The Metropolitan Centre, the Diaspora and Education

Michael Damanakis*

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur aborde la relation entre le centre métropolitain (la Grèce) et la diaspora en décrivant la diaspora grecque dans le cadre théorique de la définition de l'identité. L'article définit des problématiques clès reliées au concept d'identité, développées par l'auteur à travers la recherche et son expérience. Il explore comment l'enseignement de la langue et de la culture grecque influence la notion d'identité dans la diaspora grecque. De plus l'auteur analyse les structures des communautés grecques de la diaspora et aussi les mesures statutaires prises par le centre métropolitain concernant cette diaspora. Ces analyses des diverses versions de la grecitude jettent un éclairage nouveau sur les relations entre la Grèce et la diaspora.

ABSTRACT

The author approaches the relationship between centre and diaspora by describing the Greek diaspora within the theoretical framework of identity definition. The article sets out key identity issues developed by the author through both research and experience. He explores how the teaching of the Greek language and culture influences the notion of identity in the diaspora. The author also analyses the organization of these communities and the statutory measures taken by the centre concerning the diaspora. His analyses and review of the various versions of 'Greekness' in the diaspora sheds much light on the relationship between Greece and Diaspora.

Introduction

The following thoughts present a synthesis of the author's experiences as academic director of "Education for Greeks Abroad" program *(Paideia Omogenon)*. His ideas have by and large been documented in earlier publications or progress reports on the programme but have not been made available to a broader audience until now.

The aims and objectives of the *Paideia Omogenon* programme are detailed by D. Kontoyiannis, in the present volume. Suffice it to say here that this programme

* University of Crete

seeks to maintain, foster and promote Greek language and culture in the diaspora, by improving primary and secondary school Greek-language education. Within that framework, the goal may be broken down into four components: develop educational materials in electronic and print format; train teachers seconded from Greece and those from the diaspora; conduct educational programmes for diaspora pupils; and create communication networks, databases and distance learning facilities via the internet and satellite television.

Studies carried out as part of Education for Greeks Abroad, together with the wealth of historical and sociological studies on Greek migration and the diaspora, reveal that the relationship between the country of origin and the diaspora, the diaspora and the host country, and the relationships within the community institutions and organisations themselves are multi-levelled, multi-dimensional and dynamic; in other words, constantly evolving.

Naturally the question arises regarding the level at which one should focus analysis, and the perspective from which this dynamic relationship should be viewed.

In the present study, the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora is approached from an institutional and educational perspective. To facilitate understanding of what follows, an attempt will first be made to define the term diaspora, along with other terms central to the study.

1. Clarifications and Scope of Terms used

Historians usually demarcate the Greek diaspora[1] on the basis of geographical criteria (residence outside the national territory), and the maintenance of material, cultural and sentimental ties with the national centre. Diverging from such an approach, the present study understands *diaspora* as being directly correlated to the processes of socialization and formation of identity by individuals living in migrant environments or in situations where cultures meet and interact.

The term diaspora is understood as meaning the geographical dispersal of ethnic groups that live in isolation from their group of origin and reference, or the ethnic core, though not necessarily estranged from it. Furthermore, in living as ethnic groups or minorities in a culturally different society, they move between

two different reference groups and two cultural systems, thus forming their identity under unique circumstances[2].

If the group of origin and reference is a society organised into a nation state, then we necessarily have a tri-pole or triangle consisting of:

a)   *the metropolitan Centre* (the country/nation of origin), b) the more or less organised diaspora and c) the *host country/nation,* i.e. another national Centre.

Fig. 1: The Diaspora Tri-pole
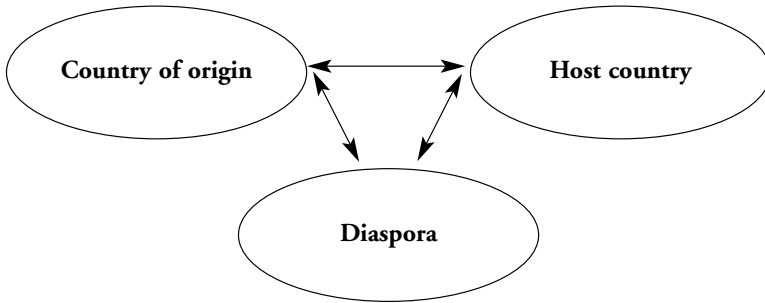
The terms *ethnic group* and *national minority* used in the above definition are not synonymous. An *ethnic minority,* just as a *national minority* are as a rule of *low status* and subject to discrimination and inequality, being subordinate to the ethnic majority within an ethnically stratified society.

In contrast, an *ethnic group* may be an equal member of a multiethnic society organised into a state. For example, in the case of the Modern Greek diaspora, the Greeks of Albania constitute a recognized national minority, whereas the Greeks in Australia, Canada and the USA function as ethnic groups within the framework of a multiethnic, multilingual and multifaith society.

The term *identity* is to be understood along the lines of symbolic interaction, i.e. as being made up of two constituents: *personal identity,* expressing the individuality and uniqueness of a person as self-view and biography, and *social identity,* referring to the common traits of the various identities on the collective level.

Social identity is a composite made up of constituent identities e.g., religious, national, cultural, local, political, professional and so on.

Constituent identities can be used as tools to analyze the process by which

identity is formed by the individual, as well as the ways in which vehicles of Greek-language education in the diaspora intervene so as to create the ethnocultural identity or "Greekness" of each generation in the diaspora[3].

The *diaspora tri-pole* analytical model is directly linked to the nation state and its organisation. It thus presupposes that members of a community come from one nation state and live in another. In the best-case scenario they can act as a link between the two states, or poles, thus creating a well-balanced tri-pole[4].

On the other hand, it is obvious that community organization and development depends on the relationships obtained at any given time between the two countries (country of origin and host country), as well as that the members of a community may face the "double loyalty" dilemma[5].

In accordance with the above model, the relationship between the national centre (country of origin) and the diaspora is examined in terms of centre versus periphery or transmitter versus receiver. In other words, diasporas function as satellites of the "national planet".

The above approach is the opposite extreme of that adopted by the field of diaspora studies, according to which diasporas have begun to acquire autonomy in the face of post-Cold War developments and globalization. Such autonomy concerns the relationship which the diaspora maintains with both the country of origin and country of residence, on both the cultural and political level[6].

Which of the two models above applies to the case of the Greek diaspora? This can be answered by analyzing the organisation of the diaspora itself and the measures instituted by the Centre for the Diaspora. We now attempt to outline the way in which the diaspora is organized and present the most significant measures instituted by the Centre.

Before doing so, however a brief historical review of the Modern Greek diaspora is deemed necessary.

2. Historical and migrant diaspora

The Modern Greek diaspora extends in time from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and Ottoman domination to the present day. The foundation of the Modern Greek State in 1830 was a significant milestone

in the period.

In the time of Ottoman domination and up until the foundation of the Modern Greek State, the Greeks lacked a state entity. Throughout the period Constantinople was perceived as being the centre or cradle [of Hellenism].

Upon the creation of the Greek kingdom, Hellenism was divided into that within the Greek state (Greek Hellenism) and that beyond it (regional / peripheral Hellenism). According to Svoronos[7], as the economically more robust of the two, the latter supported the former, lending it prestige and significance.

"Greek Hellenism" and "regional Hellenism" made up "Greater Hellenism", which was to a great extent culturally and economically united in the second half of the 18th century.

