Self-Identification in Literature:
The case of Writers of Greek Cypriot
Descent in Australia

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RÉSUMÉ

Les Chypriotes Grecs en Australie constituent un sous-ensemble de la diaspora hellénique. La migration des Chypriotes en Australie est relativement récente en comparaison avec celle des autres Grecs. Leur plus grand nombre a émigré pendant les années 1960 et surtout après l'invasion turque en 1974. La plupart des écrivains Greco-Chypriotes sont, donc, nés à Chypre et leurs liens avec leur pays natal sont très forts. Le problème politique non résolu renforce ces liens.Cet article examine la façon par laquelle les écrivains Greco-Chypriotes s'identifient avec la Grèce, Chypre et l'Australie en tant que lieux et cultures. Les écrivains se distinguent ainsi en trois larges catégories à partir de la langue qu'ils utilisent (anglais, grec ou grec et anglais). L'usage de la langue est une indication du degré de leur liaison à un certain lieu. Cela ne veut pas dire que la langue est le facteur le plus important de leur identification. Les écrivains anglophones (et quelques-uns des écrivains bilingues), par exemple, sont attachés aux deux cultures et cela crée une tension ou même un conflit qui est évident dans leur travail, quoique les hellénophones sont plus à l'aise avec leur iden-tité hellénique. Ils éprouvent une nostalgie pour Chypre et ils essaient, d'une façon pénible, de recréer ou de reconstruire le lieu et sa culture. Pour tous les écrivains, la Grèce et l'hellénisme deviennent un monde conceptuel. C'est évident que l'identifi-cation est un processus, une recherche pour s'identifier qui n'est jamais statique mais qui est, par contre, toujours fluide.

ABSTRACT

Greek Cypriots in Australia is a sub-group of the Greek Diaspora. Migration from Cyprus to Australia is relatively recent in comparison with migration from Greece. Most migrated in the 60's and mainly after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Many of the Greek Cypriot writers, therefore, were born there and their bonds with their mother country are very strong. Its unresolved political problem strengthens these bonds. This paper examines how Greek writers of Cypriot descent in Australia identify themselves with Greece, Cyprus and Australia as a place and as a culture. The writers are distinguished into three broad categories depending on the language they use (English, Greek & English, Greek). The use of language is an indication of the extent of their connection to a particular place. That doesn't mean that language is the most important factor of their identity. The Anglophone writers (and some of the bilinguals), for example, combine both cultures and this creates a tension or even a conflict which is evident in their work, while the Hellenophones are more at ease with their Greek identity. They develop a nostalgia for Cyprus and try to recreate or reconstruct, in a painful way, the place and its culture. For all writers, Greece and Hellenism become a conceptual world. It is evident that identification is a process; a search for an identity which is never static but fluid.

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The presence of Greek Cypriots in Australia is a relatively recent phenomenon in comparison with the presence of migrants from other Greek areas or the Greek Diaspora. Right up until 1950, there were only a few hundred Greek Cypriots [1947: 681 people, 1954:5773 (Price 1990)]. Despite this, they succeeded in organising communities very early. Their first communities in Melbourne[1] were established in 1931 and 1932, mainly as a result of the political situation that existed in Cyprus (ie English colonial rule and the October 1931 events which marked the first uprising against British colonialism). The political situation on the island affected, and continues to greatly affect, even until today, the identity of Greek Cypriots –something we will see further on. The greatest increase in the number of immigrants from Cyprus took place between 1971 and 1977, when it reached its peak, as a consequence of the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974. The assistance offered to the Greek Cypriots by the Australian Government –particularly to refugees– contributed to the sudden increase in the number of immigrants. In the 1996 census, 19 764 people registered Cyprus as their country of birth. Out of these people, 75% are Greeks and 18% Turks.

The number of second generation Greek Cypriots was 23 999.(Cypriots who were born outside Cyprus, are not included in this figure.)

