles and high-status professions in a pre-migration context.

(a) Nostalgia of values and upbringing in Albania

The parents' recounting of past life in Albania made them nostalgic about values and morals that children would suffer from in Greece. Kostas' accounts unveiled connections with his rural native region, where evenings went by by sharing stories with grandparents. Storytelling played an instrumental role in the father's of the Labrini Galatsi family identity formation. As Kostas explained, there were no TVs in his village, and therefore, children's personal development strongly relied on '*observing and listening*' adults' day-to-day tales. This process of developing one's self through human contact and conversation was much treasured by the father, who has become disenchanted with contemporary trends of city-children, growing up stuck in front of TVs and PCs. Similarly, within the Neos Kosmos family, the presence of photos carried through the journey stimulated Drita and Arben's reminiscing of running outdoors '*with a piece of bread in the hands*', climbing up trees and going to the beach (Figure 53).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 53. Drita with her younger sister at the beach near her home village (1985).

These childhood memories reminded the couple of the immense sense of freedom experienced in the homevillage that their children would not be able *'to see what is like'* in the hazardous environment of Athens. Adelina's vivid memories of New Years Day in her home town, where *'houses kept their doors open'* for neighbours and relatives to join the celebrations, promoted a sense of companionship that the mother craved for throughout the first years of the *'lonely'* festive seasons in Athens. In the migration destination, this sense of belonging, *'taken for granted'* in Albania, was now re-contextualised making the mother wonder if her children will ever be able to experience something similar in the new country.

Adults' nostalgic accounts of rural lifestyles, values and feelings of freedom and togetherness in Albania, unveiled a sense of longing for home prevalent in the emigratory experience. This re-imagining of home took form in the motif of *'good old days'* (Ryan 2002; 2003; 2006) encapsulated in stories of childhood pictured as a time of happiness, freedom, innocence, close family relationships and simple pleasures. Yet, this melancholic desire of *'returning'* home produced emotions of estrangement, sadness and identity unsettlement (Rosińska 2011) that in parents'

accounts translated in feelings of discontent over children's urban way of living. Families' incorporation in the dominant culture, as experienced by children's upbringing in the Greek capital, was viewed by parents as a loss of self. In this context, their remembrances and retellings of personal biographies served double purposes. They were 'identity-forming by maintaining their original identifications' and 'therapeutic' in that they helped them 'bear the hardships of transplantation into a foreign culture' (Rosińska 2011, 39). Individual memory provided parents with guidance, validation and a sense of natural belonging, purpose and place in light of dislocation (Lowenthal 1985, 1-4). Adults looked for patterns, order and coherence in past experiences, legitimising ways of upbringing that their children were highly unlikely to experience in the migration destination.

(b) Reformulating family ethos: making children appreciate current lifestyles

Across the five families, storytelling went beyond personal reminiscing. Sayings about the past, shared between older and younger members, reconfigured families' identities and ethos providing a sense of continuity and rootedness by explaining how the past led to the present (Billig 1990; Finnegan 2006). Taking the role of guardians of such tales and myths, adults formulated and reformulated family tradition, in that they passed on about the past what they thought was important for their descendants to know about (Byng-Hall 1990).

Parents' flashbacks to childhood aimed at making children appreciate the comfort lifestyle in Athens. Participant observation in the Palia Kokkinia family indicated that Blerina reminded herself and Petros of impoverished conditions in Albania, particularly when consuming goods, such as kiwis, which were not available in the grocery store of her hometown. '*We did not have such things back then*' the mother told her child. Beyond the scarcity of goods in Hoxha's Albania, Nora's poignant descriptions of her husband's hardships in his native village aimed at encouraging '*difficult to please*' Erion to '*feel thankful*' of his upgraded lifestyle in Athens. The mother reported telling to Erion about his father's harsh winters in Peshkopi, where the whole village was snowed in and children's feet were freezing in their rubber shoes on the way to school. Like the rests of his classmates, Edwin

had to bring a piece of wood for the classroom heater to keep the room warm during the teaching session.

The mothers' accounts demonstrate that the past can also act as a repository of bad memories, or what Ryan (2006, 208) has called the 'bad old days', embodied in narratives of economic deprivation, justifying adults' decisions of leaving home. These negative memories of the old country were contrasted through 'poor man/woman made good' motifs (Ryan 2006, 208; Thomson 1999, 34) manifested in stories of success associated with the migration destination, where lack of consumer goods was no longer a question and parents had achieved better living standards for their children. For some parents, these stories of betterment took the role of morale narratives providing the second-generation guidance and appreciation for leading their lives in the present. Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) found similar morale objectives behind respondents' intentions of passing down narratives about the past to their children: among the most common themes circulated in interfamilial talk was the struggle of human beings to make a better world for themselves and for those who came after them.

(c) Distorting negative (ethnic) essentialisation

Life history storytelling enabled parents and grandparents to subvert images of otherness by communicating children stories that emphasised symbolic and cultural capital in a pre-migration context. Similarly to Herbert's (2006, 147) South Asian males in Britain, constructing a 'former golden age' to cope with exclusion in the new country, adults' images of superior life-styles and idealised homes acted as a counter-point against negative stereotypes of backward peasantry, poverty and deprivation, stigmatising their social trajectories in Greece. Nora's vibrant descriptions brought to life images of a prestigious way of living split between urban centres and East Berlin. The mother projected herself as '*a child of the city*', whose parents enjoyed well-paid high status professions (military officer for the father and bank accountant for the mother) and, hence, were able to offer their children exclusive consumer goods, such omega-3 fish oil. The ongoing travelling to East Germany was further presented by the mother as a '*luxury*' restricted to the

regime's very few highly trusted employers (see 3.2.2.2). The presence of visual material in the family's domestic setting acted as a confirmation of the mother's pre-migration 'golden age'. Nora recalled cheerful memories of joining her family in the Albanian embassy in East Berlin, visualising the big parks, the massive children's hospitals filled with toys and the family's visits to the Zoo (Figure 54).

((Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 54. Nora with her older brother in a zoo of East Berlin (1978).

Erion admired his mother's cosmopolitan upbringing (*'is there anywhere she hasn't been?'*), and thought it was in direct contrast to his, constrained between Greece and Albania.

Family talk about grandparents and parents' education trajectories and high-status professions in a pre-migration context distorted adults' negative essentialisations in a Greece. During my fieldvisits to the Labrini Galatsi family, I was present when Adelina's mother told Zamira and Skerdilaid about their mother being a diligent student, *'always coming first at school'*. Likewise, the fact that Edwin was granted a scholarship to conduct air force studies at the University of Vlorë despite his rural origin, was of vital importance to Erion's perceptions of his family's status. Even though Edwin rarely talked about his education and professional achievements in the old homeland, discussions with Erion revealed that the son strongly admired his father for his mathematical skills and academic credentials.

Accordingly, Blerina's descriptions of her and her husband's education and professional trajectories in Albania reversed images of otherness, associated with parents' ethnic origins and vocations in the domestic and construction sector. My conversations with Petros confirmed that the family's older son was aware of his mother, studying textile production in high school and then working on bridal make up and hairstyling services. Both Blerina and Petros expressed their pride of the father's academic credentials having obtained a Bachelor's degree in Albanian literature and working as a high school teacher before migrating to Greece.

7.3.6 The personal register: migration histories

The migration experience was a decisive element in families' life histories. Following data analysis, this subsection focuses on (i) parents' patterns of migration, (ii) motives driving their exodus from Albania, (iii) hardships of the journey from Albania to Greece, (iv) destitute living conditions, (v) experiences of exclusion following families' arrival in Greece and (vi) practices of learning Greek. The migration history rarely came up in family talk, however, when it did, it led to engaging conversations. Parents did not share with their children stories on the hardships of journey from Albania to Greece or the first years in Greece *per se*, nonetheless, they touched upon aspects of their migration trajectories, such as the learning of Greek or the effect of exclusion and stigmatisation. In the family of Neos Kosmos, poignant moments from the migration experience inspired humor and self-sarcasm between parents, unveiling their reconciliation with their migration past.

In my discussions with members of the Neos Kosmos family, Drita's uncle traced the beginning of Albanian post-1990 migration to Greece. The '*Greek borders never officially opened*' he told me, admitting that the migration-boom of the 1990s to neighbouring Greece '*was more a matter of the Albanian guards pretending not to have seen immigrants passing the borders, whereas in the old days they would have fired at them*'. The uncle's depiction of army guards shooting of potential immigrants confirms that migration was considered an act of treason during Hoxha's regime, which punished potential escapers with lengthy imprisonment or death (Barjaba and King 2005; King 2005).

Like the majority of the Albanian community in Greece, families' migration trajectories followed 'chain migration' patterns (Vullnetari 2007). Apart from Edwin, who migrated to Athens together with his wife, men from all four families reported migrating on their own and joined at a later stage by their wives, parents, brothers and sisters. Male adults told me that they crossed the borders on foot and without a visa during the early 1990s (see 3.2.2.2). Adults' accounts adopted the 'tropes of survival' (Burrell and Panayi 2006, 16) in describing the crossing of the borders. Kostas mentioned spending days on the rainy mountains of Ioannina, being arrested and thrown to jail and having a gun placed on his forehead. Likewise, Adlind admitted being caught a few times by the police before arriving in Greece in 1993.

Conversations with adults brought to light diverse motives of leaving Albania: either financial and to follow one's husband, or secure one's personal safety by escaping the 1997 sociopolitical and economic unrest (see 3.2.2.3). Economic survival drove Arben to Athens, where he planned to settle with his family and buy a house. Kostas placed his exodus to Greece in the wider context of the '*1990s migration contagion*' in Albanian society, leading people to new destinations for '*a better life*'. Adelina also linked her husband's migration decision to the major conflict with his father over his future career. Given his school excellence, Kostas' father wished for his son to be a doctor, while Kostas wished to pursue something more sports-orientated. Fathers' responses reflect Albania's 'migration fever' and explosion to see the outside world, where, according to findings by King and Mai (2002) and Mai (2001), leaving home was the only solution for financial improvement and for expressing one's identity especially in case of young people. For Arben, the financial drive prevailed in decisions of leaving the old country affirming, thus, that, above all, Albanian migration should be treated as a strategy of economic survival (see 3.3.1). Yet, Kostas' conflict with his father exposed psychological and cultural factors informing the Albanian migration project, according to which the act of leaving home is associated with a rejection of aspects of Albanian culture such as patriarchy, conservatism and authoritarianism (see 3.3.1).

Edwin and Nora's accounts confirmed that geographical proximity encouraged the selection of Greece as a migration destination (see 3.3.1). Greece was not the first migration choice for the parents, but '*the most accessible and cheapest one*' as they said. At seventeen-years-of-age, Nora made the journey to Greece together with Edwin, her brother and sister-in-law. Convinced by Nora's older brother, who told them that '*there were jobs waiting for [them] in Athens*', the couple arrived in the Greek capital in 1994 with the plan of working for five years, putting some money on the side and returning to Albania. Pratsinakis (2005) recorded similar responses of Albanian migrants expecting their stay in Greece to last for a limited period of time.

Conversations with Adelina and Drita exposed women-following-their-husbands motives common in literature on Albanian migration (King 2003). Both Kostas and Artan temporarily returned Albania to search for their future spouses. Engagements soon followed and after a couple of years the women joined their husbands in Greece. Lastly, discussions with members of the family in Dafni unveiled intentions of fleeing home at times of violence putting one's personal safety at risk. Gentiana claimed that she and her parents were not thinking of leaving Albania until the '*war broke out*' in 1997. The aunt's phrase refers to the utter economic and political turmoil sweeping Albania in the aftermath of pyramid investment schemes' collapse, where half of the population was left bankrupt, arms stores were looted and gangs seized control of much of the southern part of Albania (see 3.2.2.3). Because of these events coupled by rumours of women trafficked abroad, Gentiana reported that Adlint convinced his parents to join him in Athens in 1997 out of fear for his sister's security.

Discussions with Nora uncovered feelings of fear and insecurity '*haunting*' the crossing of the Greek borders. The mother told me that there were rumours of Albanian women raped by Greek soldiers, while attempting to enter Greece. Nora admitted that walking in the mountains for days together with her husband was a traumatic experience; '*she would never do it again for anybody*'. Throughout the

journey she recalled looking back out of fear of being shot by Greek, Albanian or FYROM soldiers. If shot, *'there was no way you could claim your right'*, Nora said, as you were crossing the borders illegally: *'the immigrant's luck is the same everywhere regardless of his/her origins'*.

Parents' descriptions of their first years in Greece produced bleak pictures of hardships and poor living conditions, which rarely became a conversation topic with their children. Kostas told me of sleeping on benches and washing himself in public fountains, which were in sharp contrast with his above-the-average pre-migration lifestyle (see 5.2.1). However, the father admitted that migration to Greece *'was [his] choice, which [he] had to learn from'*. Despite the destitute circumstances, the idea of earning his own money by undertaking low-skilled jobs in construction, delivery and cafés uplifted Kostas, who expressed his eagerness to build his life in Athens. *'You gain some money, you learn to speak some Greek, and you open up your wings and start to fly'* he claimed.

For Blerina, the years following the arrival in Piraeus were equally harsh, with periods of running short of money and living in overcrowding conditions (cf. also Hatziprokopiou 2004; Lyberaki and Maroukis 2005; Vaiou and Stratigaki 2008). According to the mother, the family used to live in a tiny old cold flat together with their in-laws, Arben's brother, wife and daughter. Back then, only the males worked, as women could hardly speak Greek, and there were days, where the family did not have enough money to buy food. A window of hope in Blerina's thorny years was that of meeting her best Albanian friend, who stood *'as a mother to her and her younger son'*. In times of hardship, women found support in each other's words, and when Blerina started working, the Albanian friend looked after Orpheus.

Kostas and Blerina's oral accounts demonstrate how migrants' life-history testimonies jiggle between 'good' and 'bad old days' (Ryan 2006, 208) in their effort to reconcile disjunctures of the past and present self. Through the critical engagement with positive and negative memories, or what has been called in

literature 'reflective nostalgia' (McDermott 2002, 402), adults fulfilled their need for continuity against the challenges posed by adjusting in new environments. Kostas justified decisions of not returning back to the 'good old days' of the parental home, when encountering the first difficulties in Greece, under the prism of '*having to learn*' from his migration project. The reconciliation of now and then crystallised in motifs of 'poor man made good' (Thomson 1999, 34), where the father's negative memories of the first years in the migration destination were balanced by taking up employment, learning Greek and finding economic security. Similarly, Blerina composed memories which helped her to feel 'comfortable with her life' (Thomson 1998, 301) by blending bad old days of deprived living conditions and scarce employment, permeating her first years in Piraeus, with 'good old days' of making new friends, who took the role of mothers and childminders in times of suffering.

Another aspect of families' migration histories was the experience of labour exclusion and stigmatisation (see 3.3.2). Adelina told me that it was extremely difficult to find a job in Athens, where employers looking for cleaners, housekeepers, and elderly carers asked '*for women of any ethnic origin, but Albanian*'. Gentiana pointed out that even though she scored first at the Technical Vocational high school, her Albanian origins prevented her from finding a job as a bacteriologist. The aunt of the family in Dafni has been working as a baby-sitter since her arrival in Greece. Similarly, Edwin, who holds a Bachelor's degree in engineering, said of going from shop to shop in Athens, holding a piece of paper, featuring that he was looking for a job. The father started working as a window cleaner, before being employed in his current job as a car painter. Adults' accounts can be understood in the wider context of 'Albanophobia' perpetuated by the Greek media acting as 'powerful tools in enforcing lived conditions of marginalisation and exclusion...[where] specific social groups are expected to position themselves and...remain' (Kapllani and Mai 2005, 165). The demoralising downgrading and loss of 'human capital' in Edwin and Gentiana's account as a result of negative labelling has been well rehearsed in literature, recording numerous instances of occupational deskilling among Albanian migrants (Barjaba

and King 2005, 17; Hatziprokopiou 2003; Iosifides and King 1998; Iosifides *et al.* 2007; Lazaridis 1996) (see 3.3.2).

A significant part of parents' discussions on their migration histories referred to teaching themselves Greek. In harmony with findings by Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005) the most popular medium aiding parents to learn Greek was the television. Employment and the building of personal relationships with Greeks further improved adults' linguistic abilities, while literacy skills were developed in the course of helping their children with schoolwork. Albanians' impressive ability to learn Greek has been reported in literature (see 3.3.3), yet this does not suggest that this was a smooth procedure. In Drita's narrative the acquisition of Greek appeared as a stressful experience, associated with loneliness during her first months in the capital (see also Kambouri 2008). The mother told me of spending all day alone at home and often bursting into tears for not being able to speak Greek.

Due to its upsetting, traumatic nature the migration history *per se* was not a popular conversation topic in Albanian families. However, this did not imply that parents were not willing to discuss aspects of it in the presence of their children. In most families adults shared stories of hardships they faced after their arrival in Greece, including the acquisition of Greek, or the experience of social marginalisation. These highly selective references were informed by parents' motivations: the stories adults told, or avoided telling to their children, were influenced by self-identity goals, values and beliefs, or the image they wished to create for themselves and their offspring at any given time (cf. Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000; Williams and Conway 2009). This explains why, according to Kostas' sister, the father rarely talks about his arrival in Greece, and *'there are details that he probably has not shared with anybody'*. Yet, this did not stop the father of the family in Labrini Galatsi to convey to his daughter the narratives of 'tropes of survival' (Burrell and Panayi 2006, 16), including having a gun placed on his forehead, while escaping Albania. The re-creation of the past to fit personal 'self-theories' of the present (Misztal 2003a, 79) was also encountered in parent-child migration conversations in the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family. Edwin did

not share in detail his migration history with Erion, nonetheless he felt comfortable to tell him about his story of wandering with a piece of paper to find a job in Athens. Put more simply, even though the parents avoided expressing the heartbreaking experiences of migration, they still made sure that Erion appreciated how far his parents have gone from these early days. From this standpoint, the past acted as a source of providing more guidance for building one's life in the new environment. Despite the parents' intentions, Erion did not share their perceptions of the migration journey. For the thirteen-year-old, the inheritance of this troubled, overwhelming past was a source of frustration and disappointment taking dimensions of post-memory (cf. Hirsch 1997; 1999; 2001; 2008). In our discussions, the boy many times expressed how his existence, consciousness and psychology had been affected by the traumatic experience of his parents' migration to Greece. As he succinctly put it '*life has not been fair to [his] father*', who was an aircraft engineer but now works as a car painter.

In the family of Neos Kosmos participant observation illustrated that Drita and Artan shared migration stories with relatives and friends in the presence of their children. The couple treated these stories in a sarcastic way: Drita mocked her husband for changing his Albanian name to a Greek one and was cynical of their destitute housing conditions during their first years in Athens. Parents' approach denotes their reconciliation with their migration history crystallised in upward socio-economic mobility. The latter was reflected in stories of hard work and betterment narrated to me by the father (*'Albanians have come to Greece to work, not to fool around'*) and family's acts of purchasing an apartment in Athens representing 'a visible expression of personal achievement and embodiment of financial security' (Weber-Newth 2006, 82).

Summary

In this section I addressed (i) how individuals and families make history between two homelands and (ii) how individuals and families' identities on a

personal, social, cultural and ethnic level affect what stories they choose to tell, and what they consider as their history (or not). This was made feasible by treating the national and personal histories circulated in intergenerational discourses among participants.

Family talk on national histories was informed by individuals' personal experiences and affiliations to the Greek or Albanian collectivity. The migration experience created different reactions toward official narratives in families: from avoiding national history talk out of fear of boosting children's nationalistic feelings to challenging the authenticity of official narratives and showing compassion for the Greece's 'traditional enemies'. National history talk focused on the Ottoman and WWII periods. Stories on Skanderbeg's achievements sustained individuals' Albanian consciousness and identity outside the old homeland. The old and the new country's common Ottoman past fuelled parent-child discussions, emphasising the shared histories of the two nations and deconstructing otherness attached to Albanian migrants in Greece. Stories on the Greek-Ottoman narrative unveiled practices of familiarising oneself with the history of the new country in case of parents, and intentions of connecting to the Greek community in case of children. Lastly, parent-child discussions on WWII took the form of counter-narratives, where the first generation communicated to the second the Albanian perspective of contested historical events.