The historical diaspora arose on account of historical events from the mid-15th century up until the foundation of the Modern Greek State, and after its foundation up until the Asia Minor Disaster (1922) or until the end of World War II (1945).

On the basis of the subdivisions used by Hasiotis[8], the following table can be arrived at with regard to the periods in the history of the Modern Greek diaspora.

Table 1: Modern Greek diaspora destinations

Historical period	Main destinations of emigrant groups
1453-1830	Commercial centres and ports in western, central, eastern and south-eastern Europe
1830-1945	As above, plus southern Russia, the Transcaucasus and the USA
1950-1973	The USA, Canada, Australia, Europe (Germany, Sweden, Belgium/Holland, France)

Despite the fact that there is a temporal overlap between the historical and the migrant diaspora (mainly from 1890 to 1922), it could be argued that the historical diaspora was the product of historical developments occurring in the

main from the mid-15th to the late 19th centuries. On the other hand, the migrant diaspora resulted from population movements - mainly for economic reasons - from Greece and the historical diaspora to migrant host countries, such as the USA, Canada, Australia, Germany and, to a lesser extent, to countries in «Black Africa» and «Latin America»[9]. The migrant diaspora was formed after 1890, above all in the third quarter of the 20th century.

In geographical terms, contemporary Hellenism from the historical diaspora has the Mediterranean and the Black Sea as its focus, whereas overseas Greeks in migrant host countries are to be found in all five continents, with English-speaking countries taking pride of place.

The varying circumstances under which each diaspora arose and was formed, and above all the varying experiences the members in each diaspora lived through point to the formation of varying identities, as will be discussed below.

3. Diaspora Organization: Communities, Community Organizations and Networks

3.1 Communities and community organizations

A (diaspora) community is comprised of the sum total of individuals living in a particular geographical area outside the country of origin, who define themselves on the basis of their ethnocultural or religious origin as being distinct from the ethnocultural majority or other non-dominant ethnocultural groups in the same geographical area.

In such cases, ethnocultural distinctiveness as a criterion for the demarcation and differentiation of the community within the country of residence also acts as a channel of communication and interaction with the country of origin.

Every individual who considers himself or herself as a bearer of the ethnocultural traits characteristic of the community is a potential "community member", whether or not he or she participates actively in community institutions, organisations, functions and community life in general.

The arrangement of communities into organizations on the basis of constituent criteria such as local origin (e.g. homeland locality associations of Cretans) or

national, social, political, cultural and economic criteria (e.g. civil communities), professional interests (chambers of commerce), religion (church communities), common interests (sports and parents associations) lead to the creation of community organizations or communities (in the sociological sense of the term)[10].

The commonest community organisations are

- *Civil Communities (Kinotites)*

- *Parents' Associations*

- *Homeland locality Associations (Brotherhoods)*

- *Sports Associations*

- *Cultural Associations*

- *Charity - Solidarity Associations*

- *Student Associations*

- *Youth Associations.*

The main feature of such organisations is structure, name and in general a sense of familiarity among members. There is also the more or less active participation of members in events or activities. In contrast to the wider community, which may be heterogeneous, such organizations are typified by homogeneity. From the above it follows that the community may consist of several sub-communities, or otherwise of several community organizations.

These organizations were created to meet social, cultural and economic needs, as well as the psychological needs of first generation migrants. These needs were not met by equivalent institutions in the host country and/or country of origin. The needs of the younger generation of community members tend to lead to a change in the role of the organization, or in the worst case, to its disbandment. For example, the role of a "charitable association" is now to take care of the aged, rather than to cater to newly arrived migrants or those who have fallen on hard times. The homeland locality associations no longer serve merely as a means to meet the socio-psychological or entertainment needs of the first generation, but rather as domains for the planned socialization of the

younger generation, mainly via local venues.

Many civil and church communities no longer simply organize afternoon or Saturday classes (schools) teaching Greek. Instead, they have founded and run *"Bilingual Day Schools",* which target other-language pupils wishing to learn Greek as a second language, in addition to pupils of Greek descent, thus forging a closer relationship with the host society and promoting their integration into it.

Almost all community organisations serve as domains for the use of Greek and the socializing of younger members, as well as domains from which formative content for Greek-language education may be drawn.

In the area of Greek language education, the role of the Greek Orthodox Church, the civil communities and the parents' associations is particularly significant. Together with the host country and country of origin, the first two of these institutions remain the main vehicles for Greek-language education in all countries.

3.2 Networks

The significance of the socio-cultural and - in many cases economic and political - role, played by the various community organisations seems to be known to their members. Attempts have thus been made to provide for second and third-tier bodies. In this way networks are created, rendering the organizations within them more functional and effective.

For example, it is common for organisations of a similar type, such as the urban communities in a host community to form a Greek community federation (e.g., the Federation of Greek Communities in the Federal Republic of Germany), or for the Cretan Associations in a country to organize and establish a second-tier body (e.g., the Pancretan Federation of America). The Pancretan federations in several countries may then move on to found the "World Council of Cretans", with a head office in Crete[11].

Though less common, it is not unknown for dissimilar community organizations in one country to federate into a second-tier body (e.g., the Federation of Greek Associations and Communities in Sweden).

In the first two cases, homogeneous organisations (communities, local associations) weave a network; whereas, in the third case, existing similar

networks (community and association networks) form a heterogeneous network or *inter*-network.

The inter-networking of community organisations between themselves and with the Centre would seem to be an ever-increasing preoccupation of diaspora group leaders. On the other hand, the Centre has in turn created the *World Council of Hellenes Abroad,* which, as will be detailed below, is in itself a global network.

For the above reasons, as part of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* we studied network formation processes and the basic features thereof, taking the School Communities at Greek Private Schools[12] in Nordrhein-Westphalen Germany as our paradigm. The results of this case study are given in condensed form in Table 2, which we shall comment on in brief.

3.2.1 Structural and functional features of networks

Table 2: Dimensions and features of networks

Dimension	Evolution-content
1. Institutional and structural	• Core and peripheral elements of each network • Links between core structural elements in the network with state and social structures • Institutional - structural links between similar organisations via the foundation of second-tier bodies

2. Geographical	Formation of: - local networks
	                - inter-local networks
	                - supra-local networks/inter-networks

3. Ideological	• Nation state ideology • Ethnocentric ideology • Supra-ethnic - intercultural ideology

4. Operational and organizational	For the achievement of specific aims, organisation and operation on the level of:
	    - Parents' Associations
	    - Parallel communities
	    - Local and inter-local networks
	    - Supra-local networks / inter-networks

As is detailed below, homogeneous communities (organizations) form a local or inter-local network. In other words, each network is composed of similar organisations, which as a general rule have common interests, and in that sense operate as *interest groups.*

In contrast, a supra-local network or inter-network includes heterogeneous organisations. In such cases, the homogeneous organisations that prompted the formation of the supra-local network are the core elements, while the heterogeneous ones are the peripheral elements.

On the basis of the above delimitations and the four dimensions of networks *institutional-structural, geographical, ideological and operational-organisational* the main features of networks may be described as follows:

Institutional and structural dimensions:

As mentioned, in the German case examined, the core structural element of the network is the school community, which in turn has the parents' association as its own core element.

In each instance, the parents' association is registered with the regional court and operates legally as a collective institutional body, around which the network is built. The core structural element in the network thus forms part of the institutional structures of the host country. At the same time it is recognized by the country of origin, Greece, and operates within the terms of the institutional framework of both countries, being no different from other collective educational bodies with respect to the institutional-structural dimension.