When we take into account these factors, regarding the migration of the Greek Cypriots, it becomes evident that their literary production is also, to a large extent, a relatively recent phenomenon. The examination of this literature will enable us to explore issues of identity as they are expressed by its writers. More specifically, in this paper I will be concentrating on how these writers see themselves in relation to Hellenism, Cyprus, and their ties with Australia as a place and as a culture.

The meaning of 'Identity' (of the subject and of subjectivity) is open to many interpretations depending on the perspective from which it is viewed, ie the ethnic, cultural, political, psychoanalytical, philosophical perspective, etc. Through Identity, kinship and origin are connected.

It is believed, for example, that the individual is the mask of his ancestors (Forrester 1987:13-16). In sociology, a view has developed, that the meaning of an individual is its social function, something which is naturally disputed, because the individual is much more than just that. The moral side of the individual, its conscience, its logic, its soul and so on are also included in the meaning of identity. Therefore, the individual's relationship with the external-objective world is determined by both external and subjective factors. The ethnic and cultural identity of Greeks in Australia is a very important and complex issue. Greeks in general, have shown their strong desire to retain their identity and thus, played their part in the creation of multicultural Australia. This brought them recognition of their identity and significance in both Australia and Greece (Castan 1986:56). Greeks are now more diversified and have developed a good relationship with the wider Australian community. We can not, however, see them all as one homogeneous entity. As Con Castan argues (1986: 51-68), within these people exists a range of consciousness or ethnic ideologies. Examining the issue of ethnicity among the Greeks, he di-stinguishes four broad categories and draws the conclusion that, while some groups have not developed a new culture which would enable them to replace their original ethnicity, other groups have added an 'alternative ethnicity' to their original one, or even replaced the ethnicity they possessed with the 'alternative ethnicity'. It is worth no-ting that ethnicity is retained through culture which is defined as common language, way of life, past, racial origin, religion and homeland . In the case of Greek Cypriots the issue of identity becomes even more complex because they belong to the Greek nation but to a different state and have lived (and are now living) in a different society. If "man exists in and through society- and society is always historical"[2] (Castoriadis 1987:39-46), it is obvious that aspects of their identity differ from that of Greeks from mainland Greece or even Greeks in Australia. As Castoriadis argued, societies are distinct and historical:

Man exists in and through society- and society is always historical [..]

That which holds a society together is of course its institutions, the whole complex of its particular institutions, what I call 'the institution of a society as a whole' – the word 'institution' being taken here in the broadest and most radical sense:

norms, values, language, tools, procedures, and methods of dealing with things and doing things and, of course, the individual itself both in general and in particular type and form given to it by the society considered.

(Castoriadis 1986:39-40)

Society is formed by its institution and the evolution of time; by history. The society of Cyprus and the individual have been greatly affected by historical events and the island's political situation. Both factors determine the distinctness of the Cypriot identity, without of course overlooking its Greek essence. Psychological and existential problems are mainly related to the history of the island, to its struggle for union with Greece before the 60s, and to its territorial integrity and the existence of the state as an entity after independence from the British, and after the Turkish invasion of 1974. The anxiety connected with the preservation of the Cypriot people's cultural identity is directly related to the anxiety connected with the political situation and a pursued solution. Throughout its diachronism, this concern is very intense –depending on the phase through which the Cypriot political problem enters.[3]

On Cyprus itself, literature and identity are two concepts closely connected. The local production and discussion of literature raises issues of far-reaching consequences, given their inevitable bearing on highly fraught questions of Cypriot national identity. Thus the publication of K. Ioannides *History of Modern Cypriot Literature* by the Cyprus[4] Research Centre in 1986 gave rise to a long running controversy in the press. A similar controversy was created with the heated discussion over problems such as what local literature should be called: Cypriot literature, Greek-Cypriot literature, Greek literature of Cyprus. This effort to define and determine it, was always based on criteria and suggestions which were influenced by the various ideological tendencies and orientations of the time and is, a politically loaded statement. Cypriot literature is always examined within the context of Greek literature, and is regarded as 'Provincial', 'Regional', 'Autonomous', 'Self-sufficient', 'Independent', 'Local', and so on, to name only a few of the most frequently used definitions.[5] All these definitions imply a direct or indirect connection with Greek literature

or even, dependence, and to some extent, a tendency towards independence.