Parents' personal histories evolved around (i) life during Enver Hoxha's regime, (ii) ways of growing up in Albania (iii) and the migration experience. The 'dictator's' rulership left bittersweet memories to individuals, encapsulated in discourses of positive and negative legacies. Adults praised Hoxha for improving Albania's infrastructure, establishing mandatory school attendance, creating 'a safe environment' and securing 'a stress-free' life for his citizens. Yet, feelings of regret 'haunted' parents for wasting their years in cut-off from the West Albania or not being able to realise 'what was wrong with the regime'. Adults did not discuss Hoxha's regime with their children, but apart from Edwin's case, this did not mean they felt uncomfortable toward their communist past.

In the course of evoking ways of upbringing in Albania, parents legitimised values and morals that children would not be able to experience in the new country. The recollections of rural-oriented lifestyles, sense of freedom and togetherness were identity-forming and therapeutic, in that they helped adults cope with the adaption to a foreign culture. Participants' flashbacks to childhood constructed families' ethos, identities and traditions. Family stories provided guidance encouraging children to appreciate their lifestyle in Athens. They also reversed negative ethnic essentialisations by constructing a former 'golden age' embodied in parents' privileged lifestyles and high-status professions in Albania.

The migration experience was a decisive element in adults' life-histories, and one occasionally treated in interfamilial discussions, due to its traumatic nature. Male adults mostly migrated on their own in the early nineties, joined by relatives at a later stage. Adults associated their exodus from Albania with motives of financial and cultural nature, practices of following husbands to their place of residence and securing one's safety by escaping uncertainty. The parents' sufferings of the journey played out in narratives of survival, while the accounts of the first years in Greece balanced between 'good' and 'bad' old days. Incidents of professional deskilling and feelings of anxiety for not being able to communicate in Greek prevailed in parents' accounts. Adults selectively communicated to children aspects of their migration histories that fulfilled self-identity goals and provided moral guidance for building one's life in the present.

7.4 Heritage making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania

7.4.1 Introduction

In this section I discuss Albanian families' heritage making in their back-and-forth movements between Greece and Albania. In particular, I address the following research questions: (i) how do individuals and families make heritage between two homelands and (ii) how do individuals and families' identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level affect what heritage stories they choose to tell and what they consider as their heritage (or not). As I outlined in 2.1.4, I adopted a constructionist, self-conscious, personally and culturally-determined approach to heritage, according to which 'there is a multiplicity of possible meanings that heritage may hold for different people, even within relatively homogenous groups and that these meanings will vary depending on each individual's unique personal and social background and circumstances' (Marmion *et al.* 2009, 34). 'Identification is all in heritage' (Howard 2003, 6): nationality, religion, ethnicity, class, gender and personal histories are among the most common identity markers or 'lenses' through which certain artefacts, natural landscapes, mythologies and traditions are selected from the infinity of the past to be designated as heritage and passed on to future generations.

Data analysis revealed tangible and intangible, embodied expressions forming Albanian families' heritage making. Tangible manifestations involved material and visual culture in domestic interiors, whereas intangible manifestations consisted of traditions and customs, cultural values and lifecycle events. It will be shown that in the process of making and re-making heritage in multi-national fields, Albanian families reworked meanings of continuity and change. Individuals reproduced Albanian belonging by constructing a sense of collective heritage in the diasporic realm. Nonetheless, the cultural heritage of the old country was not uncritically celebrated. 'Far from shoring up a positive self-identity' (MacDonald 2006, 23), old-fashioned mentalities and what were thought by adults as '*vulgar*

and backward' customs were re-contextualised and rejected in a migration context, confirming identity rupture in uprooting and regrounding.

The section is divided in two subsections: the first presents examples material and visual culture in families' domiciles, while the second sheds light on individuals' embodied performances of remembering and conversely, rejecting aspects of the old homeland.

7.4.2 Material and visual culture

Mementoes and personal belongings in families' houses captured aspects of individuals' multifarious trajectories, prompting remembering of the old homeland, yet unveiling connections and building bridges with the new one. Transforming families' ordinary domestic interiors into active sites of memory-work, these 'home possessions' (Miller 2001b) acted as visual and tangible stimuli of eliciting past experiences, narratives of migration and personal, family and national histories (Burrell 2008; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Miller 2008; Pahl 2004; 2012; Savaş 2010; Tolia-Kelly 2010; Turan 2010; Wilton 2009). Through their collection and display, cherished keepsakes constructed families' identity and belonging in the diasporic realm: individuals re-created 'domestic space that is familiar, personal and unique' securing a 'sense of continuity and familiarity inherent in the notion of home' (Walsh 2006, 130).

This subsection treats visual and material culture together and is divided in three parts. The first part focuses on possessions carried through the journey, acting as points of enfranchisement with beloved persons 'left behind' and biographical trajectories rooted in Albania. The second part highlights the 'transitional' nature (Mehta and Belk 1991, 407) of material and visual culture, enforcing belonging in families' intimate spaces by capturing aspects of participants' personal, familial, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The third and last part comprises objects incorporating the 'geographies of migration' (Tolia-Kelly 2004a, 324) by embodying individuals' intentions of leaving home and connecting with the new land.

Old black and white photos in families' flats served double purposes: (i) they acted as a point of enfranchisement between individuals and beloved persons from past life in Albania and (ii) represented tangible claims for roots, bringing back to life childhood and adulthood moments from the old home. In the Labrini Galatsi family the photo of Kostas' grandmother, sent from his father in Albania, awakened blissful moments from early days in his native Pukë. *'She brought Kostas up'* Adelina told me to explain the photo's prominent display in the family's living room. Even though the father did not meet with his grandmother regularly due to geographical distance, for him she represented *'the strongest emotional bond he ever had with a human being'* as he said. Pahl and Rowsell (2010, 49) argue that *'objects can call up deep emotions'*. Indeed, the grandmother's photo stimulated sensory and emotional remembering: during our discussion Kostas brought to his mind the grandmother's unique smell and recalled images of her opening the closet to give him pocket money. This was a deeply moving and generous act according to the father, who mentioned that his grandmother *'had nothing but her little pension'* to make ends meet. The grandmother's passing away twenty-six-years ago had transformed these happy childhood instances into traumatic memories, whose recall had become devastating for the father. As Kostas confessed, he did not have the strength to go through tapes in the family's possession, recording moments of him with the grandmother in Albania a couple of years before her death. It *'was too painful'*, he told me, revealing that the poignancy of devastating events and moments of duress does not necessarily recede over time.

In the family of Dafni old family photos from Albania fostered connections with greatly missed persons in migration. Among Ardita's dearest objects was a photo of her family on display in the living room (Figure 55).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 55. Ardita's family photo (1973).

The grandmother showed me the photo during my first visit to the family's flat. This was as an act of introducing me to her intimate world in Albania. Taken in Ardita's natal house in Berat at her younger brother's wedding day, the photo featured the grandmothers' parents surrounded by her six sisters and her two brothers with their wives. Under conditions of displacement this cherished possession acted as 'a memorialisation' (Tolia-Kelly 2004a, 326) of Ardita's family: the woman shared her family history through the picture, naming each member featured and referring to their current locations in Greece and Albania. In her research with thirty informants, migrants and non-migrants, of various social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds in North London, Attan (2006, 182) stressed that the 'arrangement of objects in the living room environment is a self-conscious process in which objects are positioned for the effect they may have on the self and others'. In Ardita's case, the photo's prominent display in the living room affirmed the grandmother's strong bonding with a lost past, where parents had passed away, and the remaining family members 'left behind' appeared as the sole reason of temporarily returning to Albania.

Lost photos of beloved persons revived memories from upbringing in Albania, deepening individuals' regret for not taking enough care of the treasured object. Pahl and Pollard (2010, 11) argue that in dislocation, 'disappearing' objects

can acquire a prominent status in family members' stories, prompting identity narratives and family values. In the family of Neos Kosmos, these theorizations found expression in Drita's missed photo of her grandmother, acting as a touchstone for narrating childhood moments and legitimising cultural values. The mother told me that she felt deeply connected to her grandmother spending weekends, national holidays and summer breaks at her house with her siblings. When Plato was born, the grandmother expressed her eagerness to meet the child, being '*the first male grandchild within the family*' as Drita said, confirming the preference for the male offspring in the Albanian society (see 3.2.1). Unfortunately, the grandmother only managed to '*see a picture of the child*', according to Drita, as by the time the family visited Albania she had passed away.

Families' photographic collections captured adults' biographical trajectories rooted in the old country: from life-cycle events, such as weddings, to intimate family moments and special occasions, such as celebrations of national holiday, these instances were deeply inscribed in participants' social memories. Resonating with Morgan (2000, 19), this kind of 'vernacular' cultural production represented 'the place where autobiography [met] 'History', where small stories interweave[d] with bigger ones, subjectivity and objectivity jostle[d] for ascendancy and 'meaning' became 'narrative' to shape the family's identity'. In the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family, photos carried through the journey depicted Nora wearing her school uniform made of a luxurious shiny fabric (Figure 56), having picnic with her family on the 1st of May Labour holiday, playing in the garden of her aunt's house in Shkodër, sitting in her grandmother's laps during a family dinner and posing in front of the Tirana National History museum with a high school friend (Figure 57).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 56. Nora dressed in her school uniform on her first day of school (1980).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 57. Nora with high school friend at the front of National History Museum in Tirana (1992).

Serving as mnemonic devices, these personal history possessions enabled Nora to connect past events of her life into a coherent story through which she produced her own interpretation of events, meaning and narrative. As the mother put it,

'these pictures are my life that I am trying to make better'. Fulfilling similar purposes, Ardita's photos, depicting routine and lifecycle events from the country of origin, were of high sentimental value, kept in a box within her closet. These visual claims of individuality stimulated remembering of old environments, places and people, constructing Ardita's life narrative in the diaspora: as a toddler with her family in Berat (Figure 58), posing next to her sister at the latter's wedding day, wearing an Albanian folk costume she sewed as a high school student in the textiles factory at her hometown and posing next to her husband and daughter on the latter's first day at school.

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 58. Ardita as a toddler in the middle posing with her family in her home village, Berat (1955).

Old photos and material possessions in families' private settings acquired values of 'transitional objects' (Mehta and Belk 1991, 407). Acting as tangible reminders of origin and family histories, objects crossing the borders, helped displaced individuals to shelter and nurture 'facilitating environments' (Winnicott 2001 [1971]) easing identity transition from one place to another by providing a sense of security and comfort (Parkin 1999; Turan 2004; 2010). Triggering the telling of narratives, these personal belongings captured members' identities, operating as symbols of these identities. Embroidered into these salient objects were, to

paraphrase Tolia-Kelly (2004a, 319), a set of relationships between biographical, social, cultural and national identifications.

In the Palia Kokkinia family material possessions operated as symbols of personal histories and identities. 'Cufo's adventures' (*Aventurat e Çufos*), a children's book, comprising stories of 'a naughty piggy', was among the mother's most valued childhood objects prompting autobiographical remembering (Figure 59).

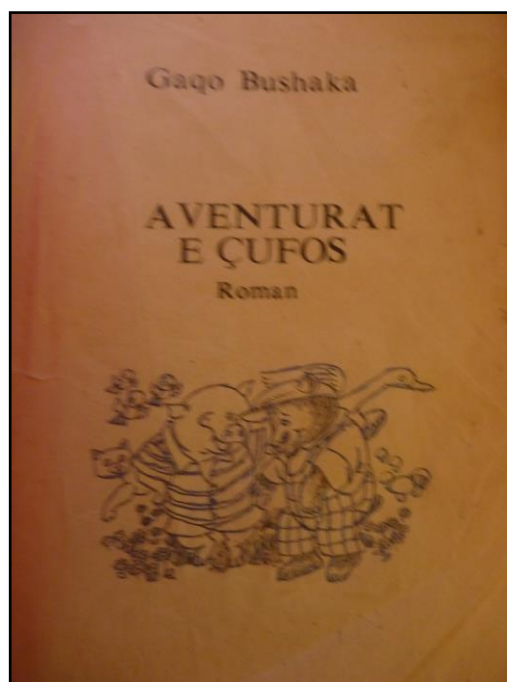


Figure 59. Blerina's copy of 'Cufo's adventures'.

The old book reminded Blerina of the animation she watched on TV every Saturday during Hoxha's regime. The mother mentioned repeatedly reading the book during her school years, whose pages have turned yellowish and its original cover did not exist anymore. Blerina had created a new cover, where she wrote her older son's name, suggesting that from then on the book belonged to Petros⁵⁸. While browsing through its pages, Blerina confessed to me that she wished she could afford an Albanian satellite TV, so that her children could watch the animation.

⁵⁸ On the transmission of collected objects tied up to kinship arrangements see Goody *et al.* 1976; Macfarlane 1978 and Pearce 1995.

On a social level, Nora's photo of her grandparents' wedding in Albania, prompted a mother-son family history talk. During my observations at the family's house, Nora employed the photo to introduce Erion to his great-grandmother's sewing skills. The mother told her son that his great-grandmother had sewn the lace wedding dress and sleeveless vest on her own, a practice that was common among women in 1920s and 1930s Albania. Nora was proud of her grandmother's sewing skills. In order to show me how fond she was of the lace gown, she employed a picture of her as an eight-year-old child, wearing the dress and holding a flower bouquet (Figure 60).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 60. Nora in her grandmother's lace wedding dress standing next to her younger brother (1982).

As the mother explained, the photo was taken on the day Nora's aunt was married. Watching her mother's sister putting on the grandmother's wedding dress, made the child ask her mother to have her picture taken as '*a bride*', quoting Nora. Both pictures acted as visual memorabilia of a greatly treasured object in Nora's life, which was no longer to the family's possession, now in an Albanian museum near Nora's hometown.

Keepsakes and heirlooms carried from Albania acted as touchstones of cultural identity themes. In the family of Labrini Galatsi, hand-crocheted tablecloth (Figure 61), handed down from mothers to children as part of their dowry, revealed dominant themes associated with textile techniques, including crocheting, weaving, stitching, embroidery and sewing.

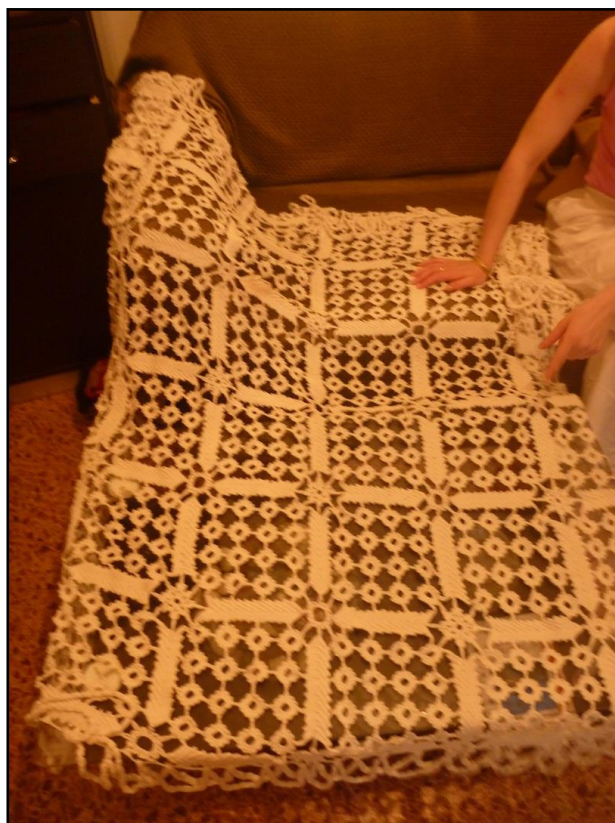


Figure 61. Adelina's tablecloth hand-crocheted by her mother.

'Back then there were no such things available in Albania; people had to make these themselves' Adelina told me, while showing to me her mother's tablecloth, invested with memories of skills and knowledge transmission. Adelina's mother reported that she learned how to crochet and weave from her mother back in Albania. Noticing a big loom, exhibited in the Benaki Museum of Athens during one of my visits with the family, the grandmother told me that *'this [the loom] is where we used to weave carpets with my grandmother'* (Figure 62).



Figure 62. Carved wooden loom from Crete (early 19th c.) exhibited at the Benaki Museum of Athens.

Adelina regretted not being able to weave as well as her mother and grandmother; the latter did it so naturally that she made it look very easy. Accordingly, Zamira learned to sew from her grandmother in Albania. By the time I started visiting the family's house, I observed Zamira finishing her first embroidery, which was '*not easy to make*', given to her grandmother in Athens (Figure 63).



Figure 63. Zamira's embroidery on display in her grandmother's living room in Athens.

From an ethno-national point of view, visual and material possessions transformed migrants' home domains into fora of national space, signifying collective identity and relatedness to ethnic group. Acting as a source of banal nationalism, these possessions denoted the 'flagging' of nationhood in the mundane world of the domestic sphere, consciously and unconsciously reminding individuals of where they belong, what they believe in, or more simply, their identity (Billig 1995) (Figure 64).



Figure 64. Whiteboard featuring the double-headed eagle of the Albanian flag, on the fridge of the family in Alsos Veikou Galatsi.

In the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi, the display of an Albanian calendar in the kitchen, kept individuals in visual contact with Albania's national identity landmarks (Figure 65). According to Erion, his father received it as a gift, when purchasing coffee from a store with Balkan products in Athens. Featuring images of historic sites in Albania, folk costumes and dances along with cultural objects, the calendar fostered the family's Albanian consciousness in the migration destination.



Figure 65. Albanian calendar in the kitchen of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family.

In the family of Labrini Galatsi, souvenir replicas of Skanderbeg's bust, the father's *qeleshe* ('skull cap'), the Albanian map in the children's room, an Albanian folk costume and the Albanian flag placed next to the Greek flag (Figure 66) marked individuals' desires for national belonging.



Figure 66. The Albanian flag next to the Greek flag at the Labrini Galatsi family's flat.

Skanderbeg's bust prompted parent-child conversations on the national hero's achievements constructing narratives of homeland with a capital 'H' (see 7.3.3), while Kostas' traditional cream woollen felt cap (*qeleshe*), representing '*his fatherland*', as he said, acted as a tangible claim for Albanian roots. Young (2000) reports that the term 'skull cap' describes how the woollen cap hugs the wearer's head. According to the same scholar (Young 2000), the *qeleshe* is typical male attire, acting as a marker of masculinity for Albanian Muslims and Christians. Kostas' *qeleshe* was placed in the family's entrance hall together with other objects of high sentimental value, such as photos of beloved persons from Albania, Zamira's kick-boxing medals and Skanderbeg's bust. Calling attention to the skullcap's national significance, Adelina showed me a photo of her nephew taken by her to celebrate the 28th of November Albanian national anniversary, commemorating the establishment of the Albanian state (Figure 67).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 67. Kostas' four-year-old nephew wearing his qeleshe and holding the Albanian flag in Athens (2001).

Similarly, Zamira's folk costume, sent as a gift by her grandfather in Albania, marked publicly manifested returns to Albanian origins in the new country (see 7.2.5). Gentiana's framed map of Albania in the entrance hall of her flat reproduced affiliations with the native land. The aunt employed the map to show me the archaeological sites she visited during her trips '*to the fatherland*', reinforcing national identity expressions. In the same context, a decorative embroidered, featuring the word '*welcome*' in Albanian, promoted the Neos Kosmos family's national belonging (Figure 68).