As a consequence of the above integration, the networks connect pre-existing structures and social domains, while incorporating legally active entities and collective bodies into their structures.

In contrast with the core elements, their peripheral counterparts are difficult to distinguish from each other and can only be understood by insiders, given that the interconnection of community organizations via networks is not formalized and is often limited to people acting in isolation on an individual basis.

Geographical dimensions:

Homogeneous organisations in a given area (e.g., the parents' associations of the primary, junior and senior high schools in a city) form the local

network, which is enriched by the peripheral elements mentioned above. Networks of two or more areas form inter-local networks, which operate on the institutional level as second-tier bodies of the parents' associations (e.g. the Federation of Nordrhein-Westfalen Parents' Associations in Germany) or as third-tier bodies on a federal level.

The inter-networks (networks of heterogeneous entities) are inter-local, or more still supra-local, in the sense that people and groups from the country of origin also participate in them. A classic manifestation of a supra-local inter-network is the *World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.),* which is presented below.

Ideological dimensions:

Cohesion and co-ordination with regard to actions by members of a network, and above all of an inter-network, are in the main safeguarded by two factors: by the *projected aim* and a *common ideology.* It should be stressed that this is particularly essential with regard to ideology, given that in contrast to homogeneous organisations, members of heterogeneous organisations do not necessarily have common interests.

In other words, while in the case of homogeneous networks "common interest" is all that is required to safeguard cohesion, a wider ideology and thus a common projected aim is required for heterogeneous ones. This acts as a unifying force, weakening any possible contradictions between heterogeneous organisations, groups and people comprising the heterogeneous network in each instance.

In our case, the ideology of *"parallel Communities"*[13] and *"parallel networks"* we examined (i.e. that of School Communities at Greek Private Schools in Germany) was ethnocentric, and in some extreme cases bordered on the nationalistic.

Functional and organizational dimensions:

The "parallel communities" and associated "parallel networks" have a particular ideology, and above all a particular projected aim. Network organization and operation are directly defined by their aims.

In the case being considered here, it is expressed as follows:

In the years immediately following the foundation in 1982/3 of

exclusively Greek schools, one parents' association sufficed for the advancement of issues regarding scholastic and parental demands, given that the Greek government was determined to promote that particular form of Greek-language education in Germany.

The emerging school community was followed by the creation of a local network that became broader than the community itself and had the aim of supporting and bolstering the new institution.

When the Greek government subsequently began to have doubts about the utility of these schools and attempted to phase them out gradually by means of law 2413/96, parents networked across Germany and succeeded in repealing the relevant provision in the law.

Now that the future of these schools remains shadowed under ever increasing doubt, there is a need for those networks to expand, grow stronger and interlink with other networks, such as those of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.) or the political party formations in Greece could become involved.

It could be argued that in our case, networks have evolved starting from the parents' associations and ended up as part of a supra-local (inter)-network, growing in parallel with school communities and local and intra-local networks.

The dominant feature of each of these organizational structures is their functionality with regard to achieving their aims. Nowadays, a strong supra-local network is needed to safeguard the continued operation of the schools. Twenty years ago the parents' association sufficed.

Having outlined the organisation and (inter)-networking of Greek communities in the diaspora, we move to the statutory measures taken by the Centre for the Diaspora.

4. Statutory Measures Taken by the Ethnic Centre for the Diaspora

The discussion centring on the Greek diaspora initiated after 1974 (fall of the Junta) blossomed at the governmental level through the foundation and operation of a Deputy Ministry for Greeks Abroad, which acquired explicit constitutional sanction in Article 108 of the 1975 Constitution.

In adopting a "welfare mentality", the state obliged itself constitutionally to *"care for the life of Greeks abroad and the preservation of ties with the Mother Country. It also cares for the education and social and professional advancement of Greeks working outside the state."*

In the 2001 constitutional revision, Article 108 was supplemented with a second paragraph, providing that:

"2. the law determines matters relating to the organisation, operation and competence of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad, its mission being the expression of all forces of Hellenism worldwide".

The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.) was founded in 1989, through Law 1867/98 Article 17, within the framework of the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, which had been founded as early as 1982 (Law 1288/1982, Article 13) in the then Ministry for the Presidency of the Government, its mission being to care for the protection of the rights and interests of Greeks Abroad, and in general to study all issues relating to Greeks Abroad and make recommendations to the Greek government of the time.

According to Article 1 of Presidential Decree 196/1995, the aims of the S.A.E. are as follows:

«1. The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.), founded under article 17 of Law 1867/89, is seated in Thessaloniki. It constitutes an advisory body to the Greek state on all issues pertaining to Greeks Abroad.

In particular, the S.A.E. offers its opinion and submits proposals to the relevant bodies of the Greek state, among others on issues pertaining to:

a) *The strengthening of ties between Greeks Abroad and the country of birth, as well as between Greeks abroad in the countries in which they reside.*

b) *The improvement of living conditions and more especially the protection and promotion of educational, economic, labour, political and other rights of Greeks abroad, both in their countries of residence as well as in Greece.*

c) *The provision of support and assistance to Greeks Abroad for their better organisational development.*

d) *The strengthening of economic, trade, cultural and educational relations between the countries of residence and Greece.*

e) *The reintegration of return migrants into Greek society.*

Taking into consideration the time at which both institutions were founded, the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad in 1982 and the S.A.E. in 1989[14], as well as the fact that the latter was founded within the framework of the former, paragraph 2 of Article 108 of the constitution permits us to deduce that 26 years after the "welfare mentality" was adopted by the nation state towards Greeks working "outside the state", it was augmented with the opportunity for *"the expression of all the forces of Hellenism worldwide".*

This new dimension, which was enshrined in the Constitution in the year 2001, had already been legislated in 1995. For example, on the eve of the first organisational meeting of the S.A.E, the Deputy Foreign Minister handling such matters at the time was to write in a leading article in a feature issue by the *Ikonomikos Tachydromos* (27th July 1995, p. 55) that "the planning and realization of a conceptually comprehensive *Strategy for Hellenism* thus presupposes the development and operation of a two-way relationship*, both between Greece and the diaspora and vice-versa, meaning that of the self-organized community abroad to the country of origin, on the basis of the "welfare provision" in Article 108 of the Constitution and Article 1 paragraph 3, which refers respectively to the Nation ".*

The two-way relationship underlined in the first part of the citation is a new element in the political terminology of politicians with the relevant brief.

Yet the significant thing is that this two-way relationship is interpreted and delimited by the spirit of the welfare obligation in paragraph 1, Article 108 and the *national* mentality of Article 1, paragraph 3 of the constitution. It thus is a two-way relationship as understood and delimited from the perspective of the national Centre. As such, it is a one-sided declaration.

It may not have been possible for it to have been otherwise at the time, given that the S.A.E. was founded by the Greek state as an advisory body towards it. In other words, the S.A.E. derives from the national Centre and ends in it.

* Stress used by the Deputy Minister

The position on a "two-way" relationship between the Centre and the diaspora had already been formulated in the late 1980s, within the framework of another piece of legislature, on that occasion by the Ministry of Education.