Cypriot Literature is undoubtedly closely connected to, and a part of, Greek literature, in the broader sense. The close ties with the metropolitan centre, as well as with community centres of the Greek Diaspora, such as Alexandria, during the inter-war and post-war period, contributed to the growth of Cypriot literary production and, through it, to the development and maintenance of the Greek consciousness. It has been shown by researchers that Cypriot writers followed the literary trends prevalent in Greece. Literary figures such as Palamas, Karyotakis, Varnalis, Kavafis, Ritsos, Seferis, Elytis and others, influenced both Cypriot poetry and prose (Zafiriou 1991:31-33, Prousis 1990). Furthermore, European literary trends or philosophical movements reached Cyprus to a great extent through the Athenian centre or through the direct connection of writers with Europe (Kouyialis 1983: 9). Apart from its undisputed Greek essence, Greek Cypriot literature has its own distinct characteristics: external ones (such as dialectic or ethographical which are related to particular regions) but most importantly, fundamental characteristics. These are related to the struggles for ethnic survival (during its long dramatic history, especially before independence) and the struggles for survival as a state in more recent times (Raizis 1987: 507-517).

I have referred to Cypriot literature, and to some of its characte-ristics, because we find these in the work of most Cypriot writers in Australia since, as I have mentioned, many of these writers came to Australia after 1960 and mainly after 1974. The preoccupation with Cyprus as a place with its own history and distinct Greek culture is evident in their work. At the same time, they develop, to a lesser or greater extent, new characteristics of their Australian environment. Until now, I have located more than thirty Greek Cypriot writers in Australia. In this figure, I have not included individuals who stayed here for a short period of time (eg. as in the case of Andrew Kettis, who came to Australia as a seconded teacher from Greece), despite the fact that they produced literary works during their stay in Australia. Nor have I included people who only wrote a few poems.[6]

The oldest Cypriot writer in Australia, based on data given by George Kanarakis (1985: 101-2) and Gilchrist (1997:346-7),[7] is Edward Parry (1880-1945), who belongs to the inter-war period. Parry was a child of a mixed marriage. His father was Welsh and his mother a Greek Cypriot. His bicultural origin and his bilingualism gave him the opportunity to move freely amongst both cultures. He would in fact 'Hellenize' his name to Antonios Parris, in order to feel closer to the Greeks. He was a main columnist and a regular contributor of the newspaper, 'The Panhellenic Herald' *(Panellinios Keryx)* between 1921-1942, where he published his articles and literary works. He was very interested in Greek Literature, History and the Greek language. Parry loved the Greek heritage and considered himself to be a part of Hellenism which, he believed, was suffering from various disasters inflicted on it by its enemies –mainly the Turks. In his short stories, he would use Greek protagonists. Quite often, however, one sees a mixture of names which come from other ethnicities. That which immediately grabs the reader's attention, is Parry's fascination with mythology, Homer's Epics, and the many Anatolian elements which are introduced in his work either as basic themes or in order to create a special atmosphere to the work –whether that be a mystical or erotic one. Greece, Australia and Cyprus are rarely used as a particular place. His interest in these is shown through his paraphrasing of various Greek and Greek Cypriot folk songs into English, as well as through his comparative studies.