Figure 68. Decorative embroidered ‘welcoming’ visitors in Albanian at the entrance of the Neos Kosmos family’s flat.

Placed close to the flat’s main entrance, the object served as a medium of communication between family members and their co-ethnic visitors. Lastly, gifts sent from Albania to the family in Palia Kokkinia acted as vivid reminders of the old homeland, crystallising members’ Albanian identity and consciousness. From tennis wristbands and T-shirts featuring the Albanian flag, relatives ‘left behind’ made sure, according to Blerina, that their kin in Piraeus *‘do not forget Albania’* (Figure 69).



Figure 69. T-shirts featuring the Albanian flag sent from Blerina's grandmother in Albania.

Material and visual culture in families' domestic interiors captured aspects of individuals' migration histories and settlements in new surroundings. The collection of such materialities stimulated the telling of hurtful stories of escape and discrimination and unveiled participants' intentions of establishing double belongings.

In the family of Palia Kokkinia two thick English-Albanian dictionaries brought to life failed attempts of leaving Albania, which lacked professional opportunities. According to Blerina, the dictionaries were sent to Arben from the University staff in Holland, where he was invited to work through a friend of his father. The father's friend did not make the invitation known to Blerina's father-in-law, and thus, Arben missed his chance to work in the University. The mother believed that the family's life would have ended up differently had her husband grabbed this opportunity. When Blerina tried to recall the dictionaries' location, Petros pointed to the storage room, confirming he knew about the story.

The 'white card' regulating Drita's uncle residency permit in Athens acted as a reminder of humiliating experiences during the first years in Greece. The uncle kept the card as a material claim to the new country's 'inhumane' policies, restricting the cardholders to travel to their countries of origin only during Christmas, Easter and summer. *'If someone died outside these periods there was no way you could attend the funeral'* said the uncle, who was being sarcastic over his hardships by recalling moments of advising his parents *'not to die yet, but wait until Christmas'*!

Domestic visual and material culture revealed ties with the new country, promoting the formation of plural identities. Ardita showed me photos of memorable moments from the family's life in Athens. From formalised events such as grandchildren's christenings and children's engagement ceremonies and nuptials to more intimate moments, such as celebrating one's birthday, these representations marked individuals' social itineraries in the country of residence (Figure 70).

(Figure removed due to 3rd party copyright material)

Figure 70. Ardita celebrating her birthday in Athens (2007).

Serving similar functions of establishing multiple memberships, Petros' most valued personal belongings forged attachments with the birthplace. Among the son's most

cherished objects were his school photo, featuring *'all his classmates'*, pictures of his best friends, mostly Greek, and a memory stick with photos and videos of his friends' parties in Piraeus. Within this category, elements of visual culture often became witnesses of bonding with Albanian kin in the new country. The son had a drawing produced together with his beloved Greek-born cousin of Albanian descent on display in his closet, reminding him of the years their families shared a flat in Piraeus (Figure 71). The drawing was of particular emotional significance to Petros, who admitted missing his cousin, who left for Italy with her family two years ago.



Figure 71. Drawing by Petros and his cousin.

7.4.3 Embodied practices

At the crossroads of new and old homes heritage making manifested in intangible expressions consisting of traditions and customs, cultural values and life-cycle events. In their engagement with these embodied practices families affirmed memberships of the Albanian collectivity. Yet, parents' reminisces and family practices in the new country also revealed aspects of what was perceived as an unsettling form of heritage associated with the old country. Failing to provide a positive self-image, this problematic heritage was recognized by adults as part of their personal and ethnic history, but was nevertheless reevaluated in a migration context, confirming identity rupture in the diasporic sphere.

7.4.3.1 Traditions and customs

In the migrancy realm the homeland is remembered, re-enacted and worshipped in the performance of traditions and customs. Traditions establish continuities with the past: by assuming formalisation and ritualisation they impose repetition (Hobsbawm 1983). The preservation and maintenance of traditions is deemed critical in the formation of collectivities: the loss of contact with the accomplishments of the older generations is injurious and demoralising in that it deprives individuals from the sense of forming part of collectivity (Shils 1981). For Albanian families building their lives in the fluidity of here and there, the ritualistic quality of traditions and customs 'co-ordinating with the calendar of the homeland', to paraphrase Burrell (2006, 68), ensured a sense of simultaneity to be felt with fellow members of the imagined community (Anderson 1981). Families channeled Albanian imagination through bodily participation in the celebration of the old homeland's national days and customs, including the (i) first haircut of children, (ii) bringing flowers to the teacher on the first day of school and (iii) the infant's 'object-selection-from-the-tray-custom'. Yet, the remembrance of the old home did not always involve the endorsement of its heritage, as the narration of what were thought as '*vulgar*' and '*backward*' customs revealed.

In the family of Labrini Galatsi, conversations with adults and children revealed that the remembering of the old homeland took the form of identifying with and celebrating national days commemorated in Albanian society, such as the lunar Spring Day (*Dita e Verës* or *Dita e Luleve*) on the 14th of March. The Spring Day has its roots to '*old pagan practices*' according to Adelina, who told me that in Albania her family used to celebrate this day by dyeing eggs red and collecting flowers from the fields. During the Spring Day, Adelina's mother 'mimicked' (Burrell 2006, 70) in the new country the physical tasks undertaken by women in the old homeland. According to Zamira, the grandmother brought the family eggs and prepared for them the traditional desert consumed on the day, called *ballokume* (a variety of crumpet made with butter, eggs, sugar and corn flour) (Figure 72).



Figure 72. Ballokume produced for lunar Spring Day (www.wikipedia.org, accessed on 1/9/2012).

Instead of dying eggs red according to the Albanian custom, the family members wrote their names, family roles and wishes on each egg, suggesting that they could celebrate the national holiday their 'own way' as Adelina said, yet still be able connect to the old homeland (Figure 73).



Figure 73. Egg prepared by Sjerdilaid to celebrate the lunar Spring Day in Athens.

Visual ethnography and discussions with adults revealed that parents handed down to their children the old country's customs.

Adelina and Kostas familiarised their children with the custom of bringing flowers to teachers on the first day of school. The family's photo albums featured

Zamira and Skerdilaid holding bouquets given to their teacher, which Adelina interpreted in the light of Albanian society's widespread respect toward schoolteachers for passing on knowledge to the younger generations. '*It was a big thing to become a teacher in Albania*', the mother said. She added that the Teacher's Day was a national holiday in Albania, commemorating the opening of the first secular school in Albania in 1887. Customs expressing reverence to schoolteachers can be understood in the wider context of education gaining prominence in the communist regime for serving as a tool of modernisation, national unity and the construction of the new socialist Albania (see 3.2.2.2).

Another custom popular in Albanian folk culture involved children's first haircut by family friends or relatives (Elsie 2001). When Skerdilaid and Zamira reached one year of age, Kostas' brother and Adelina's best friend took the role of "godparents", or what is known in Albanian as hair kumbara' (*kumbarë flokësh*), naming children and giving them their first haircuts (Elsie 2001, 106). Pictures from the family's photo album featured the family celebrating these life-cycle events by having a feast with relatives and friends at a local *taverna*.

Parents from the family in Neos Kosmos promoted Albanian belonging by bringing the second generation in contact with '*customs coming from the people*' quoting Drita. One such custom was that of one-year-olds making picks from trays placed in front of them and filled with various objects, from money and vegetables to bread, cutlery and toys. According to the mother the object selected reflects the child's future career path. Albanian families mark the performance of such customs by inviting over relatives and friends to observe. Parents recalled instances of both children continuing the custom and told me of recently attending their Albanian friends' celebrations of their one-year-old child choosing objects from the tray (Figure 74).



Figure 74. Infant from the social circle of Neos Kosmos family selecting objects from the tray (2011).

Yet, the remembrance of customs of the old homeland did not necessarily signify processes of identification, as discourses by Nora and Adelina on the centuries-old practices of ‘spilling blood’ (Alb. *Gjakmarrja*) to restore one’s personal honour (Hall 1994) revealed. Mothers produced similar accounts on what they believed to be the ‘most atrocious and horrid thing in the world’, springing from ancient customary laws known as ‘*Kanun*’ (see 3.2.1) (Figure 75).

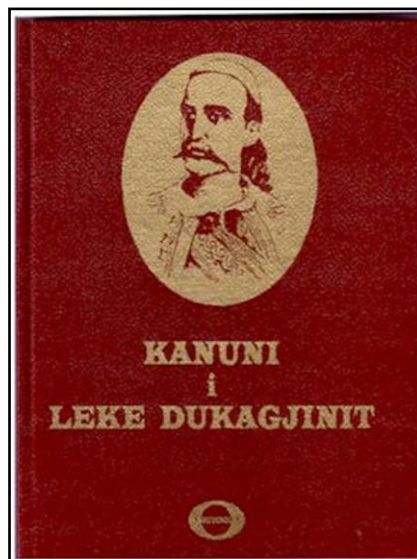


Figure 75. Copy of the *kanuni* of Lekë Dukagjini bought by Adelina as a gift to Kostas who ‘comes from the North’ as the mother said.

Nora explained that blood vengeance has existed for centuries in northern Albania, excluding the short break of Hoxha's leadership. Among the reasons for igniting a blood feud were quarrels about land or that of a guest being harmed. As Young (2000, 46) reports, the *Kanun* defines that 'if you do not avenge the murder of your guest....you may not participate in the meeting of honourable men, because you remain dishonoured for the rest of your life'. According to the mothers, blood feuds tended to go on for generations, forcing the over sixteen-years-of-age males of the families in dispute to hide in their homes. From the 1990s onward, women and children were also targets of blood feuds. If all the males of one of the two families in feud were wiped out, mothers had the right '*to take blood*'; if they did not, their newborn son was called to do so. Both mothers shared with me stories of families fleeing Albania to save their males from revenge killings, especially in the aftermath of Hoxha's regime, when such practices revived.

'Far from shoring up a positive self-identity' (MacDonald 2006, 23), blood feuds represented unsettling and 'undesirable' aspects of northern Albania's heritage, rarely becoming a topic of parent-child discussion. In the course of discussing blood vengeance parents acknowledged their northern Albanian origins (see Schwandner-Sievers 2001), yet they disassociated themselves from such practices referred to as '*backward and vulgar*'. Schwandner-Sievers (2001, 110-111) encountered similar reactions toward *Kanun* practices in her fieldwork with urban, like Adelina and Nora, and southern Albanians. The latter assigned the performance of these old-mentality, patriarchal customs to their rural fellow-nationals in the north, who were derogatorily referred to as 'Chechens', 'Malok' ('those from the mountains') and 'hooligans'. The scholar notes that within these discourses, the primitive and backward 'internal other' is differentiated from the 'progressive', 'modern', 'cultured' self in compensation for the discrimination and stigmatisation experienced by Albanian migrants abroad, mostly in Greece or Italy (Schwandner-Sievers 2008, 55).

7.4.3.2 Cultural values

The preservation, dissemination and sharing of cultural values outside of the homeland establishes connections among co-ethnic migrants, marking a sense of collective heritage (Burrell 2004; 2006). In the domestic space of the émigré imagining, creating, remembering and re-constructing 'home' suggests adherence to transportable cultural ideas and values uprooted in itineraries of migration (Al-Ali and Koser 2002). The embodied, living memory of home is reproduced in day-to-day practices of older generations reclaiming, reprocessing and inculcating values 'of another time and another space' in younger generations, (Hage 1997, 106).

Participant observation, interviews and visual ethnography, revealed families' intentions of connecting, as well as denouncing, aspects of the old homeland's heritage in the form of cultural values. In the process of uprooting and regrounding adults re-contextualised the value systems of the old homeland. Parents either endorsed these values passing them on to their children, or partly rejected them as old-fashioned, thus, excluding them from their children's upbringing. The re-appraisal or disavowal of values of parental home villages and towns illustrated processes of continuity and rupture in cultural identity building informed by individuals' agenda, as shaped in the migration destination. Cultural values brought up in families' discourses comprised (i) the notion of hospitality, (ii) the value of the family institution and '*sons taking care of their parents*', (iii) '*wives following their husbands in their places of residence*', (iv) being a '*good housewife*', (v) boys growing up to become '*real men*', (vi) wives being submissive to their husbands and mothers-in-law and (vii) practices of patriarchal upbringing.

Family members unanimously claimed that '*hospitality is a major thing for Albanians*'. The offense of a guest was a strong enough reason, according to Adelina, for blood feuds in northern Albania, where locals could go '*as far as killing to defend their guests*'. Elsie (2001) confirms the mother's comment, noting that when somebody is taken in by a family, he or she is automatically under its protection, in that the host bears responsibility for the security of the honour of his

guests until they leave his house and land. In the family of Dafni hospitality was made evident in grandfather's practices of offering an army soldier dinner and a place to sleep in his home village. Gentiana told me that there was an army camp close to their house and the soldier had missed the last train to his hometown. The touching story brought to the aunt's mind parents' advices of always asking a guest *'if he/she wants to have something to eat'* as soon as he/she enters your house, as they might be *'too shy to ask'*. In the Palia Kokkinia family, hospitality took the form of welcoming guests or relatives' guests by inviting them over for lunch or dinner. *'This is how we do it in Albania'* said Blerina, who invited her sister's-in-law brother for lunch when he visited from Albania. Adults' sayings provide evidence of the sacred ideal of hospitality in Albanian culture, where it remains unthinkable for someone not to be made welcome or left outside without a shelter (Elsie 2001). Recorded from ancient times and codified in the *Kanun*, hospitality acts as the family's mirror of preserving its 'unstained' honour, underpinning Albanian national consciousness (Post 1998, 32). Similarly to Burrell's (2006) study of the Leicester Polish and Greek-Cypriot communities, the preservation and dissemination of hospitality practices outside the old home established Albanian families' connections with co-ethnics, constructing a sense of shared heritage. The performance of hospitality determined ways of living, social conducts and norms of accepted behaviour viewed by adults as *'an Albanian thing'* or something that *'Albanians would do'*, ensuring the ethnic community's closeness also reported by Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005).

The value of the family as an institution was of crucial importance to the families. Adelina complained to Zamira's schoolteacher about encouraging her daughter to *'challenge her family values and the ways her family could stand by her in her life'* by discrediting the mother's ability to teach the offspring proper Greek. For Artan and Drita, paying homage to the family translated into subscribing to values of *'sons taking care of their parents'*. As Drita explained, in Albania it is the son, especially the younger, taking care of his parents by living together with his wife in his natal home. Under conditions of dislocation, the alignment to these value systems took the form of adults securing *'a better life'* for their parents 'left

behind' by providing support in health issues and improving their housing conditions (see 5.5.2). Parents' practices confirm the strong institution of the family in Albanian society well rehearsed in literature (Hall 1994; Post 1998; Saltmarshe 2001; Young 2000). King and Vullnetari (2003) explain that despite the long transformation from pre-to-post-communism and processes of dismemberment occurring within large-scale migration, the patriarchally controlled family has remained a fundamental social institution across Albania.

Parents passed down to their children ideals of *'wives following their husbands to their place of residence'*, with mothers leaving their native regions to join their husbands in migration. These patriarchal-oriented norms at times caused frictions among older and younger generations, unveiling ruptures and discontinuities of Albanian identity retention. My observations in the house of the Labrini Galatsi family showed that for Kostas' aunt, these traditions represented *'old school values'*, which did not fit in the more progressive cultural context of the migration destination. For Zamira, on the other hand, they ensured a sense of security and emotional belonging under conditions of family separation. The daughter empathised with her grandmother's discontent about her son following his wife to Italy. Responding to her aunt's comment that *'it was for her uncle's interest to join his wife in Italy'* Zamira argued that *'it is women who follow their husbands and not the other way round!'* bringing her mother as an example. Practices of *'wives belonging to their husbands' households'*, as Adelina referred to the phenomenon, can be understood in the context of patriarchy and patrilocality codified in the rules of *Kanun* and remaining prevalent in contemporary Albanian society, especially in the northern parts (Saltmarshe 2001). Patriarchy ensures that society is male dominated and patrilocality that upon their marriage women leave their natal houses to move in with their husband's family (see 3.2.1).

Being *'a good housewife'*, quoting Mirella, emerged in value-related talk in the families of Labrini Galatsi and Neos Kosmos. Adelina explained that back in Albania females familiarised themselves with housework from an early age. Indeed, women's autobiographical remembering brought to life examples of learning to be

'proper housewives' by making filo pastry, helping mothers in clothes washing and serving male elderly and guests coffee and alcoholic drinks (see 5.5.2). Mothers in both families actively passed on to their daughters ideals of being good housewives by familiarising them with housework routines from an early age, e.g. making their beds, setting the table, folding their clothes and aiding in cooking (Figure 76).



Figure 76. Zamira cooking.

Mothers' practices reflected cultural norms and values of patriarchally controlled families, shaped and influenced by the laws of *Kanun*, according to which a woman's purpose in the world is to marry, bear children and work in the house (Hall 1994; Post 1998; Young 2000) (see 3.2.1). From a different level, the projection of Albanian women as good housewives subverted negative ethnic essentialisations in a wider Western European context: Adelina's mother shared with me stories about German men preferring Albanian women for being more attentive than their female co-ethnics.

Even though mothers subscribed to values of raising daughters to become good housewives, this did not necessarily mean that they endorsed '*gender racism*' as Adelina referred to it. Adelina and Nora reduced sex role differentiations by actively encouraging their male offspring to assist in the housework. The introduction of young male members to such practices suggested disconnections

from traditional patriarchal Albanian heritage, where boys were 'allowed freedom to play outside the home' (Young 2000, 31) and were not expected to undertake what were thought as typically female tasks.

Contrary to practices followed by Nora and Adelina in raising their male offspring, the upbringing of Panaretos reinforced ideals of raising boys to become '*real men*'. Parents and relatives actively encouraged Panaretos' entrance to manhood by enrolling him in taekwondo lessons and encouraging him to '*hit back*', when involved in fights with classmates. The family's approach to the son's upbringing should be contextualised in light of Albanian society's strong patriarchal values springing from the *Kanun* culture, where men are designated to take the role of the 'pillar of the house' and be able to protect their family's honour (Prifti 1975, 112) (see 3.2.1). These patriarchal principles were endorsed by communist ideology to compensate for a 'lack of socialist tradition' (Pipa 1978, 196). As Shwandner-Sievers (2008, 54) notes, during the communist years (forming a substantial part of adults' lives in Albania) 'autochthonous traditions' such as *ndera* (honour), *burnija* (manliness) and *besa* (the word of honour), deriving from a reservoir of folk and *Kanun* culture, acted as markers of national identity shaping and defining the 'Albanian soul'.

However, the cultural values of the old homeland were not always endorsed by family members. In parents' accounts these problematic cultural values, intentionally excluded from children's upbringing in the new country, took dimensions of 'undesirable' heritage (MacDonald 2006, 11), where the past becomes a source of 'an identity that many of those in the present wish to distance themselves from, even while, at the same time, recognizing it as fully part of their history'.

The projection of women as hard-working, attentive and submissive to their husbands and mothers-in-law concerned one such ideal put into question in a migration context. Nora told me that apart from doing the housework, being familiar with sewing techniques and being able to weave clothes and produce their

own bed sheets, women were expected to 'obey' their husbands and mothers-in-law, who even controlled how often the former left the house. Nora said that she obeyed these principles during the family's trips to Albania, yet in Greece the modification of gender dynamics imposed different family practices. As the breadwinner of the family, Nora felt more independent than her female relatives 'left behind', expecting from her husband to contribute in housework routines, such as grocery shopping and cooking. Nora's account reflects women's position in her husband's home known in *Kanun* as 'a sack, made to endure' (Post 1998, 54). As Post (1998, 132) argued, even though Hoxha's regime contributed toward improving women's low social standing in Albanian society, upbringing during the communist years remained 'conservative and restricted' defined by such societal customs. The fact that the mother was willing to comply with such practices only during the family's trips to Albania concurs with findings by Vaiou and Stratigaki (2008), arguing that as high earners within their households, Albanian women have been able to negotiate individual identities and gender relations.