In March 1986, a committee was formed to draw up a draft law *on the education and instruction of Greek children abroad.* The draft in question did not of course become law, but many of the positions then adopted by Committee members, relating to the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora, passed into the new draft, which was revised in 1994/5, enriched and ended up in June 1996 as Law 2413/96 *"Greek education abroad, intercultural education and other provisions."*

Article 1 of Law 2413/1996 defines the aim of Greek education abroad as follows:

"…2. The aim of Greek education abroad is:

a. the cultivation and teaching of the Greek language,

b. the promotion of Greek cultural identity,

c. the building of Greek children's characters, which will reinforce their self-awareness and self-confidence,

d. the advancement and dissemination of the Greek language, the Orthodox tradition and Greek culture in other countries,

e. the promotion of the distinct cultural traits, traditions and history of Greeks living in other countries and areas of the world, as well as the promotion and full use of those traits in Greece, particularly via the education system, as well as abroad,

f. to make full use of the knowledge and experience of diaspora Greeks for the development of science, culture and education in Greece,

g. to contribute to the mutual understanding, peaceful coexistence and co-operation of individuals and groups of differing origins and cultural traditions who live in modern multicultural societies.

3. Greek education abroad aims to provide support to programmes and forms

of Greek education corresponding to the needs of Greek children and diaspora Hellenism in general. By means of this approach, Greek education programmes and forms of organisation also targeting the inhabitants of those other countries will be given support ".

On studying law 2413/96 itself, as well as the relevant preamble and the relevant parliamentary proceedings, one easily comes to the following conclusions:

For the first time, *multiculturalism, cultural pluralism* and *cultural distinctiveness* are features at the outset of a preamble to a law relating to Greek education abroad, and to the education of return migrants and foreigners in Greece.

For the first time, reference is expressly made to the *history, wealth* and *knowledge* of the diaspora.

The preamble also makes express mention of the fact that the spirit of the law is *Greek-centred,* and not *Greece-centred.* It is further stressed that intervention by the Centre in the diaspora *"is also intercultural, viewing Greek culture as a contribution to the enrichment of a broader European and international culture, but also viewing the cultures of the other peoples our culture encounters on an even footing"* (preamble IV, 5). Yet what is interesting and significant is that the new *"intercultural approach"* is linked directly and discussed in conjunction with the *"national"* one; in both the preamble (page 2) and the relevant parliamentary proceedings (session 116 - 2nd May 1996), mention is made of an *"intercultural national strategy for Hellenism".*

The linking of the *intercultural approach* and *the national strategy* creates terminological confusion, ultimately leading to the nullification of the former, on account of the historically moulded domination of the latter.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that for the first time in Modern Greek history, attempts are being made to move from a national to an intercultural approach to educational policy.

Further to our analysis of the S.A.E. and Law 2413/96, the following conclusion can be drawn:

In the mid-1990s there were two observable tendencies as regards the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora.

The first, which is the dominant of the two, is based on the principle that the Centre provides for and intervenes in the diaspora.

The second, on the other hand, attempts to set a two-way relationship between the Centre and the diaspora in motion, though the content of that relationship remains to be seen.

How these two trends will develop in the future and what they may mean for Greek-language education abroad will be discussed below. However, brief reference to the remaining statutory measures taken by the Centre concerning the diaspora, should be made first.

Political interest displayed by the Centre for the diaspora was further substantiated by the foundation and operation of the Special Permanent Committee of the Greek Parliament for Greeks Abroad, in 1996[15].

The cross-party nature of the Committee and its unceasing concern with Greek diaspora issues have shown it to be a significant political body, functioning by order of national parliament and answerable to the latter.

With regard to educational policy, particular significance should also be accorded to the Special Secretariat for the Education of Greeks Abroad and Intercultural Education", as well as to the "Institute for the Education of Greeks Abroad and Intercultural Education (IPODE)[16].

Also founded in 1996, these two institutions - the one political, the other academic / advisory - come under the Ministry of Education, their brief being Greek-language education abroad and the education of return migrant and foreign pupils within the country.

The collapse of "actually existing socialism" brought to the fore the existence and problems of a historical diaspora, neglected if not forgotten by the state.

Members of that historical diaspora in the countries of the Black Sea region and in the Greek minority in Albania were and are in need of welfare from the national Centre.

The above development led to the foundation of the National Foundation for the Reception and Restitution of Repatriating Greeks in 1990, its chief mission being the *"reception, hospitality and relief, aiming at the smooth adjustment and social integration (...) of repatriating migrant Greeks "* from countries in the Black Sea region.

However, the National Foundation's failure to solve return migrants' problems led the Greek Parliament to embark upon new statutory measures, by passing Law 2790/2000 on the *Restitution of Repatriating Greeks from the former Soviet Union* in 2000.

The Law provides for issues concerning:

- *the acquisition of Greek nationality by Greeks living in former Soviet countries;*

- *re-settlement accommodation in "settlement zones" for Greeks from abroad;*

- *restitution to employment;*

- *education and culture.*

The law is of the welfare type, and concerns support for Greeks from the former Soviet Union. The fact that the most recent statutory measure taken by the Centre is purely in the spirit of welfare permits us to note that in the year 2000 the welfare obligation in paragraph 1, Article 108 of the constitution remains dominant.

The "expression of all the forces of Hellenism worldwide anticipated" in the second paragraph of the same article, and the two-way relationship on an equal and mutual footing operate in the shade of the welfare and intervention mentality.

The fact that the metropolitan Centre continues to operate on the basis of a welfare and intervention mentality, for all the declared stance on a two-way relationship between the Centre and the diaspora, also emerges from the course and practices of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad thus far. The S.A.E. represents an attempt to inter-network diaspora organisations with institutions in the national Centre, and in recent years has made strenuous efforts to create networks such as:

- *Cultural networks (Special Permanent Committee for Greeks Abroad; the*

Global Inter-parliamentary Union for Hellenism, Self-Government Network

- *Economic Networks (Business network)*

- *Educational and cultural networks (a Culture Network and an Academic Network)*

- *Communications Networks*

- *Youth Network*

- *Women's Network*[17]

The results of this effort remain to be seen. What are visible, however, are a number of problems regarding network function. These probably stem from the following:

-the S.A.E. is an institution belonging to and accountable to the national Centre. In other words, the attempt to network and inter-network diaspora Greeks is not so much being made on their own initiative as on the initiative of the metropolitan Centre, thus pointing to an asymmetrical relationship between the two parties.

- the inter-networking of networks into a supra-local (global) inter-network, which the S.A.E. in essence is, has need of a common ideology and stated aim, a *common vision,* which does not appear to be clear.

The thought behind the foundation and stated aim of the S.A.E. are in the main determined by the national Centre; this no longer appears to inspire diaspora organisations, which are to a great extent made up of members of the second and third generations. Greek diasporas may not yet have become fully independent of the Centre, and may not operate as autonomous organisations, as the diaspora studies approach would have it[18], but they no longer operate as "satellites" and thus passive recipients of communications from the Centre.

The given state of affairs is neither right nor wrong, neither good nor bad, but it is the expression of a transitional state in the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora at a particular juncture. We see it as the expression of a new role-seeking process, on the part of both the Centre and the diaspora, given new circumstances, such as:

- *Greece's full integration into the supra-national EU construct;*

- *global developments in the post-Cold War era;*

- *new technology (which has reduced distances, condensed time and secured immediate, live communication and exchange of information);*

- *economic globalization.*

5. The Mission of Greek-Language education in the diaspora

Within the framework of this particular juncture, Greek-language education in the diaspora is called upon to play its own role and fulfill its own mission.