Writers who came to Australia immediately after World War II are Dionysios Koutsakos (1912-) and Kostas Athanasiadis (1921-). Both of them were journalists and editors of newspapers and magazines –the former of the two in fact being highly esteemed. Both managed to expand the Greek cultural boundaries, mainly through their professional activities and ventures, and to accept the reality of their new world. In his works, Koutsakos satirises Greek ways and customs, especially when these are anachronistic and unsuited to the new, cultural environment of Australia, where the mixture of different cultures is an inevitable reality. He criticises, for example, match-making between two people and the parental expectation that their children

get married to people not only from the same ethnic background, but from the same region in Greece as well.

Influenced by the multicultural surroundings of Australia, and, in particular, Melbourne, Athanasiadis in his novel, *Daphne Miller,* adopts an attitude of acceptance of all races and puts greater emphasis on Mankind rather than on ethnic background.

'Greeks, the French, Italians, Germans, English etc, belong to, and come from the same family of humans, but divided into boundaries races, and states. All are children of Noah!...' (Athanasiadis 1954: 31)

The protagonists of his novel are women of French origin. Through his characters, he promotes feminist views and advocates se-xual and social liberation. If we take into account that the novel was published in 1954 –three years after he settled in Melbourne– we realise that his departure from the conservative society of Cyprus, the various global social changes, as well as the new social environment he encounters in Melbourne, give him the opportunity to make compa-risons and also to promote his views. His main character, becomes a 'citizen of the world'. Another point worth noting, is the fact that Australia is represented realistically in his work, as a place, a social and cultural entity. We could argue that Athanasiadis –just like the protagonist of his novel– also wishes to be a 'citizen of the world' (Athanasiadis 1954: 212).

I have distinguished three broad categories of contemporary Greek Cypriot writers, using as a criterion their use of the language, not because I consider language as the most important factor of their identity, but because it is an indication of their connection to a particular place. The three categories are: a) Those who write in English, b) Those who are bilingual and write in English and/or Greek, and c) Those who write in Greek. The latter category can also be subdivided into those who write in the Standard Modern Greek and the "popular poets", the *poietaredes.*

Writers included in the first category are: George Papaellinas, Zeny Giles, Anastasia Gonis, Pavlos Andronikos, Dora Moustridis and Christodoulos Moisa (from New Zealand). The thematic areas within

which these writers work are: intense existential problems, no-stalgia, emptiness, loneliness, love, problems which are related to woman's position in society, etc. The most intense and important thematic area is that of the search for an identity and the cultural tension or conflict 'between the two worlds'[8] . In the prose works of these wri-ters the characters are mainly Greeks who have settled in a new environment. This gives them the ability to make comparisons between Greek tra-dition and the cultural tradition of their social surroundings. Furthermore, they try to show the effects of the new culture on the attitudes of people. Many problems which stem from their 'migrant identity' come to the surface, since these writers are children of first generation Greek (or Cypriot) Australians –a generation which Con Castan appropriately calls 'the sacrificed generation' (1986:). Hence, problems such as: the nostalgia of parents and their preoccupation with the past lead these children to alienation and, consequently, rebellion against their parents, because they find themselves caught between two cultural traditions. It is these issues which dominate their works. The conflicting emotions of love and oppression rise to the sur-face. In some writers, the feeling of their Greek heritage, which affects their lives directly or indirectly, becomes very intense. It creates con-tradictory situations for them, as, on the one hand, it leads to an iden-tity crisis and to an inability to totally accept the new way of life, and, on the other hand, it gives them a feeling of heritage; a feeling that, in a cultural sense, they actually belong somewhere. Their life becomes a constant effort to balance themselves; it becomes a 'highwire act', as Anastasia Gonis characteristically states in one of her articles:

> A highwire act? A trapeze artist? A see-saw champion? None of these. It's a migrant trying to balance two cultures. That's how it often seems as people from other countries try to juggle their lives, so that they can retain a measure of pride in old ways and customs whilst at the same time they are trying to conform to social and peer pressures.