The practice of arranged marriages was an additional cultural norm challenged in females' accounts. Women did not oppose to the idea of being married on the initiative of their parents, yet strongly disapproved ideas of taking husbands they had never met before. Blerina, whose marriage was arranged by her mother and future mother-in-law, shared with me stories of women being married to men they met on the day of their marriage. Ardita claimed that '*it was a habit in her family to give women to men they did not want to marry*'. The grandmother explained that she married her husband without her consent, as females at that time '*had no choice*' but to follow their parents' will. Even though Ardita did not approve of her family's practices, she did not approve of the other extreme either, of women in contemporary Albania '*saying too much!*' when it comes to marrying. The women's accounts reflect centuries-old practices of betrothal, where the marital tie was perceived as an act of establishing respect and socio-economic links between two families, rather than the emotional union of two people (Fischer 1999) (see 3.2.1). Even though practices of arranged marriages relatively declined during Hoxha's leadership (Hall 1994), Post (1998) reports that they have not

eclipsed in Albanian society. The fact that Ardita and Blerina did not completely reject such practices unveils their connection with the heritage of the old country, at times re-appraised under migration, where what is thought as the other extreme, that of women 'speaking up', becomes prevalent.

Echoes of patriarchal upbringing in Blerina's accounts denoted the mother's disassociation with conservative, authoritarian aspects of the Albanian culture. The mother disapproved her father's reluctance to enrol her in the University as she was due to get engaged. The father's decision reflects cultural norms of ensuring the reputation of one's daughter from what was, and still is to some extent, regarded as 'place[s] of love stories' (Post 1998, 236). These cultural norms are tied up to the *Kanun* culture, restricting the role of women in society and eliminating their education and work opportunities (Fischer 1999) (see 3.2.1; 3.2.2.2). Blerina's disapproval of such practices suggests processes of identity discontinuity in the diasporic realm, where the acquisition of academic credentials is viewed by Albanian parents as the sole pathway from escaping exclusion (see chapter 5).

7.4.3.3 Life-cycle events

The celebration of life-cycle events, such as weddings and engagements, sets the ground for creating and reworking meanings of continuity and change in uprooting and re-rooting (Al-Ali 2002b; Gardner 2002b; Gardner and Grillo 2002). Fog-Olwig (2002, 205) notes that in the migratory family, these reunions are of crucial importance, in that they provide the chance for geographically scattered members 'to meet and validate their shared kinship and common origins'. Accordingly for Albanian families, these life-cycle rituals were focal loci of producing diasporic identities manifesting claims of ongoing membership to the community of origin. The old homeland figured prominently in these formalised events, acting 'as an important centre of emotional attachment for individual and family members' (Fog-Olwig 2002, 205). From a heritage perspective, these social gatherings promoted children's bodily participation in the enactment of the old homeland's heritage in the form of wedding customs, and folk music and dance, defining

individual and collective identity (see Grant 2010; Letts 2006; Margioles 2011; Mundy 2001).

Participating in weddings, engagements, celebrations of children's births and funerals formed an integral part of the Neos Kosmos family's social itinerary when visiting the old homeland. These reunions introduced children to Albanian cultural forms including folk music and dance. Drita showed a series of videos, featuring wedding receptions in the home village with the wedded couple and family members performing folk dances. Mirela told me of attending her uncle's engagement in Albania following the Albanian customs of killing one of the family's sheep for the engagement feast joined by close members of the family and friends.

Edwin was actively involved in his female cousin's wedding in his hometown last summer. The anticipation of such events prompted parents' childhood moments of attending weddings in the home village and enacted mother-son talk on Albanian wedding customs. During my field visits in the family of Alsos Veikou Galatsi I observed Nora explaining to Erion that Albanian weddings are different from the Greek ones, as there is no wedding service in the church. The couple celebrates by receiving visits from friends and relatives in their parents' houses for four to five consecutive days with celebrations starting at the bride's house and ending to that of the groom. The last two days the groom and his family representatives arrive to the bride's house to take her to her new home, that of her future husband's and parents-in-law (see also Young 2000). This process is joined by live music with guests throwing a mixture of coins, rice and candies to the couple that Nora used to collect as a child when attending weddings with her family. Erion's summer visits from Albania brought to mind the constant honking of relatives' cars joining the groom on his way to pick up the bride from her house.

The performance of lifecycle events also took place in Athens consolidating double belongings and negotiating identity ruptures and continuity between the two countries. The family in Labrini Galatsi attended the wedding of Adelina's nephew in Athens, '*religiously following*', according to the mother the traditional

Albanian customs, where the families of the bride and the groom organise separate feasts to celebrate their children's official union. Adelina told me that during the feasts immediate family from the groom and the bride's social circle attend the celebrations, *'acting as representatives of the groom or the bride's side'*.

Summary

In this section I discussed how individuals and families make heritage between two homelands, and how individuals and families' identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level affect what stories they choose to tell and what they consider as their heritage (or not).

Visual and material culture in families' houses captured individuals' multifarious trajectories, eliciting past experiences, narratives of migration and attachments with new surroundings. Old photos from Albania enacted connections with beloved persons 'left behind' and brought to mind biographical histories. These mnemonic artefacts acted as symbols of families' individual, familial, cultural and ethnic backgrounds easing transition from the old to the new country. As repositories of migration routes, objects incorporated individuals' intentions of (i) attempting to escape from one's home where there was 'no future', (ii) experiencing discrimination in Greece and (iii) forging ties with the country of settlement.

Families reproduced cultural ties with Albania in traditions of celebrating national days and continuing customs of (i) children's first haircuts, (ii) offering flowers to teachers and (iii) one-year-olds making picks from trays filled with objects. Yet, what were regarded as *'backward and vulgar'* customs by adults, such as blood feuds, revealed that the heritage of the old country did not always act as a point of identification in the diasporic realm. Similarly, the preservation and dissemination of cultural values marked the construction of a collective heritage in the new homeland, yet the disavowal of some of these norms unveiled identity

rupture in migrancy. Families established a sense of emotional belonging in the hostile Greek environment by connecting to (i) the notion of hospitality, (ii) the value of the family institution, (iii) principles of *'sons taking care of their parents'*, wives *'being good housewives'* and *'following their husbands in their places of residence'* and (iv) ideals of boys becoming *'real men'*. Yet, parents rejected aspects of the authoritarian Albanian culture crystallised in patriarchal upbringing, arranged marriages and practices of wives being submissive to their husbands and mothers-in-law, excluding these from their children's upbringing. Families' participation in life-cycle events manifested claims of ongoing membership to the community of origin and introduced children to intangible representations of Albanian heritage, in the form of folk music, dance and customs. As a place of emotional attachment the old homeland featured prominently in the celebration of life-cycle events, yet the undertaking of weddings in the country of settlement confirmed the establishment of double belongings.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Implications

8.1 Introduction

This study sets out to explore how identity formation at the crossroads of new and old homelands informs conceptualisations of history and heritage from the angle of five Albanian families residing in Athens and Piraeus. In the last three chapters I have discussed the data collected as part of this thesis by answering my research questions and making links with theory. In this chapter I provide an overview of the study and reflect on methods of data collection and positionality (see 4.5) illustrating how particular approaches helped me to delve into identity and heritage construction in Albanian families. I then outline my key findings relating to family members' heritage making and present the implications and recommendations for researchers and practitioners in a Greek and a wider context. I conclude by acknowledging the limitations I encountered during my study and by discussing issues to be addressed in future research.

8.2 Overview of the study

My study aimed to generate a theoretical framework of how identity informs history and heritage making in migration from the lens of a socially excluded group. I set the focus on the Albanian ethnic group, and families in particular, making a good case study for a number of reasons. Firstly, Albanians constitute the largest ethnic group of the immigrant population in Greece (56 per cent) numbering according to the 2001 Census data 443,550 members (see 3.3.2). Secondly, Albanians are among the first groups to have arrived in Greece in the aftermath of Iron Curtain dismantling, offering a longer history of integration compared to other migrant groups, such as those of Asian nationalities (Baldwin-Edwards 2008). Thirdly, the Albanian ethnic group shares deep historical

associations with the host society, as both Greece and Albanian formed part of the Ottoman Empire (1301-1922) (see 4.3). Lastly, Albanian scapegoating displays unique features (compared to other migrant groups in Greece) deriving from disputes of territorial nature, as well as social and cultural dynamics in the recent history and economies of the two countries (see 3.3.2). Through my ethnographic and participatory work with the five Albanian families I sought to answer the following questions:

1. How do individuals and families, as a group, construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level at the crossroads of Greece and Albania?
4. How do these identity formations affect what stories individuals and families choose to tell, and what they consider as their history and heritage (or not)?
5. How do individuals and families make history and heritage between two homelands and what mechanisms do they employ to connect with them?

I treated these questions primarily through the angle of adults without excluding the views of children. The emphasis on adults' voices served to investigate how the first generation's living memories from Albania influenced individuals', and particularly children's, identity formation and history and heritage constructions between the old and the new country.

Much of previous research, especially until the later half of the twentieth century, has been informed by 'the ethos of [a] singular totalised modernity' (Graham *et al.* 2005, 29), privileging top-down nationalist-and-elitist-driven approaches in constructing meanings of history and heritage. Within this 'self-perpetuating oligarchy' (Hewison 1987, 55) the validation of the dominant groups' homogenising mythologies has obscured other forms of identity, including the personal, local, regional, sub-national and supra-national; has privileged the tangible at the expense of the intangible, and has silenced the historical, cultural and social trajectories of subaltern groups. This highly applies to the five Albanian families of my study, making their history and heritage on the margins of the Greek 'mono-cultural' landscape. Even though the Albanian community has been present in Greece for more than twenty years, its narratives, values and meanings have

remained hidden and unexplored in history and heritage discourses. This is the result of multiple factors (see 1.2). Firstly, discriminative migration policies and projections of Albanians as Greece's constitutive other by the Greek media, have resulted in the oppression of Albanians, reflected in labour trajectories of employment in informal employment, exploitative working conditions and occupational deskilling. Secondly, research on the Albanian community in Greece has primarily evolved around issues of regularisation; social and economic incorporation; migration policy; employment conditions; social, economic and spatial exclusion; gender issues; discrimination by the media; and more recently, bilingualism (see 1.3). These studies may have contributed to the theorisation of Albanian migration to Greece, yet they have provided little information of how the first and the second generations construct heritage between the two countries. Lastly, the Greek society's economic depression since 2010 has given rise to ultra-nationalist right-wing parties using immigrants as a scapegoat to the country's problems, furthering thus, the exclusion of these groups from the official heritage discourses.

Acknowledging the gap in literature and standing in opposition to the politics of inequality excluding Albanians from the 'pale of civilisation' (Tzanelli 2006, 43), I endorsed context-sensitive bottom-up approaches to promote the community's presence and rights in public life by voicing their heritage experiences. My interpretive framework drew on theoretical thinking emerging in 'the world of the 'post': post-modern, post-ethical, post-moral' (Walsh 1992, 2). Identity building was informed by postmodern and postcolonial knowledges, emphasising its fluid, socially constructed nature, reproduced in multiple belongings and place attachments. Memory was regarded as integral to one's sense of identity: the notion of sameness at the heart of individual and group identity is sustained through remembering, which is in turn determined by identity requirements on a personal and communal level. In the realm of migrancy, where territory is 'decentred' into multiple settings (Gilroy 1994, 204), memory's therapeutic, identity-and-community forming role ensures safety, familiarity and security in the place of arrival (Rosińska 2011). Memory helps to bear the hardships of

transplantation in a foreign culture, while the recollection of stories and the memorialisation of homeland in private and public spaces reconciles discordances of now and then, simultaneously acting as a 'concealed ethnicity' (Burrell and Panayi 2006, 15). In treating history and heritage making in migrancy, I engaged with democratisation movements of the past 'provincialising heritage' (Butler 2006, 475) by acknowledging non-Western, subaltern memories and experiences, and privileging the development of a participatory historical culture, where people are active agents in creating their histories (Ashton and Kean 2009b). Questioning the appeal of the nation-state as the foremost container of identity, these intellectual shifts proliferated practices and initiatives emerging *from below* (Hamilton and Shopes 2008; Perks and Thomson 2006), soliciting the voices of 'those who seldom have speaking parts in the national drama' (Sangster 1994, 6).

Departing from these theoretical advances, I addressed my research questions by adopting critical ethnography- the marriage of critical theory with interpretive ethnography. So far this methodology has not been employed in research on the Albanian community in Greece. Most of the studies theorising Albanian migration have primarily followed quantitative approaches and to a lesser extent qualitative through the conduct of structured and semi-structured interviews (see 1.3). Seeking to disturb the status quo by using emancipatory practices, critical ethnography was deemed appropriate in the context of this research, given Albanian families' stigmatised status and my intentions of improving these conditions. Data were derived from ethnographic methods capturing individuals' meanings of identity, history and heritage 'from within' (Brewer 2000, 10). Participant observation and ethnographic interviewing took place in families' home settings and public spaces, such as playgrounds, flea markets, local cafés, parks and the beach. In my engagement with participatory approaches, I sought to establish less hierarchical relationships by limiting the dichotomy of 'objective' researcher/ 'subjective' researched for a dialogical relationship to develop between my theoretical knowledge and participants' experiential knowledge. In accordance with the 'open-ended' approach of the ethnographic theorising (Hammersley and

Atkison 2007, 159), I sought a dialectical relationship between data and ideas by employing grounded theory methods in my process of analysis.

In the next section I reflect on methods of data collection and positionality, which set the context for discussing my study's findings relating to Albanian families' heritage making between two homes.

8.3 Reflections on the journey: methods of data collection and positionality

In this section I 'turn back' on myself (Davies 2008, 4) to reflect on how my methods of data collection and positionality (Madison 2005) shaped my research (see also 4.5). The methods I employed along with my intention in respecting families' values by taking on multiple roles while in the field, encouraged participants to take ownership of the research process and construct the field. The negotiation of different identities in families' households was a rather complex process. Yet, my adaptability and responsiveness to families' daily commitments by taking on these roles allowed me to share lives with participants and treat the concept of heritage holistically.

My methods of data collection produced rich and diverse material; however their selection was not a straightforward process. My original plan was to use what is commonly regarded in literature as empowering strategies, such as participatory diagramming techniques, writing activities (keeping diaries and logs) and dialogic focus groups (Alaszewski 2005; Alexander *et al.* 2007; Gabb 2009; Kamberelis *et al.* 2005; Kesby 2000; Kesby *et al.* 2005). This did not mean that I did not intend to use participant observation and conversational interviews, but rather that I wished to be more innovative in a Greek context, given the fact that most studies focusing on migrant groups had adopted quantitative methods. Even though I do not wish to question the eligibility of the aforementioned methods in enabling participants to become co-researchers, in my study it was participant observation, discussions and

visual ethnography techniques, which allowed me to build relationships of trust with family members enabling them to shape the research focus.

The proliferation of ethnographic methods was directed by participants' lifestyles. Heavy workload, in the form of schooling and working commitments, hardly left any time to participants for exclusively research-based activities. Fathers worked long hours, children were busy doing homework or attending extra-curricula activities, and mothers and grandmothers caught up with the housework by the time they arrived home. Under these circumstances, I had to adopt methods, which fitted around participants' daily commitments, yet simultaneously (i) encouraged them to express complex meanings of identity, history and heritage using their own vocabulary, and (iii) served the emancipatory goal of my thesis by responding to family members' priorities. Participant observation and conversations proved particularly useful with Albanian families. The specific methods promoted face-to-face interaction, which is a preferred mode of interaction in this particular culture, and allowed me to collect data, while family members went on with their routines. More importantly, the personal/emotional element invested in these methods promoted the development of rapport with participants, making them confident enough to become co-researchers. Even though I was honest to adults and children about the motivation of my thesis from my first visits to their homes, it was my willingness to adapt my research to their ways of living, values and ideas, which made them 'open up' and take the lead in constructing the field. The fact that my role in families' realities did not remain restricted to that of the 'guest' or 'researcher', but took the form of a 'family friend', an 'unofficial tutor', 'a guardian' and a 'role model' was greatly appreciated by participants, who saw me as somebody who went beyond the sake of research to that of providing time, resources and skills to make a positive impact in their lived experiences (see paragraphs below; 4.3.1.1; 4.4). The bottom-up nature of the ethnographic approach further encouraged participants to shape research in their own terms. For instance, the notion of home as a site of memory-work was not part of my original research focus that flirted with more conventional heritage settings, such as museums, archaeological/historic sites and community centres. Rather, it was the

participants, who pointed out through their choices and everyday practices the significance of home as a refuge for the oppressed and the excluded, and a locus of re-creating and passing down heritage to younger generations (see last paragraph of 8.4.1).

Also, the use of grounded theory methods in the process of analysis contributed to the idea of the thesis being lead by research. Building my theory on collected data, I ensured that my theoretical constructs were guided by participants' actions, worldviews and beliefs. However, it was not possible to include participants in my interpretive framework. The constrained time limits of my research program, along with participants' heavy workloads did not allow co-analysis. I addressed this limitation by discussing the thesis results with family members during my field visits in September 2012. In the course of these conversations, I went through the thesis with participants explaining the different forms of heritage emerging in the course of their everyday lives and showing them the pictures I employed to elaborate my arguments. Both adults and children agreed with my choices and confirmed that the points raised in the thesis represented their ideas, opinions and concerns.

The fitting of my research around families' daily routines and my role as an active member in their households enabled them to share their lives with me. In the course of collecting data, I joined families in numerous activities inside and outside their home spaces: from extra-curricula activities, grocery shopping, fieldtrips to the countryside, museum visits and visits in their friends and relatives' houses to playing with children, watching adults cooking and doing the housework, or receiving visitors from Albania and keeping in touch with the family 'left behind'. The wide range of these activities, taking place at different times of the day and in various settings, prompted different modes of memory-work feeding into the diverse and complex nature of heritage. For instance cooking and sensing the smell of a cardigan sent from family in Albania brought up bodily memories, encapsulating the idea of heritage as an embodied experience through what one tastes or smells (see 6.2.2; 6.2.6). Practices such as displaying a grandmother's

photo or visiting a museum gave rise to the idea of heritage as a personal and national memory conveyed in storytelling (see 7.2.6; 7.4.2). It was my observance of and participation in these various activities that challenged old, monolithic ideas of heritage and allowed its holistic treatment leading to one of the key points in my research: that for Albanian families heritage is a living concept, broad in nature, comprising both tangible and intangible elements, continuously produced, formed and transformed in the course of their daily lives.

Grasping the diversity of heritage for the Albanian families was also the result of undertaking multiple roles while sharing lived experiences with participants. Throughout fieldwork I found myself acting as a (1) researcher, (2) an archaeologist, (3) a tutor, (4) a guest, (5) a family friend and (6) a guardian (see 4.3.1.1). These different roles shaped the research process and produced the data, which formed part of my dissertation. Participants assigned to me the role of the guest, family friend, guardian, whereas I presented myself as a researcher and archaeologist in entering families' realities, and offered to take the role of unofficial tutor by the time I had familiarised myself with the families' needs. Being flexible enough to undertake these different identities was beneficial for my research, yet their negotiation in the context of families' intimate settings was a rather complex process.