The Greek state actively supports Greek-language education in the diaspora by:

- *dispatching educational material for the teaching of the Greek language and the rudiments of Greek History and Culture;*

- *seconding teachers;*

- *sending Education Coordinators (Advisors) to Greek General Consulates in countries with a significant population of Greek origin;*

- *founding Greek Private Schools, mainly in European countries;*

- *providing general moral and material support for every effort made to maintain, foster and promote the Greek language and Greek culture abroad.*

One of the most significant educational steps the Greek state has taken over the past eight years has been the *"Education for Greeks Abroad"* programme, which operates within the spirit of law 2413/1996, and which is analysed by D. Kontoyianni in the present volume.

As mentioned in the previous section, the aim of Greek education abroad is determined in Article 1, Law 2413/96. That being said, the aim is so broad, multi-levelled and multi-faceted that it has need of further delineation, specialisation and specification.

According to the logic of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* programme, Greek-language education in the diaspora has a dual mission; one educational, the other socio-political.

First and foremost, it should assist developing individuals to develop their full potential and to acquire an identity consistent with the true conditions in which they live and are socialised.

Secondly, Greek-language education should contribute to clarifying and building a relationship between diaspora communities, with Greece as the country of origin and with the country of residence.

The *educational branch* refers to the analysis of the particular conditions in which individuals are socialised, as well as to analysis of their socio-cultural preconditions (foundations) and the various aspects of their *differentiated ethnocultural identity*.

The second or *socio-political branch* refers to the *country of origin - diaspora - country of residence* tri-pole, leading to the integration of Greek-language education into the triangular relationship.

In the next chapter we will try to discuss the dual mission of Greek education in the diaspora from a pedagogical point of view.

6. Ethnocultural Identity ("Greekness") in the Diaspora

Scope of terms used

The term ethnocultural identity refers to that part of the identity linked to or composed of contemporary or diachronic traits relating to the Greek language and culture, manners and customs, institutions and traditions. Thus the term "Greekness" is used as a synonym for ethnocultural identity.

Ethnocultural identity is a constituent trait of the individual's social identity, which is broader, covering those socio-cultural, economic, political and other traits that relate to the society in the country of residence.

The identity of each individual and each group is made up of both *contemporary* and *diachronic traits*. The former are as a rule discernible

(language, religions, customs and manners, institutions), while the latter may be made up of collective memories, myths, credos, symbolisms and idealisations of the distant past.

6.1 Versions of Greekness in the diaspora

Upon investigating the socialisation of people of Greek descent in the diaspora, and more particularly their ethnocultural identity or Greekness, one soon comes to the conclusion that many different versions of Greekness are encountered in the diaspora, these being linked to the historical development of the diaspora in each instance, and the political, economic, social and cultural living conditions of the members in each diaspora.

To be more specific, *Greekness* lies between two poles.

In the first case, Greekness is not merely oriented to cultural norms operative in Greece, but is very close to the version of Greece-based Greekness, in the sense that it bears contemporary, discernible traits such as language, religion, history, institutions, manners, customs and traditions.

In other words, it is a Greekness outside Greece which is nevertheless Greece-centred. This version is mainly encountered in the migrant diaspora, above all in Europe. In particular, this extra-Greece and yet intensely Greece-centred Greekness is encountered in Germany, where there are exclusively Greek Schools, around which *"parallel Communities"*[19] grow up, almost in isolation from the remaining Greek community and above all from the host society.

At the other extreme, another version of Greekness one encounters merely appears as a conviction, allegiance to descent, a credo and a sentimental link with everything Greek, yet unaccompanied by contemporary, discernible traits. This version of Greekness, which is mainly encountered in the historical diaspora, though also in the migrant diaspora with a long history, could be termed *symbolic Greekness* or more generally as *symbolic ethnicity*.

In contrast to extra-Greece, Greece-oriented Greekness, symbolic Greekness appears as allegiance to descent, as a set of convictions, a credo and a myth, unaccompanied by contemporary, discernible traits. At the very best it is accompanied by a number of Greek-derived cultural and linguistic residua.

Lest the impression is created that *"symbolic Greekness"* is devoid of

content, what follows should elucidate the term on the *"content level"*. Also, symbolic Greekness, in the sense of *"allegiance to descent"* and *"sentimental relationship"* with the place of origin, is used by individuals to define themselves and their relationship with the initial "birthplace", their community and with "Others", an attempt will also be made to further elucidate the term on the *"relationship level"*, or on the level of the "self-positioning" process carried out by individuals in relation to one or more reference groups.

a) Analysis of ethnocultural identity on the relationship / process level

As a constituent element of social identity, ethnocultural identity serves as a tool for determining an individual's behaviour in his or her socio-cultural environment, as well as for defining his or her relationship with one or more reference groups, and hence for his or her self-definition.

As emerges from studies carried out under the terms of the Education for Greeks Abroad project[20], rather than taking place in a vacuum, the self-definition of Greeks abroad and the formation of their identity (as in the case of every diaspora ethnic group) always occur in relation to:

- *people of other ethnicity in their social environment;*

- *people of the same ethnicity in their community*

- *the national centre.*

The categories according to which individuals or groups define themselves may be real or assumed. Greeks in the historical diaspora or the migrant counterpart with a long history need not necessarily display contemporary, discernible Greek-derived traits in order to define themselves as Greeks, or more precisely as also Greek.

To achieve that end, the symbols and symbolisms they have internalized within the terms of their socialization, in their families and communities, are sufficient. The myths and oral traditions - often in a language other than Greek - suffice for them to develop a sentiment and concept of self that allows them to define themselves as Greeks or "also Greeks".

Allegiance to origins, convictions, symbols and forms of symbolism is not quantitative. As qualitative characteristics, they are extremely powerful

definitional elements with regard to the definition of the self and identity.

In other words, Greekness in the sense of ethnocultural identity may be based on symbols and symbolisms. In that sense it may be termed *symbolic Greekness,* or more generally symbolic ethnicity.

The first thing that *symbolic ethnicity* means is belonging to a particular ethnic group. On the other hand, if it is to have any meaning for the individual, it must also be recognised by "others", i.e. by people of the same ethnicity in his or her community, by people of different ethnicity in the wider social environment and by members of the national centre. Of course, such recognition[21] is granted on the basis of certain qualities or characteristics; in short, on the basis of some ethnocultural identity content.

b) *Analysis of ethnocultural identity on the content level*

Before attempting the task of analyzing the content of the Greek diaspora ethnocultural identity, and more specifically the content of symbolic Greekness, it is necessary to point out the following:

- Attempts to analyse and comprehend the content of individual or group identity is both meaningful and legitimate from a pedagogic point of view, given that in the course of the pedagogic and educational process, particular contents are offered or transmitted to the individual. For example, knowledge of students' linguistic competence is a fundamental precondition for the use of suitable linguistic material and teaching planning.

- Examination of the Greek-origin content of diaspora Greek children in comparison with Greece-based culture leads to the impression that such children display a deficient knowledge base when compared to their counterparts in Greece. Yet such a conclusion is both highly ethnocentric and mistaken, as the knowledge-based content of diaspora Greek children may not necessarily refer to Greek language and culture.

- It follows that any approach to the content of ethnocultural identity linked to Greece-based culture, with the latter as a point of reference and comparison, is devoid of meaning. Such an approach only acquires meaning if attempted by the individuals themselves, the community

itself and the historical course and evolution of each historical or migrant diaspora, rather than from the point of view of the national centre.

- Finally, it should be pointed out that Greeks abroad lend content to their Greekness themselves, when asked or forced to defend it outwardly.