> (Anastasia Gonis: 'Life in the balance')

In these writers, it is their Greekness which is projected, without there being many references made to their Cypriot distinctness. There are some references to its historic fate. In Anastasia Gonis' work, Greece and Cyprus are brought together and become fused into a

common memory and a common historical fate. The distant historic fate of Turkish rule in Greece is juxtaposed with the modern Turkish occupation of Cyprus. Pavlos Andronikos, in his poem titled "Reminiscence", which is dedicated to Souleiman, gives us an indication of a disaster and a separation which lead to and end up in different paths of destruction. With this metaphor, the current political situation in Cyprus is implied. Greek literary tradition is also apparent in Andronikos, through the wide-spread usage of mythological elements such as: Golden Fleece, Hellespont (the ancient name of the Dardanelles) Ulysses, the Sirens and Telemachus. He uses these elements as symbols to convey the theme of constant searching by the individual in its life.

George Papaellinas, the most renowned and recognised of the writers of Cypriot descent, in his collection of short stories titled Icons, gives us in the most descriptive and powerful way: 'a world of cultural clashes and family tension'(Colmer J: Weekend Australia). 'A vivid and contentious portrayal of a family united only by society's view of them as outsiders' (Publisher). The comments are very accurate. The stories are interconnected with the central theme of consciousness. The family portrayed in the stories comes from Cyprus and each member has his/her own values and way of thinking, depending on the cultural environment in which they were brought up and on the environment they now live in. The grandmother, for example, is the representative of the old world, while the daughter tries to maintain family values and, at the same time, to conform with new realities and the necessities of everyday life in Australia. Her husband, a migrant worker, feels socially inferior and, although he tries to adjust and accept new ways of life, he develops a strong nostalgia for Cyprus. The most important character, that of son/ grandson, Peter, is the means by which the writer develops the themes of tensions, cultural conflicts and the search for identity.[9]

Similar themes are put forth in the work of well known writer Zeny Giles. These are given as they are seen through the eyes of a schoolchild in her work titled *Between Two Worlds*. More specific problems which are related to woman's position in society are given by Anastasia

Gonis. This position is worsening due to Greek cultural traditions and the conditions in the new land. Whilst, ironically, a woman now has more possibilities and opportunities for personal development, her cultural roots become an obstacle, creating a number of additional problems and internal conflicts.

In the works written in English, the writers, through their protagonists, remain focused on the search for an identity. Some arrive at a state of self-acceptance and consequently, become reconciled to their 'double identity', or to use Castan's[10] definition, their Greek and "alternative ethnicity". George Papaellinas' main character, in one of his factionalised journeys, during which he seeks to find his Cypriot roots, reaches another Greek island. His arrival in Cyprus, ironically, never takes place, and so he returns to Australia. Con Castan, in an interesting study, interprets this effort as a search for a national identity, which, in turn, gives the group an identity. His conclusion is that 'there is no firm ground in the idea of Greece or Cyprus as there is no firm ground in the idea of Australia.' (Castan 1995:42). That same search, without a result, is expressed in a poem by Anastasia Gonis, titled, 'An ode to Searching'. In another of her articles she notes that:

In the private world of the migrant that no one can view their heart and mind–they can be whoever they want. Their customs, traditions, beliefs and experiences continue to give meaning to their existence. If and when society demands it they drop the mask and assume the expected persona.
(A. Gonis: 'Life in the Balance').

Despite the fact that the individual's inner turmoil, its search for an identity continues, there is also a positive side to these experiences: 'The thorn had bred a rose'.
(A. Gonis: Another Mother's Day)

Writers such as Dimitri Gonis, Panagiotis Lysiotis, Theodore Xenofou, Loukas Simeon (who is also screen writer) belong to the bilingual category. Their themes are common –irrespective of the language they write in. In this category, too, we notice the same cultural conflict, but, to a lesser extent, in comparison with the former category. For Dimitri Gonis, Greece is part of his being –as it is characteristically conveyed in one of his poems titled: 'Greece of my soul'. The sense of his Greek origin is intense. Elsewhere, the Greek –and

not the Australian– landscape is chosen in order to express existential agony. Panagiotis Lysiotis is silent about issues related to cultural conflicts or his background. He sees man more like an object of exploitation within modern society and concentrates on his connection to technological progress. His contribution is ground breaking,, with the usage of text, photographs and photomontage. It is obvious that Lysiotis sees the individual as part of the Information Age, the Technology Age, which abolishes boundaries within a homogeneous space, creating new realities. This is clearly seen, for example, in his work *C.Ds and Other Things.*

A unique case is that of Theodore Xenofou, who moves between Demotic and erudite tradition. Two of his lengthy poetic works– which are based on the tradition of Demotic narrative songs– titled, 'The City has Fallen', and 'Sunbathed Darknesses', are approximately seventy-five thousand verses each. The first describes the sacking of Constantinople and the second , the history of the Cypriot State. In Xenofou, the common fate of Hellenism and the disasters it experiences, become clearly visible. His Cypriot origins are projected through themes which concern the Cypriot reality and political situation (eg the struggle of EOKA in *The Trojan Donkey*), while, on the other hand, he makes no reference to themes related to migration.

In the third category, ie writers who write in Greek, are: a) the 'popular poets', the *poietaredes* and b) those who write in the Standard Demotic Greek. In the group of *poietaredes* the most renowned is Charalambos Michael Azinos, who was a poet by profession, both in Cyprus and in Australia. All 'popular poets' are now elderly. They began their work in Cyprus and continued it here. Inevitably, the opportunities for them to take part in poetry competitions were non-existent. Therefore, they become separated from tradition because they end up writing their poetry so that it may be read. Their poems, however, continue to be created as a result of a reaction toward a certain social event or in order to satirise some situations or people and their "unusual" behaviour. Of these popular poets some remain very loyal to this type of poetry, in the sense that they follow the formulas and take the audience into account when they write. They compose

lengthy narrative songs and rhymes in the Cypriot dialect. Some of them attempt to write in the Standard Demotic Greek, creating poems resembling Demotic songs. Their thematic scope is determined and expanded by social conditions in both Cyprus and Australia. They are very close to the common, everyday man, whom they study, describe, satirise, judge or criticise. They become the mirror of the lower strata of society[11] . They see the average Australian as a 'peculiar being' and mostly, in a condescending and negative way.

The second group in this category is made up of those writers who only write in the Standard Demotic Greek[12]. They are much younger in age, in comparison to the *poietaredes,* and migrated to Australia after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. This explains their constant pre-occupation with Cyprus and with themes which revolve around the island's political situation and their expression of a deep nostalgia for the culture of the land in which they grew up. Through various works and mainly in particular poems, they recreate aspects of the Cyprus problem. In their entirety, these works make up the Cypriot tragedy in its various phases and with many details –just like the works of their counterparts in Cyprus who, in fact, belong to the 'invasion genera-tion', as they are called. It is obvious that many of these works were created as a result of an emotional outburst and represent a stance toward the events that followed the invasion and the displacement which occurred. Time, in combination with place, begin to produce works in which the various experiences are transmuted into poetry, with greater aesthetic results. Their thematic scope gradually expands. The meanings become more and more abstract and the views of the writers more mature. So, although in the earlier works of the writers of this category, there is an identification with Cyprus, its culture and its history, we slowly but gradually begin to notice a thematic expan-sion. Despite this, however, they barely reach an identification with Australia. As their Cypriot past becomes distant, they try harder, in a painful way, to recreate or reconstruct the place of their childhood or youth. In their work there is no cultural conflict, something we notice in the writers who write in English –in other words, those who were born here or came at an early age. Most see themselves as 'guests' in

this country. One exception to this, is Erma Vasiliou who relates the place to issues pertaining to the position of women –in which case, she is grateful for the possibilities and opportunities which are available to women. In this way she can see the positive result of migration.

For all writers of Greek Cypriot descent, identification is a constant process for an identity which is never static but rather fluid. Those who write in English try to balance their Greek and Australian self whilst the ones who write in Greek are in a process of accepting their "new" cultural environment. Overall, and despite their undeniable Greek conscience, the majority of the writers of Cypriot origin iden-tify more with either Australia or Cyprus and the environment of the two countries. For most of them, Greece is an Idea, a conceptual world. They consider themselves a part of Hellenism which they deal with on two conflicting levels: on the level of greatness or on a level of suffering. In this way, they speak of the achievements, the greatness, the civilisation of Hellenism or the sufferings of *Romiosine,* as they call it. However, the average Greek and the modern Greek reality are absent from their works. This is precisely because Greece becomes a world of the imagination –an imaginary world– to use Anderson's term. In cases where some writers went to live in Greece or went to Greece in search of their 'roots', they felt the alienation or even the rejection from the State as a political entity –something which comes out in their works. For example, we find this in Anastasia Gonis and Loukas Simeon.

> So I travelled from my home land
> following the gypsy trail,
> to a mythical Greek island
> feeling I would never fail.
> It held culture, it held learning
> manners, customs kept of old
> this deep in my heart was burning
> something real on which to hold

> To the country life I fitted
>
> like a hand into a glove.
>
> What I realised was missing
>
> from the people, was their love.
>> (A. Gonis: 'An ode to Searching')

Hence, their relationship and communication with Greece is more on a spiritual rather than an actual level. They converse with Seferis, Elytis or Ritsos. They use the Demotic or the Ancient Greek literary tradition, but contemporary Greek reality is practically absent from their work. I would say that Dimitri Gonis is the exception to the above statement. He is successful in creating a 'Greece of my Soul' within which all its contradictory facets –the positive and negative ones– the landscape, the present and the past, the average contemporary person, its whole world, are encompassed and which:

> '...resurrect me and imbue me with new life
>
> make me want to walk barefooted on thorns'
>> (D. Gonis "Greece of my soul")

Acknowledgment

Note: In the Bibliography I have only included literary works to which specific reference is made in the paper and has been published as edition.

NOTES

1. For the establishment of the Greek Cypriot Communities in Melbourne, see Herodotou, 1993.

2. For a detailed examination of the characteristics of the different groups and their ethnicity, their 'alternative ethnicity', as well as the relationship between ethnicity and culture, see Castan, 1986: Chapter 3, pp 51-68.

3. For a very good analysis of the ideological tendencies and the shaping of contemporary Greek Cypriot national identity, see Mavratsas, 1998.

4. See, for example, the long- running heated discussion between academics, critics, writers and other personalities which was published in the journal **Akte** (Nos 2, 3, & 5) and **To Kainourio** (No 9).

5. For a detailed examination of these definitions, see Kechagioglou, 1992.

6. People in this category are: Kypros Kyprianou, Aliki Savva, Maria Kramvia, Maro Gemeta and more.

7. Biographical details have been based on Kanarakis' and Gilchrist's work. All other references are based on his work which was published in Panellenios Keryx. I studied those newspaper issues at the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

8. This is a revealing title given to one of her novels by Jeny Giles.

9. For a very interesting comparative analysis of the collection **Icons,** see Castan, 1995.

10. Castan in his analysis uses terms and definitions given by William Bostock in his work **Alternatives of Ethnicity: Immigrants and Aborigines in Aglo-Saxon Australia**, Hobart: Cat&Fiddle, 1977.

11. In this group are included the following poets: Yiannis Papadopoulos, Chistos Violaris, Yiannis Neophytou, Kostas Georgiou, Soteriou, Kappalis.

12. The writers who belong to this category are: Michael Pais, Erma Vasiliou, Andrea Garivaldis, Tefkros Panagiotou.

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