I introduced myself to family members as a researcher, who was interested in exploring what was important for them in terms of history and heritage making in their everyday lives. I further clarified to participants that I wished my research to have a tangible impact in their lived conditions by responding to their agendas. My presence as a researcher in families' flats (i) created curiosity about the research project among participants, (ii) encouraged family members to become co-researchers by inviting me to events they regarded relevant to my research, and (iii) triggered members' interest in telling stories about the old homeland or promoted practices of preserving the Albanian aspect of their identity (see 4.3.1.1). For instance, the mother in one family introduced a game of Albanian talk for one day to her daughter, following our discussions on the role of Albanian in interfamilial

communications, while the mother in another family confessed that she would start sharing with her son Albanian national narratives, after realising through our conversations, that he was mature enough to comprehend the complex nature of these events. These performances of Albanian ethnicity, encouraged by the research process and forming part of data collection, gradually acquired a more 'normal' status in the course of my field visits, as participants felt that my presence highly valued their experiences and practices from the old homeland. Also, a Greek researcher being based in a Western European university and studying the heritage of Albanian families in Athens was seen a great honour for participants. The latter took pride of the Albanian cultural heritage serving as my area of research interest and often introduced me to their social network by emphasising that '*Eleni is doing a study on Albanians and wants to learn about Albania!*' Yet, my presence as a researcher did not always elicit comforting, relieving feelings among participants. At times it instigated moments of uneasiness among family members, reminding them of the conflicted, contested nature of their identities. This became highly visible in instances, where adults argued on whether children should have Greek or Albanian as their mother tongue, or whether they should be allowed to go in public dressed in an Albanian outfit (see 5.4.2; 6.2.1).

I also introduced myself to families as somebody with a research background in history and archaeology. Even though I did not emphasise this role in my interactions with family members, participants actively sought my opinion in history-related themes emerging during their discussions. My position was to take a back-seat and explore how adults communicated history to children, yet this proved tricky when treating contested subjects, such as the relationship between Greek and Albanians during WWII. Especially in cases with younger children, parents expected me to use my history knowledge to deconstruct children's misconceptions of '*Albanians fighting against the Greeks*' easing, thus, their identity building in a country, which had severely stigmatized them (see 7.3.3). In most cases the sharing of history knowledge with participants brought us closer, either by establishing historical connections between the Greek and the Albanian nation, or by reminding

children that having a 'multicultural', plural identity is not particular to the 21st century, but something that has also existed in the past (see 5.2.2).

Family members treated me as a guest during the first couple of weeks of my visits to their houses. Participants showed their Albanian hospitality by introducing me to the Albanian cuisine, by offering me a place to sit in the living room, by giving me something to drink or nibble and by having fresh towels for me in the bathroom. Adults apologized if their flats looked messy during my visits, and made sure that their children behaved in a socially accepted manner in my presence.

Families started introducing me to their social network as a family friend when they gradually became aware that I was willing to construct my research according to their needs. Relationships of trust built over time as I actively showed participants that I was there to offer hands-on assistance in areas identified by them (see 4.4). As a family friend I spent hours playing, watching TV and sharing moments from my life in London with children. For children of older ages I acted as a 'role model' by providing guidance on how they could pursue their academic studies in a top-rank university by obtaining a scholarship. For adults, I was 'a good company', somebody who was available and interested in listening to their memories from the old country, their hardships in the migration destinations, and their concerns about their children's future. When not in the field I kept in touch with family members through telephone conversations. My role as a family friend had a significant impact in the construction of my research. As participants became aware that their opinions and ideas were valued, they felt confident in taking research ownership and directing me toward what was important for them. However, my affective relationship with participants resulted in cases of overprotecting them by not including in the thesis stories, which presented a different image than the one I wished to project. For instance, I was not able to critically handle a comment made by a participant, who openly admitted she was 'racist', as she *'grew up in an extremely isolated country...and had never seen a black person until arriving in Athens'*.

My role as a guardian developed simultaneously to this of the family friend. Adults assigned me the role of the guardian, while becoming aware of my responsiveness to their commitments. As a guardian I kept an eye on children in the playground, I held their hands while crossing the street, I took them to extra-curricula activities, or kept them company when parents were away at work. Similarly to the role of the family friend, this of the guardian acted as a tangible confirmation of adults' trust in me, encouraging them to believe in my project and freely express their ideas and opinions.

I took on the role of the tutor, while familiarising myself with the families' daily needs. Children's school performance was a prevalent topic in my discussions with parents, who from the beginning of my visits conveyed their insecurity in helping their children with the subjects of Ancient and Modern Greek literature and English. Responding to each family's requests, I assisted with children's schoolwork, and spent entire field visits in preparing children for school exams. This was greatly appreciated by children, who claimed that I boosted their self-confidence by helping them to '*score highly*', and by adults, who saw education as the sole pathway of upward socioeconomic mobility in the migration destination (see 4.4). Like the roles of family friend and guardian, this of the unofficial tutor influenced the nature of my research as older and younger participants believed in the beneficial aspect of my project and actively wished to contribute to its creation.

To conclude, my long-hour presence in the families' lives, which ensured the holistic exploration of heritage as a concept, primarily relied on my intention to leave my comfort zone and join Albanian families in their daily routines by showing respect and sensitivity toward their lifestyles, commitments and priorities.

8.4 Key findings

My ethnographic and participatory methods of data collection helped me to explore my research questions relating to identity, heritage and history construction among Albanian families. In this section I outline the findings of my thesis by turning the focus on families' heritage making at the crossroads of two homes. I named families after their areas of residence in Greece- the families of Labrini Galatsi, Alsos Veikou Galatsi, Dafni, Neos Kosmos and Palia Kokkinia. Based on research questions and data analysis, I identified three categories characterising Albanian families' heritage: (i) heritage and migration, (ii) the communist past and the exclusion from the new country leading to the uniqueness of the Albanian case, and (iii) the different forms and levels of heritage Albanian families engaged with including the collective/national and the personal. The different forms of heritage I encountered in families' daily lives shed light on the mechanisms individuals employ to connect with it, while also provide insight into how identity influences conceptualisations of heritage.

8.4.1 Heritage and migration

Migration and mobility greatly influence individuals' perceptions of heritage. For children heritage making is a syncretic act (Gregory *et al.* 2012) intermarrying tangible and intangible elements of 'home' and 'away' (Gardner and Mand 2012, 970) and reflecting their multiple belongings. For adults the 'identity ruptures' and continuity (Salih 2002a, 52) manifested in the migration realm suggest a contested form of heritage, acknowledging the values of the old home, yet not uncritically endorsing them. In this journey of creating heritage in movement the home space becomes a locus of critical significance for the Albanian family: it is a refuge from social exclusion and stigmatization, and a site of memory-work where participants connect with transportable cultural ideas, values and traditions of the country of origin (cf. Rapport and Dawson 1998).

Being born and growing up in a different country from that of their parents, children construct a hybrid (Graham *et al.* 2000), *polyspatial* form of heritage (Buciek and Juul 2008) transgressing national boundaries and bringing together values, ideals and stories of 'two homes' (Gardner and Mand 2012, 973). This syncretic heritage echoes children's double, or transnational consciousness (Gilroy 1987; 1993; Vertovec 1999), where the search for identity and roots is not limited to origins, but anchored both to the parental homeland and the society of birth (Hall 1996a). As members of the Greek school community, children are deeply familiar with the country's nationalistic mythologies through classroom teachings, textbooks, field trips and celebration of national days (see 7.2.3; 7.2.5; 7.2.6). Young participants showed me drawings prepared at school featuring Greek folk costumes; shared with me photos of celebrating national days by being dressed in Greek folk costumes, waving the Greek flag or taking part in the school parade; spelled out folk poems; described their acting in school plays bringing to life Greece's master narratives; and talked about their visits to heritage landmarks of Greek national identity, such as the New Acropolis Museum. In our discussions, children viewed the national heritage of the country of birth as *their* heritage: the daughter of the Labrini Galatsi family was moved by the legend of the Caryatids of Erechtheion 'mourning over the loss of their sister' abducted by Lord Elgin and the son of Palia Kokkinia family was fascinated by the myth of Hibrhim's kissing the head of the dead Papaflessas during the Greek War of Independence (see 7.2.3; 7.2.5). These accounts confirmed the second generation's attachment to the country of birth promoted by (i) the reception of Greek education, (ii) the building of a social network comprising Greek and Greek-born Albanian members facilitated by the enrolment in Greek schools, (ii) the use of Greek language as a tool of communication at school and with peers and the (iii) construction of leisure life around practices familiarising young participants with the social and cultural context of the Greek society (watching TV, reading Greek books, attending extra-curricula activities etc.) (see 6.3.2).

Yet, children's affective connections with what is projected as typical Greek national heritage in official discourses did not prevent them from identifying with

the heritage of the old home. Concurring with studies by Fortier (2000), Al-Ali (2002a; 2002b), Espiritu and Tran (2002), Chamberlain and Leydesdorff (2004), Burrell (2006), Kershen (2006), Louie (2006), Gregory *et al.* (2012; 2013), Kershen (2006) and Gardner and Mand (2012) illustrating the role of parents and wider family networks in introducing the second and third generation to the culture of the country of origin, in my study parents and extended family members, including aunts and grandparents, became mediators in communicating to children the meanings and values of old home-building. Adults taught children Albanian and employed a wide range media encouraging children to refresh their contacts with the language of the old country, they handed down to the younger generation traditions, customs and values commemorating ideas of the old living place, introduced children to recipes and ways of cooking from the place of birth, and displayed visual and material culture in the home domain eliciting stories from the personal, family and national past of Albania. More importantly, the trips to grandparental towns and villages, the reception of visitors from Albania in the new country, and the regular contacts with the family 'left behind' reminded the second generation of its dual identity and heritage. At her six years of age, the daughter of the Neos Kosmos family was narrating to me Skanderbeg's achievements, yet actively took part in her kindergarten's celebration of national days dressed in a Greek folk costume and spelling out a folk poem. Similarly, the son of the Labrini Galatsi family took pride in the defeat of the Italian army by the Greek troops in WWII, but also viewed himself as member of the Albanian community. Likewise, the son of the Dafni family conveyed in our discussions that he was Greek '*as the flag waving in his kindergarten building was Greek*', yet went out in public dressed in an Albanian outfit. In a number of cases, children's affiliation to the Greek or the Albanian community depended on the context of the conversation, confirming that ethnic attachments can fluctuate over time in response to individuals' needs (see 5.2.2; 5.4.2).

In its most representative form children's transnational heritage synthesizing elements and stories of multiple homes, took shape in the performance of Albanian origins by the daughter of the Labrini Galatsi family, by

celebrating a Greek national day by wearing an Albanian folk costume. The shared Ottoman past of Greece and Albania enabled the thirteen-year-old to commemorate Greece's national independence by simultaneously paying homage to her Albanian roots. Yet, the child's hesitation in joining the Greek celebrations dressed in an Albanian outfit reveals the uneasiness, or discomfort of having a hybrid heritage. In a country, where the concept of heritage is inextricably linked to nationalistic mythologies perpetuating ideas of ethnic purity, the young participant felt self-conscious of her dual origins, at times expressing confusion about not being able to choose between two countries, or not being able to distinguish, where she belonged (see 5.2.2; 7.2.5).

The construction of heritage by the parents reveals a different story to that of the children. The migration journey and the settlement in the new country produced identity continuity and ruptures among adults manifested in their conceptualisations of heritage. Contrary to the children, who were not tied down to one place or location and endorsed the construction of a transnational heritage, most adults identified with the heritage of the old country. The mother of the Palia Kokkinia family made distinctions between *Our* and *Others'* history, when referring to Greek and Albanian national narratives (see 5.6.2) and the father of the Neos Kosmos family alluded to *Kanun*-based patriarchal values, prevalent in the old living place, to explain his transnational care-work practices (see 5.5). It was only the mother of the Labrini Galatsi family, who felt equally close to the heritage of the new and the old home. The birth of her children in Athens along with her mother's arrival encouraged her to '*lay roots*' in the migration destination as she explained (see 5.3.2).

Among adults, migration generated a strong sense of responsibility for handing down the heritage of the old living place to the younger generation. In explaining the motivation behind parents' teaching of Albanian to children, the mother of the Labrini Galatsi family emphasised that '*when you find yourself in a foreign country you feel the urge to keep things as they were in your native country*'. This same urge drove adults' different forms of cultural transmission to children:

from personal and family histories to narratives about national heroes, food recipes and customs and traditions. Yet, the recreation of the old home in the new country did not imply the uncritical endorsement or idealisation of its heritage by adults. Conditions of mobility and movement brought to the fore the fluid, contested nature of heritage continuously re-created and re-shaped by the requirements of the present (see Hardy 1998; Harvey 2001; Lowenthal 1998; Peckham 2003). In building their lives in a new country, adults came in contact with different ways of living, thinking and acting upon the world, influencing their heritage perceptions and meanings. Female adults acknowledged the *Kanun*-based patriarchal value of being a good housewife, and actively passed this on to their daughters by introducing them to the housework routine from a young age; nonetheless, they openly complained about the heavy housework they were faced with each time they visited the family 'left behind', barely leaving them any time to rest (see 7.4.3.2). The questioning of such cultural values links back to female participants' settlements in Athens, where as high earners of their households, they have been able to negotiate individual identities and gender relations (see also Vaiou and Stratigaki 2007). Adults' accounts also revealed that parts of the old heritage could become 'undesirable' (MacDonald 2006, 11) if they clash with the projected ideals and values of the migration destination. Participants rejected practices of blood vengeance regarded as '*backward and vulgar*', and women disavowed conservative and authoritarian cultural norms of arranged marriages and fathers preventing their daughters from pursuing a degree in a University, regarded as 'place[s] of love stories' (Post 1998, 236) (see 7.4.3.1; 7.4.3.2).

The changing meanings of heritage, as a result of migration, generate disputes among family members. What is heritage for a mother might not be for the father as the example from the family in Labrini Galatsi confirms. Feeling greatly attached to the migration destination and openly expressing that her children '*are not Albanian*', but Greek, the mother did not agree with her husband, who regarded Albanian as their children's mother language. These different perceptions of what consists one's heritage (or not) produced further conflicts between the first and the second generation (see 5.2.2). In the Dafni family, the son's claims of feeling Greek,

was a major source of frustration for his aunt, who employed a number of ways to make her nephew feel comfortable with its Albanian origins: from the language spoken at home to asking a Greek friend of hers to tell the child *'nice things about Albania'* (see 5.4.2).

The home space acquires critical significance in the making of heritage in migration. As I mentioned in section 8.3, the idea of home as a heritage setting was not part of the original plan of this dissertation; rather it was participants pointing out to me the prevalence of the domestic in constructing their heritage. Concurring with Al-Ali and Koser 2002, Ahmed *et al.* 2003, Pahl 2004, Burrell 2008, Tolia-Kelly 2010 and Savaş 2010, home represents for adults a site of memory-work and a place, where they reclaim and reprocess habits, objects, rituals, histories, ideas and traditions uprooted in migration and displacement. From material and visual culture, to personal, family and national histories, food recipes and traditions and customs, the domestic becomes for the family a bridge of connecting with the heritage of the old living place. This is also true for children. The latter are introduced by their parents to the meanings of reconstructing the old home in the country of birth (see third paragraph of this section). *'Everything around me in this house reminds me of Albania, the language, the traditions, the customs'* told me the daughter of the Labrini Galatsi family. More importantly home becomes a site of refuge for the socially excluded and marginalised Albanian family. Adults create and pass on to children what is stigmatised, forbidden from circulation or 'hidden' for not being recognised as heritage within official Greek discourses. The privacy of the home space ensures that divergent and dissenting conceptualizations of heritage (cf. Gathercole and Lowenthal 1994; Habu *et al.* 2008; Whitley 1998), in the form of counter-narratives, are handed down from older to future generations. Examples include the Albanian version of the country's position in WWII: contrary to media discourses, history textbooks and teacher's teachings perpetuating ideas of Albanians not opposing the Italian forces, adults' version of the story alters children's mnemonic systems by emphasising that Albanians fought against the Italians (see 7.3.3).

8.4.2 Albanian families and heritage making: the specificity of the Albanian case

The experience of a communist regime along with the severe stigmatization in the country of settlement encourage a particular form of heritage making within Albanian families, this of coping with exclusion. Through their heritage constructions participants deconstruct the stigma of the communist past (see 7.3.4) and this of otherness, criminality and backwardness 'haunting' their migration journeys (see Karydis 1996; Pavlou 2001; Mai and Schwandner-Sievers 2003; Kapllani and Mai 2005).

The subversion of the communist stigma through heritage takes two forms in adults' accounts. Individuals either completely disassociate themselves from the communist past presented as undesirable heritage, or less often, question the stigma by acknowledging not only negative, but also positive elements in Hoxha's legacy. The general tendency among adult participants is to reject the communist past (see 7.3.4). This confirms results of studies by King and Mai (2004; 2009) with Albanian migrants in Italy, where it is reported that community members renounce their communist experiences bringing to mind ideas of enforced and abusive collectivism combined with the manipulation of the national culture by the state. In my study adults openly denounced Hoxha's practices resulting in political and economic isolation, restriction of intellectual and cultural freedom, restrictions in daily life, partisan war themes dominating young peoples' lives and overspending on the armed forces. The communist experience triggered feelings of regret, remorse and guilt among older participants. The father of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family rarely talked about the '*wasted years*' in the '*cut-off from the West Albania*', where the acquisition of a scholarship, the enrolment in an Albanian University and the working experience in the state's air forces proved trivial for a successful life in the capitalist society. The grandmother of the Labrini Galatsi family and the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family felt apologetic when describing the imprisonment of political dissidents during Hoxha's leadership, while the mother of the Labrini

Galatsi family referred to the '*communist stigma*' following the citizens of the Eastern Bloc to their settlement in Western societies.

Awakening bitter memories and acting as a source of frustration, the '*time of dictatorship*', as it was named by the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family, is not a popular conversation topic with children. In all families children were not aware of Hoxha, or merely knew he was an Albanian political figure. Yet, what is worth noticing with Albanian families is the projection of this -in first impression- embarrassing past as an era of innocence, peacefulness, solidarity, stress-free living and infrastructural improvement. This mixture of bittersweet feelings over Albania under Hoxha's regime has also been reported by Kambouri (2008, 11) in her study of Albanian women in Athens, where participants depict the country of origin as 'a peaceful, tranquil and hospitable place.....[lacking] consumer products'. In my thesis, positive comments over Hoxha's legacy mostly came from adults, whose families enjoyed a privileged status in the communist years, confirming the significance of personal experiences in shaping perceptions of heritage (see also Howard 2003; Papayannis and Howard 2007; Graham and Howard 2008; Marmion *et al.* 2009). The mothers of the Labrini Galatsi and Alsos Veikou Galatsi families, whose fathers held high positions in the communist party, did not entirely exclude the latter's legacy from their perceptions of heritage. Even though the women admitted to me Hoxha's '*mistakes*', as the mother of the Labrini Galatsi family referred to them, they also pointed out the ex-ruler's achievements in education, infrastructure, women's emancipation and creation of a safe society.

The Albanian families employ historical narratives to deconstruct the labels of backwardness and criminality attached to them in Greece. Projected as Greece's 'constitutive other' in the media (Mai and Schwandner-Sievers 2003, 943), the term Albanian has taken dimensions of an insult in Greek public discourses excluding the community members from 'the pale of civilisation' (Tzanelli 2006, 43) (see 1.2; 3.3). Family members actively challenge the image of the Albanian Other by drawing on their heritage, in the form of (i) personal and national histories, (ii) values of hospitality and being a good housewife, and (iii) pride-in-family-and-work

narratives. In my discussions with family members, adults regularly went back to national history to seek connections between the Greek and the Albanian nation. The mothers of the Labrini Galatsi and Alsos Veikou Galatsi families reminded me that *'Greeks and Albanian come from the same tribe, the Pelasgian'* making them *'cousins in history'* (see 6.3.2). Similarly, adults from the Neos Kosmos family talked about the Arvanites, a population arriving in Greece during the Middle Ages from the territory that is known today as Albania, to emphasise links between Greeks and Albanians from earlier periods (see 7.3.2). Beyond historical accounts, adults called attention to the similarities of Greek and Albanian cuisine, as a result of the shared Ottoman past, and *'the common mentality'* of the two populations forming part of the *'Balkan brotherhood'* (see 5.2.2).