According to observations and experiences with teachers and above all pupils of Greek descent abroad, such contents are extremely wide-ranging, starting from contemporary discernible knowledge-based traits (such as language, knowledge of Greek history and tradition etc) and ending in myths, credos, symbols, convictions and sentimental baggage - in short, to a "cultural residue" (πολιτισμικό ελάχιστο).

On analysing the contents of this *cultural residue,* as it emerges through the speech and behaviour of Greeks abroad themselves, one ascertains that its main characteristics are sentimental and symbolic. There is of course the knowledge-based dimension, yet its bearers are not always aware of it.

For example, the self-definition of the Turkish-speaking Greek population in the villages of Tsalka in Georgia, or that of the Tatar-speaking Greek population in the villages of Mariupol in the Ukraine is not arbitrary because it has a basis in history, for the historical course of these populations is known to us[22].

Historical authenticity is the knowledge-based trait of the *cultural residue.* Yet this trait is not necessarily known, at least among younger generations of Greeks abroad, as has been determined through observations and small-scale research into Greek pupils from abroad participating in the educational programmes run by the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project[23].

Over the lengthy historical course of the diaspora, several composite traits of ethnocultural identity retreat or are lost, though not sentiment, allegiance to descent or oral tradition. In fact, it seems that oral tradition alone suffices for the formation of ethnocultural identity[24].

The above elements form the content of *symbolic ethnicity.* It is a *sentimental* content with qualitative rather than quantitative, measurable characteristics.

It is not hard to see that the *cultural residue,* as a trait for self-definition

and self-view differentiates its bearers from third parties who, for example, know the Greek language, history and culture, but do not define themselves as Greeks.

In that sense the *cultural residue* and *symbolic ethnicity* founded on it can serve as tools for qualitative analysis, but do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement[25].

Finally, it should be stressed that the *cultural residue* is the product of historical evolution, and as such appears to possess socialization power and to influence the formation of ethnocultural identity. Since it fulfills the definition of *historicity,* it may act as a legitimising agent for the process of an individual's self-definition, and thus as a token for the recognition of that process by others.

On the other hand, since it possesses socialisation power, it is pedagogically and educationally exploitable.

6.2 Limits and endurance of symbolic ethnicity

Symbolic ethnicity is functional in the diaspora and useful both for individual and group self-definition. As a product of myth-making and idealisation of the distant historical and cultural past, it may in fact even be compatible with the image others in the country of residence have of Greece, which they often look upon from the point of view of Ancient Greek civilisation. In such a case *symbolic ethnicity* is consistent with the remaining composite traits of social identity and is functional.

A problem may and does arise when bearers of *symbolic ethnicity* come face to face with Greekness as expressed in Greece itself.

Particularly in cases of "return migration" to Greece, there is the danger that symbolic ethnicity may collapse. This is because the individual finds him or herself confronted by a reality that has specific content, precepts and sanctions. It is precisely in this contradictory state of affairs that school failure among return migrant pupils should be considered.

Pupils may find themselves caught up in this contradiction between myth and reality not only when "returning" to Greece, but also while still residing abroad, given that the content that they are taught consists of contemporary Greece-based social and historical/cultural elements. Of

course, while residing abroad, pupils can dispense with this contradictory state of affairs by leaving Greek-language education classes (Schools). This is a phenomenon not uncommon at afternoon and Saturday Greek language classes.

From the above, the patently obvious conclusion from a pedagogic point of view is that if *ethnocultural identity* is to endure in environments beyond the family and the community, it must be enriched with contemporary linguistic, social and historical / cultural elements.

Symbolic Greekness can serve as the starting point for this process of enrichment, since it is accompanied by a positive stance and a sentimental relationship between the individual and everything Greek.

6.3 Versions of Greekness and the relationship between them: from Greece-centricity to "intra-Greek interculturalism"

In the end, we have at least three versions of Greekness:

a)   *Greekness as expressed in Greece by powerful groups in any given instance;*

b)   *An extra-Greece and yet intensely Greece-centred Greekness and*

c)   *An extra-Greece symbolic Greekness*

One can easily imagine further intermediate versions, given that culture and identity are dynamic rather than static dimensions.

The political, cultural, educational and other repercussions and consequences of this state of affairs emerge when the question arises as to the relationship between these different versions of Greekness or, alternatively, between these multiple Greek identities.

If one does not wish to accept and promote the cultural norm in Greece as the only valid one, in other words, if one does not want a one-way, interventionist[26] relationship, but rather a two-way, dynamic association between the Centre and the diaspora, an *"expression of all the forces of Hellenism worldwide",* in accordance with paragraph 2, Article 108 of the Greek constitution, one is inevitably led to a process whereby the various versions of Greekness encounter and interact with one another.

This process can be summarized under the term "intra-Greek interculturalism". To be specific, the term intra-Greek interculturalism is to be understood as the dynamic process of encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment of the multiple versions of Greekness or, alternatively, the multiple Greek identities.

This intra-Greek encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment may occur in many different ways. The training programmes for Greek teachers from abroad and educational programmes for pupils of Greek descent, which have taken place, within the terms of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project, represent one way. Another route is that taken by the Study Programs and teaching material. One concrete product of intra-Greek encounter and interaction is to be found in the procedures of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad and its networks, as already mentioned. One necessary precondition for the fulfilment of this process of intra-Greek cultural encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment is the existence of a two-way relationship on an equal footing between the two interacting parties. The crux of the matter is thus the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora.

7. Re-examining the relationship between the Centre and the Diaspora:

It should be stressed that the minimum common feature linking the many versions of Greekness *cultural residue,* the self-definition and the accompanying *symbolic ethnicity* resting thereupon.

If the common basis for the many Greek identities is to be probed, then the cultural residue must be enriched with contemporary traits, especially linguistic ones.

Intra-Greek interculturalism is thus offered as a suitable framework, this being in terms of *"cultural enrichment"*[27].

The attempt to enrich the cultural residue with contemporary linguistic and cultural traits mainly from Greece could lead to the admission that the cultural residue is tantamount to a *cultural deficit* on the side of Greeks from abroad, which must be compensated for.

Yet such an admission would not be valid, since Greeks abroad are not devoid of culture. They have simply developed a different culture. Beyond Greek-derived cultural traits, this contains, or more precisely contains primarily traits from the culture or cultures in the country of residence.

On the other hand, the opposite argument could be put forward that this is the "knowledge deficit" of Greeks abroad as regards contemporary Greece, the Greeks in Greece and contemporary Greek society. This is matched by a "knowledge deficit" on the part of Greeks in Greece as regards their counterparts abroad. Indeed, a "diaspora information deficit" certainly exists in Greece. For example, primary and secondary school pupils in Greece are taught next to nothing about the contemporary Greek diaspora.

A cursory comparison of the cultural residue with the diaspora information deficit reveals that the former is the result of the gradual and historically defined retreat of the Greek language and culture in the diaspora. In this sense, it is not a deficit. On the other hand, the diaspora information deficit does stem from deficient information provided to Greece-based Greeks on matters relating to the diaspora.

Regardless, in both cases the issue of compensating and enriching with missing knowledge traits remains a valid one. In the case of Greekness resting on the *cultural residue,* the issue is compensation through contemporary knowledge traits, so as to enable interaction and communication with the remaining versions of Greekness.

The idea of taking compensatory measures is thus valid for both parties, both the Centre and the diaspora. Yet compensation operating in both directions is the equivalent of mutual enrichment.

Mutual cultural enrichment means that just as Greek pupils abroad are enriched with historical, social, cultural and linguistic traits drawn from Greece, so pupils in Greece can be enriched with historical, social, political and cultural traits drawn from the Greek communities in the diaspora.

Given the above analyses, and Greece-based education and Greek-language education in the diaspora, the following educational policy injunction could be formulated:

Contemporary Greek ecumenical education:

starting out from   *a) the multiple Greek identities with a limited common knowledge base,*
b) the global politico-economic, cultural and linguistic environment taking shape,

through the process *of intra-Greek cultural encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment,*

should
contribute   *a) to the formation of Greek identities which are enriched and have an expanded common basis,*
b) to the definition of the role played by Greeks worldwide in the new global politico-economic and cultural environment taking shape,
c) to the development and promotion of the Greek language, and thereby of Greek culture in the supra-national environment.

According to the above, educational as well political/educational *"resolution"* the desired aim is the instigation of two-way cultural enrichment, for the maintenance of the multiple versions of Greekness, and the simultaneous expansion of a common base, mainly through enrichment using knowledge-based traits, though also with symbolic-based ones.

Naturally such an approach does not restrict what is conventionally known as "Hellenism" and "Greekness" within the borders of Greece. Instead, it places the above phenomena where they genuinely manifest themselves, and examines them as they are, and as they are linked with the languages, cultures, and history in the countries of residence. In short, it examines them within a supra-national and intercultural framework.

In addition, a multi-focal approach of this type does not lead to homogenisation; it leaves the field open for the formation and maintenance of multiple identities, while the common base is maintained or expanded through their constant interaction and mutual enrichment.

In this sense, intra-Greek interculturalism is a dynamic process, a constant *dialogical relationship* among Greeks in the diaspora and with Greece, their

"maternal" centre. This kind of process is necessary nowadays because it does not seem that the future will be acted out within the framework of a national state and go no further, but rather within the framework of a global, multi-faceted society.

Though new to many people, this state of affairs is not new to Greeks, for Hellenism has always been globalized. That fact was simply forgotten following the foundation and consolidation of the Modern Greek state, and in particular after the collapse of "greater Hellenism", the population exchange in the wake of the Asia Minor Disaster and the resultant homogenization of the population in Greece.

Yet when the centre discovered its diaspora, mainly after the fall of the military junta in 1974, it treated that diaspora with a welfare mentality. *"The state cares for the life of Greeks abroad and the preservation of ties with the Mother Country,"* according to Article 108, paragraph 1 in the 1975 Greek Constitution.

Since that time, many developments have taken place in the global, European and Greek arena. Diasporic Hellenism does have need of cultural support, but not of overall welfare, as the 1975 Constitution ordains. On the other hand, in some cases diaspora Hellenism may in turn care for the centre.

Neglected *historical diaspora Hellenism* emerged in the wake of post-Cold War developments. At this point in time it does have need of support, though not in the spirit of charity, but rather within the framework of a comprehensive view of the relationship among the diaspora Greeks and with the centre.

The desired aim is a new ecumenism. And at the present juncture in history, the route to the formation of this new ecumenism appears to be via the process of intra-Greek encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment.

To the degree that this process occurs on the basis of mutual exchange on an equal footing, it will permit the expression of Greeks worldwide. It will allow for multiple narratives on Greekness and new configurations, plus a redefinition of the role and activity of Hellenism in the global environment now taking shape.

The ecumenism arising from the above process is to a great extent free of ethnocentric traits, and cannot be castigated as "Panhellenism", since the cultures of diaspora Greeks are a priori an intercultural product, arising on

each occasion from the encounter and interaction of the versions of Greek culture with versions of the culture in each country of residence.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the relationship formed via intra-Greek encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment between Greek diasporas and with the Centre does not lie within centre-periphery thinking, or that of the planet and its satellites, nor within the thinking of autonomous diasporas.

On the other hand, one cannot of course overlook developments such as those described by Kitroeff in the USA (see note 18). At present, two trends may be seen: one towards autonomy of the diasporas, and another towards their inter-networking. The experience accumulated through the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project suggests that the Greek diasporas are not always autonomous entities independent of each other; in many cases the trend is towards their becoming a network in common with Greece, in global politico-economic and cultural life.

In other words, there is a trend for Greece and the diasporas to form a supra-national network, which will not only be possessed of common cultural and ideological traits; in contrast with the past, it may also acquire common material (economic) gate tower in the global economic environment now taking shape.

The network of Greeks worldwide now being formed is not isolated but rather integrated into the global politico-economic and cultural web, given that with few exceptions, diaspora communities are already integrated into politico-economic and cultural life in the countries of residence.

On the other hand, the inter-networking of Greeks worldwide is not tantamount to "neo-nationalism" or "Panhellenism", given that the culture of diaspora Greeks is a priori the product of encounter and interaction between different cultures.

8. Conclusion

As stressed in the Introduction, the ideas put forward in the present study are based on research carried out and experience acquired within the *Education for Greeks Abroad project.*

Nevertheless, that research, and the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project in

general, present an inherent weakness. They do not refer to a representative sample of the population of Greek descent abroad. Instead, these projects mainly relate to individuals of Greek descent who participate in community life, and above all to the various forms of Greek-language education.

In the first phase of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project, in the 1997/8 school year, strenuous efforts were made to include in our research families of Greek descent whose children did not attend any form of Greek-language education. Nonetheless, the results of those attempts were negligible.

As a result of the above, we know very little about that category of individuals and families of Greek origin who have distanced themselves from the Greek communities and have more or less been assimilated into the host country society.

On the basis of the limited evidence at our disposal, together with the observations and experiences of the research assistants in the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project, we can argue that many of the members in this category do possess what we delineated as a *"cultural residue"* and *"symbolic ethnicity".* Nevertheless, they use the above to define themselves and determine their relationship with society in the country of residence and the members of the Greek community in each case, and less to determine their relationship with Greece, their country of origin.

Members of the group in question appear to possess a historical memory and a *symbolic Greekness;* they have need of them in order to be psychologically balanced and socio-culturally functional as full members of the host society, but not so as to act as "receivers" of communication from the centre or as its cultural and political partners.

NOTES

1. For example, in *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Βάνιας, 1993 (p.19), I. K. Hasiotis writes: «The terms diaspora is used to refer in general ...to that part of the Greek people, which, though it left the country for various reasons and settled, even if on a relatively permanent basis, in countries or areas outside national territory, continued in various ways to maintain its material, cultural or at least sentimental ties with the mother country and the country of direct or earlier descent.».

2. The above definition is a differentiated and enriched version of that given by Hettlage. See Hettlage Robert, *diaspora: Umrisse einer soziologischen Theorie*, in: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie H3/ 1991 (pp. 4-24).

3. For example, in *«The Formation of the National and Cultural Identity of the Greek Children Abroad»,* in Rigas A – V (ed.), *Education of Ethnic Minorities: Unity and Diversity*, Ellinika Grammata, Athens, 1999 (pp. 87-98), Damanakis used the terms "national identity" and "cultural identity" to analyse earlier attempts by Greek governments to intervene in the diaspora and mould a new Greek national identity in the younger generation.

4. On this tri-pole relationship, see Hettlage, as above, p.6 ff.. On the characteristics of diasporas and their relationships with the place of origin (the "mother country" or "cradle"), see relevant analyses by Robin Cohen, *Global diaspora,* Routledge, London 2001.

5. The "double loyalty" dilemma arises in periods of crisis between two countries or between the community and the host country, when the members of a community are directly or indirectly pressurised to take one side or the other.

6. On this issue, see Alexander Kitroeff,Stephanos Constantinides, "The Greek-Americans and US Foreign Policy Since 1950", *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies,* vol.6,no.1(Montreal,1998), Alexandros Kitroeff, *«Ο ρόλος του Ελληνο-Αμερικανικού Λόμπι στην Εξωτερική Πολιτική των ΗΠΑ, 1992-2001»*, in Tsakonas, Panayiotis (ed.), *Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική – Μια Συνολική Προσέγγιση*, vol. I, Αθήνα, Ι. Σιδέρη 2003 (pp. 395-420) and his: *Η Ελληνοαμερικανική πολιτισμική ταυτότητα τη δεκαετία του 1990*, in Damanakis, M., Kardasis V., Michelakaki, Th., Hourdakis, A. (ed.) *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς. Έρευνα και Διδασκαλία*, ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ., Ρέθυμνο, 2004 (vol. II, pp.89-96).

7. See Svoronos, Nikos, *Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας*. Θεμέλιο, Αθήνα, 1981 (p.91). See also Hasiotis, as above, p. 28ff. and Tsoukalas, K. *Εξάρτηση και Αναπαραγωγή. Ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1922)*, Θεμέλιο, Αθήνα, 1979.

8. Hasiotis, I.K., *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Βάνιας, 1993, (p. 35ff.).

9. On Greeks in «Black Africa» and «Latin America» see: Markakis, Yiannis, *Έλληνες στη Μαύρη Αφρική 1890-1990*. Τροχαλίας, Αθήνα, 1998 and Tamis, Anastasios, *Οι Έλληνες της Λατινικής Αμερικής*. EKEME La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2005.

10. On these terms, see also Hasiotis, as above, p. 15ff. and Damanakis, M., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986 - 98)*, Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (ch. 7).

11. "Cretans worldwide" were federated in Crete in August 2003.

12. The body responsible for these schools is the Greek State, and the Curricula are the same as those at schools in Greece. Graduates of the schools enter Greek university via special easy exams, which is why parents have a preference for them. See Damanakis ᵃ., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986 - 98)*, Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (p. 85ff.).

13. On the "parallel community" and "parallel network" phenomenon, see Damanakis, M., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986 - 98)*, Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (p. 79ff.).

14. The WCH was formed under Presidential Decree 196/196/Α′ 105/13-06-1995 and operated for the first time in December of the same year.

15. The committee was formed in 1996 under the terms of the Greek parliamentary Rules of Order (Plenary Parliamentary decision on 20th June 1996-Governemnt Gazette 151 Α′ 08-07-1996).

16. The post of Special Secretary was instituted by Ministerial Decision ™Δ5/11/6-3-1995 (Government Gazette 171/18th March 1996), and the IEGAIE by law 2413/1996, article 5.

17. On organisations and networks, see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad: *Ταυτότητες Ομογενειακών Οργανώσεων.* 4th Global Meeting of the World Council of Hellenism (WCH). Thessaloniki, 6th-13th December 2001, and their: *Απόδημος Ελληνισμός: Στρατηγική Πολιτική και Στόχοι, Απολογισμός Δράσεως, Επιχειρησιακό Σχέδιο Δράσης 2001-2004*, Αθήνα Σεπτέμβριος 2001 (p. 30-34), as well as their: *Έλληνες Πολίτες του Κόσμου. Παγκόσμια Δίκτυα του Συμβουλίου Απόδημου Ελληνισμού. Νεολαίας-Γυναικών Ανθρώπων του Πολιτισμού Επιστημόνων και Επιχειρηματιών.* 3rd Meeting, 1st-8th December 1999, Thessaloniki.

18. On this issue, see Kitroeff, A., *Ο ρόλος του Ελληνο-Αμερικανικού Λόμπι στην Εξωτερική Πολιτική των ΗΠΑ, 1992-2001*, in Tsakonas, P. (ed.), *Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική – Μια Συνολική Προσέγγιση*, vol. I, Ι. Σιδέρη Αθήνα, 2003, (pp. 395-420) and his: *Η Ελληνοαμερικανική πολιτισμική ταυτότητα τη δεκαετία του 1990*, in Damanakis, M., Kardasis, V., Michelakaki, Th., Hourdakis, A., (ed.), *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς. Έρευνα και Διδασκαλία*, ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (vol. II, pp. 89 - 96).

19. On the "parallel communities" phenomenon and their role in educational policy and socialisation, see Damanakis, M., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986-98)*. Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ., Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (p. 79 ff.).

20. On this, see Damanakis, M., *Εκφάνσεις της Ελληνικότητας. Μεταξύ της ελλαδικής, πολιτισμικής νόρμας και του «πολιτισμικού ελάχιστου»*, in Constantinidis, S., Pelagidis,

Th., (ed.), *Ο Ελληνισμός στον 21ο αιώνα*. Παπαζήσης, Αθήνα, 2000, (pp. 389-417).

21. Recognition of identity by others is of vital importance for both the individual and the group, for as stressed by T. Taylor in *Πολυπολιτισμικότητα* (εκδόσεις Πόλις, Αθήνα 1997, σ.79 κ.ε), the determination of identity is carried out within the framework of a dialogical relationship with Others. This dialogical relationship is an essential element for the individual's self-realisation and the recognition of his or her identity.

22. On the historical course of these populations, see Kessidis, Th., *Η Ιστορική Πορεία των Ελληνοποντίων. Το εθνικό ζήτημα και το μέλλον των μικρών εθνών στην πρώην Σοβιετική Ένωση.* Αφοι Κυριακίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1996, Fotiadis, K., *Ο Ελληνισμός της Κριμαίας Μαριούπολη, δικαίωμα στη μνήμη.* Ηρόδοτος, Αθήνα, 1990, Hasiotis, I.K., *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς.* Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1993, Hasiotis, I.K., (ed.), *Οι Έλληνες της Ρωσίας και της Σοβιετικής Ένωσης.* University Studio Press, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1997.

23. The fact that younger generations of Turkic-speaking Greeks in the villages of Tsalka in Georgia, or those of the Tatar-speaking Greeks in the villages of Mariupol in Georgia, or of the now Russian-speaking Greeks in southern Russia still possess what we delineated as a "*cultural residue*" and the "*symbolic ethnicity*" resting thereupon seems in the main to owe its existence to family and community oral tradition. This phenomenon requires more systematic research and could perhaps be condensed within the term "*orality of tradition*".

24. It is obvious that the cultural residue is of a subjective psychological nature and does not lend itself to quantitative measurement. Yet even as a unit of measurement it would not be of any practical use, since its users would be forced to seek out each individual separately, so as to determine if each was a bearer of the cultural residue and if he or she self-defines him or herself as a Greek on that basis.

25. The one way, interventionist relationship between the Centre and the diaspora is expressed on the educational level as an attempt to transmit Greece-based educational contents to diaspora Greek children. Such an attempt is however condemned to fail, since these contents are to a great extent alien to the children's experiences, life, representations and needs and thus do not motivate them to learn. If one insists on such contents nevertheless, there is every danger that the students will be lost.

26. The term "cultural enrichment" originates in the intercultural pedagogic approach. Its intent is to serve as an alternative solution to the assimilation and national homogenisation mentality. See Hohmann, M., *Interkulturelle Erziehung –eine Chance für Europa?,* in Hohmann M./Reich H.H. (ed.), *Ein Europa für Mehrheiten und Minderheiten. Diskussionen um interkulturelle Erziehung.* Waxmann Wissenschaft, München, 1989, (p.1-32).