The personal past also acted as a resource for deconstructing negative ethnic essentialisation in the new country (see 7.3.5). Similarly to Herbert's (2006) South Asian males in Britain constructing a *'former golden age'* to cope with experiences of racism in the 1970s Britain, adult participants subverted images of otherness by sharing with their children stories emphasising symbolic and cultural capital in a pre-migration context. These narratives of privileged ways of living and idealisation of home acted as a counter argument against stereotypes of backward peasantry, poverty and deprivation stigmatising the older generation's social trajectories in Greece. The mother of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family referred to her prestigious upbringing, split between the urban centre of Albania and East Berlin, at a time where travelling outside Albania was restricted to the regime's very few highly trusted employers. Likewise, in the Palia Kokkinia family the mother and son took pride of the father's academic and professional credentials acquired in the country of origin.

Even though adults did not directly refer to hospitality to distort negative stereotypes, their sayings and practices questioned ideas of criminality characterising the Albanian migrant in a Greece. Individuals claimed that hospitality was *'a major thing for Albanians'* and recalled stories from their present and past experiences affirming the significance of hospitality within their social conducts (see

7.4.3.2). Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005, 30) reach similar conclusions in regard to the value of hospitality for Albanian migrants in Athens, reporting that is one of the main 'self-identification narratives' performed by community members in response to negative stereotypes about them. The image of the good housewife was openly employed by female participants to challenge stigmatic labeling. The grandmother of the Labrini Galatsi family shared with me stories of German men preferring Albanian, instead of German women, for being more attentive (see 7.4.3.2). Pride-in-family-and-work narratives, also reported in studies with Albanians in Athens (Lyberaki and Maroukis 2005) and Thessaloniki (Hatziprokopiou 2004), complete the image of history making to cope with exclusion. Male participants produced positive representations of Albanians as hard workers undertaking heavy jobs, while all adults disassociated themselves from the '*minority of Albanian criminals in Greece*', as put by the mother of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family, by projecting themselves as '*Albanian family people actively offering to Greece*' through enrolling their children in Greek schools and obeying the law (see 6.3.1).

8.4.3 Albanian families and heritage making: the different forms of heritage

My methodology and methods of data collection enabled me to holistically explore the making of heritage within Albanian families. Through sharing life with family members I was able to grasp a wider, broader and more complex meaning of heritage challenging old, monolithic ideas emphasising materiality and setting the focus primarily on the national register. My study concurs with research showcasing the fluid, intangible and socially-and-personally constructed nature of heritage (see Graham and Howard 2008; Howard 2003; Marmion et al. 2009; Papayannis and Howard 2007; Povrzanović Frykman 2002; Smith 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Smith and Waterton 2009) by treating memory production as not being locked in demarcated sites and museums, but as an operation swirling around practices and places of the everyday (see Atkinson 2008; Bruno 2003; Terdiman 2003). In particular, Albanian families' narratives and performances illustrated that heritage is not something distant, buried in the past, but a crucial part of our everyday lives,

a living and extremely diverse concept encompassing both tangible and intangible elements of personal/family and national value: from family photos, souvenirs and heirlooms to life histories and national mythologies shared between parents and children, or food recipes, cultural values and traditions and customs. In this section I look at the rich texture of heritage making as I encountered it in families' households. I have divided the different forms of heritage making into two broad categories: the collective and national, and the familial/personal. This categorisation is superficial in terms of the participants' daily lives, and is only adopted here to serve the purpose of my research. In participants' lived experiences the personal mixes with the national in the course of storytelling, and forms of collective heritage, such as the cultural values of hospitality and being a good housewife, acquire personal dimensions and values for shaping individuals' social conduct.

8.4.3.1 The making of collective national heritage

In this section I focus on Albanian families' reproduction of national heritage in their everyday lives. Even though national heritage talk, in the form of mythologising oral accounts, did not form a substantial part of families' discussions, participants engaged with the national register through a range of media, from visual and material culture to embodied practices and a series of daily and leisure activities. Family members' personal experiences, socio-cultural backgrounds, personality aspects and identities influenced their approach toward the circulation of national narratives and affected the stories they chose to tell or not.

National heritage talk did not form a common topic of conversation among family members. As the son of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family mentioned '*it was highly unlikely for Skanderbeg and other national heroes*' to come up in the family's daily conversations. Migration and marginalization had a tremendous effect on how adults viewed the circulation of such narratives in interfamilial discussions. Having come in contact with competing Greek and Albanian versions of the same story as a result of migration, the parents of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family felt self-conscious

about reminding their offspring of the contested nature of Greek Albanian relations. Both parents strongly criticised nation states for manipulating history to serve their political ends (*'it is historians rather than politicians writing history'*), and intentionally skipped such narratives from conversations with their son by stressing that today's societies should co-exist beyond their historical disputes (see 5.3.2; 7.3.2). The circulation of national mythologies was also thought to deepen children's patriotic feelings, furthering their social exclusion and stigmatization in the country of birth. As the aunt of the Dafni family and the mother of Alsos Veikou Galatsi family confessed the *'overstuffing of children's heads with Albanians did this and Albanians did that'* narratives, would only turn the younger generation to fervent nationalists, deepening children's rivalry with their Greek peers (see 7.2.4).

Adults' socio-cultural backgrounds and personality also shaped parents' approach towards sharing national histories with the children. In cases, where parents had become familiar with the official past either through the national curriculum, school or family fieldtrips to archaeological/historic sites in Albania, interfamilial discussions or personal readings, the introduction of collective histories to children was not avoided. The mother of the Labrini Galatsi family, who had developed a deep interest in Greek and Albanian history through the stimuli mentioned above, forged her children's contacts with the national narratives of the two homelands by reading them books, taking them to archaeological sites or encouraging them to watch relevant documentaries. On the contrary, the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family, who was not confident in dealing with master narratives, rarely referred to these when conversing with her older son. National history talk was a task assigned to the family's father, who had become *'more into history'* according to the mother, through his University studies in Albanian literature.

Even though referencing to Albanian national history was not common in families' everyday discussions, this did not imply that adults did not wish for the younger generation to be familiar with the official accounts of the old homeland. The older generation acknowledged the significance of Albanian national history in constructing children's identity and consciousness in migrancy. In the Dafni family

the aunt emphasised how the intergenerational transmission of national mythologies would make her nephew *'proud of being ethnically different'* and in the Palia Kokkinia family the mother conveyed her frustration over the Greek national curriculum omitting Albanian national history. Even in the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family, where parents expressed a certain notion of anti-nationalism, the father made sure that his son was familiar with the old country version of contested events regarding Greek-Albanian historical relations. This cross-generational transmission of official discourses in migration is not unique to the Albanian community. Burell (2004; 2006) has reported similar behaviour among Polish immigrants in Leicester stressing the importance of mythologising accounts in sustaining émigré national consciousness outside homeland.

Participants connected with the collective, official heritage of the old and the new country through daily and leisure activities. Routine practices, such as helping children with schoolwork or discussing personal histories, brought to life episodes from Albania's 'golden past'. The mother of the Palia Kokkinia family introduced her son to Skanderbeg's glorious fights against the Turks, in the course of reading with him about the Greek War of Independence in the Greek history textbook. Similarly, when the daughter of the Neos Kosmos family asked her mother about the origin of her grandmother's name, her mother took this chance to familiarise her daughter with Skanderbeg's story, as both the grandmother and the wife of the national hero had the same name. Children's daily experiences, and particularly the enrolment in Greek schools, promoted the narration of the new country's master narratives in the families' domestic settings (see 8.4.1). Also, leisure activities, including watching historical films and documentaries, visiting archaeological/historic sites and museums, or reading a book prompted the narration of national histories (see 7.2). The visit of the aunt of the Dafni family to the medieval castle of Krujë acted as a reminder of Skanderbeg's struggles against the Ottomans; the watching of a documentary about Dhaskal Todri (1730-1805) by the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family brought to mind the old homeland's attempts in having its national alphabet established; and the reading of anecdotal

stories by the mother of the Labrini Galatsi family elicited narratives about heroes shared between Greece and Albania.

The national stories adults and children chose to tell were directly linked to their identity goals on a personal and communal level (cf. Gillis 1994; Novick 2007). Almost all adults identified with the history of the country of origin and shared with the younger generation Albanian national narratives. These were primarily events from Albania's 'golden' periods reflecting parents' intentions of inculcating a sense of pride for the old homeland to the younger generation. Skanderbeg, the '*greatest Albanian hero*', as put by the mother of Palia Kokkinia family, was the main figure in these narratives portraying struggles for independence against traditional enemies. Accordingly, adults rarely referred to, what were perceived by them as grey areas of Albanian history, confirming the selective nature of remembering and forgetting (cf. Lowenthal 1985; McDowell 2008; Rowlands 1999; Walker 1996). Failing to forge a glorious image of the old homeland in children's perceptions, these contested accounts were intentionally excluded from the older generation's storytelling. Representative examples include political figures of ambiguous legacy, including Zog I and Hoxha (see 7.3.2; 7.3.4). Adults only mentioned Zog I to children to express their disapproval of the king's decision in leaving the Albanian people on the mercy of the Italian troops at the eve of WWII. In the same way Hoxha's leadership was not popular topic in interfamilial talk as the communist regime brought up bitter memories (see 8.4.2). Similarly to the older generation, children's storytelling projected golden histories of the old and the new homeland reflecting dual identities and belongings. Young participants combined Skanderbeg's achievements with schoolbook accounts of the Greek War of Independence. They also showed me Albanian textbooks picturing Skanderbeg as well as school drawings featuring the *fustanella*, the *tsarouhia* shoes and the *fez* hat, which are considered as national identity landmarks in Greece (see 7.2.5; 8.2.4).

National heritage was made present in families' daily life through artefacts and practices or performances not necessarily generating the narration of national myths, yet reminding participants of who they are and where they come from (see

7.4.2; 7.4.3). Similarly to research pointing out the significance of banal material culture in transforming migrants' intimate domains into fora of national space (Burrell 2006; Tolia-Kelly 2004a, 2004b, 2006a) in my study white boards, children's school drawings, national flags, folk costumes, country maps, wristbands, T-shirts, baseball caps and calendars, 'flagged' (Billig 1995) the old homeland in participants' intimate settings by acting as touchstones for 'the continuation of cultural memory' (Turan 2010, 44). Some of these national identity artefacts were acquired during participants' visits to Albania, while others were sent from the family 'left behind' making sure that individuals '*do not forget Albania*'. The aunt of the Dafni family said that her nephew's baseball cap and T-shirt, featuring the double-headed eagle, were brought from Albania by his father, '*who is very patriotic*', while the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family referred to the various gifts sent from her grandmother, including T-shirts and wristbands depicting the Albanian flag and Albanian textbooks and fairytales. In very few cases the tangible reminders of the old home were purchased in the new country. The son of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family mentioned one such case, where the father was given an Albanian calendar, when buying coffee from a grocery store selling Balkan products in the centre of Athens.

Practices of teaching children Albanian and handing down cultural values, traditions and customs to the younger generations reproduced participants' national bonds with the place of origin. These mechanisms of connecting with the old living place are not uncommon in migration literature, where studies have highlighted the significance of language, traditions, customs and values in marking a sense of collective heritage among community members (see Al-Ali 2002a; 2002b; Kershner 2006; Burrell 2004; 2006). Adults emphasised the importance of Albanian in constructing children's identity in Greece: the aunt of the Dafni family called attention to the language spoken at home to remind her nephew of his Albanian origins. Accordingly, folk traditions such as celebrating the Spring Day, taking flowers to teachers on the first day at school, or having a toddler selecting an object from the tray ensured participants' membership in the community of origin. Lastly, phrases such as '*hospitality is a major thing for us Albanians*' and '*in Albania it is the*

sons taking care of their parents' affirmed the significance of cultural values in connecting with past environments.

8.4.3.2 The making of personal and family heritage

Individuals developed deeper connections with their personal and family heritage than with the national. Contrary to the scarcity of references on national myths, the 'small' heritages endorsing 'the alternative' (Butler 2006, 471), the vernacular, the commonplace, the ordinary, the mundane and the intimate formed a substantial part of participants' daily routines (Graham *et al.* 2000; Harvey 2008; Samuel 1994; Lowenthal 1993). Small heritages took multiple forms in families' realities: from oral accounts to a range of visual and material culture forging connections with two homes (see 7.3.4; 7.3.5; 7.3.6; 7.4.2). Similarly to the national heritage, the creation of the mundane heritage reflected participants' identity goals marking out the narratives to be shared or skipped in intergenerational storytelling.

The unspectacular and the banal held a pivotal role in participants' heritage making. In the realm of the everyday a range of stimuli prompted the narration of autobiographical memories and heritages, some of which were of collective significance, yet had become deeply embedded in individuals' lived experiences. Ordinary and leisure activities, holiday seasons, events within families' life-cycles, and domestic culture became points of connection with the intimate and the banal in heritage creation. Cooking or having lunch, brought to life rituals bound up with the place of origin. These embodied reminiscences reflected adults' self-identity and backgrounds enabling them to foster bonds with the heritage of the old home. In the Labrini Galatsi family, the baking of herb pies elicited childhood stories of learning to become a good housewife by being taught how to open filo pastry by grandmothers, mothers and aunts. Accordingly, in the Palia Kokkinia having *tave kosi* for lunch prompted stories of Hoxha's Albania, where meat was difficult to get hold of, and was therefore kept for special occasions, such as family Sunday lunches (see 6.2.2). Spending certain holiday seasons in the migration destination elicited the narration of life histories from the place of birth: the mother and grandmother of the Labrini Galatsi family shared with me blissful memories of celebrating New

Year's Eve and Day in Albania, while preparing for these occasions in Athens. Certain events in the course of families' life cycle triggered the narration of accounts deriving from the parental past. Children's low performance at school encouraged parents to share with them stories of academic achievements inspiring them to become hard-working students: the mother of the Alsos Veikou Galatsi family reminded her son of his father's success in getting a scholarship and obtaining a University degree despite his rural background. Similarly, the grandfather's leg operation in the Neos Kosmos family, acted as a stimulus for re-connecting with old country values. The couple emphasised that *'in Albania it is the sons taking care of their parents'*, when explaining to me why the father, rather than his sisters, was taking care the grandfather's medical treatment. Lastly, leisure activities, such as playing with children, prompted elements of collective values, which have become deeply embedded in participants' personal lives. The daughter of Neos Kosmos family mentioned ideas of being *'a good housewife'* while playing dolls with me.

Acting as touchstones of multifarious trajectories, visual and material culture suggested a substantial part of individuals' creations of 'small' heritages in the realm of the everyday. Concurring with studies by Burrell 2008; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Miller 2008; Pahl 2004; 2012; Savaş 2010; Tolia-Kelly 2010; Turan 2010; Walsh 2006; Wilton 2009, 'home possessions' (Miller 2001b) transformed families' domestic interiors into active sites of memory-work by eliciting personal and family histories and narratives of migration and settlement. Through their collection and display, these cherished keepsakes enabled family members to create and re-create their intimate, familiar, unique, subjective heritage in three ways. Firstly, possessions carried through the journey acted as points of enfranchisement with beloved persons left behind and biographical trajectories rooted in Albania. The grandmother's photo on display in the living room of the Labrini Galatsi family called up deep emotions (see also Pahl and Rowsell 2010) by reminding the father of *'the strongest bond he ever had with a human being'*. Accordingly, old black and white family photos in the house of Labrini Galatsi family represented the mother's tangible claim for roots capturing

childhood and adulthood moments from the old living place. Secondly, personal belongings acquiring values of 'transitional objects' (Mehta and Belk 1991, 407) enabled participants to make heritage in their own terms in that they reflected their personal, familial and cultural backgrounds. The old children's book brought from Albania by the mother of the Palia Kokkinia family allowed her to shelter and nurture a 'facilitating environment' (Winnicott 2001 [1971]) in Piraeus by reminding her of the blissful, innocent school years in Hoxha's peaceful Albania. In the same way, the table cloth made by the mother of Labrini Galatsi family eased individuals' identity transition in Athens operating as a symbol of the family's cultural identity and heritage associated with textile techniques. Thirdly, mundane objects and photos of life-cycle events in the new country complete families' intimate heritage making by incorporating 'the geographies of migration' (Tolia-Kelly 2004a, 324). Residence permit cards were invested with qualities of *postmemory* (cf. Hirsch 1992; 2001; 2008) by reminding the younger generation of their parents' humiliating and traumatic experiences, particularly in the first years of settlement in the migration destination. Even though these experiences preceded the children's birth, they were so affectively conveyed to them by their parents, that they constituted memories of their own right shaping and stigmatising children's trajectories in the country of birth. Photos, featuring engagement ceremonies, nuptials and celebrations of participants' birthdays in the country of residence acted as visual representations of families' dual or hybrid heritage formed at the crossroads of two homes.

As with national heritage, the stories individuals chose to tell about their personal and family histories fulfilled self-identity goals and requirements of the present. In the context of migration, these selective narratives comprised stories of growing up in the old country, experiencing Hoxha's regime and migrating to Greece. These oral accounts served three purposes: (i) they helped adults 'bear the hardships of transplantation into a foreign culture' (Rosińska 2011, 39), (ii) they provided children with guidance of leading life in the country of birth, and (iii) they deconstructed adults' negative ethnic essentialisation by the Greek public and the media. Individual memory acquired 'a therapeutic' role in dislocation: through

recounting childhood moments of 'good old days' (cf. Ryan 2002; 2003; 2006) adults maintained their 'original identifications' securing a sense of validation, purpose, place and natural belonging in the country of settlement (Rosińska 2011, 39). The values projected in these stories, such as these of freedom and togetherness, encapsulated the older generation's intention to look for patterns and coherence in their biographies legitimising ways of upbringing that the children will not be able to experience in the country of birth. Family history recollections, capturing bleak moments, reconfigured the family's tradition and ethos by providing the younger generation morale of how to lead life in the present (see also Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998). In sharing their impoverished living conditions in Hoxha's Albania with children, adults ensured that children appreciate their current lifestyles by becoming aware of how far their parents have gone from these days. The older generation also conveyed personal histories to children to reverse images of otherness haunting the formers' migration trajectories in Greece. Through emphasising symbolic and cultural capital in a pre-migration context, either in the form of education/academic and professional achievements or above-the-average lifestyles, adults constructed a different image for themselves and their children than the one projected by the Greek media and public discourses (see also Herbert 2006; 8.4.2). Accordingly, these individuals tended not to communicate to the younger generation stories causing them discomfort, distress or suffering. Traumatic moments, which could not be easily transformed into stories of betterment and success, such as the fear of being raped or being shot on the back, while crossing the Albanian-Greek borders, did not form a popular topic of conversation between adults and children.

8.5 Implications and applications

In this section I outline my study's implications for researchers in heritage, memory and migration studies in a Greek and wider context. I then set the focus on the applications of Albanian families' experiences for practitioners in the museum, the wider heritage and the education field in Greece.

8.5.1 Implications for researchers

Albanian families' constructions of heritage call for the concept's reconceptualisation in a Greek academic and wider context by challenging old, conventional, monolithic ideas restricting heritage to materiality and the national sphere. For the five Albanian families heritage is a broad, wide and extremely diverse concept comprising not only nationalizing mythologies and ancient or more recent material remains, but also autobiographical narratives, family histories, banal material and visual culture, language, food recipes, dances, traditions, customs and cultural values. Also, contrary to prevalent conceptions in Greek literature presenting heritage as something solid, distant, buried in the past, and locked in archaeological/historic sites and museums, or the national curriculum (for a critique see Damaskos and Planztos 2008; Hamilakis 2007), Albanian families' experiences reveal a more dynamic, fluid, personalised, familial idea of heritage forming a crucial part in one's daily life. Heritage is omnipresent in families' lived experiences of the everyday. From cooking, doing the housework, playing or receiving a cardigan from a relative 'left behind' to watching a documentary and reading a book, individuals continuously create and re-create heritage through their routine and leisure activities. More importantly, the tangible and the intangible, often treated as two distinct entities creating polarizing debates in scholarly accounts (see Smith and Akagawa 2009), go hand in hand in families' heritage making. Personal belongings and material remains representing aspects of a more ancient or recent past elicit autobiographical, family and national histories, emotions, ideas, feelings, knowledges, values, beliefs, motivations and aspirations, which are all a substantial part of families' heritages. Lastly, the national and the personal or familial, often perceived as conflicting concepts in academic heritage discourses, freely intermingle in families' creations. Personal histories prompt the making of national histories and vice versa: a grandmother's names stimulates the narration of a national hero's achievements, while elements of collective heritage, such as becoming a good housewife, showing hospitality and taking care of one's parents, becomes an essential part of an individuals' personal and family heritage by influencing their social conducts.

Albanian families' lived experiences suggest implications for researchers looking at intergenerational memory transition in migrant groups. Individuals' accounts and performances confirmed that the mnemonic community of the family plays a critical role in the younger generation's mnemonic socialization (Fivush 2007; Halbwachs 1992 [1952]; Zerubavel 1996; 1997). Families provided children with mnemonic lenses, and children adopted their parents and extended relatives' cognitive and affective frame of reference to recall past narratives. This acquired primary significance in a migration context, where the mnemonic community of the family competed with this of the school and the wider society. Parents altered children's mnemonic systems through storytelling by sharing with them counter-narratives, or else the Albanian version of contested events concerning the history of Greek-Albanian relations. The younger generation endorsed parents' frame of reference, at times conflicting with the society's or the school community's frame of reference. For instance, the son of the family in Alsos Veikou Galatsi had adopted his parents' views regarding the ethnocentric content of the Greek textbook and deconstructed his Greek classmates' irredentist territorial claims over the southern regions of Albania. It is therefore suggested that in exploring processes of transgenerational transmission of memories in migrant contexts scholars pay equal attention to the different mnemonic communities competing for the younger generations' formation of mnemonic systems.

In migration studies researchers looking at identity formation in-between countries need to pay closer attention to the relationship between individuals' external behaviour and internal feelings. My study's findings indicated that even though adult participants undertook a series of transnational activities in their course of their everyday lives, these did not necessarily reflect their national affiliations. Apart from the mothers of the Dafni and Labrini Galatsi families, who felt close to the Greek culture, adults in all five families thought of their and the second generation's alignment to the Albanian collectivity as something self-obvious or undisputable. This was regardless of Greek and Albanian elements fused in re-constructing identity and building one's life in-between two homes. Parents

enrolled children in Greek schools, employed both Greek and Albanian to communicate at home, bought property in Athens, renovated houses in the homevillage and watched both Greek and Albanian TV, yet made clear-cut distinctions between *Ours* and *Others'* history and regarded Albanian as the children's mother tongue. It was only with children participants that transnational practices mirrored internal feelings of national identity (see 8.4.1).

Also, researchers theorising Albanian migration to Greece need to pay closer attention to females' narratives. Contrary to the common view in literature (Hatziprokopiou 2003; 2004; Pratsinakis 2005) projecting males as the pioneers of the migration journey and the primary decisions makers, my study indicated that Albanian women actively contribute in the running of the household. Particularly the accounts by the mother Alsos Veikou Galatsi family revealed that as breadwinners of their families, females are able to negotiate individual identity and gender relations in the migration destination. Even though these gender transformations do not play out during families' trips to Albania, as women return to patriarchal values of being submissive to one's husband and parents-in-law, this is not the case in the country of settlement, where men are expected to assist in the housework routine.

8.5.2 Applications for practitioners

My study's findings have direct applications for policy makers and professionals working in the museum, heritage and education field in Greece.

Museums and heritage institutions need to introduce initiatives and projects acknowledging the heritage of the Albanian community in Greece. This study has shown that the Albanian families wish for their heritage to be valued and recognised in a Greek public context. Participants took pride of a Greek wishing to voice what was regarded as stigmatized and backward by the host society. This was particularly felt in cases, where parents and children introduced me to their social networks, expressing with joy that *'Eleni is doing a study on Albanians and their*

history and heritage'. Museums can address these concerns by launching exhibitions presenting the ancient and more recent Albanian history. These initiatives can introduce the Albanian community to the Greek population and highlight historical connections developed between the neighbouring nations thus deconstructing notions of otherness. A representative example comes from the Benaki Museum in Athens, where professionals employ the museum's exhibits, such as the portrait of the Ali Pasha of Tepelena⁵⁹, to introduce schoolchildren to the historical associations of the two nations during the Ottoman period (pers. comm. Giannoulatou 2007).

Exhibitions on the community's post-1990 migration history including oral testimonies, personal and family history possessions carried through the journey, or material culture exposing the community's discriminative treatment by the host society, can provide the Greek population with a more informed image of the motivations and complexities of the Albanian migration. Participants' living experiences in the old country and difficulties of settling in the migration destination can bring Greeks closer to their Balkan neighbours, by reminding them of their twentieth-century migration for work to the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and Germany. These intercultural projects acquire further prominence in the current fragile sociopolitical climate in Greece, where the growing popularity of the Golden Dawn ultra-nationalist right-wing party has extensively spread anti-immigrant feelings and ideas of 'Greece belongs to the Greeks' (see 1.2). In voicing the Albanian (in case of adults) or the Greek-Albanian (in case of children) experience, museum practitioners designing exhibitions, education programmes and family, or community, events should not perceive the Albanian community as a homogenous entity. Class, lived experiences in the migration destination and personal histories, values and beliefs are among the decisive factors, giving rise to heritage multivocality within the same national group or family. It is therefore suggested, that professionals adopt ways and methods that acknowledge the community's heterogeneity by seeking advice and feedback from

⁵⁹ Ali Pasha of Tepelena (1740-1822) was an Ottoman Albanian ruler in the area of Ioannina in northwest Greece (Fleming 1999).

diverse members (in terms of age, gender, class, regional and sociocultural background) when delivering such initiatives.

Beyond the focus on the Albanian community, museums and heritage institutions in Greece need to adopt policies and practices that will make them more inclusive and attractive to the country's ethnically and culturally diverse population, as well as make Greeks aware of their multicultural past. The growing number of people leading lives between two or more countries dictates that these organisations can no longer perpetuate nationalistic ideas emphasising purity and ethnic homogeneity. On the contrary, children participants' uneasiness and discomfort toward their multicultural heritage generates an urgent need for the cultural sector to approach and present the past as 'other' (Rowlands 2000, 58) or emphasise the 'strangeness of the past' (Sommer 2000, 138) by exploring the plurality and diversity of identities that have existed. Professionals working in Greek museums and archaeological or historical sites can employ their material collections to showcase the borrowings and cross-overs of ideas developed in history among different ethnic groups through trade, migration and movement. Two representative examples from a Greek context include the 'Holy Books: the Torah, the Koran, the Gospels' (Treveza-Sousi 2005) and the 'We are travelling... through cultures' (Kalessopoulou 2007) museum education programmes. The first was introduced in 2006 by the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, the Benaki Museum of Islamic Art and the Jewish Museum in Athens. The programme invited sixth-grade primary school children to explore the cultural connections among the three monotheistic religious communities through examples of religious art featured in the holy books. The 'we are travelling... through cultures' programme was launched by the National Archaeological Museum in Athens in 2006. It allowed primary school children to explore the topic of migration and movement in ancient times by looking at the cultural exchanges between ancient Greek city states and Egypt and Mesopotamia as represented in the museum's exhibits.

Textbook authors and teachers in Greek education need to introduce cross-cultural activities to make their students feel comfortable with their dual origins

and heritages in a school and societal context. As the study's findings indicated, even though young participants have adopted Greek elements while building life in Athens, this does not mean that they disregard the heritage of the parental homeland. On the contrary, parents and children's discourses revealed discontent over 'ethnocentric contents' and the complete omission of Albanian history from the Greek curriculum. The authors of the Modern Greek textbook in the second grade of primary school have addressed these concerns to some extent by including a boy with a typical Albanian name ('Arben') among the protagonists of their stories (Gavriilidou *et al.* 2010). Even though this initiative acknowledges the presence of the Albanian community in Greece, there need to be more projects deconstructing the ideas of nationalism and ethnic homogeneity prevalent in the Greek curriculum. The authors of Greek history textbooks can use examples from the Byzantine and Ottoman period to highlight the country's plural history. The presence of Arvanites from the Middle Ages in today's Greece and their contribution in the Greek War of Independence can instigate discussion on the different ethnic and culturally diverse communities (among which Turks, Vlachs and Macedonians) inhabiting at that time what is known today as Greek territory (see 3.3.1; 7.3.2).

Teachers need to encourage intercultural dialogue by inviting students from different backgrounds to exchange ideas and experiences. In practice these activities can take multiple forms: from asking students to share with the rest of the classroom traditions and customs followed in the old country to launching food festivals, where students' parents familiarise the school community with the cuisine of their home countries. The mother in the family of Labrini Galatsi applauded instances, where her son's kindergarten teacher invited her father to share with his grandson's peers the customs followed in Albania during New Year's Eve and Day. Accordingly, the making of food recipes played a pivotal role in connecting families with the old home, while at the same time affirmed the Albanian community's historical connections with the country of settlement and birth (see 6.2.2). Other ways of stimulating cross-cultural dialogue could be to encourage children to read literature from the parental homeland as part of school-reading activities, or remind them of the Greek state's ethnic and cultural heterogeneity in national days

celebrating its establishment. The example of the daughter of Labrini Galatsi family joining her Greek classmates in the 25th of March national day by being dressed in an Albanian folk costume sheds light on how the commemoration of a national day can highlight a country's multicultural heritage (see 7.2.5).

Lastly, policy makers in Greek education need to cater for the multicultural population in the school community by offering classes of the language of the home country. Even though adult participants did not expect from Greek schools to cover their children's needs in the acquisition of Albanian, the provision of such facilities as an optional module was recommended by three families, who reported the lack of Albanian community centres at the vicinity of their houses. Distance was of major importance for Albanian families, when it came to selecting children's extra-curricula activities. Parents' heavy working commitments and exclusive dependence on mass transport prevented them from enrolling their offspring to activities requiring long hours of commuting. Greek schools could also cater for students' parents by offering them classes of Modern Greek. In all families parents felt apologetic for their poor or intermediate level in written Greek, which did not allow them to assist children with homework. In 2010 a state primary school near the centre of Athens attempted to cater for its large Albanian-and-Arab-heritage students and their parents by offering classes of Albanian and Arabic to the former and classes of Modern Greek to the later. The classes only lasted for a few months, as the Ministry of Education suspended the school's director for not having secured official approval for this initiative (Kinisi Goneon Galatsiou 2013).

8.6 Limitations of the study and issues for future research

My study focuses on five Albanian families having settled in the regions of Athens and Piraeus no latter than 1997. Its findings are specific to its context. However, it is intended that the results of this thesis not only offer a comprehensive understanding of the case studies analysed, but also contribute in the body of theoretical research of how identity informs history and heritage making in the diasporic realm from the lens of socially excluded groups. This was addressed by

enhancing transferability. Detailed, thorough descriptions of the research setting and its key features and particularities is considered to enable future researchers to judge and identify for themselves, which findings resonate with them and can apply to their cases.

This research is also limited in the sense that the cases analysed and presented represent a small, delimited fraction of the Albanian community in Greece. My study includes Albanian families of rural, urban and mixed backgrounds with Greek-born children residing in Athens and Piraeus. Albanians of rural Greece were not included. Neither was there an equal distribution of families from the northern, southern or central parts of Albania to systematically highlight the local identity factor in constructing history and heritage. Also, children participating in this study were Greek-born and no older than thirteen-years-of age. Even though I attempted to include families with Albanian-born children in my research, this was not feasible due to children's heavy school commitments and preparations for exams securing them entry to the Greek University. Future research could address this by exploring identity building and history and heritage work both among Albanian-born children, arriving in Greece at a young or later age, and Albanian migrants based in rural areas of the country.

The types of data presented and analysed derived from daily and leisure activities embedded in the context of family life. The focus was mainly set on individuals' processes of popular history and heritage making through domestic visual and material culture, past-related conversations, embodied practices, TV programmes and historical films, visits to museums and heritage sites and book reading. Exploring the contribution of formal sources of history and heritage knowledge in shaping children's familiarisation with national narratives remained limited to (i) attending school celebrations of national anniversaries and (ii) eliciting talk on what children were taught in history at school by helping them with schoolwork, as well as discussing with them drawings prepared in a school context for national anniversaries. Given the second generation's widespread enrolment in Greek schools, future research could more thoroughly address its history and

heritage engagements by focusing on what are typically considered official sources of historical knowledge, such as the school environment, the school celebrations of national anniversaries and the field trips to heritage sites and museums.

It is further recognised that by setting its focus on history and heritage making, embedded in family life and its private environment, my study has privileged adults' accounts at the expense of those of children. Practices of identity-work and, more importantly, history and heritage making, where children were protagonists, primarily took place in environments outside the family, such as neighbourhoods, schools and extra-curricula activities. These were included and discussed to a lesser extent in my thesis partly due to my intention of examining how the first generation's living memories from Albania shaped processes of identity formation, history and heritage making in families; partly due to my limited participation in these activities; and partly due to my lack of experience in conducting research with children at the beginning of fieldwork. Future research could more specifically address the second generation's identity and heritage work by placing more emphasis on children's perspective, particularly outside the family context.

Also, data collection took place exclusively on participants' places of settlement and birth in the case of children. My engagements with families' back-and-forth trips to Albania rested on individuals' oral accounts and those of their guests from the country of origin, coupled with examples of visual and material culture. It is acknowledged that my study offers a partial picture of members' identity, history and heritage-work, as it treats such processes only from the angle of the new country. Even though a couple of families invited me to join them in their trips to Albania this was not feasible, due to my research programme's time limits. Given the tremendous emotional investment family members placed in the parental homeland, future research could provide a more informed picture of Albanian migrants' social itineraries in the country of origin by offering insight to the dynamics and differences of making heritage when joining the family left behind.

The translation of the data formed another limitation of this study. Data collection was not conducted in parents' mother tongue, but in Greek. Children were confident in expressing their views and thoughts in Greek given their poor, basic or intermediate level in Albanian. For parents the employment of a non-native language may have restrained their ability to fully and precisely elaborate their ways of valuing, feelings, thoughts and ideas (Fishman 1996). I addressed these issues by adopting more visual oriented approaches. For instance, parents' photos from Albania and children's drawings proved useful devices in elaborating meanings and emotions attached to life-histories. Also, the fact that families' comments and narratives were translated from Greek to English may have resulted to limitations in terms of accurately and meticulously conveying participants' interpretations and explanations of processes described.

The bibliography employed shaped the product of this research. My theoretical framework primarily drew from English and Greek literature and to a limited extent from Albanian, minimising chances of escaping from the 'Western gaze' (Bender 1999). Data analysis uncovered themes regarding participants' identity as learners in a family, history and heritage/museum context, which the literature review of this thesis did not cover. Also, even though class emerged as an important factor of constructing history and heritage, the fact that the English and Greek literatures are not very extensive on Greek and Albanian class systems respectively, did not allow me to thoroughly investigate class identity in constructions of history and heritage.

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Appendix I: Key dates in Albanian history (From Hall 1994)

c. 1000	Illyrians travel from central Europe to settle in Western Balkans
7 th – 5 th centuries BC	Greeks from Corfu and Corinth colonise the Albanian coast: founding of Epidamnus and Apollonia
5 th -3 rd centuries BC	The flowering of the state of Illyria
167 BC	The Illyrian kingdom is brought under Roman rule
2 nd century AD	Illyrians become known as Arbërs; Christianity spreads
395	Division of the Roman Empire. Arbëria becomes part of the Byzantine Empire.
1190	Proclamation of the feudal state of Arbëria in northern Albania
14 th -15 th century	Rise of an independent Albanian principality governed by three families: Dukagjin (north), Kastriot (centre) and Arianit (south)
1431	The Ottomans take a large part of Albania under their control
1442	Gjergj Kastrioti (Skanderbeg) (1405-1468) resigns from Turkish army, enters Krujë with 300 Albanians, proclaims independence of the principality of Kastrioti and raises his red family flag with its black double-headed eagle.
1468	Death of Skanderbeg
1501	Ottoman control of Albanian lands is complete
16 th -17 th centuries	Tens of thousands of Albanians are forced to emigrate due to hunger and oppression, mainly to southern Italy. Others become assimilated as Muslims, turn to brigandage or join the Turkish army. Yet others travel all over the Ottoman Empire as traders, artisans and manual workers.
1829	The Albanian Literary Society is founded in Constantinople.
1878	The League for the Defense of the Albanian Nation is founded in Prizren.
1910-1913	Balkan Wars
1912	Proclamation of Albania independence at Vlorë, 28 November.
1928	Ahmet Zogu crowns himself King Zog I
1939	Italian invasion and occupation
1944	Partisans seize control under the leadership of Enver Hoxha
1948	Cominform break with Yugoslavia
1953	Death of Stalin
1961	Sino-Soviet rift sees Albania leaving the Soviet bloc

1967	Albanian 'cultural revolution' including the banning of religion
1978	Climax of the rift with China as that country's last technicians and advisors are withdrawn from Albania
1985	Enver Hoxha dies and is formally succeeded by Alia
1990	Opposition political parties are legalised and the ban of religion is lifted
1992	Albania's Democratic Party under Dr Salih Berisha comes into power

Appendix II: Conversation themes and data sources

The table below presents data sources and themes around which conversations with participants evolved. Data sources are placed in order of relevance for each theme.

Conversation themes		Data sources
	Daily activities	
	Producing diets of home	Participant observation; Interviews
	Parents' professions and working commitments	Participant observation; Interviews
	Children's school performance	Participant observation; Interviews
	Families' use of the neighbourhood	Walking interviews; Participant observation; Visual ethnography (photos)
	Leisure activities	
	Exposure to ethnic media	Participant observation; Interviews
	Exposure to Greek media	Participant observation; Interviews
	Social networks	Participant observation; Interviews
	Participating in ethnic group functions	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos)

	Building friendships with Greeks	Participant observation
	Children's extra-curricula activities and hobbies	Interviews; Walking interviews; Participant observation; Visual methods (photos)
	Communication patterns	
	Communicating in Greek and/or Albanian	Participant observation
	Adults teaching children Albanian	Interviews; Participant observation; Visual ethnography (textbooks)
	Adults' motives of teaching children Albanian	Interviews
	Contacts with Albania	
	Receiving gifts from Albania	Visual ethnography (clothing; daily goods); Interviews
	Receiving visitors from Albania	Participant observation; Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos)
	Keeping in touch with family 'left behind'	Participant observation; Interviews
	Trips to Albania	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos; children's drawings)

	The migration experience	
	Reasons for leaving Albania	Interviews
	The journey to Greece	Interviews
	Settlement in Greece- the first years	Interviews
	Experiencing exclusion and stigmatization in Greece	Interviews; Participant observation
	Deconstructing ' <i>racist</i> ' ideologies	Interviews
	Possibility of returning to Albania	Interviews
	Adults learning Greek	Interviews; Participant observation; Visual ethnography (textbooks)
	Mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage	
	Celebrating Greek national days	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos; Greek flag; children's drawings); Participant observation
	Celebrating Albanian national days	Interviews
	Films/Documentaries	Interviews; Participant observation
	Museum and site visiting	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos; children's drawings; souvenirs); Participant observation
	The Greek national curriculum	Participant

		observation; Interviews
	Classroom teachings	Interviews
	Reading books	Participant observation; Visual ethnography (history books)
	History making	
	Adults and children's thoughts on the Greek and Albanian national history	Interviews
	Adults' thoughts on the teaching of Albanian national histories to their children	Interviews
	National histories circulated among family members	Interviews; Visual ethnography (souvenirs; children's drawings); Participant observation
	Personal and family histories circulated among family members	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos; personal belongings); Participant observation
	Adults' motives of communicating national and personal histories to their children	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos; personal belongings); Participant observation
	Children's motives of communicating national histories to adults	Interviews
	Heritage making	
	Cultural values	Participant

		observation; Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos)
	Life-cycle events	Interviews; Participant observation; Visual ethnography (photos; videos)
	Traditions and customs	Interviews; Visual ethnography (photos; books)
	Identity themes	
	National identity themes	Visual ethnography (Albanian map; Albanian flag; Albanian whiteboard; Albanian calendar; T- shirts featuring the Albanian flag; qeleshe; souvenirs; Albanian folk costume); Interviews
	Cultural identity themes	Visual ethnography (tablecloths; embroidery); Interviews; Participant observation
	Personal identity themes	Visual ethnography (personal belongings);

		Interviews
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Appendix III: Albanian families' life in the aftermath of the Greek economic crisis

In this section I outline how Albanian families' lives have been affected by Greece's austerity programmes: from employment and relationships with the Greeks to their thoughts on the recent rise of a fascist party in the Greek parliament and their considerations of leaving the country of settlement. These themes were at the heart of my telephone conversations with family members in the aftermath of my second fieldwork season (July 2011) until September 2012, when I made a short trip to Athens to specifically explore the aforementioned issues. The data discussed in this section derive from data collection and analysis following my September-stay in Athens, where I had informal discussions with adults and children. The topics treated shed light on how individuals, and families, as a group, construct their identities on a personal, social, cultural and ethnic level in-between Greece and Albania.

Greece's economic measures had a tremendous impact on Albanian families' lifestyles. During my September visits to families' houses, all adults told me reported that their working hours and salaries have been slashed down, while Adlint admitted being out of employment for the last two years. Nora told me that her daily wage went down from thirty to twenty Euros; Blerina mentioned going from full-time to part-time; Eugenie shared with me stories of having to 'chase' her employer to collect her unpaid wages and Gentiana told me that she offered more services to the family she worked for by helping their children with schoolwork, yet was unable to claim a pay rise. Dramatically reduced income resulted in cutting down on leisure and daily costs for most families. Adelina emphasised that her family had to live on twenty Euros per week during February and March 2012, with her mother providing members with food on a regular basis. Even in cases where parents' salaries, such as these of Drita and Artan, were not significantly affected by the austerity measures, adults expressed widespread fear over the years to come in terms of being able to pay their bills or mortgage.

The economic and sociopolitical turmoil of the last couple of years (see 1.2) shaped family members' relationships with the Greeks and the country of settlement. On an interpersonal level, all parents confirmed that their interactions with the Greeks they felt close to, such as their employers or their friends, have not been influenced by the crisis. According to Nora and Drita this was largely the result of building relationships of trust with these people, who did not treat family members as *'Albanians, but as individuals'*. However, the draconian austerity imposed by the Greek government appeared to have reconfigured Greeks' perceptions of Albanians and immigrants in general. Blerina told me of two Greek women chatting in the bus that *'immigrants need to be kicked out of the country' for "'stealing" the natives' jobs'* and *'for making money and buying houses'* in Greece, while the local population struggles to rescue its property from debts. Adelina drew attention to stories circulated by the Greek media according to which Albanians were *'taking their bank deposits from Greece to Albania'* and Albanian MPs were charged of *'inviting poor Greeks to undertake dirty jobs in Albania'*. In the first case, the narrative produced damaged Albanians' reputation, according to the mother, by implying that *'even though Albanians made good money in Greece, they preferred to invest it back in their home country'*, thus further hampering the country's economic recovery. In the second case, the Greek media perpetuated Greek-Albanian rivalry by misinterpreting the intentions of the Albanian MP. While the latter offered highly skilled employment to Greek jobseekers, according to Adelina, the Greek media claimed instead that the Albanian government *"invited" the desperate Greeks to Albania to do the badly-paid, low-status jobs that the latter do for the former in Greece'*. Incidents such as these caused frustration to participants: Blerina and Petros called Greeks *'racist'* and were disappointed by the idea of Golden-Dawn winning a considerable amount of seats in the Greek parliament (see 1.2).

Similarly to Blerina and Petros, individuals in most families, felt embarrassed of living in a country, where despite its *'rich migration history'* and *'long-held tradition of democracy'* quoting Gentiana, local people encouraged *'fascist'* agendas to sweep in the Parliament. Yet, even though, the Golden Dawn supporters were

considered *'to have killed ten Pakistani immigrants so far'* according to Artan, most participants did not see the status of the Albanian community being at risk as a result of the party's election. As Gentiana and Adelina made explicit, *'there were also Albanian members in the party'* (see also Chasapopoulos 2012) attributed by Kostas to the party's pro-Albanian profile. *'Greeks and Albanians share the same blood'* the father told me quoting the party's leader, Nikos Michaloliakos. Indeed, Kostas' statements are confirmed by the Golden Dawn's 1980s publications, where linguistic and historical connections lead the article's journalist to conclude that Greeks and Albanians are *'one people, one tribe, one fatherland'* (Golden Dawn 1986, 19). Along these lines, Michaloliakos claimed more recently during a Greek TV programme that *'a substantial percentage of Albanians can be considered Greeks'* given the two nations' co-existence and *'close relationships for more than a thousand years'* (Political Barometer 2012). Plato also elucidated that his family *'did not feel threatened'* by the Golden Dawn's anti-immigrant policies, as these were mainly aimed at Greece's Asian and African population, *'disturbing white supremacy ideals'*.

Many family members have considered leaving Greece for another migration destination or Albania within the depressive economic climate. Apart from the families of Neos Kosmos and Labrini Galatsi, who opted to remain in Greece as a result of buying a flat (for the first family) and of perceiving Albania *'as a life chapter that has closed'* (for the second family), members of all other families could imagine themselves leaving their current residences. This is in sharp contrast to the families' accounts from last year (December 2010-June 2011), where adults had confirmed that the chances of return were minimum (see 6.3.2). Many Albanians in Greece had already returned to Albania according to Gentiana (see also The Economist 2012), who thought that of her home country as the sole destination of securing high-status employment. Yet this was not an easy decision to take: Gentiana explained that even though the family kept close contacts with Albania through repeated visits, the children's enrolment in Greek schools put the family's plans on hold. In the family of Palia Kokkinia, the idea of leaving Greece was mostly favoured by the mother. Blerina saw the United Kingdom, where her cousin was

based, as the ideal migration destination for her children's future career. *'Racism and xenophobic behaviour'* toward Albanians *'hardly existed'* in Western European countries according to the mother, who had applied for her children's Greek citizenship to secure the family's entry to the UK. Gentiana and Blerina's accounts confirm the salience of children's well-being in adults' decisions. In both families, women either postponed their plans of returning to Albania or considered leaving Greece, considering *'what would be better'*, as Blerina said, for the children's present and future. For Blerina's husband and son, on the other hand, moving from Piraeus was not an attractive option. Arben had made explicit to his wife that *'the family will remain in Greece as long as he is in employment'*, whereas Petros found it hard to leave his friends in Piraeus and make new ones *'in a foreign country'*, as he said. Lastly, for the family members in Alsos Veikou Galatsi, the return to Albania was mostly driven by personal, rather than economic, motives. The recent passing away of Nora's younger brother had made the mother reevaluate her responsibilities as a daughter toward her parents, who were now left alone in the country of origin. The family planned to settle in Durrës, where Nora's parents were based, by the time Erion finished high school. However, this was *'not a comfortable decision'* as Nora clarified. Even though Erion was eager to settle in Albania, where his social circle was much bigger than in Athens, his mother was worried about the idea of putting her financial and personal independence at risk by having to start her life from scratch again (see 6.3.2).

Appendix IV: Table of tree codes

The table below presents the four major analytical categories suggesting the explanatory scheme of my research. Codes representing raw blocks of data are hierarchically related to each other ('tree codes').

Identity, history and heritage at the crossroads of Greece and Albania	
1 . Cultural and ethnic identity formation at the crossroads of Greece and Albania	
a.	The Albanian aspect
i.	Ways of communicating in Albanian
	○ Language choices
	Adults
	Children
	Adult-child talk
	○ Motives driving Albanian language transmission
	Ethnic identity retention
	Educational value
	Capability to communicate with grandparents 'left behind'
	Future repatriation
	○ Different motives causing conflicts between parents
	○ Teaching children Albanian
	In the mothering role
	In the grand-mothering role
	○ Adults promoting children's contacts with Albanian
	Hiring Albanian teachers
	Albanian community associations
	Reading material
	Albanian satellite TV
	Nursery songs
	Trips to Albania
	'Albanian talk for one day'
ii.	Producing and consuming diets of home
	○ Producing Albanian dishes

	Savoury dishes
	Desserts
	Drinks
	○ Introducing children to the Albanian cuisine
	Children's views of the Albanian cuisine
	○ Memories associated with food
	○ Expressing views on the quality of the Albanian food
	○ Expressing similarities between the Greek and Albanian cuisines
	○ Passing down recipes and cooking skills
	○ Visitors from Albania bringing and sending food to families
	iii. Personal networks
	○ Kinship
	○ Friendship
	○ Common ethnic origin
	○ Places of socialising
	Public settings
	Domestic settings
	○ Ways of socialising
	Social gatherings of formal nature
	Exchanging house visits
	Exchanging things they no longer need
	Looking after their relatives and friends' children
	Lending each other money
	Offering assistance in times of sickness
	iv. Participating in ethnic-group functions
	○ Participating in Albanian community events
	○ Being personally involved in the setting up of Albanian community events
	○ Forms of Albanian community events
	○ Introducing children to Albanian community events
	Enrolling children in Albanian associations
	Children participating in Albanian community events
	v. Exposure to Albanian media
	○ Albanian satellite TV

	Connecting with the Albanian cultural heritage: folk music, dances, costumes
	○ Albanian press
	○ Online media
	vi. Contacts with Albania
	○ Receiving visitors from Albania
	Activities conducted with visitors from Albania
	Types of visitors: direct and extended family
	○ Receiving gifts from Albania
	○ Telephone conversations
	○ Online conversations
	vii. Trips to Albania
	○ Motives of visiting Albania
	○ Social itineraries and activities
	Activities shaped by grandparents' areas of residence and lifestyles
	○ Refreshing children's contacts with the parental and grandparental culture
	Albanian language
	Grandparents and parents' environments of growing up, ways of living and values
	National history
	Customs followed in life-cycle events
	○ Children's descriptions of visiting Albania
	Urban landscapes
	Rural landscapes
	b. The migration experience
	i. Experiencing exclusion and stigmatization
	○ In interactions with the Greek society
	○ In personal relationships with Greeks
	○ By the Greek media
	○ In the Greek school community
	○ In an institutional context
	○ In the labour market
	○ Strategies of 'survival'

	Name changing
	Making 'a good impression'
	○ Identifying sources of racism
	Ethnicisation of criminal behaviour
	○ Deconstructing racism
	Questioning ethnicisation of criminal behaviour
	Projecting themselves as Albanian family people
	Pride-in-work narratives
	ii. Ways of living in the new country
	○ Cultural similarities between Greeks and Albanians
	○ Building friendships with Greeks
	Children
	Adults
	Working environments
	School environments
	○ Fluency in Greek
	○ The 'myth of return'
	○ Daily routines and leisure activities
	Daily routines
	Leisure activities
	○ Purchasing property in the new country
2. Mechanisms of connecting with history and heritage	
	i. Documentaries and historical films
	○ Documentaries
	On the Albanian history
	On the Greek history
	On world history
	○ Historical films
	Introducing parents to Albanian history
	Introducing children to Albanian history
	ii. The Greek national curriculum and classroom teaching
	○ Greek national curriculum
	Expressing views on the Greek national curriculum

	iii. Past-related talk
	○ National histories and motives
	○ Personal histories and motives
	iv. Commemorations of national anniversaries
	○ Children participating in school national anniversaries
	School plays
	School choirs
	Choreographies
	Spelling out Greek folk poems
	<i>Commemorabilia</i>
	○ Parents' memories of commemorative ceremonies in Albania
	v. Visits to heritage sites and museums
	○ Motivations
	Education/participation
	Life-cycle
	Family event
	Entertainment
	Practical issues
	Identity-related motivations
	○ Heritage sites and museums visited
	In Albania
	In Greece
	vi. Books
	vii. Identity informing the selection of mechanisms
	viii. Trustworthiness informing the selection of mechanisms
3. History making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania	
	a. National histories
	i. Identity perceptions and personal experiences shaping the national histories told
	○ Avoiding national history talk out of fear of boosting the second generation's nationalistic feelings
	○ Challenging the authenticity of Greek official narratives
	○ Expressing compassion toward Greece's 'traditional enemies'
	ii. The histories circulated
	○ Ottoman period

	Skanderbeg
	Shared histories
	On the Greek War of Independence
	○ WWII
	Albanian counter-narratives
	b. Personal histories
	i. Enver Hoxha's regime
	○ Expressions of a positive legacy
	Promoting Albania's cultural heritage
	Infrastructure
	Education
	A 'safe, innocent society'
	○ Expressions of a negative legacy
	Isolation
	'Wasted years'
	○ Mixed responses
	Abolition of religion
	○ Introducing children to historical remains of Enver Hoxha's regime
	ii. Ways of growing up in Albania
	○ Motives of sharing stories of growing up in Albania
	Connecting with the birthplace's landscapes
	Connecting with ways of upbringing
	Connecting with values encountered in upbringing
	Encouraging children to appreciate their current lifestyles in Greece
	Distorting adults' negative (ethnic) essentialisations in Greece
	iii. The migration history
	○ Motives driving families' exoduses from Albania
	○ Greece as a migration destination and other migration destinations
	○ Adults' patterns of migration
	○ Hardships of the journey from Albania to Greece
	○ Destitute living conditions
	○ First jobs
	○ Learning Greek

	○ Experience of exclusion in the aftermath of arrival in Greece
4. Heritage making at the crossroads of Greece and Albania	
	a. Material and visual culture
	i. Possessions acting as points of connection with beloved persons from Albania
	ii. Possessions acting as point of connection with biographical trajectories rooted in Albania
	ii. 'Transitional' material and visual culture
	○ Possessions as symbols of personal history
	○ Possessions as symbols of family histories
	○ Possessions as symbols of cultural identity
	○ Possessions as symbols of national identity
	iii. Possessions incorporating the 'geographies of migration'
	○ Possessions embodying intentions of leaving home
	○ Possessions embodying experiences of discrimination in Greece
	○ Possessions revealing connections with the new country
	iv. Forms of material and visual culture
	○ Visual culture
	Photos from Albania
	Photos taken in Greece
	Whiteboard featuring the Albanian flag
	Albanian calendars
	Children's drawings
	○ Material culture
	Fairytales
	Tablecloths
	Gifts sent from Albania
	Albanian and Greek flag
	Albanian map
	Skanderbeg's replica bust
	<i>Qeleshe</i> ('skull cap')
	Embroidered decorative items
	English-Albanian dictionaries
	The 'white card'

	b. Embodied practices
	i. Performing traditions and customs
	○ Parents passing down traditions and customs to children
	○ Celebrating national days
	○ Children's first haircut
	○ Bringing flowers to teachers
	○ The infant's 'object-selection-from-the-tray' custom
	○ Blood feuds
	Undesirable heritage
	ii. Cultural values
	○ Hospitality
	○ The family institution
	'Sons taking care of their parents'
	○ 'Wives following their husbands in their places of residence'
	○ Being a 'good housewife'
	○ Boys growing up to become 'real men'
	○ Wives being submissive to their husbands and mothers-in-law
	○ Patriarchal upbringing
	○ Parents inculcating values of the 'old country' in children
	○ Parents excluding from children's upbringing values of the old country
	iii. Life-cycle events
	○ Types of life-cycle events
	Weddings
	Funerals
	Celebrations of children's birth
	Engagement ceremonies
	○ Location
	The old country
	The new country
	○ Introducing children to aspects of Albanian heritage
	Folk music
	Folk dance
	Marriage customs

	Engagement customs
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Appendix V: Information Sheet for Parent/Guardian in Research Studies

Information Sheet for.....Parent/Guardian.... in Research Studies

You will be given a copy of this information sheet.

**University College of London
Institute of Archaeology
31-34 Gordon Square
London WC1H 0PY**



Eleni Vomvyla

████████████████████
████████████████████

Theano Moussouri

████████████████████

Title of project:

Addressing cultural diversity through the past: a case study of the multicultural Athenian society

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee
[Project ID Number]: 2344/001

We would like to invite you to participate in this research project.

You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Feel free to ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research project is interested on how immigrant families relate/connect to their cultural heritage and identities, and how in turn, these relationships shape the families' interactions with the past in Athens (and more broadly in Greece). For the purpose of this study, the researcher will collaboratively work with Albanian families to address their concerns and interests regarding their daily life in Athens; their leisure time; their cultural heritage; and their interaction with the past in Greece. By contributing in each stage of this research project, you and your family will be able to produce in partnership with the researcher, a

jointly defined outcome that 'gives voice' to your systems of meaning and motivations. In addition, your stories will provide meaningful information and data on how Greek archaeology (museums, Ephorates and Hellenic Ministry of Culture bodies) can address, cater for, and engage with immigrant families in Athens.

Who can take part in this research?

Immigrant families of Albanian origin, both single-parent and nuclear, residing in the Municipality of Athens can take part in this research.

What will happen if your family takes part?

If you and your family take part, you will be able to get actively involved in each stage of the research process, from the definition of research questions to the collection, analysis, interpretation of data and the dissemination of results. For this purpose, the researcher will have interviews in multiple sessions with you and the members of your family at a time and place that suits you and does not affect your work schedule. Interviews will be in the form of conversations/informal discussions and will preferably be recorded. All recorded interviews will be transcribed (written up) and the tape will then be wiped clear. However, if you and the members of your family feel uncomfortable with the idea of being recorded, the researcher will take notes instead. As part of the study, you and your family members can also participate in larger group discussions with other Albanian families. Lastly, you and your family can collaboratively decide with the researcher and engage in activities that are socially relevant to its members.

What are the possible benefits of participating in this study?

The participatory nature of this research project aims for Albanian families to be its main beneficiaries. By contributing in each stage of this research project, you and your family will be able to produce in partnership with the researcher, a jointly defined outcome that 'gives voice' to your concerns and motivations. In addition, your stories will provide meaningful information and data on how Greek archaeology (museums, Ephorates and Hellenic Ministry of Culture bodies) can address, cater for, and engage with immigrant families in Athens.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All data obtained during the study will remain confidential and used for research purposes only. Your name or any identifying characteristics will not be enclosed in this study and will not be available to anybody at any point other than my supervisor and myself.

It is up to you whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason or being disadvantaged in any way.

All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Appendix VI: Informed Consent Form for Parent/Guardian in Research Studies

Informed Consent Form for..Parent/Guardian..in Research Studies

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of project:

Addressing cultural diversity through the past: a case study of the multicultural Athenian society

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee

[Project ID Number: 2344/001]

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.
- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.
- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix VII: Note for Parent/Guardina with Child(ren) under Fourteen Years of Age

Note for Parent/Guardian with Child(ren) under Fourteen Years of Age

Following the UCL Ethics Committee guidelines, the researcher must secure parents'/guardians' written consent to explain this project to children under fourteen years of age. The kids will not be given Information Sheets or Consent Forms. Instead, the researcher will explain to each child in lay terms what the project involves. If your child does not wish to take part, he/she will not be disadvantaged in any way. If your child agrees to take part, he/she can still withdraw from the project anytime. The researcher will record your child's oral consent.

By signing below, you declare your consent to the researcher to explain to your child(ren) the content of this research.

Signature:

Date:

