CHILDHOOD,CULTURE, AND IDENTITY:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE ETHNIC GROUPS IN GREECE

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by

Michael Anderson M.A. (Edinburgh)

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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

FOR THEIR CONSTANT ENCOURAGEMENT, LOVE AND SUPPORT.

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PART 1
INTRODUCTION AND METHOD

INTRODUCTION

> The greatest challenge to anthropology is not to read other cultures correctly but to recover disappearing epistemologies. . .translation is not about the equation but about the disequation of worlds (Hastrup 1995:44).

In thinking of how to write this introduction I have caught myself staring at a photograph, perhaps in the hope that it would in some way 'spirit' me back to the field, stimulate memories long since forgotten in the paradoxical process of trying to recall them and present them for others to read, and to once again imagine myself 'there' rather than 'here' (Geertz 1988: 1-5, 140-5).

It is a photograph of "Moreen", a 12 year old Iraqi refugee girl who lives in Athens. Toward the end of my fieldwork I photographed her wearing a faded pink and blue 'T'-shirt with the imprint of the words: 'Mixx Kids on the Move'. As far as I was concerned it was an apt summary of her life: she had left Iraq with her family at the start of the Gulf war; had been here in Greece for the past six years - nearly half her life - each day forced to communicate in at least three different languages (Arabic, Greek, and English), and was preparing to live in yet another country (US, Canada, or Australia) pending asylum applications. Clearly mixed and on the move. I explained its significance to her in a way I thought she could understand. She laughed, "I don't know. I'm very mix" she replied, and laughed again.

The notion of being "mixed" reminds me of two other children: Vassilis 10; and Kiethlyn 8. Vassilis' father is Greek, his mother is English, he speaks both languages, identifies with both parents, and on the question of how this

relates to a sense of his own identity he considers himself "all mixed up", the pondering of which, like for Moreen, is apparently very humorous.

Kiethlyn's parents are both from the Philippines. But Kiethlyn has lived in Greece all her life, returning only once to her parent's homeland. She describes herself as "both" a Greek and a Filipina. Linguistically, she moves fluently from Greek to Filipino and English, though her writing causes her to get "all mixed". Predictably, Kiethlyn also laughs.

'Mixed', like laughter, is a metaphor of confusion and of ambiguity (see Douglas 1971). None of the children are necessarily cognisant of the entirety of what their laughter or their term 'mixed' might signify, but they provide, metaphorically at least, a single, common expression - a unity in diversity, a unity of diversity. That is to say, the response of laughing and of describing themselves as "mixed" suggests, if Douglas is to be believed, a collection of ambiguities both within the children and among them. The children's experiences are broadly similar, and therefore, unifying, but that unity is one of diverse cultural, social, and linguistic experience.

There are two general themes in this thesis: (1) culture and its disintegration; (2) children as the embodiment of how this can occur. That is, those who are commonly thought to inherit or to '*carry*' culture are the very individuals who challenge its integrity, and its potential incommensurability. What happens to culture when it is so mixed? and, what happens to the children who so mix it? This poses a direct challenge to the notion of culture, to the notion of learning culture, and to the perceptions and preconceptions of those who study its learners.

This thesis is about children, culture, identity, and movement between the contexts which combine all these. It considers children from three social groupings: those of Greek/British parentage (i.e. Greek father and British mother); those of Filipino migrant families; and those of Iraqi refugee

families. All these occupy a single urban space: Athens, and have one thing in common: social, cultural, and linguistic diversity.

These issues which the thesis addresses emerge from a world which is increasingly culturally mixed, a world which, Hannerz maintains, must bid farewell to its depiction as a cultural mosaic, of separate pieces with hard, well-defined edges (1991: 107), and turn rather to an image of "cultural flows in space" (1993:68), to a single world system of interacting forms, which combines and synthesises local contexts and pluralities; an opaque collage of cultural creole.

The Culture of Childhood

The Anthropological study of childhood has been inspired by the effort to address the early years of life as a particular kind of social experience. This idea gathered momentum from Aries' (1973:125) claim that the notion of 'childhood' as a distinct social category did not exist in medieval society, but, rather, emerged between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Since this period a Western perspective on the study of children and childhood has attempted to define the child as both a part of society yet in some sense different from their adult counterparts, a difference that extends beyond that of mere physical immaturity.

This perspective is condensed and summarised by Jenks (1982) who states that

> the child is familiar to us yet strange, he inhabits our world and yet seems to answer to another, he is essentially of ourselves and yet appears to display a different order of being... (in Jenks [ed.] 1982:9).

Jenks affirms that the notion of childhood is not one which can be understood as simply a natural phenomenon, nor one of mere physical

difference. Childhood, stresses Jenks, is to be understood as a social construct (p.12).

The construct of childhood is subject to the dimensions of time and space and finds expression in different forms. For example, Rousseau in *Emile* (1762) depicted the child as 'inherent innocence', and a 'bearer of goodness'. Rousseau filled the child with propensities to love, to learn, and to become a good spouse, parent, and citizen (cf. Jenks 1996: 13-14). The child harboured an inherent goodness which was to be channelled toward those future potentialities, but which would also be threatened and hindered by the structures of corruption and deviance in society. Jenks argues that what we see in Rousseau is the "inauguration of the powerful commitment to childhood, in western society as a form of 'promise'", a promise, Jenks argues, that "enabled us to indulge in pleasant reveries concerning tomorrow" (1996:14).

This 'promise' is institutionalised in the realm of developmental psychology (e.g. Piaget 1969, Bradley 1986) which treats the child as a being in a state of transition, a being as yet incomplete, a bundle of potentialities rather than actualities. The paradigm is one in which the child is defined by its incompleteness as a social being, yet whose gradual approach to completion is marked and recorded as intellectual and social skills are accumulated.

Anthropological and sociological contributions on the other hand have focused more closely on the processes of socialisation during childhood, than on the accumulation of skills. In this respect childhood is a 'time' of life when training for the social world is most emphatic. This is reflected in ethnographic accounts of children in different parts of the world. For example Margaret Mead (1930) attempted to demonstrate that culture played a more crucial role in the development of the child than did biology. Such a notion became a preoccupation of what in America at the time was known as the

'Culture and Personality' school of social theory which attempted to demonstrate how the role of culture was dominant over that of nature.

Despite the emphasis on cultural relativism Mead's study belied a typically Western conception of the child as a being in transition

> I watched the Manus baby, the Manus child, the Manus adult in an attempt to understand the way in which each was becoming a manus adult (1968 [1930]: 16).

Regardless of its flaws, which were later highlighted more thoroughly by Freeman (1984), Mead's account was one of the earliest to take seriously the child in society. Indeed, she produced an even earlier account: 'Coming of Age in Samoa' (1928), in which she attempted to show how Samoans did not experience the perceived 'awkwardness' of adolescence which characterised the same age-group in America at the time. The suggestion she makes is that the social concept of childhood is constructed differently in different places and at different times. Freeman's contention was that Mead neglected the biological aspects in favour of a political 'relativist' agenda, and he countered that both genetic and exogenetic aspects were equally important aspects of the same person and that one should not privilege culture over biology. Although both authors make the explicit link between childhood and culture, there is less emphasis on the idea of childhood *as* culture, or the 'culture of childhood'.

The culture of childhood was the more explicit aim of the Opies' whose studies ([1959] 1977; 1969) provide detailed analysis of children's rhymes, games, and naming practices. The Opies attempted to explore the rules employed by children and which rendered them effective in social life. The Opies' accounts show the importance children place on certain aspects and rules of lore, honour, chasing, and combat. It is argued by the Opies that these

are sufficient to lend support to the view that children may be considered as culturally different from adults and therefore worthy of analysis on their own. Because of this, and despite the valuable contribution of the Opies' studies, they perpetuated the child's social marginality, and confirmed their position as peripheral by comparing them, in antiquated anthropological terms, to "some dwindling aboriginal tribe living out its helpless existence in the hinterland of a nature reserve" ([1959] 1977:22). Thus child culture is unashamedly exoticised as 'other' and distanced from the adult world.

Unlike the extreme cultural relativising of the child by Mead and the marginalisation of the child by the Opies more recent studies on children and culture have concentrated on the child as sharing some universal characteristics such as biological immaturity and aspects of socialisation (see Erchak 1992: 36-38), and how children are in fact central to cultural processes (James 1994, 1996). Among these has been Briggs' (1970) account of the Utku Inuit of Chantrey Inlet, Northwestern Territories, Canada. Briggs describes the aspects of personal and emotional control which regulate Utku life and which children are expected to learn in order to be social. Among these are the control of anger, frustration, hurt, and temper which must not be shown. Less anti-social aspects such as resentment, dislike, and envy are recognised but should not be expressed. In displaying these traits the child demonstrates its lack of *isuma* - reason. *Isuma* is the opposite to every form of unacceptable behaviour. To acquire Isuma is to learn to be social, it is to learn culture. Childhood is thus constructed in terms of sociable ideals which are characterised by the control of emotions.

The examples I have chosen highlight only three different ways in which the relationship between childhood and culture can be, and have been, approached. One is to differentiate and compare between geographical locations; another is to separate out the category of childhood from the rest of society and treat it as a culture in and of itself; and the final example

illustrates the relationship between adults and children explored through concepts of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

All of these approaches are combined with varying degrees of intensity in the thesis, since none of them alone is sufficient to account for the lives of the children I discuss. Together they raise the question of what the relationship between childhood and culture is, and how it is best articulated. Indeed, this is one of the central questions I address. Further to this I intend to explore how such a relationship generates individual and collective identities, and how these in turn affect culture.

Multicultural Childhoods?

Other anthropological studies of children and childhood in a variety of contexts are becoming more common (e.g. Jenks [ed.] 1982, Hendry 1986, James and Prout 1990 [eds.]) and in ways that further highlight their interactive processes. But few have so far considered contexts where children are required to use, for example, contrasting and competing languages; contrasting skills of gesticular and communicative co-ordination; to move across contexts where they interact with a set of broadly competing social and cultural norms and values.

This thesis is one such attempt, or experiment. It considers what is very loosely, and perhaps inappropriately defined as the 'multicultural child'. And indeed, the possibility of a 'culture of multiculture', a hybrid 'meta-culture', born from exposure to different cultural forms. Although these terms are unwieldy and potentially unhelpful, my intention in using them is to give some experiential sense of the child whose life demands a variety of competing, interactive skills and who is conscious of a variety of contrasting feelings in a range of culturally contrasting contexts.

The social positioning of these children might be described as 'in-between'. That is, in-between different cultural groups, operating between different languages, moving between different codes of communication and between different social values. Demands are imposed on the child to 'adjust' themselves to these radically different and varying circumstances, to make sense of themselves in the different contexts that make up their lives.

This thesis explores what children in such circumstances make of these supposedly different social contexts. It explores how children affect them; how they are affected by them; how they use and integrate them; and how such children maintain an integrated idea of themselves in spite of such social diversities; and how children reconcile in themselves the contradictory aspects of the various groups to which they 'belong' if at all? Where, or to what do they belong? Of what or whom are they conscious?

In other words, as is more articulately put by Bhaba (1994),:

> It is at the level of the interstices that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed "in-between," or in excess of the sum of the "parts" of difference . . .What collective (*and individual*) identifications become possible in the overlapping, or displacing, of domains of difference . . (Bhaba in Bammer [ed.] 1994: 269, my italics).

These issues are to be addressed either explicitly or implicitly in the accounts which follow and are illustrated by the ethnographic detail from which they arise.

My notion of the 'multicultural' child, or of 'multiculture' in general, is borrowed from its use by some parents in the field where it was used to describe their own children. It is also borrowed from the emerging discipline of cultural studies, in particular the recent edition by Goldberg (1994) (and for

whom this is a partial response to his question as to what anthropology can offer to the field of 'multiculturalism'). It also draws on recent developments in social anthropological concerns with 'identity', within 'local' and 'global' contexts.

The combination of ideas for this thesis (culture, children, identity, movement) are inspired in particular by four contemporary writers: Anthony Cohen (e.g. 1986, 1994), Allison James (1986, 1993, 1995), Nigel Rapport (1993, 1995, 1996), and Iain Chambers (1994). Together they pose the theoretical background to the approach being made here. Contributions from all of these are invoked to support the direction of the thesis and are used to give theoretical depth to the fieldwork.

The wider social phenomenon from which the notion of multiculture arises is that which sees international migrancy and movement more common than ever before. The movement of people, information, language, imagery, symbolism, values, and so on (cf. Geertz 1986:120-1) explodes the idea of fixed culture, bounded, impermeable social contexts unaffected by others. Not that it was ever a plausible conception, but now, more than ever, rapid, fluid, ever-altering contexts impose themselves upon the individual; dominating, parodying, translating, and subverting one another, to the extent that prompts such commentators as Clifford (1986:22) to assert the decline of fixed and bounded cultural worlds, and that all is "moving". As Nkosi explains:

> Emigration, banishment, exile, labour migrancy, tourism, urbanisation and counterurbanisation, are the central motifs of modern culture; being rootless, displaced between worlds, living between a lost past and a fluid present, are perhaps the most fitting metaphors for the journeying, modern consciousness: "typical symptoms of a modern condition at once local and universal" (Nkoski 1994: 5).

Despite the continuance of boundaries such as ethnic and linguistic differences, there are ways through and over these, in the swapping of ideas, and artefacts in linguistic borrowing, dress codes and so on. Mediations and exchanges ultimately lead to a world in which there are "no distinct cultures, only inter-systemically connected, creolising culture" (Drummond 1980: 363).

What I am suggesting is that individuals, as Dawson and Rapport put it,

> now draw on a wide range of cultural resources in the securing of their social identities, continually turning erstwhile alien into their own; they select from the rich treasury of behaviours and beliefs which different cultural traditions now hold out to them, electing to have this and not that, to combine this with that, to move from this to that,. . .(forthcoming 1996:7).

and are subject to:

> "cultural compression": an insistence of socio-cultural difference within the 'same' time and space; a piling up of socio-cultural boundaries, political, ritual, residential, economic, which feel experientially vital, and which people seek to defend and maintain (p.7).

While these are depictions of a world on the move, of a Geertzian 'kaleidoscopic' collage of shifting contexts, they are very much an 'etic' conception of a world that is apparently no longer static or fixed (if ever it was!).

What I propose to offer in this thesis is more of an 'emic' account of these processes, of consciousness and self identity, a comparative ethnography of socio-cultural difference and similarity within childhood identities, an account of children whose culturally diverse lives are microcosms of the

world. Children prove a particularly valuable resource for this precisely because they are still learning, as it were, how to do culture.

To summarise, the thesis focuses explicitly on the following questions: how is culture learned, generated and "mixed" by children? What consequences does this have for their own emerging individual and cultural identities? What are the consequences for the concept of culture generally? And, how do we reassess the dynamic between the child as shaped by culture and the child as shaper of culture?

The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part 1 is the introduction and methodology and highlights the principle theoretical aims of the thesis and the means of addressing them.

Part 2 concerns aspects of social 'structure' in the lives of the children. That is, social rules, codes, and arrangements of authority to which the children are subject in their daily lives. This in turn is sub-divided into three smaller parts; each subdivision compares the experiences of children of similar age but from different culture groups, these are: up to 6, between 7 and 11, and between 12 and 15, respectively.

Moreover, the format is inspired by the widespread (perhaps universal) occurrence of young children's (0-5) dependency on parents in the early years of life, and on their gradual "moving out" into the wider community as they grow older (See Erchak 1992:36-42). This is not to deny different practices and processes employed between different groups, nor is it to impose a spurious 'developmental' model of childhood. Rather, it is a convenient and, I believe, more accessible way of comparing the socio-cultural experiences of children of similar ages.

Part 3 is a closer focus upon the 'Ethnography of Communication' which emerges from part 2, though, this time, it is divided into national/culture

group rather than age. This highlights two features of communicative identity 'Language' and 'Embodiment'. These are key mediums of communication and identity employed in the day to day encounters of the children. The former considers the issues over learning single and multiple languages. This is approached not so much from a technical viewpoint as from a socio-symbolic one. The latter - the notion of 'embodiment' considers the learning of gesture, bodily and social protocol, as well as a consideration of individual and collective activity through which lives are expressed and defined in relation to particular locations.

Part 4 is a discussion of the theoretical themes which emerge from the discussions in parts 2 and 3. Although these are discussed within the rest of the text where and when appropriate, they are singled out here for more detailed and further-reaching consideration.

I have adopted the literary device of 'Filipino' child, 'Greek/British' child, and 'Refugee' child to represent stages in the socialisation process among the three groups. Although this masks differences between different examples within the same category, those different examples are represented by particular names which in turn represent particular individuals. This device is akin to that used in case studies on policy issues where particular pseudonyms are used to illustrate certain issues. This style is also cognisant of the points made by Clifford and Marcus [eds.] (1986), and Crapanzano (1992) on the illusory character of ethnographic style and the distinction between the self of the anthropologist and the self of the anthropologised. That is also to say my method of representation uses both generalising tools such as the 'Filipino child', 'Greek/British child', 'Refugee child', and so on, and moves into the more specific examples of these where and when appropriate.

CHAPTER 1

SIGHTS AND SITES: ETHNOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND METHOD

> The gap between words and social processes amounts to an ontological gap that can only be bridged by a personal encounter with the others - in fieldwork (Hastrup 1995:44).

Methodological sections in anthropological volumes are well rehearsed in discussions of the researcher's relations with the field. Fundamentally, such 'rehearsals' present the problem of how precisely researchers have attempted get to the 'truth' of that field. The positivism of the 1930's and 40's provided early efforts toward the means of attaining empirical 'truth' in social anthropology. Its inadequacy however emerged from its very own self-perceived strength. 'Facts' were collected and tested as though they were theory-neutral, 'objective', beyond the influence of the observer, and unaffected by interpretation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1991 [1983]:5 ff.).

In response to such implausible notions Naturalism emerged as a method which held that the world should be studied in its 'natural' state and not in artificial settings or formal interviews, as Positivist approaches tended to be. 'Participant observation' was hailed as the key to 'natural' society, and to a large extent prevails in qualitative research (Hammersley and Atkinson ibid:54-76).

Latterly, ethnography has been better understood as a reflexive process. That is, as part of the world it studies. Observer and observed are no longer so rigidly separated and their effects on each other are seen not so much as a hindrance to social realities as the social reality itself. All social research involves interaction and relationships. Reflexivity recognises this and includes it as part of the process of social knowledge.

An extreme version of this has been the work of Clifford and Marcus (1986) who suggest that ethnography is basically the recorded observations of the observer. Ethnographies are literally this. This is in direct opposition to the positivist stance, and holds that knowledge about the social world simply reflects the preferences of the writer. For Clifford and Marcus culture is "written" rather than observed.

However one reacts to ideas about the production of social knowledge, the birth of reflexivity brought with it not simply a sensitivity to the influential role of the researcher and the effect he or she can have on the field, but also stimulated awareness of the problem of how resulting 'knowledge' comes to be a part of the researcher's personal and academic life (Okely & Callaway ([eds.] 1992) in a way that informs later studies as well as new insights into older ones.

With all of this in mind I have tried to take on board the lessons of reflexive anthropology and to accept that what I have written are my own thoughts and observations. What is presented are not so much 'facts' as processes of interaction filtered through my own biases and interests.

The Packaging of Knowledge

It is important to stress that the temporal distance between 'research' and the 'thesis' is inevitably veiled in the process of writing. The conceptual journey from the muddy mire of the field to the clarity of the finished text is perhaps the most crucial, long, and labour intensive, of the anthropological enterprise. It is a continuous process of adjustment and re-alignment of the 'field' and the researcher's place within it.

In other words, my 'methodology' did not simply begin prior to or even with my first journey into the field, nor did it simply end when I left it; I would be less than honest, or more than naive to suggest that it did. Indeed, it is not at all clear when fieldwork really ends, (see Cohen 1992: 339-54) nor,

when or how methods employed to elucidate it cease. It seems that they merely merge with the other concepts and experiences, which together provide the material for the sometimes uncomfortable 'packaging' of anthropological knowledge.

The packaging of this particular piece of anthropological knowledge claims not so much a comprehensive record of interviews and observations of 'Others', but more perhaps, a record of participation between myself and a selection of other selves, of the bridges and gaps 'between' us, and what of them I deemed appropriate to record.

'Gaps' and 'bridges' between observer and observed imply differences, an implication which runs through the whole historical development of anthropology. Indeed, the traditional premise and justification of anthropology has been that of 'cultural' difference. But the 'translation' of cultural difference is no longer, as it was for Evans-Pritchard (1962), the sufficient condition for the complex process of knowledge it really is. As Hastrup maintains, culture is not simply translated:

> Difference is posited through the experience of fieldwork, from which we know that cultural understanding is about disequation rather than equation (Ardener 1989:183). . . difference is transcended in writing and its implied objectivism. This process is not a mechanical process of translation but a highly complex process of understanding and re-enactment, in which the anthropologist herself plays a crucial part, and which is complicated by features of heteroglossia and mutedness (Hastrup 1995:23).

The process of anthropological knowledge then is one which does not fragment into the convenient categories commonly attributed to it, but is a rather more messy affair of interactions between people, ideas, events, texts,

and experiences from which emerges both the illusion of systematisation, and the more authentic creative dialogues of learning about people.

Interactions imply relations, and relations imply separations, and from the dual nature of anthropological practice (Hastrup 1995:25), of experience and writing emerges a gap, a world of "betweeness". It is in this betweeness that the anthropologist finds a place to speak, a place in which to experience and a position from which to write.

By drawing a similarity between the prophet and the anthropologist Hastrup (1995:24) shows the mediating process between two worlds. The link is not made by predicting the future from the present but by "foretelling" it before it has been incorporated into collective representations. This prophetic vocation with which Hastrup defines anthropology is related to the expansion of language in which both perception and theory are articulated and become one. Thus observation and analysis are inter-woven at the level (or place?) of anthropological knowledge and where separated in text, are so simply to show how that inter-weaving has occurred.

I will try to show this process throughout the thesis. Inadvertently, the complexity with which the analysis ends is the reality in which perception began, and the straightforward ethnographic descriptions with which it begins are the reified strands unravelled from that complexity. All lives are complex, and by taking strands from those about whom I am writing, the field is made present on the page only by virtue of my own anthropological simplification.

Preparation, Place, and People

There were, of course, specific research strategies (see Burgess [ed.] 1982) employed during fieldwork, and which I will outline here. By research strategies I mean those choices I made in the heat (literal as well as figurative) of the moment along the course of the anthropological path I was attempting

to travel and respond to. They were decisions made which I thought would best help to clarify the questions I was attempting to ask, as well as those I was attempting to answer.

Initial reflections indicate that it is surprising how much time one can spend worrying whether one has chosen the 'right' field, particularly so when initial plans don't go exactly according to plan. Thankfully, informal anthropological wisdom teaches that such experiences are educative. It is a pity that this can only be appreciated in retrospect. My interest in the British community in Greece and in particular in those married to its natives and raising children together, struck me as singularly appropriate in the year (1994), the United Nations had dedicated to 'the family'.

Having prepared and proposed a detailed research plan on 'Cross-cultural Contact and Socialisation' at the end of 1993, and arrived on site in the summer of 1994, it wasn't long before a lack of co-operation on behalf of Greek males severely affected its execution and balance. Thus, my research brief was extended to include other national groupings within the same place in an effort to broaden the study's scope and to compensate for its lack of specific depth. This change had the positive consequences of a broadening of the notion of multicultural identities, and a widening of the comparative selection. I spent a total of almost thirteen months in the field.

Athens is not particularly renowned as a place of modern cultural diversity. On the contrary, travellers and tourists come from across the world to witness its ancient purity: the Parthenon, the Acropolis, which are in turn, loosely speaking, symbols, in the twentieth century mind, of an age of aesthetic and intellectual purity: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, et al.

Western history is traced to here. Mythologised as the "cradle of civilisation" Athens was where 'real' thinking began. Its ancient social purity extended democracy only to 'landed' men, but citizenship to the barbarian, who lived beyond the walls of the *polis* (city state), was denied.

Today, Athens is no aesthetic match for its architectural forebears. Its earlier styles are drowned out by the mass of drab concrete apartments hastily erected in recent years to cope with the influx from the surrounding villages. Socially it is barely 'pure' at all. There are some 30,000 Americans, 30,000 Filipinos 20,000 British, 6,000 Australians, 3,000 Germans[1], etc., in its population of around 4 million. Road signs are latinised and commercial livery is often in English. English is spoken widely as a second language. Television and cinema combine English language programmes and films with Greek subtitles.

Despite these superficial statistics and externals, however, there is at the same time a character and a sense of belonging for the Greek population that is noticable and distinct. Aside from the tavernas, bouzouki bars, national flags, and of course language, there are subtleties of communication, gesture, recognition, and beliefs that are distinctively 'Greek' (Herzfeld in Fardon 1995). In daily interactions for example, "Emies i Ellenes" (We are Greeks) is sufficient justification for anything from the smallest peculiarity to the most glaring anomaly: "You are very hospitable" "We are Greeks"; "Why do you 'tut' when you mean 'no'?" "We are Greeks!"; "Why are governments here often corrupt?" "We are Greeks!".

But, as Roger Just (1989) explains Greeks seem far less easy with their claims to Greekness on historical and cultural grounds alone, than on the idea that one "is Greek because one has *elleniko ema* - Greek blood" (Just 1989:77). I am suggesting that the common explanation "we are Greeks" is such a confirmation of that common blood in a metaphoric sense, and of mutual belonging - what Just translates as 'ethnos'.

This sense of 'ethnos' - (a people), over the less persuasive 'kratos' - (state or nation [Just 1989]), pervades Greek society at the level of the family, and

[1] All these figures are unofficial estimates provided by the British Embassy in Athens. Accurate statistics are impossible to gauge given the proportion of unregistered immigrants.

mutual belonging in their processes of socialisation. Children are often the responsibility of extended kin as well as their immediate mothers and fathers. The (extended) family is an institution of economic and emotional intra-dependence, (Campbell in Clogg [ed] 1983) barely touched by bureaucratic state machinery (see Papadopoulos in Brannen and O'Brien 1996), and where a system of 'favours' and 'fakelakia'[2] can ensure the smooth running of those affairs which do involve officials outside the familial domain. I am not suggesting that these are the norm but that they are a continuing means of mediation in the patron-client relationships which permeate Greek life.

The Three Groups

There were three different groups with which I was attempting to approach questions about multicultural identities. Without neglecting the peculiarities of each, what emerged was a comparative set of field notes which not only juxtaposed different social, cultural, and national identities but addressed those identities through individual accounts and experiences. I will rehearse these groups briefly in the order in which they appear throughout the rest of the thesis.

Filipino Families

The first group is that of the Filipino families. Most of these have raised their children in Greece from birth. Because of the reasons given for their presence here, they are perhaps more accurately described as 'economic migrants'.

[2] 'Favours' are a single means of ensuring favouritism for example in applying for, and securing, a job. 'Fakelakia' means literally 'little envelopes'. They are, in fact, envelopes with money intended to bribe or intice officials (civil servants, teachers, politicians, doctors, etc.) into favouritism.

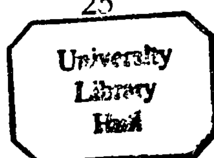
Economic migrants from the Philippines are visible in many workforces throughout the world: in Asia, the Middle East, as well as Europe and the US. Generally, economic hardship at home drives the young and fit away to earn money in more lucrative environments. The attempts to improve conditions in the Philippines is supplemented by the sending of money back to relatives for the essential purposes of health and education. Whilst abroad however, many marry, either among themselves (i.e. with other Filipinos) or with the local population, and then raise families. Though most of these families are legally resident, and legally working, many are also illegal and constantly face the threat of deportation. Lay estimates of the Filipino population throughout Athens range between 20,000 - 30,000[3].

Research among these families was mainly through participant observation and involved me as a part-time teacher and supervisor at a Filipino nursery school. Contacts with Filipino families through the school provided me with access to older children also. Indeed, I had direct access to the homes of six Filipino families which included four children under the age of six, two between seven and 11, and two over 14.

Informal interviews were conducted, taped, and transcribed later. Many of these included stories and experiences offered by children and their parents about being a Filipino in Greece. Often in anecdotal form, and centering on experiences in school and at home, children offered stories and comments on their peers and their parents while parents offered anecdotes and comments about their children.

Different strategies were adapted to different contexts and yielded different kinds of material. For example, informal interviews were used with parents and provided information through conversation. Although this was

[3] These figures were provided by Kassapi - an organisation in support of Filipino migrant workers.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used with children too, observation of gestures and group activities proved just as informative.

Greek/British families

Another setting was that which involved children whose parents were of two different nationalities: British mother and Greek father. Mirror images (i.e. British father Greek mother) of this scenario were virtually unknown. Specific questions here related to whether and how the respective socialising intentions and activities of different family members not only affected the behaviour of their children but also the sense of identity they developed. That is, how children 'chose' how to relate in different contexts, and 'who' they endeavoured to be in relation to others around them, both in respect of different sets of company and at different times in their lives. Key themes drawn on and illustrated were the use of language, gesture, and behaviour, the practice of supernatural beliefs, and the socialising roles of extended kin.

Members of 9 families were interviewed. Seven of these families had two children while two had three children. Ages ranged from 3 years to 16. By visits to the homes of these families, and through interviews with children and their parents, I built up a sizeable collection of tape recordings, notes and anecdotes. Interviews were of an informal conversational nature rather than strictly formal. This permitted both children and adults to expand on experiences and issues which they felt important, interesting, or just entertaining. No conversational topic was imposed. Rather, all interviewees were encouraged to speak about their experiences of school and home and whether they felt "different" from those around them, and if so, how?

My attendance at schools, nurseries, and organised groups of mothers such as 'Link-Up' and 'The Cross-Cultural Association'[4] engaged further

[4]These were active groups of English speaking foreign women (and some men) who gathered on a regular basis for mutual support and to discuss issues of relevance to living in Greece.

issues which affected the lives of their children. These involved the very nature and value of children as such, as well as the importance of gender. These are highlighted and contrasted particularly in the relationship between British mothers and their Greek mothers-in-law.

As is part and parcel of any research project there were inadequacies in the strategy I had adopted for this particular group and which became apparent over a period of time. Specifically, this was the difficulty of conducting interviews with Greek fathers. Or, rather, finding Greek fathers who were willing to be a part of the research. Some were "too busy", or preferred not to discuss their family lives, many showed no interest in what I am sure they felt was a waste of their, mine and everybody else's time. This may be attributable to my inadequate explanation of why the research was interesting.

However, the imbalance may also reflect the intensity of concern for those who experienced their situation as sufficiently interesting to discuss and document. That is to say, the Greek fathers were not, so to speak, 'out of place' but simply married to a foreigner. The mothers on the other hand were geographically, linguistically, and culturally displaced, and perhaps because of this the experience of family life was all the more 'strange'. Because of this general lack of male co-operation much of the information recorded is a little lop-sided and reflects more the perspectives of the mothers and the children only.

Iraqi Refugee[5] Families

The last group involves a group of refugee families from Iraq. These families left Iraq for reasons related to its present political regime, as many

[5] Many of the Iraqi families are not refugees in the strict legal sense of the word, but are either seeking this status or have been denied it. The term is used loosely.

others have been doing since before the start of the Gulf War in 1990. Hence some families have been in Greece for as many as six years, which for some children is nearly all, or a large proportion of their lives.

There are an estimated 6000[6] Iraqis in Greece, many seeking asylum in Western countries such as America, Canada, and Australia. Each of these countries has limited quotas, and many families fail to convince authorities of a "well founded fear of persecution"[7] which means that many remain illegally in Greece, unable to proceed to preferred countries and fearful of returning to Iraq. Contact with this community was established and maintained through a Refugee Centre which catered to their practical needs, and at which many spent a great deal of their time.

The Refugee Centre was founded by a religious community called the Missionaries of Charity - a global religious order established to respond to the needs of the poor around the world. This particular Centre opened in Athens in 1986, and its key function is to provide food and temporary shelter for the homeless. It is set in the surroundings of a semi-dilapidated industrial estate about a mile or two from the centre of the city. Many who make use of it do not necessarily live here but often have some form of accommodation in the surrounding area.

Although most of the fieldwork was carried out in the Centre I was able to negotiate access to the homes of four Refugee families. Collectively, this involved eleven children between the ages of 5 and 15. In addition there were around 30 children who used the Centre on a day-to-day basis, though not all are directly referred to.

The Centre was usually busy from morning until early evening, children and parents come and go as their needs and whims dictate. Meal times and teaching hours (10-12 in the morning, and 3-6 in the afternoon) provided the

[6]This estimate was offered by the International Social Services in Greece. Unofficially the figure is thought to be higher.
[7]United Nations Convention on the Rights of Refugees (1951).

busiest times and the most fruitful for observation and interviewing. Interviewing again was very informal and unstructured. For the parents these developed around perceptions of the past, present and future, and the significance each of these held with regard to themselves and their children.

This dictated a slightly different approach to the field than that used with the Greek/British families and involved mainly participant observation. Interviews and conversations with children tended to address their daily activities in both school and play. Direct questions about language use, friendships, were used among the older children as were questions about how they perceived their futures. Other questions about pasts understandably met with mute responses from younger children, but with a little more reflection from older ones.

By active participation in their daily activities at the Refugee Centre I was able to more closely observe lives at work and at play. Often this involved simply being there and helping out with various chores. My 'official' role however was to assist in teaching English to the children. This involved classroom teaching with three separate age groups: 5-7, 8-11, 12-16.

Interviews were often negotiated through the use of two or three languages and necessitated translations on some occasions. Most of the children, and some adults, however, were able to speak English with varying degrees of competence. Indeed, I was often humiliated in my efforts to communicate in Greek. The children's superiority forced me to revert often to my native tongue if only to regain some self-respect. Despite researching in a foreign country, the field in this setting ironically more often met me in my own language. This is a curious reversal. Usually anthropologists must learn the language of their informants. I must concede however, that this may well have prejudiced many of my interpretations and indeed others' responses to questions I posed.

My reasons for choosing these particular groups is little more than that I was introduced to them early on during fieldwork and they provided a convenient threefold contrast in the differing senses of 'in-betweeness' and 'out-of-placeness' which they each posed, which is central to the nature of comparison. Moreover, access to them was relatively easy once this initial contact was made. It seemed a shame to exclude any one of them from the account, but rather cumbersome to include any more. I settled on them for, as I have already hinted, their similar kinds of (or so it seemed to me) experiences, yet their distinctiveness from each other.

Preconceptions Revised

Preconceived stereotypes of those I categorised as 'Filipino', 'Greek', 'British', 'Iraqi', 'Refugee', and their respective 'cultures', posed a temptation to look for those 'cultures' apart from the individuals through whom such 'cultures' were attributed. Now in a position to cringe at such naiveté and unthinking tendency to 'orientalise' (cf. Said:1978) others, I have down-played Filipino-ness, Iraqi-ness, British-ness, etc., and tried to emphasise more the experiences, thoughts and feelings of particular individuals.

That is to say social commonalties between a group of individuals ('culture') are individually experienced and interpreted in terms of the particularities of everyday life rather than in all-engrossing clouds of sameness. Reflecting on their own particular situations and feelings, rather than general or 'cultural' ones, individuals commonly construct the incidents and 'stories of their lives', their own interpretations of what they experience, the identities they aspire to be and those they perceive others to be.

Processes of socialisation are, for most accounts[8], revealed in the broader context of familial displacement. Bearing in mind that the child is commonly seen as the learner and 'recipient' of culture, the question asked is: how are such displacements borne by them? Indeed, displacement and movement are recurrent throughout, not only in the sense of displaced and semi-displaced families but also in respect of how the children 'move' between varying cultural and linguistic contexts.

My Role/s

My identities as researcher, anthropologist, student, were combined with those of teacher and supervisor in both the refugee and Filipino contexts. This was as problematic for me as it was for those who had to put up with me, in that, balancing their ambiguities often meant temporarily changing the nature of the relationships in which I was engaged. Among the Greek/British families my activity was far more clearly defined for them as "doing research". Limited access to homes, and limited time spent in them did not produce the same level of familiarity or depth of friendship as was generated among the other two groups, and so did not permit the same ambiguities to arise.

This also speaks of the degrees of power each group was able to command over the spaces they occupied. That is to say the refugees and Filipinos relied a great deal on voluntary help and charity for the fulfilment of practical and educational needs, whereas all the Greek/British families were able to take full advantage of professional institutions. The refugees and the Filipinos had clear social and material needs to which I was able to contribute, the Greek/British families did not.

[8]In the case of the Greek/British children we cannot assume the same intensity of 'foreigness' as for the other two groups (except perhaps in regard to their British mothers).

The different contexts within the field and my roles in each of them, in one sense mirrored the very processes I was interested in describing. Although the more radical aspects of changing between different contexts was smoothed over by the fact that I was able to speak my own language most of the time, this did not completely cloud my sense of the necessity for differing roles and identities, alterations in reactions to, and expectations of me. Relationships with my key informants were complex and ranged from that of formal and authoritative teacher and supervisor, to less formal and even ambiguous identities such as interviewer and new friend. Yet, as a professional anthropologist, these identities masked my essential interest in concepts of culture. But this was also a central focus of many of my informants. It is curious that our respective identities (teacher/pupil, interviewer/interviewed, friend/friend) were brought together and mutually constructed as we sought to learn of, and in a way belong to, new cultures.

A Note on Ethics

In all three groups parents, children, and other involved parties were made aware of my reasons for conducting the research. And where it was possible they were also given prior knowledge of the extent to which I would be intruding into their lives. Many showed both interest and incomprehension in equal measure in response to my intentions. This is not surprising given that many of my ideas remained embryonic at the time and have since been adjusted and re-adjusted in response to the themes which emerged.

I have used no surnames so as to protect identities and have changed many of the forenames, though retained those who expressed a desire for them so to be, though I have not indicated which these are. Notwithstanding, I am conscious of my responsibility to those who were generous enough to contribute to the research despite the irregular legal status some of these held.

Indeed some refugee parents believed any mention of the life they had to endure would assist them in their appeals.

To the best of my knowledge the stories and reactions (of both those in the field and myself) are accurate. I take full responsibility for the interpretation of these. I am committed then to accepting responsibility for what is written here, and at the risk of it lacking 'fit' from the perspectives of those it purports to represent.

PART 2

STRUCTURES AND IDENTITIES

Preamble and Introduction to Part 2

> The effect of mass migrations has been the creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as material things - because they are so defined by others - by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusions occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves (Salman Rushdie 1991).

Durkheim, in laying out his initial sociological manifesto, conceived of what he called "social facts", these were social structures at work and were responsible for the orderly, patterned, and enduring relationships within society. He argued that these existed in their own right as objective, external, and unchanging (see Jenks 1993:26). Durkheim maintained:

> The proposition which states that social facts must be treated as things - the proposition is at the very basis of our method - is among those which have stirred up the most opposition. It was deemed paradoxical and scandalous for us to assimilate to the realities of the external world the realities of the social world. This was singularly to misunderstand the meaning and effect of this assimilation, the object of which was not to reduce the higher forms of being to the level of lower ones but, on the contrary, to claim for the former a degree of reality at least equal to that which everyone accords the latter. Indeed we do not say that social facts

are material things but that they are things just as are material things, although in a different way (1982:35).

Thus, social structure is a source of causality in the explanation of social phenomena. It is proposed as a series of cognitive, moral, political, and economic constraints upon the individual who is effectively reduced as Cicourel (cited in Jenks 1996:35) puts it, to an "epiphenomenon" of society.

Traditional anthropological theory stems from much of the work of Durkheim but has differentiated between social structure and its main focus 'culture'. Yet, social structure was offered as a theory of culture in the form of functionalism - a comprehensive perspective that dominated sociology and anthropology up until the 1960's. Its analytic principles were integration and interrelation, and, as such, social structure came to be seen as synonymous with culture (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1957:106). Indeed, it was Radcliffe-Brown who dispensed with the concept of culture altogether in his writing in favour of social structures - the only social reality. These were the network of social relations and institutions which constituted the enduring framework of society. Radcliffe-Brown also believed 'function' to be the way in which these social relations and institutions contributed to the harmony and stability of society, conceived as a self-perpetuating whole. Radcliffe-Brown, and the Structural Functionalist paradigm he developed, was later rejected because of its static and ahistorical view of social systems.

More recent approaches in sociology, such as Giddens' (e.g. 1976, 1984), have attempted to present a less static notion of structure. His theory of "structuration" for example provides perhaps one of his most important contributions to social analysis and yet one which is curiously ambivalent, as Bryant and Jary comment

On the one hand, he [Giddens] presents it [Structuration] as an approach to social science that avoids the dualisms of subject and object, agency and structure and structure and process, which have so bedevilled other social theories. On the other hand, he makes no exclusive claims for it and he clearly has no wish to impose it on anyone; he believes it provides a basis for good sociology, but does not believe it provides the only basis for good sociology.

Structuration is Giddens' response to the problems of accounting for the forms and patterns of social interaction. Giddens conflates structure with its theoretical counterpart - agency in an effort to rid analysis of an unhelpful dualism. He maintains that structuration theory

offers a conceptual scheme that allows one to understand both how actors are at the same time the creators of social systems yet created by them . . .The theory of structuration is not a series of generalisations about how far 'free action' is possible in respect of social constraint. Rather, it is an attempt to provide the conceptual means of analysing the often delicate and subtle interlacings of reflexively organised action and institutional constraint (in Bryant & Jary [eds.] 1991:204).

This, at least, recognises the complexity of society and culture in a way that previous efforts didn't. However, "reflexively organised action" falls short of embodied consciousness, where it is, by definition, located and, therefore, of the importance of individual and personal identity.

Recently, in the anthropological tradition, social structure has been seen as just as a dynamic system of social arrangements, one which permits the individual's creative processes within it, and which is also more likely to be

considered alongside its theoretical counterpart - agency (see e.g. Rapport 1993, Cohen 1994, Prout and James 1996).

The importance of the individual in such accounts is primarily in its power to interpret social events, to impose their own meanings and significances, in a word to create their own world views. From such a perspective the individual is rescued from crass determinism and re-established as the primary starting point for social theory. As Cohen puts it "[the individual] is the obvious point at which to begin" (1994:132).

This introduces us to the other theme to be discussed briefly here - identity. Identity, in more recent anthropological discussion, takes seriously the reflexive 'I' of the individual in respect of the structural relations which it is a part of. That is, individual and cultural identity are born of the relationship between oneself and the external social relations within which one is situated and within which one interrelates.

Historically, the notion of identity has fluctuated between the theoretical poles of the 'self' and the 'social'. 'Self' identity was seminally addressed by G.H. Mead (1934) whose work conceived of the ways in which individuals symbolise themselves in social interactions. Distinguishing between the 'I' and the 'me', that is, the conscious, active agent, and the enduring product of experience respectively (see Cohen 1994:9), Mead suggested that the self is the combination of these two aspects.

Mead was a symbolic interactionist, as was Goffman (e.g. 1975) who followed him, and emphasised the notion of personal identity which expressed itself through the intentional power to secure the greatest possible advantage in any given social situation. Taking this further, society for Goffman, was manipulable through self-expression yet was also imposed in the form of significant others and in relation to which individual identity was formed. Both Mead and Goffman are relevant to our discussion of identity

vis-a-vis the children studied and the questions as to how they 'present' themselves in particular contexts. This will become clearer later.

Barth echoed the work of Goffman in his study of 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' (1969). But rather than concentrating on the 'self', Barth, as his title suggests, was more interested in collective identities. He concentrated on identity as specifically related to 'ethnicity'. Barth argued that ethnic identity was most clearly articulated at what he called its 'boundary' since that is where ethnic difference is encountered. The identity of ethnic groups, he maintained, is regulated by their relatedness to other groups. Thus ethnic identity adjusts itself in relation to the others it encounters and defines itself accordingly. Boon (1982) carried this contrastive notion further by suggesting that all aspects of identity - ethnic, cultural, linguistic etc. were of a relational nature.

Epstein's (1978:101) view of a 'synthesised' identity, incorporating a number of statuses and roles each of which emerges appropriately in a given social context, provides what he argues is a "coherent" image of the self despite the diverse range of situations it has to respond to. It is this which is most closely associated with 'cultural identity' and which is particularly relevant in this part (2) of the thesis.

More recently, Cohen (1994) and Rapport (1993) have focused on consciousness, on the awareness of the thinking self as fundamentally instructive of and to collective life, as agent. Cohen and Rapport argue that anthropology cannot fully appreciate the complexity of culture and collective life until it considers more seriously the diversely interpreting, acting, and responding individuals that create it. This provides us with a view which implicitly challenges the 'synthesised' and 'coherent' self of Epstein and argues for a notion of identity which incorporates contradiction and incoherence also. Cohen and Rapport will also be invoked again later, as and when they are appropriate.

Childhood: Structure and Agency

With a few notable exceptions not many authors have taken seriously the theme of childhood and identity. Sociological explanations, rather, tend to be developed in relation to adult members and where children are often marginalised. The category 'childhood' more often provides the convenient function of a way into understanding the rules and values of a society or culture and the processes of learning culture (see e.g. Mead 1968 [1930], Briggs 1970) and rarely as a reflexive experience in itself. In sociological writing children have often been treated as incomplete, and perhaps therefore unworthy of study in their own right, as Mackay (1973:27) points out

> . . .the term socialisation glosses the phenomenon of change from the birth of a child to maturity or old age. To observe that changes take place after birth is trivial but the quasiscientific use of the term socialisation masks this triviality. In fact, the study of these changes as socialisation is an expression of the sociologists' common sense position in the world - i.e., as adults. The notion of socialisation leads to the theoretical formulations mirroring the adult view that children are incomplete adults.

From this, the essence of the child is potential rather than actuality, the child's 'nature' is not to stay a child, but to become a complete person - an adult. Conceptions of socialisation then provide a link between the child and social structure though not in a way that gives as much attention to the experiential aspects of the child as to the external causes which shape them.

However, according to James and Prout (1996), more recent developments in the sociological and anthropological study of children have highlighted several key themes which reveal a more sympathetic approach to the

experience of childhood and the growing tendency to a more rigorous appreciation of the category.

The first is concerned with the social construction of childhood and its "culturally specific nature" (cf. Hastrup 1978); the second examines childhood as a permanent feature of society (Qvortrup et al 1994); the third discusses childhood as a subculture (Hardman 1973); and lastly childhood as a 'context' through which social and cultural reproduction takes place (Jenks 1982). All of these, argue James and Prout, are connected by a recurrent theme: the relationship between structure and agency.

It is this "recurrent theme" I wish to use in my analysis of these multicultural children. The analysis which follows is an attempt to conceptualise these two main theoretical aspects of social experience. Beginning with the former, this section offers some analysis of what constitutes the underlying structures of the children's lives both in the domestic domain and those domains beyond it ('school' and the 'street').

James and Prout (1995) argue that, until recently, sociological tradition, when it had referred to children, treated them as merely passive recipients of culture. Children were determined by their cultural and social contexts in a way that denied them any identifiable creativity and uniqueness of their own with which to affect the external world.

> . . .the 'individual' was slotted into a finite number of social roles. Socialisation (of children), therefore, was the mechanism whereby these roles came to be replicated in successive generations (Prout and James 1990:12).

Recently, this has been balanced by efforts to assert the importance of the agency of children (e.g. Hardman 1973; Wilson 1980; Pollock 1983; Musgrave 1987; James and Prout 1990). Ethnographies of childhood and children have

focused primarily on children as 'world-makers' in their own right, as competent social actors and full participants in social life.

The change in perspective effects a much more dynamic approach to the issue of socialisation and gives rise to the consideration of other aspects of children's lives such as their own perspective and where the 'world' is viewed from their own vantage point. The move from seeing children as formed by social structure, to one which sees them as active participants in that structuring revitalises children in research and further informs theoretical debate.

But although agency should be, and is often, central to the study of children it fails to account for other aspects of their lives, as James and Prout maintain:

> . . .it [agency] does not address the constraints that children themselves experience when "being children": for example the constraints that forbid children access to certain public domains whilst legislating for their presence elsewhere. That is to say, the emphasis on agency alone does not provide an adequate account of the duality of childhood as it is daily experienced (James and Prout 1995: 81).

In an effort to address this problem, James and Prout suggest that the best theoretical perspective would be one that would account for childhood as a structural feature of society as it impinges on children's experiences, and which would permit the reshaping of that structure by children in their day to day activities.

Such a model, they hold is offered by a radical re-appropriation of Mary Douglas' (1973, 1992) "grid and group" approach. James and Prout replace these terms with "hierarchy" and "boundary" respectively. The latter terms refer to two dimensions of social experience which, when combined, can

capture a great deal about the ways and the environments in which individuals relate.

Hierarchy and boundary constitute two theoretical threads in the social tapestry. These are fluid and flexible rather than static, and alter within and between contexts as those who participate in them act and respond. By approaching the individual in relation to these threads they can be better ethnographically observed.

Home, school, and playground, are suggested as typical domains of child activity and therefore as presenting different socio-structural settings in which children could be observed. This could be extended by analysis of their movement between the domains rather than just within them, thus plotting continuities and discontinuities of behaviour. What kinds of agency engage with which kinds of structures? And in what way are children's experiences of themselves shaped and affected by such movement? These emerge as key questions in a dynamic process, and in which different forms of the self would thereby be available for description:

> . . .each part of the heterogeneous mixture that constitutes a social pattern can be thought of as recurring in the social structure, in organisations, groups and networks, in individual interaction, and in the multi-subjectivity of agency. Each "type" of child is both an effect and a cause of the environments within which they engage (James and Prout 1995:12).

This dynamic approach to the flexible (and flux-ible?) range of possibilities emerges from seeing social structure not as an abstract monolith but as sets and configurations of engagements and relations between individuals. The individual is shown to be wholly part of the structure only through its own actions: "structure has no autonomous external existence" (p.92).

This last statement is highly significant. Social structures do not impinge apart from individuals' interpretations of them. This does not necessarily suggest that structure cannot mean similar things for different individuals. Rather, it is that structure is subject to the individuals that interpret it, and whose respective agencies render it dynamic. As Rapport says of culture:

> Individuals depend upon (the) common attributes of their culture for the capacity to make meaning, and yet, the vitality of the forms depends on individuals with meanings they endemically want to express through them (Rapport 1993: 170).

It is this that James and Prout wish directly to address. Adapted to my fieldwork it is hoped it will help clarify some of the children's experiences. I mean to show how the theoretical approach of James and Prout is effective in considering the lives of the children in the diversity of what I have somewhat loosely termed 'multicultural' settings. I will give accounts of the social settings of which the children are a part, and will indicate how their position within that setting is responded to and used by them. It is an attempt to examine the different ways in which social and cultural identity might be instilled or resisted by children either by parents, other adults, or friends and peers.

Structure, in respect of hierarchical relations, addresses not so much boundaries of culture and ethnicity (as with Barth [ed.] 1969) but rather boundaries of childhood and its relationship to adults and culture/s. The concept of structure in this respect enables us to discuss social arrangements to which the child is exposed and how these relations operate. That is to ask, what is and is not permissible in a given situation? and, how is it sanctioned or prohibited? Such questions however, cannot be generalised in a way that simply homogenises the experiences of different children. As has been said

already, structural arrangements are contextual and interpreted, and depend on the subtleties and nuances of individual experience. By looking at three different ethnographic sites we can see and compare different structures at work.

This part is intended to show how similarities and differences in the interpretation of structural arrangements in the child's life are experienced by them. 'Structural arrangements' are loosely defined as those social influences which prevail in the domestic home and beyond it. In other words how the child relates and interprets contexts within the home, and how it does the same outside it. It is important to add that structural arrangements outside the home may be placed within the context of 'school' or the 'street' as appropriate.

The child's 'voice' becomes increasingly more evident throughout the thesis. This is intentional and mirrors the process of a changing and maturing self. The first part is an account of the age-category "earliest years". As mentioned in the introduction this describes the experiences of children under six. Here the experiences of the child are largely of the home and predominantly of parental influence. There is relatively little exposure to the world beyond this domain. I will use the literary device of 'The Filipino Child', 'The Refugee Child', and so on, simply as a sub-heading to all the examples which illustrate it. [9]

The second section accounts for those children who are a little older - 8 - 11. These have far more exposure to the outside, having begun formal or, in the case of the Iraqis, informal schooling. Their increased involvement in relationships outside the home provides an alternative set of social arrangements (or 'structures') with which they engage. Often these are in contrast and conflict with those 'arrangements' within the home. Yet it is

[9] It is recognised that this glosses over differences of class and social circumstances but it is used rather to generalise the child through age-stages, and to show that this corresponds to differences in socialisation.

through this experience of these sometimes fundamentally differing domains that the child shows and exercises an ability to conform to, reject, or alter structures as they see fit.

In the third section 13 - 15 years, the multicultural child is an accomplished performer in different cultural contexts. He or she is not only able to appropriate behaviour and language to different contexts but shows an awareness of their cultural differences and is able to reflect on the choices made throughout their personal history. These choices, made in the minutiae of everyday life, are narrated through personal reflection, and go to account for the self which emerges.

The decision to structure the material in favour of age-sets rather than say, cultural groups, was to compare and contrast like with like. That is, five year-old Filipino with five year-old Greek/British child; and teenage Greek/British child with teenage Iraqis. The notion of culture is far less definitive and therefore less easy to know whether one is comparing like with like. In the contxt of children who are already culturally mixed, age at least provides some kind of anchor. While this is perhaps not ideal nor unproblematic it provides a more clear, if somewhat rigid delineation than a spurious distinctive 'cultural' identity would have.

Although the first section discusses more the role of structure over that of the self, or the dominance of the social over the individual, the second shows how the child, as conscious agent, is able to respond creatively to these structures, the third asserts the primacy of the individual as an articulate, reflexive commentator upon both themselves and the contexts of which they are a part. In all the sections however, the ability of the child to alter and affect structure is an implicit and often explicit feature.

There are three broad themes which emerge and in terms of which contexts are discussed, though these are not always of equal intensity, and are not necessarily in the same order in each section. These are: 1) ideas of well-

being which include aspects of behaviour, health, and education; 2) ideas of gender which involve naming, boy/girl preferences, roles and duties; and 3) concepts of cultural identity which include familial roles, language, belonging, and home. There are of course other themes which will be introduced when appropriate.

CHAPTER 2
THE EARLY YEARS (0 - 6): THE PARENTING OF IDENTITY

The earliest years of a child's life are spent mainly in the home (though perhaps also in kindergarten for some). This section seeks to explore the experience of the youngest children mainly within that domain. Because of the dominance of adult caregivers at this time, and because of the immaturity of those about whom the section is written, this offers ethnographic material drawn mainly from their parents' experiences and accounts. These accounts are of their own situations vis-a-vis their children.

What is revealed in this age category is the dominance of the adult role in the child's life, both within and beyond the home, and the various efforts on their part to protect and inculcate the social principles of their own cultural values. All the examples draw out the key themes which regulate aspects of the beginnings of multilingual and multicultural lives.

The Filipino child - Yannie

John Paul is Filipino. He is five and goes by the Greek translation of his name: 'Yannie'. His family live in a basement flat in a suburb of Athens called Ambelokipi where there is a high concentration of Filipino migrants. This

lends to community solidarity and support. A background to their situation is explained by Yannie's mother:

> "I have been here for 10 years, my husband for 11. . . We had to come here because the situation in the Philippines is so difficult. Our real home is the Philippines of course, but we have been here so long now. . .Yannie has only been there for three weeks' vacation. We will go back one day but I don't know when . . .I don't know how Yannie will be when he goes back to the Philippines. He can speak the language but the Philippine ways are different from the Greek ways. . .We tell him about the Philippines, When I was young and his cousins and relatives. We don't always speak to him in Filipino, sometimes its Greek. But it is very important that he knows he is a Filipino, or he won't know where he is from. We teach him Filipino ways, like respect for the parents. Greek children don't respect their parents and the older people. But for the Filipinos respect is very important.

This statement reveals a strong sense of ethnic identity and parental intent in the home. Intent, that is, to protect Yannie from potentially 'bad' influences outside. This protection is worded specifically in terms of "respect". Filipino respect is seen in diametric opposition to its absence among Greeks and differentiates a clear socialising aim.

Yannie's mother refers to their "real" home as being the Philippines. It is important to clarify at the outset that "home" might be referred to either as where a family live for the present, or where they feel they belong ultimately. Here, it is the former. But the Philippines as 'home' is also present in the form of parental memories and stories and future hopes. Its weather, its people, the relatives he is yet to meet are relayed to Yannie by his parents through stories of times when they were as young as he is now.

There is an assumption of "when he goes back" to the Philippines with them, and a concern that he will "be OK". "OK" can be translated as able to behave and engage in a way that is compatible with the values of those around him. This reveals the tension, felt at least by his mother, that raising her child in Greece will involve issues of cultural and practical adjustment on their return to the Philippines.

Linguistic purity, at least in Yannie's family, is not considered essential to cultural or national identity. Admitting that Greek may be used in the home suggests that it holds little threat to his "real" Filipino identity. However, as will be seen in subsequent sections, language may become an important issue later on in a child's life. In Yannie's home Filipino, English, and Greek may often be combined in single sentences even by Yannie's mother. Filipino identity was expressed more distinctively in the following way:

> We use many languages. . .(T)here are Filipinos all over the world and their personalities change . . .so it is not personality . . .It is a feeling . . . a feeling that you are Filipino. That is what I want Yannie to have, and to take with him all of his life.

The "feeling" of ethnic distinctiveness is what she hopes to impose upon Yannie. Although it is claimed language is not the essence of identity, it may well be implicit in it - a 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1990:56). It would be clearly wrong to assume that language has little to do with ethnic identity however, but what is being suggested is that, despite influences from Spanish and English, a distinct, Filipino identity remains strong. This indicates that the relationship of language to identity is not coterminous with it but, rather, is more of a 'surface' phenomenon.[10]

[10] See Chomsky (1965) for a linguistic comparison between 'surface phenomena' and 'deep structure'

Respect towards adults, and particularly parents, plays a significant part in this ethnic "feeling" and in the socialisation of young Filipinos. For example, Yannie is often asked by his father in the company of visiting adults "*Ikaw by ay tuli na*" (Are you circumcised yet?). The question is not a serious one demanding a serious answer but is rhetorical. Ritual teasing confirms to Yannie his status as a child, as a boy, and as a Filipino. Invariably, it evokes anger on his part, which is its intention, since it is a reminder to him of his inferior social position. But it is precisely this anger which he must learn to control. Any anger directed at his parents is met with an immediate rebuff, since it shows lack of respect. It does not carry the intensity of prohibition as that described of Inuit children by Briggs (1970) but is nevertheless an important process of control.

Although the question may be put to him in the company of other Filipino boys, it is not mentioned in the company of his Greek companions. This issue is underlined as culturally specific as well as gender specific and confirms him as culturally different from many of his Greek friends, to whom, on occasion he has been known to put the same (inappropriate) question.

Other Filipino customs are continued through parental responses to certain situations which occur as part of domestic life and are typical in Filipino families:

> "If Yannie is sick I lick my finger like this (demonstrates) and make a cross where the pain is. . .We also have a blessing for the children. When Yannie goes to bed he goes to the parents and makes his head like this (bows), takes our hand and puts it to his head. That is a blessing from the parents and a sign of respect from the children. Filipinos always do this".

Physical illness is met with spiritual blessing, as is inferior social status. The power to heal and the power to 'bless' affirm authority and control of the

parental role vis-a-vis the child. Health and well-being are maintained or restored through perceived spiritual means.

The home also confirms spiritual values of many Filipinos in Greece in its display of Catholic religious pictures, distinctly different from the icons of Greek Christian Orthodoxy. Among religious artefacts is the statue of the child saint - 'Nino' to be found in some Filipino homes. The child saint seems to combine childhood and spiritual authority in a single figure. It is put in a prominent place and always standing with a right hand raised as if in a blessing. This suggests something of a connection between childhood and theology, a complex unitary aspect of the Filipino child which is seen as divine gift yet also as spiritually (as well as socially) subordinate to adults. Thus, parents duties toward their children (such as teaching, discipline, respect, cleanliness, etc.) stem from both of these. Paradoxically then, the child is a catalyst for adult cultural and religious identity.

Cultural homogeneity, is also bolstered by such examples as a mainly Filipino diet; the persistence of minor customs such as placing money in corners of the house (for good luck); a clear respect for elders in theory and in practice; and in wider communal gatherings such as parties a distinct separation of men and women as conversational groups. Yet, to such 'homogeneity' must be added the influence of Greek television and its game shows, which are a common source of entertainment.

Yannie hears stories from his mother and father about the Philippines. They tell of his grandfather - a coconut farmer who has a large coconut farm and many trees; they compare the greenness of the country with the concrete drabness of Athens. Both his mother and father talk about their lives as children in the Philippines, the difficulties but also the joys, the care of neighbours, the seeming infinite extensions of family ties. Yannie is thrilled by stories of snakes and large spiders. They speak of returning one day - back to where they 'belong'. The reports of those who have made return visits such

as auntie Seni who tells of many changes in recent years: a growing economy, jobs, improved communications, etc. It won't be long before they can return.

For Yannie, home is culturally distinct from the world outside it, a distinctiveness rehearsed in the practices and values common to Filipino life. In other words, parental structure dominates by its transmission of these practices and values.

As has been said, linguistically, Yannie's home is predominantly Filipino but is also combined with bits of Greek and English. These latter two are not merely influences from outside the home but are part of adult reality within it. His mother, father, and aunties (who also live locally), all include Greek and English words and phrases in their exchanges. Yannie shows fluency in all three languages and moves easily from one to the other depending on the contexts in which he finds himself. This aspect will be addressed in greater detail in Part 2. Linguistic diversity however, also emerges from his experience at kindergarten and now from the school he has just begun to attend.[11]

The transition between these schools was marked by a ceremonial 'graduation', itself characterised by aspects of multiculturalism. In attendance were parents, invited guests, and the Philippine ambassador to Greece. Prior to the conferring of leaving certificates, performances and renditions were offered by the children individually and collectively. Surprisingly, these took the form of traditional English nursery rhymes: Goosey Goosey Gander, Jack and Jill, All the Kings Horses, and Humpty Dumpty.

The ceremony ended with two songs. The first, appropriately, - 'It's a Small Small World'; the second, prophetically: 'Que Sera Sera: Whatever Will Be Will Be'. Though perhaps unintended, the "future is not ours to see", comments philosophically but poignantly upon the precarious situation of

[11]This is Byron College - a private British school with an international student body. Prior to this Yannie attended the 'Filipino Learning Centre' for two years. Those who attend this school are provided with special discounts offered by Byron.

many Filipino families here: low pay, possible deportation, reliance on children for future prosperity, all lend a tone of insecurity to an already complex existence. It further demonstrates that language is not essential to being a Filipino, indeed it is conceivable that the opposite is true: that to be multilingual and multicutural is to be the 'modern', 'adaptable' Filipino.

Yannie is keen to play and replay his video of the event, stopping, rewinding, and freezing those frames of himself. He shows his certificate and explains the daily activities in which he engaged "play", "dancing", "singing", sometimes writing Filipino, Greek and English words. Yannie's contribution in school is precisely to be part of the internationalising of Filipino identity, and yet, also its distinctiveness because of this.

The structures of early life for Yannie are largely dominated by adult transmission of social values. These are conveyed mainly through the values and beliefs of Filipino life. Although taken together with the influences of the school the structural experience is one in which adults predominate. More specifically it is adult memories of traditional Filipino culture: learned respect; spiritual values; stories of belonging and return; etc., which provide much of the background to Yannie's 'present'. This is an over-riding theme which also emerges in the remaining examples.

The Greek/British Child: Alex and Dthanai

The 'Greek/British' family is a convenient term which accounts for British women who marry Greek men, and their children. There are many such marriages[12] in Greece.

[12]It is impossible to know exactly how many but verbal estimates from the British Embassy put the British population in Greece at around 20,000 and marriages at around 2000. Personally, I had contact with some 30 families.

The situation of a Greek father, closely involved Greek grandparents, together with the fact that the family live in Greece, it might be easily assumed that a child in such a situation is simply Greek with a British mother. This would not be altogether inaccurate. However, the influence and role of the mother cannot be overlooked as a highly significant component in the structural arrangement of the child's early (and later) life. Moreover, the slightly lesser role of the Greek father (borne out by the accounts of British wives) in the early stages of child-raising arguably diminishes his influence in the child's life,[13] and perhaps even enhances that of the mother.

For the children of British mothers and Greek fathers the early years are experienced in quite different ways from those in the Filipino and (to come later) Iraqi contexts. Here the home is a place in which aspects of two cultures and national identities continually overlay routine activities. But because these cultures are seen as distinct, and often opposed, it is also a place in which socialisation and respective relations with the child are deeply contested by the adults responsible for its care. This may take a number of forms but is particularly prevalent in aspects of gender, naming, supernatural beliefs, discipline, and language.

The experience of cultural difference within the home begins even before birth. British mothers experience pregnancy under the pressure to produce a boy. The mother of Alex explains:

> Boys are definitely preferred. Many of them still have the dowry system even though its illegal. My mother-in-law kept saying to me "me na yio, me na yio" that means "with a boy". They want you to have a boy. In the end I had three boys but for those who don't it can be difficult. My

[13]This is also borne out by the accounts of British wives and by the general lack of male voices in the accounts.

husband and I didn't mind so long as they (the children) were healthy, but grandmothers definitely prefer boys.

This preference for boys sits uneasily with British women for, after they are born, male children enjoy greater affection from their grandparents than girls, which often creates great tensions between British mothers and their in-laws. Yvette explains:

> We went to a party and his [husband's] parents were there. We'd both been arguing and they said "Maybe he's upset with you because you didn't have a boy". I was fuming. I said "well he fired the bullets". We didn't speak for ages after that.

The sex of the child is a significant variable for the relations between adults. Yet this emerges as a "cultural difference" not so much between the British mother and her husband as between British mother and her Greek 'in-laws'. The existence of grandparents in the domestic sphere of the nuclear family contrasts sharply with the domestic lives of the Filipinos and the refugees since these are of a single generation.

Traditionally, Greek grandmothers play a significant role in the lives of their grandchildren (see Saville-Troike (1989:223)). This is made possible because of the pervading thread of familism (e.g. see Clogg 1983) which weaves throughout Greek society and its values, and which renders child-raising the responsibility and concern of kin that extend beyond that of its immediate mother and father.

Also, even though nuclear families may live separately from grandparents, they are still very often within the same neighbourhood, or, even more likely, within the same block of apartments. Often with her own key, the grandmother potentially has unlimited access to their house, and to

the child. Domestic privacy exists but its boundaries are often drawn at extended rather than nuclear kin.

The apparent preference for boys is thought to evolve from the traditional dowry system in which marrying women (which girls potentially are) are expected to bring valuable items or large sums of money with them into the marriage. Conversely, a son is the potential receiver of such 'gifts'. The Greek adage "Girls are expensive" expresses and explains the bias against them, a gender bias which British mothers do not share, and which makes them uncomfortable and angry with those who do. Although the Iraqi refugees show a slight preference for boys the idea is completely absent from Filipino families.

Regardless of sex the name of the child is also charged with familial significance. Tradition holds that girls are baptised and named after their grandmothers and boys after their grandfathers. Although the British mothers mostly go along with this, reluctance to do so attracts tension and offence.

Greek social life also harbours a conviction in the belief of 'evil eye'. The new born baby, particularly boys, are invariably the target for supernatural forces that float around with malevolent intent. One mother (Alex's) remembers when her son was a baby:

> She (grandmother) wouldn't let me put him on the veranda. I couldn't take him out to the shops until after forty days. . .He had to wrapped up tightly in blankets. . he couldn't even move. . .just in case anyone got jealous and put the eye on him.

Protection against evil eye is also the concern of the grandmother who may take preventative measures, or perform rituals for the removal of the sickness which evil eye may have caused. At birth Alex was presented with a small brooch of an eye which was pinned to his clothing, near the collar. He

still wears a cloth necklace with the insignia of an eye, he proudly shows it off at the request of his father - he's now five. Evil eye is the potential cause of illness and even bad behaviour in young children and it is this rather than just the symptom which must be ritually removed.[14]

An additional security against evil is the activity referred to as "spitting". This usually follows a compliment about the baby, and consists of a 'ftou ftou ftou' sound from the person who makes it. This ensures that if veiled malice were intended by the remark (which would threaten the health of the child) then it will be fended off by the spitting.

The "eye" and "spitting", are indirectly related to the health of the child. As such they run counter to British mothers' conceptions of health, and like the bias against girls are often the cause of serious tension in the home. Dthanai's mother voices her reservations in its use with her daughter:

> Her godmother, that's my sister in-law, came round one afternoon and yiayia (grandmother) was already here. . .they were talking in Greek about her (Dthanai). Godmothers have a sort of special relationship with their godchildren here. It's much more than in England. Here they're always bringing presents and everything. Anyway they kept going "ftou ftou ftou" all the time all over her. That was the first time . . I'd seen it before with other's kids, but when its your own it feels weird. And there's the pin with the eye . . .I think it can be dangerous. What happens if the baby moves a lot, because some do, and the pin digs into them or scratches them. . . It really annoys me. . .And I hate the spitting thing. I think it can give them (babies) germs.

[14]This compares with Evans-Pritchard's (1937) acount of Azande witchcraft which highlights the malevolent cause as the main problem rather than its effect.

What is considered spiritually healthy by Greek grandmothers is considered physically unhealthy by British mothers - pinning evil eye, spitting, compliments (which may be considered emotionally and psychologically healthy for the child by British mothers) are, unless accompanied by spitting, potentially dangerous according to Greek grandmothers.

These activities reflect the close relationship between the supernatural and health in traditional Greek thought about children and childhood. Like in a similar example of the Filipinos they are deep seated beliefs and cannot be treated as trivial superstition. Whilst they are taken very seriously they supplement rather than supplant mainline professional medical theory.

Young children, such as Alex and Dthanai, are believed to be the most likely targets and victims of evil-eye, and an elderly relative or known neighbour the most likely source of cure. This affirms the fundamental relationship between the young and the old which cements so much of Greek society, but which is alien to those who are not Greek. Spirituality and activities associated with it are mainly the privilege of the older generation. This affirms their hierarchical seniority in the Greek family system, and is similar to the Filipino families in that it also signals their responsibility to the well-being of the younger members of the family. Yet, from the British mother's point of view, it poses an unwelcome interference, which also juxtaposes different degrees of social privacy and the extent to which grandmother's intrusion is permissible.

Conceptual differences in the causal link between the supernatural and children's health contrasts sharply, one British mother comments:

> She does things connected with the superstitions and all that stuff I just couldn't do them . . . they (Greeks) think illness is started by evil. I don't

have any belief in that anyway. . . some of the things are quite scary, if they were done to me when I was a kid I think I'd be scared of them .

This mother contrasts the practice with her own revulsion and dismisses its supernatural causality. Interestingly, through imagination, she places herself in the position of a child and pronounces judgement. Patterns of cultural thought are compared at several different levels and are opposed at every point.

The tension between the principle child-rearing role of British mother and her Greek relatives, in respect of supernatural beliefs and their relation to health, continues through early childhood and establishes a contested 'meta-structure' of beliefs about religion, health, and behaviour. This generational tension in the shaping of the child's experience is further compounded by 'cultural' difference. This emerges in conflicting views of the domestic world - the resulting confusion is articulated by older children and will be discussed later.

Evil eye is generally thought to be caused by the malevolent will of a jealous neighbour and so is clearly rooted in the social, despite its belief being categorised (by both me and informant) as supernatural. Although an effect of jealousy, evil eye is also the cause of illness and bad behaviour. Alex's mother recounts an experience involving her son when he was 4, and his Greek grandmother:

He was playing with the video player and the television and he couldn't get the television to work . . .he was pressing all the buttons and switches and really throwing a wobbly, I told him to stop and he wouldn't, I kept telling him but he just kept on doing it. I was trying to speak to her (grandmother) and he was making all this noise. So I picked him up and made him sit in the chair and told him not to be disobedient. . . "Don't do

that" she said. "Don't do that, it's not his fault." "then ftei, then ftei" she kept saying. That means "not his fault". I said "Ti ennois?" (what do you mean?). As far as I was concerned he was being disobedient and really naughty, but she wouldn't have it. She thought someone had done the eye on him. . .I thought: "Oh God, here we go again". I don't really like it but I just go along with it to keep the peace. We have had rows about it . . . but she just walks out and then comes back as if nothing happened. . . One day I'll just tell her to stop. . .but it's her culture, y' know".

The place of discipline is contested. British mothers compare with Filipinos in their complaints about Greeks permitting their children to do what they want with seemingly minimal restraint. The attitude of "then ftei" (not his/her fault), and that young children should not be disciplined in a way that assumes they are the only 'cause' of their unruly behaviour is one of the points at which the idea of cultural difference not only emerges but is 'blamed'. This suggests that British women see the problem as inherent in the child, whereas the Greek mother-in-law treats it in the structure of extra-familial relations.

On a separate point, the notion of 'culture' as a way of explaining difference, interpretation, and idiosyncrasy, diverts attention from the individual as the reason, cause, and locus of agency and towards the impersonal and vague notion of 'culture'. Thus, arguably, it plays a similar role for the foreigner to that of the supernatural in the mind of the Greek 'in-law'; as an explanatory device that expands the notion of cause away from the sole individual.

The interpretation of children's behaviour not only differs between two significant persons in the child's life (British mother and Greek in-law) but, because of the influence of those persons upon the child, the potential for

interpretive ambiguity and inconsistency (contradiction) is significant enough for the adults concerned to make a serious issue of it.

There is a behavioural 'innocence' which is conceived almost as an absolute in young children (seemingly up to around the age of 6). 'Exorcisms' are often deemed necessary for tantrums or continuous defiance and for which the children are not believed to be personally responsible.

In early life influences beyond the domestic fold are seen as potentially threatening by its Greek members whilst British mothers are far less inclined to see it so. Yet this is reversed later in life where Greek children are generally permitted to stay out later in the evening to play than is thought acceptable by British mothers.

Moving on to language, although both Alex and Dthanai speak good English this is because they have both attended English speaking Kindergartens. Whereas Alex now attends only Greek kindergarten (having changed from an English one), Dthanai attends both English and Greek-speaking kindergartens on alternate days.

The idea of kindergarten is linked to that of language development by adults and because of this, much like 'evil eye', it is a contentious issue. Dthanai's mother reflects on one incident:

> She (Dthanai) was speaking English to me when yiayia (grandmother) was here, like "Mummy where's my doll?" or something like that. Or she'd ask for a drink or something. . .and yiayia started really getting at me . . ."She'll have problems speaking properly when she starts school" . "You must speak to her in Greek." I think she was just upset because she couldn't understand what we were talking about in English.

Quite so. The importance of the grandparent/grandchild relationship renders it central to the familistic system of Greek society (Clogg 1983). The

threat of being unable to communicate is bound to cause consternation. In one of the few reflections of Greek fathers willing to offer a thought on the subject the point is spelled out by Alex's:

> We are very close . . that is how we are. We say "Emies i Ellenes" (We are Greeks). I say "if you don't like us OK, you leave now, but we are not going to change". . .Sometimes if my wife has a problem with my mother I tell my mother to stop. . .And if my mother is confused for [*sic* about] my wife I will explain [to] her. . . Sometimes it is difficult, but so far we can work it out.

This discussion was on the specific subject of child-raising yet, as 'specific' as it might seem to an outsider, it is invariably tied up with broader issues of cultural and national identity and, within the context adult relations. The role of arbitrator is a common one for Greek fathers although rarely spelled out so clearly as here. Alex's father admits not so much a cultural 'intransigence' on the issue of familism but is proud of it as a defining feature of Greek national identity. Against this he is aware of the difference and the threat posed by his British wife.

The question of language as a structural feature goes beyond the basic, practical need for communication. It impinges upon diverse issues from which kindergarten or school the child should attend to feelings of national and cultural identity. As such, as is shown here, it is contentious. A more rigorous discussion of language will be developed in Part 3.

Related to the use of language is story-telling. Like in the Filipino family, storytelling was recalled by the Greek father and by many mothers who reminisced of their own histories and childhoods. Alex's father admits to telling Alex of "the village", where he himself was born and of the family's

historical 'home'. The attention paid to historical and rural roots is a common feature in introductory conversations among Greeks generally.

Similarly Alex's mother admits to telling him about England and the rhythmical repetition of "green trees, country roads, and pubs along the way" is an abiding memory of her roots in rural Cheshire. A painting of the same hangs on the wall above a shelf with Postman Pat videos, and where children's English fairy tale books "remind her of home". These temporal 'journeys' of imagination are supplemented by spatial ones of actual travel. Both father and mother retain an ancestral 'home' with their respective kin which is visited as and whenever possible.

The early years of the Greek/British child sees the emergence of differences in the respective cultural traditions of the adults involved in its life. As in the case of the saint 'Nino' among the Filipino families, and prior to much awareness, the child is both a focus of, and a catalyst for, adult cultural identity, stimulating the deeply held beliefs of both Greek and British minds. Gender, language, supernatural beliefs, and ancestral origins are all invoked as key themes of identity. The domestic context inevitably guarantees that these are contested between the adults within it, and all because of the child who is central to it.

The child, subjected to the structural underpinnings of both sets of cultural 'ideas' of what a child should be and what it should experience, occupies the curious and ambiguous position of being made in the potential image of both 'Greek' and 'British' child. The Greek aspect of this however gathers momentum as time goes on, as the child gains experience of the world beyond the home, while the British influence diminishes and remains largely a construction of mother's memory - a mother away from her own cultural 'home'.

In comparison with Yannie (the Filipino boy), Alex and Dthanai experience life as a combination of cultural influences which are dominated

by adult impositions. Whilst none are able to articulate their experiences in terms such as "culture", they nevertheless are subject to comparable structural arrangements. These take the form of supernatural belief systems, and their relation to health, the use of different languages in different contexts, gender, and an over-riding sense of parental recollections whether expressed in socialising techniques, language, or narratives and storytelling.

The Iraqi Child - Funda

Funda is six, an Iraqi girl who arrived in Greece when she was only one year old. She has no recollection of her arrival and knows only that she was carried here in her parent's arms as they fled their country just prior to the outbreak of the Gulf War. Having spent time in a refugee centre the family eventually moved to their own accommodation, a tiny cramped ground floor apartment in a district of Athens called Peristeri. Funda lives with her mother, father, elder sister and two elder brothers. The family have made several claims for asylum, to the United States, Australia, and Canada. All have been unsuccessful.

At the age of six, Funda's Greek contemporaries are starting school proper. Funda, however, is illegally resident in Greece and is not permitted to attend. Despite going to kindergarten two mornings a week with children two years her junior, Funda's time is spent mainly with her mother in their small ground floor apartment.

On the mornings when she does not go to Kindergarten she accompanies her mother to her job. Her mother is a voluntary cook and cleaner at the Refugee Centre where the family lived when they first arrived in Greece. Here Funda plays with other children her age, her own nationality.

Funda's main language is Chaldean, a distinct ethnic language which, along with Assyrian and Armenian forms part of the broad linguistic range to be found in Iraq. Her 'second' language is Arabic which enables her to communicate with her non-Chaldean compatriots. Greek is reserved mainly for kindergarten (though not entirely) and her rapidly emerging English stumbles its way through the situations that demand it.

The family home is more or less a central 'hub' around which the other social contexts are situated, Kindergarten in one direction, the Refugee Centre in the other. Experiences of both these locations meet in the middle and manifest themselves through language. Whilst maintaining predominantly Chaldean within the family Funda breaks into Greek and English when appropriate and even when inappropriate.

Funda is often heard, according to her father, to be "talking to herself in Greek", as well as where necessary to visitors in Arabic. Classes at the Refugee Centre afford her an opportunity to learn English. Linguistically she compares with Yannie the Filipino boy and even surpasses his impressive tri-lingualism with emergent quadro-lingualism!

Drawing other similarities with Yannie, and for that matter with the Greek/British children, Funda finds her life a linguistically contextual one where different languages are necessary in different situations, yet without the intensity of 'mixing' Yannie is exposed to, and without the domestically contested context of the Greek/British children. As with the previous examples language will be discussed in more detail in Part 2.

Funda's home is peppered with iconic art and religious statues. Chaldean Christianity, through its traditional and tangible images compares favourably with Greek Orthodoxy in its distinctively 'Eastern' style. However, there are no fears of the religious difference that are evident among the concerns of some Filipino households.

Although Funda's mother and father are not inclined to link religion with health in the same way as the parents of their Filipino and Greek/British counterparts, there is an explicit link made with religion and their family's fate as refugees. Though they lament the need to leave Iraq they admit to "always praying" for asylum or as they put it "for visa" and hence the desire to be further away from it. 'Well-being' is seen more in the context of political freedom and of preparing for a future than of sickness. It is more closely associated with legal and social concerns than with personal and physical health. This is a consequence of their peculiar circumstances, and it is in the broadest sense of 'displacement' that the notion of well-being must be analysed. Like Yannie's family there is a desire to secure a future which will eventually replace a 'dis-placed' present. But Yannie's future direction is the opposite to that of Funda. While Yannie's family contemplate a future 'back home', in the Philippines, Funda prepares to move even further away from Iraq. Thus, the language of a country she has never lived in (i.e. America, Canada, or Australia), impinges upon her in the form of English, yet is only a further addition to the ones she already has to learn.

Chaldean Iraqis distinguish themselves from the predominance of Islam as a defining feature of Arabic identity but converge with it in other ways. One of these ways is that of customary gender roles.

Funda accomplishes minor chores in the home such as the removal of her father's and her two brothers' plates after they have eaten. Her mother maintains it is her responsibility to ensure her child is raised "properly". "Properly" is partly defined precisely by the learning of these household chores. Gendered divisions within Funda's family are also marked teknonomously. That is, by the prominence of the first-born son after whom

the father thereafter takes his name. 'Papa Martin' is so named after Funda's eldest brother.[15]

Funda's minor domestic chores are seen as appropriate to her age and a preparation for the more difficult tasks which her older sister, Hilda, now performs, such as washing, cleaning, cooking, and sewing. Household chores sometimes take up large chunks of a typical day in the lives of girls only a few years older than Funda. The same is not expected of her Greek contemporaries. On the contrary, young Greek children not uncommonly are pampered and indulged by their seniors, particularly grandparents - this is also the experience of the Greek/British children.

Since Funda has no memory of her former, albeit short, residence in Iraq she is reminded of family roots and extended relatives who remain there. As in the other two groups, stories are told by her mother and father keen to ensure they're not forgotten. These compensate for her lack of first-hand experience. In the hope she remembers "where she is from", which her father affirms as "important", such stories are supplemented by the everyday activities of work and language, which are still conceptually entrenched in the cultural home which formed them. Storytelling about Iraq compares with the other two groups and the respective origins of their parents. The difference of course, is that she is far less likely to return there than the children of the other two groups who may make visits to parental places and historical locations. This is perhaps why the experience of their journey from Iraq to

[15]This practice is virtually opposite the traditional Greek practice of naming a son after a grandparent. Nevertheless, both are practices of 'naming' and markers of social and familial identity. The names of every child so far mentioned is socially and culturally significant. The Filipino 'Yannie' is the Greek equivalent of his baptismal name 'John'; Alex and Dthanai are both Greek names of children whose mothers are British, yet they are named after the grandparents (I came accross very few Greek/British children with traditional English names, or at least that weren't turned into their Greek equivalent); 'Funda' drew surprise when her father registered her with the local kindergarten since it was an "unusual" name and "not a saint's name". Children's names are significant in different contexts for a range of reasons and are also an identification the child is unable to change.

Greece is recounted often and in detail by her father. She listens to the story intently when it is repeated again for my sake.

The prospect of the family's future being in Greece is a distasteful one for Funda's parents. But given the refusal of their asylum applications it must be said that it is a more than likely outcome. Despite parental reluctance to contemplate a life in Greece their decision to send Funda to Greek kindergarten reveals at least a tentative acknowledgement that it is a possibility. Funda's elder sister and brothers do not share their parents' desire to move again.

Although domestic routines are not affected by the level of cultural contesting, as in the example of Greek/British children, this is not to say there is no 'Greek' encroachment. Funda's elder brothers and sister have Greek friends and bring them to the house. Also, like for the Filipinos, a television, despite its poor reception, is the focal point for an evening's family huddle, and whilst Greek films are rarely watched, game shows and English speaking films with Greek sub-titles are a staple entertainment diet.

There seems little concern that Funda is susceptible to the influences of Greek life in the way that both the Filipino parents, and British mothers worry about. Respect for parents, which is demanded of Iraqi children is secured through the dutiful attention to their chores, rather than in the verbal exchanges with their parents (as is the case for Filipinos). Arabic dialogue, much like that of Greeks, is often dramatic and confrontational. This does not show disrespect but a spirited individuality, prepared to stand one's ground. Funda demonstrates precisely this in her exchanges not least with me in the visits I paid to her house. Defiant of her brothers, she shouts, frowns, snatches and argues.

In summary, the experience which permeates Funda's early childhood is one which demands a diversity of languages. This enables her to deal with a variety of contexts to which she is daily exposed. 'Well-being' is seen partly in

relation to this and in terms of a temporal present which is deprived of the usual structures of 'normal' children; school being the obvious example. The threat which this poses is that to her 'future'. Therefore, she is encouraged to learn what she can of both Greek and English so as to cover for either eventuality. Religion and gender follow the customary lines of her parents' culture and are relatively stable.

As in the discussions of the other two groups Funda's experience is largely dominated by adult roles. Social environments are mainly structured and shaped by her parents or other adults around her through gendered roles, the learning of language, the construction of parental pasts, and so on.

Reflections on Parental Displacement and the Multicultural Child

> Family life provides the young child with the parameters of self-consciousness. The child comes to consciousness with an idea of who constitutes his or her family, and uses this knowledge to formulate an initial sense of self (Cohen 1994:55).

The concept of the child's 'future' which emerges from ideologies of the child in contemporary society (cf. Jenks 1996) and which is partially evident in all of the above examples highlights the way in which the layman (in this case parents) and professional alike often think about children. This concept not uncommonly feeds the 'development model' of the child mentioned earlier, a model which perceives the child as 'potential' rather than 'actuality', as in a state of becoming. A view which has also spawned interest in the relationship between childhood and time, for example in James and Prout [eds.] (1990) who maintain:

> Childhood, in contemporary western societies, is also popularly regarded as the potential antecedent for adult neurosis ... This means, therefore, that in such representations childhood becomes most important with respect to the *future*. This is, of course, where until the late 1970's most academic study of childhood was situated: child development and socialisation theories concentrated predominantly on childhood as a sort of 'moonshot', a highly complex and engineered trajectory towards adulthood (Holt 1975). Only in terms of this future period of life was childhood of importance. . .(p.226).

Inevitably, the child's perceived future is also linked to parental pasts in the transmission of social values, and ideas important to his or her parents. What is prominent in each example is the conveyance and transmission of these social values, ideas and beliefs of parental pasts.

Social boundaries whether between adulthood and childhood as 'generational cultures' and/or 'spatial culture/s' are represented in many symbolic forms such as language, gesture, ideas about health, religion, and so on. What is comparable in all the above examples, are how those symbolic forms are manifested in homes. This is not to say that the homes in each of the groups manifest the same symbolic forms; it is rather to suggest that there is an underlying theme which may explain their differences and similarities, that is parental displacement.

The representation of parental identity in terms of their generational authority and in terms of their own ethnic identity, emerges primarily in the three themes I pointed out earlier: well-being, gender, and concepts of identity, these in turn are mediated through anecdotes and reminiscences about the native lands from which they have come. In other words, what

parents bring from their cultural pasts informs a great deal of what the child experiences as social structure in the home of the present.

These are pasts in which the children not only partake but are actively encouraged to adopt as identifying 'qualities' with which to construct their own present and future selves. Children, by definition clearly do not have direct access to parental histories and so may partake only in their representations: language, rules, attitudes, etc. However, whilst representations go some way to traversing the boundary between child and parent they cannot supplant the entirety of the child's experience.

What I am suggesting, therefore, is that what separates parental experience from that of the child's is the extent of memory and history. Moreover, parental memories and histories are revived in a specific way by their displacements - a feature which, to varying degrees, is common to all the groups but which manifests itself in its different ways. The very incongruity of parental language, style, anecdotes of another place, and/or attitudes to health, gender and the supernatural, merely confirm their displacement. It seems justifiable therefore, that we should first consider this parental displacement as a primal feature of the child's experience in the home and, secondly, as a personal archive from which the parent draws and applies what they believe to be appropriate socialising behaviours toward their child.

To begin, I take displacement to mean that of which Professor Angelika Bammer (1994) refers to as:

> The separation of people from their native culture either through physical dislocation (as refugees, immigrants, migrants, exiles or expatriates) or the colonising imposition of a foreign culture . . .(1994): xi).

In all three groups parents are physically separated from their own native cultures. In the Greek/British example it must be conceded that this is limited

to the mother only, but in the other two examples both parents are displaced. It is necessary to examine the quality and persistence of those parental pasts and then to discuss their affectivity in relation to the child's present. Appropriate to this are Bammer's (ibid.) reflections on what happens to families over times of radical change:

> . . .what we hold onto and of what we need to let go; what we translate ("carry over") through periods of change, at our peril and for our survival. It is a reflection on the ways in which these issues of peril and survival are different for those who, by force or by choice, are divided between different cultures. . .[W]hat happens to all of these, . . .when the family in question has been uprooted or otherwise displaced from its cultural moorings (Bammer 1994: 92).

In other words those items of identification, those emblems of place and time are carried over to another place and time whose discordant surroundings confirm their foreigness. This is the experience of displacement. Respective pasts which are recalled, and to which the child may be subject, emanate from different geographic and generational perspectives. As Bammer continues:

> The things (objects, stories, rituals) we take with us from old homes to new represent the link between future and past [and what] Simone Weil maintains . . . constitutes "grounding". . . (ibid. 93)

The difference between the Greek/British families, and the other two groups is that the respective "groundings" of respective adults (mother, father, grandparent) often lead to a strongly contested domestic environment as is revealed in the particular examples of language use and supernatural

beliefs. This grounding, for the Greek/British child, the secure base of familial (as Weil, in the above quote, intends it) or, for that matter, national and cultural identity is far from the concrete foundation the metaphor might suggest.

The child's perception of such social and generational divisions are not always so easily compromised and sometimes result in parental alienation. This will be dealt with in more detail later, but an example of which is graphically recorded by one British mother in an article she had published:

> It was a devastating moment when my elder son announced he would walk through the main street of the village with his grandmother, but not with me. Grandmother now is the authority on everything from dietary law to bus timetables. The migrant mother almost inevitably finds herself involved in a power struggle which she is bound to lose (Bouras in Wilkins [ed.] 1982).

Parental pasts, in the examples of the Filipinos and the Refugees, do not show this level of division between adults in the home. Nevertheless, they do provide significant material with which children are encouraged, and expected, to 'become'. There is conviction and enthusiasm, for example, in the way Filipino parents refer to their cultural traditions in respect for parents, politeness, and in the importance of spiritual values. There is equal importance for the Refugee parents in their continuation of gendered roles, religion, and language use.

Parental displacement is experienced differently by children in each group. For example, Greek/British children might be said to experience only their mother as displaced; for the Filipinos experience both parents are temporarily displaced, and for the refugees both parents are permanently displaced. Furthermore, unlike the Filipinos, the Refugee's parents'

experience is not a displacement that will be rectified by return to Iraq. It is a displacement that will only be rectified by political freedom - away from Iraq.

There is clearly a sense in which the rectification of displacement, either by linguistic integration or return to origins, affects the extent to which the parental language becomes 'fixed'. That is to say, since a British mother may envisage an eventual return back to the UK; or, on the other hand, a Refugee father envisages a new life in America, it may (indeed, probably will) affect their willingness and ability to learn and regularly use a language other than their own native one. Sheila Roberts (1994) illustrates this phenomenon in her own and her children's adaptation to America:

> My children easily acquired American accents but I could not change my speech. When I tried I sounded in my own ears too studied, too mocking. The transformation would have to take place naturally or not at all. And it never did happen. So, even if I had been able to acquire an American sense of self, I would not have been so perceived by others: I would see my foreigness in their eyes in perpetuity. And a small, unrealistic, dreamlike part of me would repeatedly suggest that the move here was merely temporary. We were all going back some day. I needed to retain a mental and idiomatic preparedness for that re-move (Roberts in Bammer (ed.) 1994: 173-4).

To sound "too mocking", "too studied", to "see one's foreigness in other's eyes in perpetuity", or to harbour the suggestion that the move was "merely temporary" and that one must be prepared for that "re-move" may go some way to explaining the lack of absorption by British mothers of Greek language and culture. It may also go some way to explaining the opposite effect in the Filipino parents whose return is assured. Whereas "perpetuity" is a genuine prospect for British mothers, it isn't for the Filipinos and Refugees.

And, whereas that "re-move" in reality is less likely for the British mother, it is at least a probability for the Filipinos and Refugees. Yet, had all not perceived something in Greece that they lacked in the Philippines, Britain or Iraq, they would not have chosen to come. For whatever the reason, they continue to stay. These aspects must inevitably link into socialising contexts and in the affects on their children.

Although language, attitudes, actions, anecdotes, and stories, are supplemented by actual trips back to the parental motherland, or at least in the case of the refugees the desire and resolution to return "one day", parental presents are also compared to those they would have had to tolerate had they not been displaced themselves. The Refugees refer to the hardships of life under "Saddam"; the Filipinos refer to the economic "difficulties" and extreme poverty which were caused by the former president Marcos; the British mothers complain of the dangers on the streets of Britain, its weather, and the more obvious preference to be with their husbands and children here.

An ambivalent relationship to the parents' former country remains. The desire to be away from it fluctuates in intensity, as does the curiosity to return. An ambivalent tension between family and nation, friends and culture shades and lightens its image and affects their mood. Commenting on the traveller, Curtis and Pajaczkowska (in Robertson et al, 1994) suggest it is an ambivalence which emanates from the experience of movement and transition itself, and which "reveals" both the past, and the manner in which it is recalled. This ambivalence is more succinctly captured by Curtis and Pajaczkowska:

> . . .there is a sense in which a foreign country is always a past - involving both alienation and an act of recovery. The connections between time, narrative and travel are rich and strange enough to make the connections between the arrivals and departures of planes, boats and trains

reassuringly mundane. The traveller is caught between the fixing of experience through maps, guides and views and the corollary of forgetting the ways of being - substituting, as Michel de Certeau has said 'the traces for practice' (cited in Robertson et al [eds.] 1994:201).

De Certeau in turn quotes Levi-Strauss in the process of making further explorations in the paradoxes of travel:

> What does travel ultimately produce if it is not, by a sort of reversal, an 'exploration of the deserted places of my memory,' the return to nearby exoticism by way of a detour through distant places, and the 'discovery' of relics and legends' (1988: p 107).

The 'discovery' of relics and legends, of stories and memories that either romanticise or demonise (or both) the past is the product of movement and travel. Memories, whether of socialising preferences or ethnic superiorities, are not simply recounts of the past but they are also creations and realities of the present - "substituting traces for practice".

In this respect Carter (1992) offers a radical invitation for the need to place personal histories firmly in the present:

> It becomes ever more urgent to develop a framework of thinking that makes the migrant central, not ancillary, to historical process [. . .] An authentically migrant perspective [. . .] might begin by regarding movement, not as an awkward interval between fixed points of departure and arrival but as a mode of being in the world (Carter 1992 Living in a new Country).

This mode of "being in the world" to which Carter invites us is not just a theoretical framework, erected for the purposes of better understanding movement through time and space, but an empirical reality from which meanings are derived and created. Chambers further comments that one's identity is "formed on the move", "a migrant's tale" of "stuttering transitions and heterogeneities" (Chambers 1994:a 24 1994b:246-7).

In other words, it is not simply isolated memories recalled from a personal, culturally enveloped history, but a dynamic recollection, an active imagining which is stimulated by, and thrust into, the present by the very process of movement and displacement. Hierarchy and boundary within and beyond the home are initiated and structured by what parental (or adult) memory deems appropriate. The difference between these memories and those of the child is the measure by which the child must ultimately gauge its own standards of similarity and difference, or what Cohen (see p. 67 above) has called 'parameters') within its context/s. By both conforming to and challenging this underlying 'text' of parental identity the child comes to a knowledge of itself both as child, and as child of these parents in this context.

Yet this is only one part of the structural coin and does not account for experiences beyond the home where the memories and histories of 'Others' are no less real and no less imposing. This becomes evident as children get older.

CHAPTER 3

AGES 7-12

EMERGING SELVES AND THE PROBLEM OF BALANCE

> . . .So if someone is waziwazi (unbalanced) for more than a few days, it is probably not that person at all, but his or her other self. Then it is best to move the camp and suggest that person go off and join some other hunting band. Perhaps the real self will find a way back, for neither self likes to be in the wrong world (Turnbull 1983:123).

This section analyses the experiences of children in an older age bracket. Despite the fact that children do develop it is emphasised again that this is not to suggest a strict developmental model of socialisation, but to demonstrate the comparative yet complex experiences of children of a different age group.

The child's emergence from the earliest influences of the home into the world beyond it, is supplemented by a greater ability to articulate that experience. The movement between the domestic space and beyond is central to understanding the notion of balancing the different socio-structural arrangements which they are exposed to. In some cases this illustrates further examples of language, well-being, and gender, etc., as were evident in the younger children. Thus, the same socio-structural issues are shown to be experienced differently at different ages, or experience of them changes through gradual ageing.

These, slightly older, children begin to show a deeper awareness of 'self' and 'other' than is made evident in the younger ones. Here, there is a lessening of parental voices and viewpoints. These are replaced by an increasing influence of the broader, more diverse world the children begin to partake in.

Despite the continuation and persistence of parental voices this section emphasises more the emergence of children's voices in their own right. Expressing themselves in word and act they begin to formulate and are able to articulate their experiences of a life 'in-between' different socio-structural domains. Emerging, as by now they have, from the cultural 'cradle' of the home they have begun to impose themselves upon the 'outside' world which offers alternative possibilities of culture, belonging, and identity than those previously offered by the dominating home environment. Their responses affect the structures and people around them, as indeed they are in turn affected. It is between the respective influences of each of these that a balance is to be sought.

It is also worth keeping in mind the relationship between society and the individual and how awareness and presentation of the self are constructed in careful consideration of both (c.f. Goffman 1975, Erchak 1992, Gleeson 1977, Cohen 1994). It is this which bears most heavily on the notion of 'balance'. That is to say, what I believe the children are attempting to achieve is a balanced self, a self which is carefully weighted so as not to find itself "in the wrong world" (Turnbull 1983: loc. cit.).

The Filipino Child - Kiethlyn

Kiethlyn is 8 and now attends a regular Greek state school. Her mother, Theresa, is cautious about her daughter's vulnerability to mainstream Greek life. Kiethlyn too is aware of what it is to be different and the consequences it can have particularly at school:

One time they call me "black". . . I didn't like them saying it because I'm not black, I am Filipina[16]. . . they said it because my face is brown. . . I told them that my Mummy said: 'black is beautiful'. It was Olgar who called me that. . . 'black'. I didn't like her then, but now she is my friend, we're friends now.

"Black" is interpreted as being different, and, as such, threatens Kiethlyn's desire to incorporate and be one of her class, an achievement, nevertheless, finally realised in her announcement "we're friends now". Garvey (1984:171) holds that the term 'friend' usually refers to what children conceive of as friendly behaviour. Kiethlyn does not elaborate on what this "friendly behaviour" is precisely, but one might assume that it probably means the cessation of the use of the term 'black'.

Designated difference however, is perceived as overtly hostile. It is in such examples that the notion of balance is meaningful; where Kiethlyn must 'weigh up' and assess the ascriptions others make, particularly when the term is affirmed by her mother:

She didn't like them saying this. . .I said to her that black is beautiful and I told her to say that her heart is good, no matter what colour she is or where she is from.

Despite Kiethlyn's acknowledgement of how someone saw her as different at school, it is precisely this difference which is valued and nurtured at home. Her lack of conformity outside the home is brought sharply into focus and tackled 'safely' within it. Thus, Kiethlyn must choose between different structurings and possibilities for the self (c.f. James 1995). The clichêd

[16]Filipin<u>o</u> and Filipin<u>a</u> are gendered distinctions, the former is the masculine singular term and the general collective is 'Filipin<u>os</u>'. Filipin<u>a</u> is the feminine.

response of Kiethlyn's mother brings the account to a satisfactory conclusion. But whilst bodily difference is a concern for Kiethlyn, it is behavioural ones that preoccupy her mother:

> It is very important that my children know they are Filipinas, so it is important that they know <u>how</u> to be Filipinas and learn our ways and the way we treat people. The Greeks don't treat people nicely. The children are very bad to their parents and they have no respect. A Filipina is never like this, so I teach her to be kind even when they call her names. . .

The inherent contradiction in Kiethlyn's experience suggests the need to adopt a different identity in different places. Greek conversational 'style'[17] and demeanour is perceived as overtly confrontational among Filipinos, even rude and abrupt, and in the company of adults it lacks "respect". This characteristic is seen as one inherent in the Greek character generally and therefore as a cultural trait. Such a displeasing trait must be countered with a Filipino one:

> In my country we respect the older people, especially the parents because they are next to God, this is what we are brought up believing. . .the parents must be respected and loved . . .and sometimes when I'm telling Kiethlyn something she answers back . . . like a Greek child . . .and I tell her if you hear your classmates talking like that to their father or their mother you must not do the same because you are not Greek. I'm telling her that all the time, all the time . . .and I say it's not nice . . .I say "when you go to the Philippines you will meet your cousins and they don't speak

[17]For a more definitive discussion of conversational style and particularly Greek conversational style, see Tannen (1980).

like that to their parents". . .all the time I'm telling her . . .I want her to put that in her mind. . .I'm telling her that she is a Filipina not a Greek.

In other words, as far as her mother is concerned, Kiethlyn is different. Moreover, she sees this difference as a threat and elaborates on it:

> It's not that they (Greeks) are bad but they talk to their parents like. . .they shout and argue. Parents should be treated with respect. That's why I'm worried about her having all her school time here. . .because she will learn these bad ways at school and I don't want that. . . I don't want my children to finish their education here. I want them to study in my country. . .because here I'm afraid of the teenagers . . when they grow-up. I have my relatives there in the Philippines and they will be a good influence for her. . .It's difficult to trust them (the schools) here. . .(pauses) especially the boys.

This account juxtaposes and compares in quite an explicit way the world outside the home and the world within it. That is the world which, as a growing child, Kiethlyn has increased access to but over which her parents have no control, and that over which parents have almost total control.

The outside is a clear threat to what she envisages as the moral and cultural development of her child. Although the television must represent the encroachment of the outside also it is not explicitly mentioned. The phrase "when you go to the Philippines. . ." is a partial counter-threat, it is also a partial vision of her child's future - a return to the parental past. This image of a moment in the future in which Kiethlyn is presented with her Filipino kinsfolk is compared to the social 'impurities' she is apparently guilty of in the present. The admission of repetition "all the time" suggests the extent to

which Kiethlyn is a 'threat' to the ethnic order of the home, and the extent to which this in turn risks the very nature of Filipino identity.

Kiethlyn is present as her mother discusses these things. She sits quietly but smiles and laughs in recognition of the occasions which have irritated her mother. Aware of what she does and its unacceptability in the house, Kiethlyn reveals, though does not explicitly articulate, a working knowledge of different social domains and the rules of conformity in each. Whilst the pressure of structural mismatch bears heavily on her mother, for Kiethlyn it would appear to be a humorous adventure of 'self' and 'Other' discovery. Though it could also indicate a recognition of power, embarrassment, or confusion. Here again we meet the ambiguity of humour and laughter as mentioned at the beginning.

Though gender is not so much an issue for Kiethlyn as it will be for Yannie at a later date (with circumcision), nor an aspect from which she detects significant 'cultural' variation from her Greek friends, it imposes itself upon her mother in the form of the threat of Greek boys, to which she alludes ("especially the boys"), and the desire to 'protect' Kiethlyn from them. Whilst ordinary Greek mothers also contemplate the threat of their daughters bringing 'shame' on the family, Kiethlyn's mother's experience is no different.

This particular discussion emerges from a broader one about school in general which raises other areas of contention, not least of these is religious identity. Her mother again:

> At school sometimes the children go to Orthodox church but the problem is that Keithlyn and Glessie (Keithlyn's sister) are Catholic. Nearly all Filipino people are Catholic. The Greek Orthodox church don't like Catholics, so it is difficult for Keithlyn especially. It is important to me that she learns about her own religion . . .the Orthodox don't like Catholics. . . They are taught religious instruction from the Orthodox tradition. But I

send her to Catholic catechism too, there are important differences in the beliefs. . .She was making the sign of the cross in the Orthodox way (three times) and I said to her "no, you must make it in the Catholic way". And I said to her if your teacher says something about it you tell her you are Catholic. I know that Christians are all supposed to be together but we believe this is the right thing . . .Even my husband said to me ". . .she's learning all about the Orthodox. . ." and so I'm thinking about what I am going to do, maybe I will tell the teacher that she is not Orthodox. But I don't want them to say things against her because she is different.

This time school is a perceived as a threat to Kiethlyn's religious identity (or 'well-being'), which is at her mother's own admission part and parcel of her ethnic identity and she mistakenly believes that the experience is "difficult" for Kiethlyn. Yet as is revealed in Kiethlyn's own words below, it would seem that the fear is purely her mother's. Kiethlyn herself again finds it amusing and when confronted with the adult mismatch comes to a quick and acceptable compromise.

We learn orthodox. . .at school we go to the church at Easter and I have the wine. My mother says I shouldn't do the cross like this [demonstrates] because I am a Catholic, but all the others do it, so I do it (laughs)". "I said I will do it both ways, I will do the Catholic sign but I will do it three times" and my Mama said "OK".

School and religion combine in a complex web of structural influence which affects the relationship between Kiethlyn and her mother and their different perceptions. 'Well-being' is seen by Kiethlyn as fitting in with the expectations of two major but conflicting influences in her life. Hence, a balance must be struck.

The use of "we" secures similarity with her school friends. The shift into "I" isolates her as in some way different. This difference is accounted for by her mother and is repeated by Kiethlyn "because I am a Catholic". Her bid to minimise the difference between herself and the 'others' is made through her decision to cross herself in the same way as those 'others' do. Her mother's objection confronts her with the problem of different rules in different contexts. Her response is not simply to make the appropriate response in each context but, even more ambitiously, to seek and succeed, in making them consistent with her individual integrity. The combination of two styles of crossing in a single act not only finds acceptance with her mother but, as mentioned earlier with the name 'black', highlights the requirement to balance two separate rules of conformity within herself.

However, school is not just a place of social identification and "fitting in", it is also an educative experience in which lessons are taught entirely in Greek. Combined with her experience of speaking Filipino at home this results in confusion and the tentative suggestion of dual identity, Keithlyn confesses:

> When I'm writing, I mix up all the letters. I know a little but I don't write it much. . . I can speak Greek . . .and English but when I have to write it then I get mixed (laughs). My father makes me write some things in Filipino. . . I speak to my mother and father in Filipino. But sometimes I speak in Greek and my mother doesn't like it. . .she says I must speak Filipino because I'm a Filipina. . .I am Filipina but I'm Greek as well, because I speak Greek".

This association of language with national identity contradicts earlier assertions (about Yannie, by his mother) about the extent to which language is expressive of Filipino identity. Yet it is important to be careful about the

contexts in which statements are made. Here, Kiethlyn's mother exhorts her to speak Filipino simply because she is worried that it will be neglected (unlike in Yannie's case).

Kiethlyn makes a clear connection between talking and being. If to be Filipino is to speak Filipino then, logically, to speak Greek must be to be Greek, at least from Kiethlyn's point of view. Her mother's point of view is also to make Greek something 'other' but she interprets it differently. There is an important issue here which challenges Hastrup's (1995:42) point on the relationship between language and cultural identity.[18] She claims that cultural identity cannot be elicited from spoken words nor from written forms but rather that identities are "stored in practice" or "habitus". Although I agree that language - spoken or written - should not be assumed to evoke the entirety of personal or cultural identity in the anthropologist's interpretation, we cannot assume that lay interpretations do not consider this actually to be the case. In other words, Kiethlyn clearly does make an explicit connection between the words she uses and the cultural identities she believes herself to share in.

Despite confusion with its written form, the Greek language provides an extension to Kiethlyn's identity and her social possibilities. Inappropriate use of it however, again threatens the order of the home. One way or another a further balance is required.

Distinct from the school yet beyond the home, what I have loosely referred to as the 'street' does not figure strongly in Kiethlyn's life. That is as

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[18]This emerges from the discrepancy between anthropological knowledge and the perceptions of those in the field. That is to say, anthropological knowledge is not necessarilly 'local' or 'native' perception, yet to dismiss the local perception as simply 'wrong' is in danger of undermining the entire anthropological enterprise. Hastrup states:

> Giving privilege to words as clues to identity, history, society, or culture is to commit an epistemological error . . .Taken by themselves words are only a limited means of entry into this world. We have to observe and analyse how they are put to use, and how their implicit symbolic capital is put into social play (Hastrup ibid:42).

an experience of peer engagement. Although she has friends with whom she spends time this is usually in the home. "Talking", "looking at books", "cutting and painting", were among the activities with which she engages with her friends. Two "friends" live in the same apartment block, and visits to them do not require going outside and, so to speak, into the 'street'. These are also school friends. So, in a sense all three domains - home, school, and 'street' may be said to combine in these encounters.

On the question of belonging Kiethlyn is primed to consider her "real home" as the Philippines. Her mother asserts:

> I hope that we can go to the Philippines at the end of this year. Kiethlyn was only a baby when we went so this will really be the first time when she will see what it is like. She is looking forward to it very much. I tell her and Glessie (Kiethlyn's sister) it is their real home . . .

Keithlyn offers her own images and presumably what she has learnt from her mother:

> "I know it's hot there . . .and the people have hair like this [strokes her own hair] and they look like me . . . I want to go because I want to see my cousins. I went a long time ago but I was a baby. . .We watch the videos (of Filipino events here). . . 'The Little Prince and Princess', and the 'Filipino Music Contest' it was very funny, the Filipinos are very funny . . . that's why I want to go . . ."

She identifies with the physical attributes of ethnicity which provide the similarity she lacks among her Greek peers. Yet she also refers to them as "the Filipinos" suggesting a possible difference she feels from them.[19]

I have located the body, religion, and language within the contexts of home and beyond as the themes upon which Kiethlyn conceives of those socio-structural differences which are part of her life and which she attempts to balance. Though her mother sets herself to protect the 'fronts' she deems vulnerable to invasion, Kiethlyn is content to explore them and even recreate them. These remain conceptually and contextually separate aspects of herself, and are responded to in ways she sees fit, but this is not the end of the matter.

Kiethlyn proves an effective agent in making (and recalling) articulate responses to different domains of influence. These responses are not only appropriate to their contexts, and their respective demands, but in some cases (crossing, being "mixed") are fused and rendered integral to herself as a unique individual. This illustrates the James and Prout (1995) point made earlier about the fusion of structure and agency, and how the child is not just shaped by structures but partakes in them and even changes them.

Although this may remain at the level of external 'performance' (or utterance) and although it is perhaps contradictory[20] of me to suggest that it is a reflection of a more fundamental, internal synthesis and identity, there is nevertheless an effort to balance the realms of influence in a way that minimises their potential to alienate her and maximises her potential to belong to them (cf. Goffman 1975). As A.L. Epstien puts it:

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[19]However, one must be aware of over inerpretation. It is quite possible for a British person to refer to 'the British' as a superficial abstraction from a category they would, under most circumstances, include themselves, which is not to say there are other interpretations of the same category they would not prefer to disown or deny.
[20]Since I have suggested earlier that external performance affects little a 'deeper'sense of Filipino identity.

Identity. . . is essentially a concept of the synthesis. It represents the process by which the person seeks to integrate his various statuses and roles, as well as his diverse experiences, into a coherent image of self (Epstein 1978:101).

The different structures provide Kiethlyn with the appropriate material to assert her uniqueness. There is the overwhelming striving to be 'like' her school friends in that context, but this also provides the potential for her to be different in the home. Thus, Kiethlyn becomes both an effect and a cause of the environments within which she engages; a part of its structure yet also an individual agent within it and affecting it. As the discussion of James and Prout showed earlier (p.34 ff.) this demonstrates that she is neither just a passive participant nor merely an acting individual.

The Greek/British Child: Vasillis, Electra and Dimitra

For the Greek/British child the contrasting cultural influences within the home remain strong. The tensions between mother and grandmother persist and conflicts over the 'evil eye' remain a common cause of them. Yet the children within this age range display a greater awareness of their own ability to respond effectively to different socialising beliefs. Vassilis (11) responds to the conflicting viewpoints on the question of 'evil eye' within his own family in the following way:

> Sometimes I agree with Yiayia (grandmother) and sometimes with mum. . . .If I'm with mum I just say "right, OK", and agree with her. When I'm with Yiayia I say the same, sometimes I believe it and sometimes I don't.

This apparent 'working of the system' is similar to Kiethlyn's resolve to satisfy the expectations of her school friends and those of her mother over the issue of 'crossing'. Although Vasillis' comments are not universally held among others like him, usually Greek/British boys of the same age come down firmly one way or the other, what Vasillis shows however is a combination of socially contrasting but available possibilities. He shows not only the ability to hold different points of view, but also why they are opposing, and contradictory points of view. Each is invoked according to its appropriate context. Vasillis internalises two separate and contrasting belief systems, is aware of their mutual contradiction, yet, rather than attempt to reconcile them or justify one of them, he places a higher regard on their respective social significance. A similar point is made by Electra on the use of language in the home:

> My dad used to speak English. . .now he only speaks Greek. . .He doesn't speak it (English) and my mum doesn't like speaking Greek. So I have to speak to mum in English, and my dad in Greek. . .If he hears me speaking English he sometimes gets angry and tells me not to. So I only speak to mum in the bedroom where he can't hear us. So, (laughing) in the bedrooms we speak English, and in the kitchen and sitting room we speak Greek. I don't like it when they argue about it.

This scenario appears to 'section off' the physical space of the home into places designated for the appropriate language. Electra understandably seems to have little animosity toward either one of her parents because of this extraordinary situation, or chooses not to show it. Indeed, she finds it amusing. Her experience of contrasting languages in the home forces her to virtually negotiate a relationship with each parent in a different language,

and often in a different part of the house. Although pronouncing herself unhappy with their arguing, she nevertheless attempts to effect a diplomatic balance by not upsetting either with the language of the other in the wrong place. The curious complexity of language, boundary, and identity in the relatively confined space of the house however is not completely without precedent (see Vasques et al [eds.] 1994:110 ff.).

In this age group the separate spaces of school and home are defined explicitly for most of the children by language. That is to say, apart from the obvious change in people and environment, children are more inclined to use English at home than at school. School however, is consistent in Greek. Because of this, one mother's presence at her daughter's school was far from welcome. This comment was made by Dimitra an older girl (15) about when she was 9:

> When my mum met me at school I was so embarrassed because she couldn't speak Greek properly. My friends listened to her and they said "she's not Greek". So I told her not to come anymore.

Dimitra's mother confirms the story and emphasises her sense not only of felt difference but also of humiliation.

> She said: "Mum, why are you so stupid?" I couldn't believe it, I was so humiliated and hurt. . .In a way she was right. To her I was stupid. That's how it must have seemed to her. It was then I started thinking about what the hell I was doing here. After that she would only let me meet her down and across the road from the school, where the other kids couldn't see me. It's funny now but at the time it really hurt.

The presence of a socially incompetent mother, or at least potentially perceived as such by one's school friends, diminishes Dimitra's sense of similarity with them. As a consequence mother is banished from the school gate and into the distance! This secures not so much a balance between child and parent, or between parent and 'other' parents, but is more a balancing of parent and friends and their respective and simultaneous proximities to Dimitra. Mother's boundaries and physical proximity to the school are dictated by her child, and balancing is achieved by ensuring a 'safe' distance between mother and friends, at least when Dimitra is present with either. Such physical distancing is indicative of many other distances: social, cultural, linguistic, etc. Indeed, the humiliation even leads the mother to question the distances within herself: "what the hell am I doing here!" An indication, evoked by her child, that the consciousness of displacement remains strong even after the nine years this mother had been in Greece.

Dimitra's experience prompts her to challenge the very intelligence of her mother (by calling her "stupid"). This is interpreted by her mother on an even more fundamental level and establishes Dimitra, like Kiethlyn the Filipina girl, as both an effect and cause of the socio-structural arrangements around her. But a forthright challenge in this way can inspire a foreign parent to respond with their own creativity. Dimitra's mother, as if by heroic revenge, has since won back her daughter's respect:

> I still can't speak Greek that well. But I began teaching English when Dimitra was about twelve. . .She [Dimitra] started telling her friends that I was an English teacher, I think she's even proud of me now because her friends come for English lessons. I was "stupid" before but I'm "OK" now.

Mother as liability is now mother as resource. Also, instead of her going to the school, which was 'bad' as far as her daughter was concerned, the school

now comes to her in the form of her daughter's friends which is "OK". The example shows the potential for interacting child/adult agencies, though influenced by contrasting socio-linguistic structures, to come to terms over those contrasting structures and establish a mutually acceptable and thoroughly dynamic alternative. It is an example of how 'balances' may be reached only over relatively longer periods of time in the child's life. Other British mothers have similar experiences and, like Dimitra's, often turn to the private teaching of English.

This is not just an example of how two linguistic structures can exist side-by-side, but is also an explicit illustration of the creation of identities. The following letter from a British mother in an English-language periodical illustrates:

> Recently I visited the teacher of my 9 yr. old son to ask about his lessons. She began suggesting that any difficulties he had are due to my being not Greek. She went on to say that his school work will definitely be affected. . .She recommended that I speak to him in Greek always rather than risk the problem becoming more acute. . .I reminded her his Greek is fine that he reads well and writes excellent essays. . .she countered it was affecting his arithmetic. . . it has to come out somewhere. . .I am aware enough to feel quite confident to continue to relate to my children in English even though the teacher was adamant that I shouldn't. I was able to get her to see my point of view and . . .that the child has advantages rather than problems. . . I doubt she would have come out so strongly in his favour if I had not been so sure he was not in a problem situation.

Although the child is the focus of attention here he is not heard. His opinion, if known, is not considered. He plays no active part in the dispute yet, by virtue of the fact that mother's view confronts teacher's, his influence

profoundly stimulates the values and sensitivities of each. Although the narrative concludes with a 'satisfactory' end this does not disguise the initially contrasting perspectives of "problematic" and "advantageous" with which each of them views the child's predicament. Yet it is these with which the child (at least the one about whom they are speaking) must engage and participate. It is these social structures surrounding the child that must be incorporated and balanced and perhaps even without any meeting between the figures who dominate them, as was the case for another child whose mother confessed: "My husband is always away at sea and my Greek isn't good enough to go to the parent/ teacher meetings. . .".

Experiences within school itself raise separate issues for children and alternate concerns of conformity and difference, Electra relates hers:

> At first I didn't like it [school] because they said I look funny and I asked my mum why they said I was funny. . . She said it was because she was English and I have light skin and blue eyes like her. Now they don't say anything because I'm like them . . .except my English is better (laughs) but then I didn't like mum because it was her fault.

Electra's sense of difference at school, like Kiethlyn's, focuses upon her body: her skin and her eyes. The matter of difference is discussed with her mother, which is also what Kiethlyn does. It is as if the experience of difference beyond the home is 'managed' within it through discussion, and in this way is diffused of its power to alienate. Although mother is able to diffuse it, Electra holds her accountable in any case.

Children's experience of schooling and education was often reported to spill over outside official school hours. Many parents complain of the amount of homework their children receive, "sometimes three hours a night" and to which they seem routinely drawn in.

"They get so much homework, about two and a half to three hours every night. Ever since she was about six she's had that. When she started getting it I couldn't believe it. I had to help her get it done because some of it was quite hard. Actually, some of it helped me improve my Greek, and in the end she was telling me what was right rather than me telling her.

Normal parental superiority can be reversed through the medium of homework. Though parents are encouraged (by teachers) to assist their children in its successful completion the example shows how the reversal of child/adult roles occur. Homework is a common medium of the British mother's 'Greek' education mainly because the homework helping role is part and parcel of child-raising which is in traditional Greek society is a mother's duty. Parental superiority and homework respectively are both engaged by the child in a way that subjects the parent to the task of homework, but in a triangle which renders the child principle controller.

I have made much of the home/school distinction here and rather little of the 'street', but experience of the street is not without its influence as a marker of cultural difference. It is common for Greek children to be allowed to stay out relatively late at night. It is also common however for the likes of Vassilis to blame his early nights on his mother. Vassilis' mother believes at 11 he should be in bed by 9.30 pm, yet, many of his friends may continue playing basketball until much later. The resulting tension plays upon differing perceptions of what is 'late enough' not just between child and parent but between cultural conceptions of what is normal.

Negotiation of the matter reaches somewhat predictable compromise in the permission he is granted to stay out late on occasions when he is not required to go to school the next day. Thus, even culturally structured times of the day must be balanced.

To summarise, these examples show attempts to balance different aspects of the individual, to balance different roles and rules in different contexts. The influences of different domains, languages, and beliefs prompt appropriate and inappropriate responses in different situations. This leaves us with the question of how child identities are formed in lives where varying cultural and linguistic structures impinge daily. As in the Iraqi case Vassilis, Dthanai, and Electra through occupying particular spaces throughout a typical day are confronted with the range of possibilities this provides but also the constant challenge to radically revise themselves accordingly.

The Iraqi Child - Martin

Martin and his family left Iraq before the start of the Gulf war. Despite spending his earliest years in Iraq, now, at 11, he has lived in Greece for more than half his life. He recalls little of his original home except that it is a "bad place" and that "Saddam" is "very bad".

Iraq, as a place of belonging, is marred by corruption and dictatorship in the mind of Martin's mother whose feelings and memories he now perpetuates. Like his younger compatriot Funda, stories of Iraq are dominated by the violence and painful memories of events witnessed by his mother.

> My mother says they (military police) take my . . . Uncle, like this. Maybe they kill him, I don't know (shrugs). It is bad . . . Saddam is very bad.

Questions as to his past other than the memories of his mother meet with silence and shrugs. His inarticulacy on the matter suggests either an unwillingness to talk about it or, more likely, a genuine inability to remember and that what recollections there are seem vague and uninteresting to him.

Life, rather, is Greece, and if requested his daily activities are recalled and repeated with excitement and enthusiasm. His friends, his school, his "jobs", and the general adventure of the street, all contribute to the present consciousness of an 11 year old refugee. Comparison with those from the other groups must be made in view of a fundamental consideration. Unlike Kiethlyn, Vasillis and Electra, being an illegal refugee Martin is not entitled to attend the local state school, and so is not exposed to the formal educational and domestic structures that the others are. Rather the world beyond the family's home is encountered on the 'street'. This is where he finds his friends: both Greek and Iraqi, and where too he finds the alternative influences to those of his home.

Mi Where do your Greek friends live?

Ma Close to my house. . .and some are there (points in general direction).

Mi What do you play with your Greek friends?

Ma We play basket, . . . football, . . . computers. . .

Mi Where do you play computers?

Ma Omonia (second main square in Athens)

Mi You have money for computers?

Ma Sometimes, if I clean the windows (car windscreens) I have money.

Mi Your friends know you are from Iraq?

Ma Yes, No. . .I don't know.

Mi What do they say?

Ma (shrugs) Nothing.

Mi If you tell them you are from Iraq, what do they say?

Ma (looks down) I don't know, nothing. Like this (laughs).

"Like this" was a stock phrase for the Iraqi children and was invoked either to emphasise a point or to substitute for a word they didn't know. In

Martin's case here it is simply an indication that he can probably think of no more to say to my question. Through it he confirms a clear lack of alienation he experiences with his Greek friends.

In conversation about his friends Martin does not conceptually separate his Greek friends as Kiethlyn does by referring to them as "they". The use of the first-person plural "we" shows a clear identification with them. Physically, Martin easily passes for a Greek child unlike the darkness and East Asian features of Keithlyn and the fairness of the Greek/British children. This perhaps contributes to the lack of difference he clearly feels, at least physically. On the other hand there is the use of "I" in his reference to cleaning car windscreens to earn money. That is to say although it is "we" who play "basket", and "we" who play "computers", it is "I" who has to "clean windscreens" to get the money. Cleaning car windscreens is not something that ordinary self-respecting Greek children would do. It is invariably the activity of Greek gypsies and illegal Albanian migrants. In other words, although Martin does not associate himself with these groups, the suggestion is that he is nevertheless different from his Greek friends at least in respect of having to do something they don't.

Being careful not to read too much into his separation of "we" and "I" in respect of certain activities, there are clearly contexts in which Martin identifies with his Greek friends, and contexts in which he doesn't. The balancing of similarity and difference through certain activities feeds a sense of belonging and not belonging.

'School' for Martin falls far short of the experiences of Kiethlyn and the Greek/British children. What passes for 'school' is situated in the Refugee Centre where, like so many of the other refugee families, Martin's stayed on their initial arrival in Greece. The entire curriculum of the Centre consists of the teaching of English since many of the families bring their children to prepare for a life in a country other than Greece, usually USA, Canada, or

Australia. The hope of such a future is outweighed by the reality of the present where so many refugees fail to gain asylum in another country and are consigned to stay illegally in Greece. There is no provision for the learning of Greek at the Centre. What Greek he knows Martin has learned on the street not in 'school'.

School is an ad-hoc arrangement of temporary volunteers whose teaching competence is varied and commitment short term. Yet Martin gathers regularly (for two hours a week, on Tuesday and Thursday mornings) with the six or seven children in his class. Since the Refugee Centre is run by a religious community whose members are from many different countries the common language of the Centre is English.

The main schoolroom itself is sparsely furnished with four long tables, ill-matching benches and a bare concrete floor. The walls display religious imagery of both Byzantium and Western style. There are two small blackboards on the back wall showing a number of short English nouns. The Lord's Prayer ('Our Father') is hand-written in English, Greek, Arabic, Latin, and Hindi.

In another corner of the schoolroom is a large map of the world, it hangs torn and slightly faded. It is dull and bears the imprints of small, greasy hands which have traced journeys from Iraq to Greece and imaginary ones from Greece to Canada, Australia and a particularly grubby-looking United States of America - as far as many of the children are concerned - the promised land.

After six years of coming here Martin is competent in English and is able to use it to his own and others' advantage:

> I am learning English in the school now for 6 years. . . I help her (mother) with shopping, and when they speak English here (in the Centre). . . Sometimes I speak with Greek in my house with my brother, and

sometimes with English. But my mother doesn't like it. . . because she can't understand. . .(smiles).

When the main schoolroom is full the children work outside

What Martin is exposed to outside the home has ambiguous consequences for his mother. He smiles as he makes the point that his mother doesn't understand, a gesture which possibly hints at the potential power this permits him particularly when "shopping", or translating English. Yet, as was mentioned of Kiethlyn (Filipina) and Dimitra (Greek/British), this is ambivalent, since it underlines again the adult/child status reversal which is also common among children of Filipino and Greek/British families. Martin's father counts this a mixed blessing: [translation] ". . .sometimes I'm sad when he doesn't speak Arabic, but he must learn English and Greek".

Both of Martin's parents see threat far more in terms of Martin's future. Being deported back to Iraq is the worst scenario, the granting of asylum the best. Whatever the outcome Martin's education and particularly his languages are seen as crucial. His mother explains:

> [translation] If we have to stay here. . .what will he do, he has no schooling. He must learn Greek to work. If we leave . . . he must learn English. He is always out, in the street, speaking Greek and English. He sometimes forgets his Arabic. . .and sometimes he doesn't know the words (laughs).

Martin admits to forgetting his Arabic (this is dealt with in more detail in Part 2) but also finds it amusing. He finds the translation of words in class from Arabic to English or vice versa difficult as do his compatriots. This is explained by the fact that none have had Arabic lessons since they left Iraq. Since so many have been in Greece for several years their original language survives largely in oral form and even then with a limited vocabulary - "sometimes he doesn't know the words". There is ambiguity here in that Martin's father finds the scenario both humorous and "sad",

Saturday mornings are spent at his "job". Martin has part-time employment at a local garage, fetching and carrying tools for his employer. It earns him pocket money and supplements the wages his father receives as a market stall attendant. His mother concedes that "everything helps".

Spare time on the other hand, of which Martin has plenty is spent in "Omonia". Omonia is the second main square in Athens. It is also the red-light district of the city and a hive of activity 24 hours a day. Abundant in news stands, seedy fast-food outlets and traffic, for Martin and his Iraqi friends (notably not his Greek friends) it is a potential spot for money-making . . .and losing. Standing at a road junction Martin can make anything up to £6 for a

day or nights work cleaning the windscreens of cars which stop at the traffic lights. Equally, he can lose as much on slot machines, scratch cards, or to the 'card players' on street corners.

Martin's life is quite different to that of Kiethlyn or the Greek/British children of the same age. Denied of proper schooling his time is mainly spent in taking advantage of the consequences. His concerns are not so much the experience of ethnic or religious differences between himself and 'the rest' nor are they so much to do with parental angst at the demise of his parents' culture and language. In other words he is not so structured by such things as those in the other groups. His attentions are aimed at learning to communicate outside (and inside!) his home for more practical purposes, but also for the purpose of belonging.

As an illegal immigrant Martin lacks status and the rights accorded to his Greek contemporaries. However, despite being a 'marginal' he appears fairly well-integrated. He has sought this and achieved it by mixing with Greek children and learning their language. Paradoxically, this marginal child spends much of his time in the centre of the city, forced here from the "edge" literally to make a life. The centre of the city provides Martin with the kind of education he requires not so much for his future but to survive in the present. His legal and social status in one sense (peripheral), is a virtual cause of his social, linguistic, and economic centrality in another.

Martin balances the counterweight of personal agency against those of environmental, legal and social structures external to him. His life on the periphery or 'edge' is thereby rendered not only less threatening but potentially entertaining and educative. The situation which forces him to live the life he does are, through his own agency, turned as much as possible to his own benefit. This is reminiscent of Goffman's theory of the self (see p. 36 above), in which the self responds to and/or creates contexts by maximising its own advantage within it, however that advantage may be perceived.

Reflections on Balancing

Anthony Cohen's (1994:55) following comments on the child favour a temporal process in which adolescence provides the experience of the child's realisation of difference.

> . .A child refers to '*my* mum', '*my* brother',. . .a sense of self which is anchored in possessiveness: thus, an audacious inference: my first sense of self is one in which I associate other people with me. It may even be that I treat these associates, certainly my parents as extensions of myself. Perhaps this may account for the devastating nature of the discoveries some of us make in adolescence that *we* are really different from *them*. (Cohen 1994: 55).

As the ethnographic account indicates one need not wait for adolescence for such a discovery. The world beyond the home raises the exciting and threatening prospect of different rules of conformity and, therefore, the spatial differentiation between the domains *we* (children) occupy and the domains *they* (parents) occupy. This is true not only of these children, but is equally evident in studies of those who are not necessarily 'multicultural' children (e.g. James 1994). Notwithstanding the range of meanings that may be interpreted of a single act or sign, a diversity of conformities are required to engage competently beyond the home.

Generally, the world beyond the home imposes boundaries and hierarchies which generate other structures and alternative possibilities of belonging. Any child may find its 'lack of fit', and inability to conform liable to the imputation of the label 'different' or accepted on the basis of 'sameness' (cf. James (1993:140-3). James has framed such differences and samenesses in terms of physical size and dress (1986). While I have emphasised differences

of language, ethnicity, legal rights, and even religion, the underlying dynamic of sameness and difference are the same.

Structures beyond the home pose the precariousness of alternative identities which may or may not be congruent with those of home and parental pasts (or presents). The importance and significance of each of these varies according to group and individual. For example, the Greek/British child clearly has a different experience of the school than the Refugee child; and the 'street' captures better the domain beyond the home for the Refugees than for the other two. Indeed, it will be noted that the 'street' barely figures as a significant domain of activity for the other two groups.[21]

For each child the diversity of structural arrangements is obviously broader than that of the home. This is not simply because physical spaces are larger but also because there are more people with whom to come into contact and therefore a greater potential for diversity. It is important to add that I am loathe on the one hand to say that the children have experiences which are "typically Greek" outside the home, yet on the other hand it is, in some cases unavoidable, as for example, in the case of language. I will highlight rather how difference is actually experienced and, where appropriate, what I believe the children, and their non-Greek parents, experience as 'Greek'.

Personal boundaries (used in Cohen's conception of the term as "zones for reflection: on who one is; on who others are") [1994:128]) beyond the home are evoked and described in various ways. Among these ways are the physical and bodily, the linguistic, the religious and supernatural, and those pertaining to politeness and social protocol. The material suggests that these are not necessarily just the "contents" of identity, lying within boundaries, as might be suggested by Banks (1996:12) interpreting Barth (1969:14-15), but are the boundaries (the matter from which "zones of reflection" are made or at

[21]This is a reflection of the relative 'order' imposed on the lives of the Greek/British and Filipino children compared to the refugees.

least derived) themselves. The contexts in which these boundaries are active are mainly school and, what I conveniently call, the 'street' (as that which fits neither home nor school).

The regular Greek school is mainly the domain of experience for the Greek/British children and the Filipinos. The Iraqi refugees rely rather on an informal arrangement of English classes in the Refugee Centre. In all cases what I have shown is the sense of 'balance' which I believe the children are trying to achieve between the domestic sphere and that beyond it. That is, to account for their recognition of the variability of socio-structural arrangements which they are exposed to beyond the house and how they reconcile them with those within it. A conscious 'management of diversity' is required to reconcile these influences, a management of information and knowledge.

To explain, physical and bodily difference is reported by a number of the children as a key signifier of difference. These are experiences mainly of the Greek/British children and the Filipinos and occur in the formal setting of the school. Each are remarks on the comparative "fairness" and "darkness" of the skin, and therefore both indicate a lack of bodily conformity. Both Kiethlyn and Electra, whose bodily differences are highlighted, express their feelings in a way that renders them 'Other'. Physical difference is an important feature since it is unalterable. It is therefore a permanent reminder of non-conformity. The same issue has also been addressed in literature on children and racism (e.g. Alston 1994), where issues of physicality and bodily conformity and non-conformity have important consequences for identity and belonging.

In those for whom it is memorable and worthy of comment, physical non-conformity is recalled as an unchangeable feature of social relations, but the conflict it creates is shown to find potential resolution in particular ways, that is, by talking about it in a 'safe' context. Bodily difference and lack of conformity in school is brought out in the domain of the home as a topic of

conversation, despite the fact that it is in the school or street where it is most obvious. Here it is talked about and discussed in a way that diffuses its alienating potential. Although, for example, "black is beautiful" (Kiethlyn's mother) might be interpreted as an endorsement of difference, the manner with which it is dealt attempts to sap it of its power to alienate.

What is brought into the house from outside is not so much directly countered but 'balanced'. The ascription 'black' is not just blankly denied or rebuffed with an accusation or an insult about the physical attributes of a Greek, but its isolating potential is played down. Talking ensures that the influence of the home and that outside it, in terms of cultural and ethnic difference, are negotiated and compromised in a way that does not offend socio-structural arrangements within or outside it.

In Kiethlyn's case earlier "We are friends now" shows how the passage of time, within which this 'negotiation' takes place, blurs differences which were initially divisive, but which are now less so. The experience of religion and 'crossing' finds a similar process of resolution though with a more creative contribution from Kiethlyn herself. Whilst she cannot change the colour of her or their skin she is able to conform through other rules of bodily competence such as gestures and mannerisms.

Physical difference is not an issue for Martin, or if it is he shows little indication to that effect. His experience is more in relation to language: what it permits him in terms of power relations and in how it restricts his parents. Their ambivalence is the result of their acknowledgement of what they believe he needs to achieve. That is, in being able to communicate with them in their language but also being able to communicate with the world outside the home in a different language. Although his mother stoically accepts the demise of his Arabic, she acknowledges the inevitability and necessity of Martin's own social 'balancing' and the consequences it entails.

The use of the Greek language itself, whilst used by children in all of the groups, and to varying degrees of competence among them, is not quite so contentious as how it is used. This is more clearly the case for the Greek/British children and the Filipinos than for the Iraqis and is only contentious in the domestic space where it deviates from the 'norms' there. The use of the Greek language among all the children clearly stems from prolonged exposure to it either in school or on the street.

Bids for similarity in these latter domains are not only devices of social alliance but are necessary for communication. The concerns of how Greek is used will be dealt with in more depth in Part 2. The point of mentioning it here is simply to highlight it as a key structural feature in the lives of the children, and the way in which 'external' (outside) structure impinges upon the 'internal' (domestic) one. The opposite, the impinging of the home structure upon the school can also be shown to occur, though in a different way, and not necessarily through the medium of the child as shown in the example of the letter about a Greek school teacher.

As a formally educative arrangement, school is experienced by Greek/British children as an environment in which academic performance is perhaps more closely scrutinised than among the other children. This can prove a contentious issue since it may bring the structural authority of the home into conflict with that outside it.

The letter for example which refers to the experience of a British mother and her son at an ordinary Greek primary school underlines not so much factual problems about education (which is what is being challenged), but the sense of imputed national/cultural difference (mother not being Greek). Writing, reading, and arithmetic are posed as problematic or at least potentially problematic. Each is countered by the mother who optimistically interprets the situation of her child as "advantageous". Such diametrically opposed interpretations of the same condition highlight the implied

contrasting interpretive structures to which the child is exposed. The actual and potential achievement of the child which is under scrutiny is again the issue of balance. Mother insists and apparently convinces the teacher that the child's skills are adequate. The teacher on the other hand is initially far less inclined to see it so. This letter serves to confirm the possibility of mutually hostile 'structures' and the expectations to which the child 'in-between' them must conform. This lack of fluidity between adults of each structural domain is arguably the outcome of their lack of exposure to each other. The child on the other hand spends a substantial amount of time in each and so has the potential to generate the fluidity necessary for moving successfully from one to the other.

Both impose themselves on the child and in which they are encultured, where the different aspects of each must be kept in step, in rhythm, in place. In, as Cohen says of the Utku child,

> an orchestration of the self in which harmony and balance are imperative, an image which itself implies the complexity of self and its problematic, non-mechanical relationship to the institutional and cultural structures of society (1994:38).

Homework is another vehicle which interlocks socio-structural (school/home) domains. It provides a further confusion of boundaries in which the child shows linguistic superiority over the adult. Unable to compete with the child, mother may emphasise what she can only be good at, a turn which ironically 'wins' back respect. A little English in the wrong place can be a bad thing, whereas intensified teaching of it in the right place brings honour and esteem.

The example shows the potential for complexity within structural arrangements that emerge from different, and what are conveniently seen as

separable, structures when they converge. This apparent dialectic renders the child's relations with structural domains thoroughly dynamic.

Filipino children also experience similar structural inter-locking through homework, albeit with a different emphasis and one that expresses their particular circumstances. Keithlyn for example reports being "mixed" in her efforts to learn to write consistently in any one of the three languages she is expected to know. For her, however, other examples of 'difference' in school reveal traditional Greek forms of culture and life which are diametrically opposed to the influences of the home - such as religion.

In Greece education is closely allied to religion, both officially and in practice. A political minister responsible for 'Education and Religion' has been a standard position of high office for some time in Greece and mirrors the close ties they have in the classroom. Greek orthodoxy defines itself most distinctively and predictably over and against the remainder of the Catholic Mediterranean. This provides a background to the experience which Kiethlyn and her mother (who are Catholic) report with respect to the issue of 'crossing'.

Greek Christian Orthodoxy is, as Herzfeld reports (in Fardon ed. 1995:139), "a mark of social identity, not of virtue". It is this social identity to which Keithlyn bids to conform in school, yet not at the expense of the one in her home. In her own experience of gesticular piety Keithlyn incorporates the requirements of two religious domains as she experiences them through the operation of her own unique dialectic. Her 'synthesis' of crossing herself in a particular way is a recognition of the need to satisfy conformity to two contexts which are both strong and distinctive. Her inventive balancing by doing both accomplishes this to her own, and seemingly, others' satisfaction.

Returning to the situation of the Greek/British child, Greek Christian Orthodoxy is accompanied by other supernatural elements which have already been mentioned and which in no way contradict it. These are shown

in the examples illustrating belief in the 'evil eye'. The belief in evil eye is widespread, and not least among what might be called the middle-class scientific and medical professions. Indeed, one British mother recalls a doctor diagnosing "evil eye" as the cause of her son' s illness. Appalled, she refused to see him again. [22]

The Greek/British child participates in the social doctrine of evil eye and, as Vassilis shows, also participates in its denial. Belief and non-belief is socially contextual. Vassilis may well have his own 'private' opinion on the matter which comes down ultimately on one side or the other, but perhaps for the purposes of family cohesion he opts to provide us with an equally enlightening, socially utilitarian, compromise. He conceives of himself as "agreeing" with different people in different circumstances on the same question. This is comparable to Hobart's point that

> Local knowledge often exists as rival versions, which are not separable from their social conditions of their being known (Cohen 1993). It does not follow that such kinds of knowledge are irrational. They are subject to testing and modification, and involve theory and presuppositions (van der Ploeg 1993). Knowing, in this sense, requires evaluation by some measure like appropriateness to particular circumstances or adequacy, rather than by being true as such (in Fardon 1995:59).

Although he 'conforms' to both contexts, social balance is not only performed it is described and narrated in a way that shows how his

[22]Niether is the belief opposed to contemporary medical theory but it is seen as complimentary and operates in a way that provides an explanation to underlying 'supernatural' causes rather than physical or biological ones. In one sense these causes are 'supernatural' they are also located in the social sphere, and particularly in the malign intentions of "jealous" others. The mini-rituals described to guard against it merely reveal a deep-seated social tension which finds both diffusion and exacerbation in what is also thought to be a key "Greek characteristic" - gossip; a mechanism for the social management of honour and shame (Zinovieff 1991).

experience of himself, in relation to opposing points of view, differs in relation to the respective 'structures' on offer. This hints at the emergence of a self that not only thinks and acts but one that narrates that thinking and acting in a way that is informed not only of self and experience but of other selves. This will be dealt with in more depth in the next section on older children where it appears to be a more distinctive feature of the older child.

To turn to the Iraqis, it is repeated that they do not experience 'school' in anything like the same way as the other two groups. Better described as 'schooling' rather than 'school', their education is limited to four hours a week all of which is spent learning English. As an alternative to home the centre is where most of the children spend their day-time hours regardless of whether they are being taught or not. Moreover, whereas the Filipinos and Greek/British children attend regular state schools along with their formal regimes of control and order, the Centre is directed toward the fulfilment of even more basic needs (food, clothing, shelter, etc.).

There are no formal Greek classes, for which the street must substitute. So, where the balance between school and home may provide the bulk of social ballast for children in the other two groups, the refugee finds the street both a necessary and inevitable alternative to the former. It provides both an entertaining and educational niche; an environment in which Martin can test the social potentialities (and actualities) available to him, the benefits and handicaps of a socially marginal life.

The absence of a legal right to formal schooling forces an alternative social structure in the combination of charity and whatever the street has to offer. Whilst the absence of formal structure nevertheless provides one of sorts it also prescribes defined marginal spaces in which the refugee must live and relate. It is the experience of these spaces that provide the counterweight to the influences of the home rather than the specific formalities of what constitutes 'Greek culture' in school.

Fundamentally, structural balance is engaged at the level of marginality and non-marginality. Though socially and legally peripheral Martin is literally and physically central. Paradoxically, by 'working' and playing in the centre of the city, he remains anonymous and invisible. Although anonymity is preferable on one level (in that it reduces the chances of being "caught" and sent back to Iraq) it is hardly ideal in terms of the future his parents hope for him.

Despite this, Martin is faced, as are the children in the other groups, with the need to balance conformity to the home with conformity beyond it, as well as an assertion of the self in both. He does this through language and by engaging in activities that are appropriate to each domain. Aware of his linguistic power in the home and of the responsibility that this imposes upon him (i.e. translating for his mother, and providing money by working in a garage) he conforms to both by combining what is appropriate to each.

CHAPTER 4

AGED 13 -15 INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSOLIDATING OF IDENTITY

This section explores the assertion of cultural identity in various ways and shows the children as having effected resolutions for 'in-betweeness'. It further demonstrates the articulation of a self which asserts a confidence toward the diversities of surrounding influences. It shows also a greater emphasis on self-definition and a greater independence from external voices. Along with this confidence and emphasis on self-definition is an awareness of increasing power and agency in thinking, feeling, and acting, an ability to articulate experience and to be aware of its affects on others. Thus, we see the

children feeding on the structures so dominant in the previous age group and using them to construct more secure identities for themselves.

The Filipinos: Louis and Leslie-Ann

Louis is 14, he is currently being educated at a Greek state school. He has been there since he was eleven, and has lived in Greece all of his life. His parents are both Filipino and work for an EC organisation set up to monitor the social conditions of the Filipino migrant working community across Europe. Louis takes little part in their activities. After 14 years here he now has many Greek friends his own age though few, if any, Filipino peers. His desire is to remain in Greece when his parents return eventually to the Philippines.

Louis' circle of school friends dominate his sense of social identity. This may be partly due to the fact that his life at home no longer bears those identifying social structures present in the examples of his younger compatriots: Yannie and Kiethlyn.

> I don't see my mother and father often, they work very much. . .so when I go home they are not there, they come home late. When I was younger they were at home more. . . I had some Filipino friends then, but they went back to the Philippines when they were about ten years old. But we stayed in Greece . . It's better here. I went to the Philippines once when I was younger. . .I think I am more Greek now than Filipino. . . I speak Filipino but I speak Greek so it is not really the language that makes me feel that. . . It's my friends and the things I do.

Any peers Louis had within the Filipino community have since returned back there. Any strong sense of Filipino-ness has largely disappeared from Louis' life and what persists does so only as parental memory as in the form described earlier. Now in his adolescence Filipino identity has been almost supplanted by a stronger identification with his Greek friends. But this time it confirms language as a key elicitor of cultural identity and in favour of "social practices in action" (see Hastrup 1995:42).

Louis remains confused over a sense of belonging:

> Most of my friends are Greek and I go with them. . .maybe we play basketball, football, or talking. . . It would be nice to visit the Philippines, My mother and father are going there next year but I think I don't want to go, maybe I will but I don't want to live there. I have been here all my life and all my friends are here. My friends don't even know I am from the Philippines, maybe some do but not all. They don't know (can't tell) from my language, they just think I am Greek.

Louis recognises the different strands of himself which affiliate him with Filipinos and Greeks respectively, but although it would be nice to go to the Philippines", he "doesn't want to live there". The parental pasts which were so much a part of Yannie's Filipino home, have been in the case of Louis, by now supplanted by him in favour of his own past, now so irretrievably Greek: "all my friends are here" and "they just think I am Greek" is the definitive statement of how he believes his Greek friends see him. These comments are similar though not quite so entrenched as those of Leslie Ann (14):

> We went to the Philippines last year and I didn't like it at all. After one week I wanted to come back to Greece. My mother and father are both Filipino and so am I but this is my country. I think my mother and father

were disappointed with me, but Greece is my country. I was born here and I have lived all my life here. I don't want to go back to the Philippines.

Leslie Ann makes no attempt to hide her feelings and stakes a clear claim for belonging to and remaining in Greece. Her sentiments compare with Louis's overriding feeling of himself as 'more Greek' than Filipino. In both cases this contrasts with the preferences of their parents, Louis' are the more adamant. His mother comments:

> We want him to be more of a Filipino, to identify more with us, to get more involved in our activities, but he doesn't want this, so it is worrying but we can't really do anything. I don't know if he will come back to the Philippines when we go for a visit next summer. At the moment he doesn't want to go but he might change his mind.

> Father: We could see it happening. When he was about ten he was speaking Greek in the house, I didn't mind but we wanted him to speak to us in our own language . . .

> Mother: There was a time when he was about twelve when all he would speak was Greek. I tried to change him because it upset me I felt I had failed to teach him. But in a way it was inevitable because nearly all his friends were Greek. Now he uses both Greek and Filipino, he speaks English as well because we speak English. . . I'm not <u>very</u> upset about how it all worked out. I shouldn't have been surprised because he was living in a world that is a mixture of so much. I am very happy that he can speak three languages. When he's here of course he has to speak Greek and when he goes to the Philippines he will be able to speak to them in Filipino, and English is necessary everywhere now, so it turned out well.

Louis' parents express anxieties similar to those of Kiethlyn's mother in her desperation, at an earlier age, to instil a sense of Filipino identity. That they feel they "failed" to teach him indicates not only the attempt to inculcate a single national identity (Filipino) but the deliberate resistance of another (Greek).

By wishing that he was more involved in their activities his parents stake their claim to him yet realise how weak this claim is compared with the efforts of those parents of younger Filipinos in the previous examples. Louis' parents acknowledge also his reluctance to go with them to the Philippines but they still harbour the hope that "maybe he'll change his mind". There is anxiety about his greater use of Greek in the home over Filipino when he was younger but this has emerged into a philosophical "inevitability". Throughout the narrative it is possible to detect a transitional move: from being able to "see it happen" to feeling "failure", and from acknowledging an overall good and that it "turned out well", we can see the decline in anxiety giving way to an acceptance. Yet this is still tinged with an underlying sense of regret in the opening part of the narrative which comments unmistakably on the present: "we want him to identify more with us".

There appears little of the linguistic tension (expressed by his parents) which is so much a part of Keithlyn's life at 8. As the significance of the domain beyond the home increases the tensions remain for Louis' parents, whereas he himself appears to have resolved them.

Louis' mother and father believe Louis is feeling "neglected" because they spend so much of their time at the Day Care Centre, the Filipino Kindergarten established by them, and that he never sees them. So now he comes to the Day Care Centre (DCC) to see them. Louis explains:

> They think it is important to have a good community here for the Filipinos so that's OK. I am not really part of that community because I have my own friends. They are my friends at school, and they're all Greek. My parents want me to be more involved here (in the DCC) but I don't want that. Maybe if they paid me to look after the children (laughs), yes, why not? But they work too hard with their work. . . it's too much, they do too much. I go there to help them but only because I have to. I would not see them if I didn't go. . .they think they neglect me but I don't know. . .

These comments reveal conflict in his relationship with his parents yet also the respect mentioned earlier. Louis' sense of belonging clearly indicates that he is "not part of that community" which his parents identify with. The parental pull toward getting him involved in their work with the Filipino community shows an attempt by his parents to salvage something of his association not only with them (his parents) but with the Filipino community as a whole.

It is revealing also that his mother and father spend so long running the affairs of the Day Care Centre that they jokingly refer to it as a "home". They are drawn to the needs of their wider Filipino community to the extent where they feel they neglect their own son. Yet the attempt to draw Louis into this new "home", in order to foster a stronger sense of identification with it, is met with reluctance. He refuses to recognise it as "home" without the added incentive of money. Relations with his ethnic Filipino fellows is re-presented as one of economic potential, not the moral responsibility perceived by his parents.

There is an effort on the part of parents to maintain what they can of Filipino identity in their children. We also see how the challenges to this come from their own children and with increasing efficacy over time. Young children like Yannie are clearly more dependent on their parents than older

ones. Kiethlyn, a little older shows an emergent awareness of her self in different cultural settings and the growing importance of Greek friendships and how they contrast with family identity. Louis speaks with the experience of having lived the whole of his childhood in Greece. He articulates his own experience and narrates his own story of social and cultural similarity and difference. Now at 14 he appears to have the confidence to consolidate his choices in respect of with whom he identifies and how.

Greek/British Children: Amalia and Spiro.

The Greek/British child in the 13 - 15 age group shares something of Louis' ability to articulate the thoughts and feelings of cultural comparison and identity. Many of the issues of former years continue to be present. Though not necessarily predominating anymore they are nevertheless still invoked to highlight the contents within certain boundaries, and differences between influences in the child's life. For example, the 'evil eye' for Greek grandparents continues as a common invocation in times of illness and bad luck regardless of how old the child is, and the child may not only accept either one view or the other but is now better able to accord and articulate diverse meanings to them as are held by respective parents, Amalia (14):

> "Sometimes when I feel horrible my yiayia says she's going to take the evil eye away. . . and I do feel better afterwards. The year before last I was sick. . .and she said: "I'll take the evil eye". She says it all in whispers, so I can't hear. After about five minutes she said "go and take a walk round the house", so I did and I felt better. I believe it works. My mum thinks it is psychological or something. She doesn't really like yiayia doing it, they used to argue about it all and shout and that, mum thinks it is black magic

or something, I don't know, I do believe it but sometimes I think mum is right too.

This description by Amalia shows that grandmother believes she takes away evil, whereas her mother believes she is actually performing evil ("black magic"). The act of "taking away the eye" continues to highlight the diametrically opposing interpretations of the same event. Amalia believes the ritual 'works'. Yet she may also believe it to be "psychological". This can be taken to mean that, like Vassilis in the previous age group, she believes both in her grandmother's account of a sickness and its remedy, and her mother's scepticism. Amalia not only acknowledges the perspectives of each but implies a tacit knowledge of the contexts to which they are related and the perspectives from which they emerge. This again raises important questions not only about the social contextuality of knowledge, but also the possibility of holding something to be both true and untrue simultaneously. This more sophisticated, conceptual balancing, while being a process of thought about different social contexts, and even different structures of knowledge, is also the analytic agency of a unique self.

Below, Amalia remarks on her physical difference from the majority of her Greek friends and by doing so acknowledges that, whatever explanation is given, evil eye is rooted firmly in the social:

It is blue eyes make you get evil eye. If you talk about someone and say "he's got nice hair", then you bring evil eye on him. Or if someone talks about you all the time and says nice things about you that's when the evil eye comes. . . So if you say that then you have to "spit" because if you don't it means you are jealous and the eye will come.

This shows understanding of Greek interpretations about certain kinds of social relations and events leading up to the diagnosis of evil eye. The account Amalia gives is hypothetical but based on detailed experience. It is both broadly informative yet succinct. In other words, she recounts the kinds of social relations and exchanges which might precipitate the kind of event (sickness or bad luck) which would lead to its cause as "evil eye", and that only a competent Greek child could understand and articulate.

Spiro (his British mother calls him 'Pip'), aged 15, has a greater conviction but qualifies his response:

> Yes, I really believe in the evil-eye. Because its many times that I've been feeling bad, or had a bad stomach, or feeling dizzy or something, and my grandma knows a spell, and it works. She does her cross 3 times, and she spits on the ground. And it (the dizziness) leaves me immediately after about 10 minutes. My mum thinks I shouldn't believe in it because it's silly nonsense, I don't know, maybe she's right.

Although both Amalia and Spiro give clear accounts of how evil eye might be caused and treated they both make explicit confirmations that they believe in it, and that their mother doubts it. In one respect this may simply be interpreted as 'becoming Greek', in another way, a totally Greek child would perhaps (paradoxically) be less inclined to affirm that it "works". To affirm it, in the way Amalia and Spiro do implies at least the potential of doubt which may be said to be traceable to their mother[23].

Michael (15), takes a different view from Amalia and Spiro, but nevertheless a revealing one:

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[23] But this is to suggest that Greek children (or even Greeks generally) all believe the same thing and attribute the same meanings to them. Recent contributions have demonstrated this to be and rather flimsy assumption upon which to make cultural 'belief' claims (e.g. Rapport 1993, Cohen1994).

I'm against all these superstitions and things. Some believe it but it's for the old people. . .My aunt is into all sorts of things. . .absolutely everything. . .she's really very Greek. My dad is not into it at all, he's quite international.

Michael cringes at the thought of believing in evil eye and associates it with "old people". The implicit association of the practices with being 'Greek' is contrasted with what is not Greek. The fact that his father, although Greek, does not exhibit 'typical' beliefs is shown to be worthy of comment. What is notable, as far as Michael is concerned, is his father's difference from other Greeks, and that he relates to his father through the notion of being 'international' rather than 'Greek'. Michael sees himself in a similar way by cringing at the idea of what he perceives to be "very Greek".

This is in stark contrast to his younger years when, for example, at 11, he was adamant he would speak only Greek. Whereas at a younger age the use of a single language is a powerful marker of social identity, it is less so in these older children. Similarly, the Filipino, Louis, speaks three languages and does not consider this a significant aspect of his identity.

Greek is used almost exclusively by both boys and girls in the Greek/British Group when at school, except in cases when either they or a friend wants to "practice their English". Though English is used more often in the home it by no means dominates over Greek. Comments relating to the use of language at school and at home are fairly standard, Amalia:

I speak Greek at school. I don't speak English . . .maybe a word or something . . .If they want to practice, or ask me a question about English then I tell them. . . .At home I speak English to my mother . . .sometimes

both. My dad isn't here very much, but if he is then we speak Greek. . .sometimes it's English. . .I don't think about it very much . . .I speak whatever comes out first.

Michael:

I only speak Greek at school. At home I used to speak English when I was little, then when I was about 12 I only spoke Greek, I refused to speak English (laughs). . . Now I speak both, because my mum's Greek is still bad, it's easier to speak to her in English. Sometimes she wants to practice it but I just laugh at her. . .I never speak English at school.

This example compares with that of Louis among the Filipinos in his resistance to speak anything but Greek at a certain age. The fact that Michael now speaks both is not just a control over the languages within and outside the house - he had those before; it also represents a constituting of self. Not to be so concerned about speaking only Greek is a further example of the independence and agency within the balancing and consolidating of socially diverse contexts.

Laughing at his mother's efforts shows Michael's acknowledgement of the reversal of power relations, and the superiority this allows him over his mother. This is also shown in the example below where his mother was unable to understand him. Parental comments confirm the experiences of their children:

"All his friends are Greek, they are nearly all school friends so obviously he's speaking Greek all the time . . .at first, when he was young I hated it when he came back home from school speaking Greek. . .My Greek was OK but not very good, so I began to miss so much of what he said. . . I

couldn't understand him. So then I would just break out in English and expect him to do the same . . . usually he did, but when he got older he refused to speak English. He said "I'm Greek and not English, so I'll speak Greek." He said that in Greek . . . It really hurt. It felt like he wasn't mine. But then when he got a bit older he sort of came back and started using English again. . .Mainly because he was embarrassed at my Greek in front of his friends. But now he just uses both . . ."

Michael's mother "hated" Michael coming home after school and using Greek. This is explained by her own comparison with him: "My Greek was OK but not very good". She "missed" what he said, and "couldn't understand" thus acknowledging the lack of equality she had in the relationship. By "break[ing] out in English" she reverts back to what she knows. Not only does Michael not respond in kind, he makes an explicit statement as to why, and thereby affirms a clear cultural identification. The sense of hurt at this is one of loss. She states, "<u>I felt like he wasn't mine</u>", this is concerned later when she refers to him as "coming back" by using English again. The importance of these comments lies not so much in the apparent dialectic which moves from thesis (using English and Greek when young), to anti-thesis (only Greek), and eventually to synthesis (both again), but in the existence of the narrative which condenses both experience and time, and how its apparent 'happy' ending concludes with Michael's mastery and 'comfort' with two languages.

Smiling in recognition at certain points while his mother recounted the experience, Michael adds a confirming full stop: "It just doesn't bother me now". There is consummate ease with which contrasting linguistic environments are now controlled and appropriated. An English language environment is no longer controlled by the assertion of Greek-only responses.

Although life at school and at home are largely controlled by appropriating the 'right' language in each, there are further sub-divisions,

most notably in the home, which must be refined more acutely according to their context. School clearly 'spills' over into the home by the inviting of friends, and through homework and so inevitably changes the context where under other circumstances only English might be used.

On the issue of gender, Greek/British boys of this age group admitted a greater sense of social freedom than girls. This was particularly so in boy/girl relationships where both admitted that girls had to be "more careful" about being sexually involved with boys. This is compatible with previous discussions of gender relations in Greece (cf. Loizos & Papataxiarchis 1991). A specific example of this will be addressed in Part 2. Generally, Greek/British boys and girls both showed complete assimilation with their purely Greek counterparts.

In summary, Amalia, Michael, and Pip are not only aware of the diverse social arrangements and structures that make up their worlds but combine them with diplomacy and creativity. Whilst this requires acts of personal agency, which will be dealt with later, what is distinctive about this age group is the ability of the individuals within it to 'tell' their own story, to narrate, in retrospect, the differences they experience and move between, the responses they make to them, and their recounts in detail of the key points in the history of identity construction.

Iraqi Refugee Children: Miada, Hilda, Rimon, Heriknas, and Others

The life of a refugee may be defined precisely as lacking the very social structures whereby 'normal' life is ordered and regulated. The absence of rights to state education and legal work severely restrict the options young individuals would normally have for security both in the present and the future. Seen against the background of an even worse past, they prefer to

suffer the difficulties of the present and unsurities of the future rather than return to their previous countries. The entire experience of refugee childhood must be seen in relation to this overriding concern.

The refugees between the ages of 13 and 15 encounter life in similar ways as the younger Martin does at 11 (see p. 89 ff.). Drawing on several older individuals this time permits us to see those aspects of Martin's life extended to the lives of others, though in slightly different ways and with a little more reflexivity. That is to say although they are subject to similar domestic and non-domestic regimes as the younger children there is clearly evident a growing ability to reflect on the totality of their predicament as refugees and burgeoning adults.

For the older refugee children formal educational life is at best inadequate and at worst non-existent. As has already been mentioned the whole experience of school for most is reducible to the learning of English, which is shown up for its absurdity when the possibility of moving to an English speaking country is removed. Despite the insecurity of illegal residence many find consolation in the distractions of the street spelled out as we have seen in the example of Martin.

Some are already competent in English and attend the School if only to revise what they know, Miada:

> The young ones go to school in the Centre. They learn English because later they will go to America. But the older ones don't go, only some. We know English already so it's no problem. But the young ones need to learn English for the future.

Miada views school as an anticipation and a preparation for the future in an English-speaking country. The imagined future which many carry around with them is fraught with the threat of what could happen if they were

unable to communicate. Miada's friend Bushra (15) confirms this in Arabic which is translated into English by Miada:

> I want to make my English better because we will go to America . . .That is why I go to the school here. I hope we are going to America because we don't want to stay here. . .America will be our new home. In Iraq we learned English so I speak a little now. . .but I want to improve. If we can't speak English when we go there. . .what will we do? We cannot work, we cannot get what we need. We can do nothing. So it is very important to learn. I have missed so much from having no school so when we go to America I will be at the back (sic: behind).

'School'

Miada arrived in Greece nearly two years ago. She views school as the learning of English in preparation for a "future" in a foreign country. Miada

considers the consequences of not being able to communicate fluently and acknowledges that she is likely to be behind others her age. Refugee life is not only the loss of one's country and family but, as Miada implicitly shows, is also the loss of the education upon which her future depends. She and her family were fortunate enough to be granted asylum by the American embassy and left soon after this interview. Others are not so fortunate, and are forced to make the most of a life in Greece.

Among those who do not attend the school is Hilda

> I don't go to school because my English is good and I can speak and understand. . .We want to leave Greece but we can't get a visa, so why I should go to the school if we can't go to another country. Now I must learn Greek. I can't go to the Greek school because we don't have the permit. We can't do anything . . .What can we do? So I don't go to school. . .I don't know what will happen to me because I didn't go to Greek school and I won't have a certificate when I am 15, so I don't know what I will do?

Hilda's frustration and anger is clearly evident. Her justification for not attending the school is practical, since it is a preparation for living in an English speaking country, something she believes will not now happen.[24]

Like Miada's this statement is also full of fatalistic impotence: "What can we do?" What will I do?". This is an understandable reflection of desperation and confronts them with an unpromising future. Hilda, whilst aware of the need and the existence of school, makes choices which reveal both the conditions in which she is living and her ability to relate and respond to those

[24]She also believes she knows enough anyhow, which is probably true since she acted as a translator for me on many occasions.

conditions in her own unique way. School does not provide for her needs so she has resorted to making her own:

> At home I have some books, but they are very old. They are not very good. I learn with these sometimes. Last year I used them a lot but now not so much because we cannot go to America or Canada . . .

Home then can replace the school as somewhere to learn. This reversal of places and activities, shows Hilda imposing her own structure out of her own initiative. Although she no longer adheres to a regular learning period, the ability to recognise the value of schooling and unable to find it in the external structure around her, stimulates this creative response. [25]

Similarly to Hilda, for Heriknas there is little difference between home and school in that they are both the same place. Heriknas lives with her four younger brothers, a sister and her mother in the Refugee Centre itself. For her, as for many of the older refugee children, the feeling of missing out is again linked to a threatened future.

> When we go to Canada I want to go to college but I don't think I can go because it will be very difficult for me now. . .because I have not been to school for nearly two years now . . .

Heriknas, like Hilda, whilst resorting to learn by herself, also, along with her sister Mariam turns her knowledge of English toward teaching it to the younger and less able children.

> On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday we help the younger children to learn English. I don't know everything but we know some (enough) to

[25]It is also an interesting use of 'female' space as opposed to 'male' space outside upon which, as I pointed out earlier, the boys rely for part of their own education.

> teach them. It is very simple A B C. They have to learn something or they will be useless when they go away. This is a problem for all of us. . . But there is nothing we can do, this is how our life is . . .we all have to help each other like this.

Active participation in the culture of refugee life turns on axes created by its participants. Heriknas and Mariam draw on their own talents to contribute uniquely to part of the very system that in other respects sustains them.

Despite her contribution Heriknas remains socially and personally frustrated in aspects other than education. For example, an argument with her mother - the consequence of her getting a hair cut with money meant to fund their passage to Canada - highlighted the confrontation of adolescent personal concern for the present and motherly responsibility for the future. An issue not resolved as much as forgotten.

The survival of gendered differentiation, with teenage girls assuming roles of domestic responsibility and boys outside on the streets, is perhaps traceable to Arabic tendencies to treat the internal domestic space as the female domain, and the external as male[26]. This was the case even for attendance at the church. Since the church is outside the home, attendance is considered "men's work". The Iraqi home is ordered by gendered divisions, as was illustrated in Funda's home earlier, and upon which Rana (13) finds an apt contrast with her Greek counterparts:

> We (Iraqi girls) are working in the house all the time, cleaning, washing, cooking, and like this (demonstrates ironing), but they (Greek girls) don't do this. . .They are lazy . . . like the Iraqi men (laughing). . .They don't do anything.

[26] This distinction was pointed out by several of the Iraqi men.

On visits to the family house it was invariably Rana and her mother who would fetch and carry for the men of the house. Rimon (15), Rana's brother is, apart from her father and his brothers, also considered such a man. Rana compares her home with those of her Greek friends in terms of her experience as a worker within it. She likens them to the male members of her own community and dismisses their difference as laziness. The daily routine and structure of work is fairly typical for the Iraqi girls of this age. Despite having been here for five years there is a significant contrast in the exposure Rana has to the world beyond the home. Some of the older girls are unable, or at least not so strongly encouraged, to attend English classes because of their domestic duties.

That Rana's attendance at school "doesn't matter" according to her father, does not stop her attending. For Rimon, school is considered "essential". He is severely punished if he does not attend or if he does not complete his homework on time. Conversely, a woman's role is considered a domestic one and that she is unlikely to need the extent of education that her men folk would. This is not to say that education and professions are uncommon to Iraqi women, but rather that traditional domestic roles of women persist in a way that reduces the perceived importance of education, which may even be seen as unnecessary. [27]

For the boys success at school is directly linked to a prosperous future, for girls it may be seen as a hindrance to domestic duties and irrelevant to their future. The constructions of gender to which both girls and boys are subject affect the extent to which they each become involved in the world beyond the home.

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[27]An interesting combination of the two (educational and domestic) values was illustrated on one occasion when some of the girls turned up to English classes with a diagram of a kitchen. Each part of the kitchen was labelled accordingly: 'cupboard', 'fridge', 'cooker', 'saucepans', etc., in English. The session which followed involved them filling in the correct translation from a clue given in Arabic.

While much of Rana's time is spent in the house, Rimon on the other hand, has a Saturday job with his father at the Market, he also possesses a bicycle, and has many Greek and Iraqi friends in the locality. These permit him the freedom to venture farther away from the home into the city: to play the computer games in arcades; to clean windscreens, and so on. It also explains his superior Greek with his greater involvement with the natives. The world beyond the home is brought into it mainly by male members of the family, and not least by Rimon in the form of language, money, Greek songs, and 'Power Ranger' stickers! [28]

There is a sharp contrast between the gendered roles of the refugee children and their Filipino counterparts. While Iraqi boys of teenage years can order their mothers to fetch and carry for them, Filipino boys are subservient to their mothers and elder sisters. While gender predominates among the Iraqis, age, and respect for the elder, takes precedence among the Filipinos. There is a predominance of the male among the former, and a predominance of the elder among the latter. Each perceive the world beyond these structural arrangements in different ways. Rana experiences Greek girls in particular as "lazy", and Louis experiences Greek children generally as "lacking respect". The Greek/British inevitably do not see themselves as others do since they do not encounter such radically different 'others', but experience gendered relations, as we shall see later, in terms of familial 'honour' and 'shame'. Honour is that by which both genders believe they attain communal esteem, shame is incurred by that which results in communal condemnation.

Gender is far more pronounced as a boundary among the Iraqi refugee children than in either of the other two groups. Their social and labour roles are more clearly defined. With greater freedom to go out and seek friends

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[28]These promotional stickers, inspired by the TV series and freely available with certain sweets, were a feature for all the groups though for different ages. The linking of both age and culture through these are an indication of their wide appeal, and emblematic of the ubiquitous 'global child'.

boys are by far the more likely to engage with Greeks than their female counterparts. Whilst about 6 of the girls (who had been in Greece for at least 3 years) in this age group were fluent in Greek only two had Greek friends, none had Greek boyfriends. Most of the boys on the other hand were fluent in Greek, had many friends, and at least two had Greek girlfriends.

As was mentioned earlier refugee life is distinctive precisely because of its lack of a formal social structure. However, the label 'refugee' is not only a dictionary definition of one who has fled their home; it is a legal category that does have certain rights under International Law (e.g. United Nations 1951; Goodwin-Gill 1996). Among these is the right to seek asylum. But it is not the obligatory duty of a nation to grant asylum. Thus, while legal structures may exist they are remote.

All of the refugee families must go through the process of applying for visas. Applications for these are made through the embassies of the countries to which the family wish to go. These are extensive in scope and require a great deal of information. Part of the procedure requires applicants to submit an account of why they are applying. In this they must demonstrate what, under International Law, constitutes a ". . well-founded fear of persecution. . ."[29]. This requires documentary evidence of persecution, eye witness accounts or evidence of torture, infringements of human rights because of race, colour or creed etc.

It was widely acknowledged among embassy personnel that many applications that are made include fabricated accounts of 'disappeared' fathers, imprisonment, deaths, torture, and so on. 'Disappeared' fathers is the most common since this allows mothers and children to take advantage of the priority treatment given to those deemed "most at risk". Such accounts are constructed collectively and often involve the children in their drafting. While

[29]United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1951).

one might expect such practices to be secretive among the refugee community, they are widely discussed as Rimon's explanation illustrates:

> We had to write a story for [*sic* about] our life in Iraq. I was young so I don't remember, but I help my mother and father to write the English. And then we have [had] to take it to the embassy. I was explaining in English and Greek [to the clerk] because my mother she can't speak English. . .But we are still here after five years so they (embassies) don't believe us. We are telling the truth. . .The other Iraqis, many don't tell the truth, they lie. They say their father is dead or in the prison, or he was take by the police . . .and then they get visa. . .I don't care because I want to stay in Greece now . . .with my friends . . .and I don't want to leave. My mother and father want to go [to] America but I don't want to go now.

The collective construction of 'persecution accounts' is common and not just conducted in the confines of individual homes or the Refugee Centre. Families come together to develop their individual stories, compare notes and provide information that corroborates each other's stories. In protection of those who are not involved in these practices it should be added that many accounts are also probably genuine. Some admit to being dishonest but counter that "this is the only way they can get visas".

While adults are the key movers of such fabrications, older children are also involved as co-conspirators. Heriknas explains:

> We told them our father was taken by the army. . .. My mother said "don't tell anyone". So now we are going to Canada and our father will try to come later. There were many things to do . . .the forms, the papers. . . We (Heriknas and her sister Mariam) translated the story for the embassy and my mother. But before this we knew what to say . . .The other families tell

more bad (worse) things than this, so many lies. There is a family here now, their mother and father sent them here alone. The oldest one is only 16, she has to look after the young boys. . .She says her mother and father will meet them in America. . .I don't know.

This last part of the account was easily corroborated since the children about whom Heriknas is speaking were living in the Refugee Centre with her. The first part of the account tells of how Heriknas' involvement was effective in the granting of their visa and what it involved. She compares this with the efforts of other families to secure visas and considers her own family's falsities as minor in relation to them.

The concerns of these children differ markedly from those of the other groups. The social structures that impose upon their lives are fundamentally legal and political. Management of these structures and overcoming them in a way that is to their parents' satisfaction demands not only engaging with them but even cheating them, though not always without cost to themselves (families often have trouble re-uniting legally once they are 'officially' split). Engaged at the level of helping to fill in application forms and translating for them involves these older children not only in local social structures but global structures of International Law. Their ability to be at least co-operators in historical reconstructions of their own family histories involves them in the manipulation literally of world-changing activities.

Reflecting on Stories of Identity and Agency

It is in and through the continuity of movement that human beings continue to make themselves at home. . .[T]hey recount their lives to themselves and others as movement: they continually see themselves in

stories, and continually tell the stories of their lives (Dawson and Rapport Forthcoming 1996).

The advantage these older children have over those discussed earlier in the 8 - 11 age-bracket is time; a longer personal history which is also memorable, and a personal future which is manipulable. While both are constructions, and seen from the point of view of the present, they are still images and projections of the self. Also, while socially and contextually constructed, they are nevertheless individually selected among a range of other options (c.f. Robertson 1994, King et al [eds.] 1995).

What is interesting in these selections, how they are made and how they are expressed, is the interpretive work that selects and visualises a self which conforms and differs according to context. The skills necessary not only in conforming to, and differentiating from, structural arrangements, but also in articulating and narrating the meanings created, and the choices made between them, provide us with insight into reflexive accounts in which the self which is imaged is both created and creator. This focuses on the brief point made about the construction of identities in the section on methods (p.13 ff.)

Accounts of self in different contexts may be narrated blandly and or in great detail. In his discussion of conversation in the city Rapport (1987) shows how varied the meanings are which emerge through talk and narrative. He maintains that: "language may be revealed as hosting a multitude of voices in situational agreements and oppositions, overlapping, colliding, and contradicting (1987:140). Although this may be so it should not detract from the narrator's added tendency, to exaggerate, simplify, and compress images of identity and belonging through time. Some children show a greater articulacy than others in their accounts. Some feel they have more of a story to tell. Some are simply more willing than others to talk about their lives.

Whatever the case it is important not to neglect those who say less, or those whose accounts by comparison appear less intriguing.

Through analysis of this age category the thesis begins to explore children's accounts of their childhood their sense of belonging, their pasts and futures. Though parental narratives are not excluded this time they take second place to those of the child. This more fundamentally stresses the increased agency of the child and the louder 'voice' they now posses in relation to structural arrangements around them, not least parental ones.

Through the diversity of images and projections the children (and parents) use in their descriptions, we can locate similarities and differences between individual experiences. Each child has a self to portray, a story to tell, in whatever terms, and a script with which to do it. So, here we pose the question: how do children in these culturally diverse settings and contexts image and project themselves as belonging and as being-in-the-world?

Louis is in little doubt about where he belongs - with his friends. While in the past he had some Filipino friends they are all Greek now. Also, while it would be "nice" to visit the Philippines he has no intention of living there in the future regardless of whether his parents do. It is important to separate out the likelihood of what would happen from the projection Louis makes of himself. If his parents returned soon to the Philippines Louis would have no choice but to go with them because of his age. What he presents us with however is a preference, his ideal selection. This is expressed not simply as remaining in Greece with his parents but as being with his "friends". This is slightly different to Leslie Ann who selects the 'country' rather than its population. "This is my country" is to claim a place rather than its people. It is important to be wary of over-interpretation here, but this difference may well stem from the common phenomena of boys occupying space outside the house rather than within it. That is, Louis' "friends" are where he locates belonging, since his mother and father are always out of the house working

for the Filipino community. This is a community to which Louis feels he has little affiliation and perhaps even resents. Yet the choice he has is between two sets of people to which he could potentially belong outside his house. His unequivocal selection is made for that to which he feels more a part, or, more accurately those who "just think I'm Greek".

Surprisingly, for Leslie Ann there is no specific mention of friends "I was born here and have lived all my life here" is sufficient justification, a life compressed into its most economical expression, which yet suffices, as far as she is concerned, as an authoritative account of where and why she belongs.

Both Louis and Leslie-Ann conceive of their own futures as preferably in Greece yet realistically not. This presents us with the discrepancy of wanted identities and actual identities. Or, more accurately, preferred belonging and imposed belonging. Either way the compression of past and future are implicit in the narrated expression of identity.

These are comparatively bland statements, compressed with an entire childhood's worth of experience behind them, but other narratives are more particular and expressive of particular circumstances. Among these are Amalia and Spiro.

In believing in it and not believing it, Vassilis, Amalia, and Spiro account for the different notions about the evil eye etc., to which they are exposed. Although they entertain blatant contradiction, it is important to situate each (belief and non-belief) in its appropriate context. Although in many accounts of similarity and difference, belonging and not belonging can be made by references to inside and outside the home respectively, as in the case of Louis, Amalia and Spiro on the other hand are confronted with 'cultural' choice within the home. The narratives of sickness and belief in the evil eye focus on the salience and credibility of the dominant characters in the home whose philosophical groundings on questions of child-health contrast.

The image each child portrays is not simply one which is 'in-between' two contrasting or opposing cultural traditions, but one which 'chooses' who to believe and when. So, rather than, as might seem apparent, being at the mercy of contradictory opinions, both show the quality of competent choosers, capable of considering circumstances and articulating (narrating) cultural selections accordingly. Yet, it is also worth noting that the choices being made are between dominant people and their opinions not necessarily 'cultures'.

However Rapport argues that:

> in the personalising of language may be found not just the construction of individual identities but also that of larger social entities in which speakers locate themselves (1987:155).

With Vassilis, Amalia, and Spiro we can see just this kind of identifying. These childhoods are expressed through the particularities of certain contexts, and which, although generalised into accounts that compress perhaps many examples into a single statement (including their contradictory aspects), are composite narratives of difference and similarity.

Themes which are highlighted and downplayed are the issues of cultural difference and personal integrity. Although not expressed in these terms both Amalia and Spiro, on the separate occasions when our conversations were recorded, highlight the justification of the ritual practised by their grandmother, yet neither feels the need or the inclination to justify in kind the scepticism of their mother. This may be because they assumed I, being English, would already know. Or, that they felt the former required justifying more than the latter.

Even within the condensed narrative, the ascription's "nonsense", and "psychological" compress any number of objections and for any number of reasons. This is not to say that grandmother is highlighted and mother

downplayed, it is to say that both are highlighted in different ways. The ability to narrate in detail what grandmother does and says simply renders it the more salient to recount, whereas how one narrates cognitive 'doubt' when it is not so tangible is far less clear. Yet both are part of their personal and collective experience.

What these narratives show is the conceptual limits and boundaries of cultural difference as expressed through the respective responses of parent, or more accurately mother, and grandparent. Fathers are not so much written out of the accounts as simply not actually a part of them in the first place. Child care, which these accounts are more broadly part of, is the domain of the female members of the family. Thus culture, as portrayed through these personal accounts, is transmitted and refracted through their views on what a normal childhood should be. Moreover, as James argues in the consideration of mothers' accounts of children with eczema:

> . . .accounts reveal . . .that the seeming 'homogeneity' of the cultural category 'child', which informs and is informed by a dominant cultural construction of childhood is refined and qualified through the heterogeneity of everyday social experiences (1993:38).

Similarly, language use is narrated not as a single experience but one which is contextual. Accounting for the use of a different language in different contexts is described (by myself) as a "synthesis". And so, in this respect it is a single experience. The stubbornness of earlier years gives way to the flexibility of social demands in later years and a conformity precisely to that flexibility which prompts Michael to casually claim: "It doesn't bother me now". Present and past are condensed and compared among this cultural group and where the past is an ever-present reminder in the difference

between mother and father, unlike the Refugees, the future is much less of an issue.

It is through the exploration of biographical narratives that we can begin to address the central theme of children and the diversity of cultural experience. Reflecting and commentating on being a child in these circumstances shapes the child's identity and sense of belonging. The self becomes highlighted through the intensity and emotion of their particular experiences.

The narrative accounts of the Iraqis are fundamentally different. These highlight the peculiarities of their situation in a way that expresses their conceptions of childhood but in contexts in which the structural arrangements of their lives are quite different from those of the other two groups. The absence of 'normal' schooling poses the threat of a vacant future.

In particular, Miada and her friend Bushra image their present as sandwiched between countries and time categories. The focal point; the present must be made the most of, if not "what will they do?". Making the most is learning to communicate in English. This is accomplished collectively to the point where refugee children help other refugee children to learn. Thus, the narrative describes how they become part of, and create, particular structures through agency (see Giddens on Structuration e.g. 1984).

The veritable 'do or die' fatalism in which expressions of language-learning are couched reveal the basic level at which 'culture' and childhood are experienced. Also, the ease with which the future is invoked suggest it is an ever-present reality, hanging round with threatening intent. As a category of experience, conceptions of the 'the future' indicate the importance of the notion of time in the context of both the institution of childhood but particularly the experience of it (e.g. James & Prout 1990: 216-7). In the above examples the attempt to control the future by present, pre-emptive (linguistic) strikes makes the future present, and is addressed both collectively and

individually depending on each child's self-perceived needs - for example Hilda's attempts to learn by herself.

But the future is only partly controlled in this way. Hopes and preferences of a licit life or a life in another country are not certainties. In other words, nobody goes anywhere without visas. The application for asylum is a tortuously long and difficult affair. Yet it is through these procedures that the past, or more accurately constructed pasts, are recalled and in a way that will have the most direct affect on their futures.

The involvement of children at this level of beauracracy engages them as authors of personal and others' histories, as biographers and translators not only narrating their own lives but also the lives of others. Without suggesting that the end products are complete works of fiction, they appear at least to tell the truth about lying, and as such are simultaneously constructions and deconstructions of identity.

Regardless of how 'true' their representations of themselves are or become, the chaotic and traumatic events of the past are conceptually ordered through acts of re-creation and reconstruction so as to fit the criteria thought most likely to grant them what they want. Although the child's role is not absolutely central to the constructions of such pasts they are nevertheless involved at crucial levels of translation, through group sharing, and in the exchange of ideas.

Implicit in the written and verbal reconstructions of the past is the difference between imagined pasts and imagined futures. The effort to bridge these through believable 'presents' is one which combines the labour of both children and adults. Their co-dependency is not just family involvement for the sake of it but a practical means of bureaucratic resolution, the production of coherence, similar to Norindr's recollection of an American newspaper's account of his own asylum application, transforms

a complex and composite identity collage into a readable "narrative of personal experience (Said "Yeats" 26). As information was collected and gleaned from various and quite different sources - a petition filed for political asylum and other INS forms, a personal interview, and word of mouth reputation - representation came together to impart what passed as "knowledge" (Norindr in Bammer 1994:239).

It is interesting that the child is a participant in accounting for the lack of a father, or in the persecution of their family which may or not be true but nevertheless increases the chances of the rest of the family being granted asylum, and of attaining 'a future'.

Also, these official narratives are not simply accounts and histories of persecution but interpretations, intended to persuade. The interpretation that to jettison one's father, for example, will increase one's chances of asylum is an accurate one. The fatherless child is deemed sufficiently vulnerable to be given urgent and prior consideration by immigration departments. This accounts for the existence of a group of four children three young boys and their 16 year old sister being sent alone to Greece by their parents in the hope it would increase their chances of gaining official refugee status.

Narratives account for the experiences children have in their everyday lives. Although each images a unique self and although each narrative emerges from a unique set of circumstances, it is manifestly the case that narrative generally is a means of expression which unites the self to a wider social, spatial, and temporal world.

Louis uses it to discuss his choices in identifying between two separate communities, Amalia, Spiro and Michael find it best accounts for the complexity of their homes; and the Iraqis find it is both a practical means of linking themselves to a future and an imaginative route to the past which justifies their pursuit of that future.

I would like to suggest that communities, homes and futures together represent a typology of 'place', tied to which are ideas of identity. Massey (in Bammer 1994:118) argues that the identity of place is a notion of identity that crucially hinges on the further notion of articulation, and that (citing Mouffe in Ross [ed.] 1988:35) individuals recall themselves as "subjects constructed at the point of intersection" . Massey continues:

> if places are conceptualised in this way and also take account of the construction of the subjects within them, which help in turn to produce the place, the identity of place is a double articulation (Massey in Bammer 1994:118)

Identity is intimately tied up with such conceptualised, constructed 'places', imagined or otherwise, articulated through narrative and movement, and narratives *of* movement. I will return to this later.

PART 3

ETHNOGRAPHY AND COMMUNICATION: LANGUAGE, LOCATIONS, AND THE EMBODIMENT OF IDENTITIES

Preamble Introduction to Part 3

> The requisite knowledge includes not only rules for communication (both linguistic and socio-linguistic) and shared rules for interaction, but also the cultural rules and knowledge that are the basis for the context and content of communicative events and interaction processes (Saville-Troike 1989 [1982]).

Social life is mediated through communication: linguistic and non-linguistic. All collective and some aspects of individual life are managed through it. The ethnography of communication addresses and underlines the essential quality of this management, including anthropological knowledge itself.

These issues are addressed in connection with the points made at the beginning about identity and agency and are brought together in a closer analysis here. Communication is the way in which social agency is effected and part of how identities are forged, tested, consolidated, and changed. There is a greater emphasis here however on individual identities rather than cultural (collective) ones. This reflects the importance of the individual within culture or within a particular cultural tradition, and forces us to consider, in minute detail how the child forges an identity, a self, a place and role, in the world.

This section provides evidence and analysis of the individual child as an agent in its own right, a creator of its own world, through a range of different

communicative techniques. By imbibing the techniques of those with whom it comes into contact, the child learns to 'blend' different socio-cultural aspects yet, also, to challenge and personalise them. This process forms a personal dialectic of sameness and difference (cf. James 1994:140-3) within and between different socio-cultural contexts, and pushes toward the creation and defining of a unique multicultural self.

Cohen (1994) focuses on the 'self' in order to "illuminate society" (ibid:22). The complexity inherent within cultures, as well as between them, Cohen argues, is explainable by recourse to the complex individuals that make them up. Simply put, he holds that as anthropologists we can only fully understand and appreciate culture if we turn our attention to the individuals who create it. This, he is at pains to point out, is not a regression into "psychologism" but the study of a process which is thoroughly interactive and therefore social.

The atom of culture, for Cohen, is 'self consciousness'. And, until the complexities of this are explored, at least insofar as they affect other consciousnesses, then we cannot do justice to culture. Cohen invokes the traditional dichotomy between self-direction and social determinism (p.23 ff.) to underline the dual nature of identity. These are akin to the 'agency' and 'structure' highlighted by James and Prout in the introduction. Cohen argues that traditional sociology and anthropology have preoccupied themselves with social determinism over self direction or, of structure over agency. This preoccupation is unjustifiable since it is individual selves which generate structures in the first place, and it undermines the individual's ability (agency) to alter structural arrangements. Far too little attention has been paid to agency and the creativity of the self, Cohen argues, and therefore social analysis is the worse off for it.

Another significant contribution to the issue has come from James (e.g. 1986, 1993) and is particularly relevant for this thesis. James discusses childhood identity and agency and has shown how, within different age-

groups, from four year-olds to adolescents, there is a striving for conformity to what children consider to be the norm for their age group. Yet, particularly in older children, there is also the striving for individual difference from others within that age group. Contextually conceived sameness and difference among and between different age-groups provide the means with which to establish a distinctive sense of self and other.

Through time the processes of 'child-culture' permit the gradual displacement of a communal "us" (being the same) with a singular "me" (being the same but different) which poses the extremities of a social continuum along which children position themselves at different times and in different contexts.

The work of both Cohen and James provide a basis upon which to proceed with a discussion of communication as an expression of the self among the children. The examples are broad in range but are considered in specific contexts and situations. Chapter 5 then begins with an analysis of the use of language as both a socio-cultural form and also a means through which agency might be enacted, and thus individuality displayed. It shows how language plays a central role of communication in social life and may be considered an obvious point of access to considerations of identity: collective and individual. By close attention to particular social contexts I will describe the social processes which emerge and are affected as a result of these and consider their relevant theoretical implications.

Chapter 6 explains how bodily activity, from the slightest and subtlest of gestures to the physical occupation of different spaces and involvement in particular individual and collective activities, reveals aspects of social and cultural identity with which individuals engage. Bromley (1974:63 [cited in Banks 1996:21]) proposes that it is "activity" that sets people apart, quoting Lenin '[a]ll history is made up of the actions of individuals' . By assessing 'activities' in the daily lives of the children I intend to highlight and discuss

how the rehearsed and spontaneous adoption of certain communicative forms are instructive of the identities they choose to be.

CHAPTER 5

Language

> To talk through a self . . .is to bring it to life, for saying is doing. . .Through language, individuals become origins of action upon the universe and centres of experience within it (Rapport 1993:152).

Presently, Noam Chomsky (e.g. 1965, 1980) represents the most important figure in the study of linguistics. He believes that language is a part of psychology and his work reflects investigation of language 'universals' . This is evident from his emphasis on the technical features of language such as syntax. Chomsky, however, found the discipline of *socio*linguistics "obscure" (see Edwards 1994:x), because he felt that sociology lacked underlying explanatory principles and only that which stemmed from underlying principles and structures were worthy of research.

Critics of Chomsky accused him of restricting language to an asocial, sterile view which paid no attention to the uses of language in everyday life (see e.g. Wardhaugh 1986:10). Chomsky may well accept such criticisms on the basis of his mistrust of socially oriented studies. It is difficult however to sustain such criticisms absolutely since arguably both social and asocial approaches to language simply reflect different emphases. However, Chomsky can only research language insofar as it is public and therefore must assume some degree of sociality. What concerns him, and differentiates him from those who place greater emphasis on the situation in which it is

used, is the extent to which he can apply universal principles to it. This, by definition must ignore situational subtleties.

My own concern for language in the thesis is not, for its underlying principles but for its "situational subtleties". This stems not only from the anthropological tendency to address the social significance of words, language, and symbols in particular cultures, societies, and contexts in which they operate, rather than any general principles underlying them. It also stems from the mulitlingualism integral to the ethnographic contexts in which I participated. In other words, it would also be difficult and confusing to attempt to discuss the underlying principles of speaking several languages interchangeably.[30]

Most anthropological research on language has concentrated on monolingualism rather than bi or multilingualism. Nevertheless, other research has contributed significantly and have provided a number of approaches into the problem. For example, Swain (1972) refers to the acquisition of bilingualism as a 'first language'. Meisel (1990) discusses the idea of 'two first languages'. Padilla and Lindholme (1984) argue that we should speak of simultaneous acquisition of two languages only when a child has been exposed to two languages from birth. McLaughlin (1978) maintains that acquisition of more than one language up to age 3 should be considered simultaneously, but concedes the criterion is arbitrary.

The children included in the thesis do not (collectively at least) fit easily into these categories. Although some (Greek/British and Filipinos) may be exposed to 2 and 3 languages from birth (and even then perhaps not with equal intensity). The other group, the refugees, acquire a second language after they arrive in Greece, which in some cases supplants the original one over time.

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[30]On the other hand it may provide stimulus and justification for underlying principles in that they are so interchangable.

Following Harding and Riley (1986:47-8) Romaine (1995:183-205) classifies what she calls 'main types' of bilingualism into five separate categories. In summary, her argument is a variation on the linguistic roles of 'parents', the 'community', and 'strategy', in relation to the child. I have linked the examples to these categories where appropriate and explained how they are relevant.

This chapter seeks to address the following questions: What are multilingual contexts? How do they work? Who participates in them? What difference does being multilingual, as opposed to monolingual make, and, more fundamentally, what sense of identity is derived from it?

Different examples will be discussed in turn, beginning with the Filipino children. Each raises central questions about the relationships between language, context, and identity. The uses of two, three, and even four languages are combined with the complexities of contextual shifts and code-switching ('code-switching' is that which Gumperz (1982:59) has defined as "the juxtaposition within the same speech, exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems"), and which McClure (1974) defines as the most important feature in determining language choice and in turn the 'salience' of identity choice (cited in Saville-Troike 1989:226).

It is not my intention to examine these in their technical and cognitive detail but to comment rather on their social significance. That is, the social contexts and arrangements from which they emerge, and to which they contribute.

Filipino children

Kiethlyn and Louis, discussed earlier, relate closely to the bi-lingual "type 3" ('non-dominant home language without community support') of Harding and Riley's classification (cited in Romaine 1995 [1989]:183 ff.), wherein the

parents share the same language but the dominant language of society is not that of the parents, and where the parents speak their own language to the child.

Filipino children show the capability to use not just two languages but three (Filipino, English, and Greek). To some extent the first two are already mixed. Although *Tagalog* was proclaimed the national language of the Philippines in 1937, and was renamed 'Pilipino' in 1959; the 1973 constitution made both English and Pilipino official (see Edwards 1994:137). The third is added as children grow up in Greece. This suggests that an additional "type 6" of bilingual classification (Romaine 1995:185) is applicable: where the parents are bilingual, where sectors of the community may also be bi-lingual, and where parents code-switch and mix languages themselves. This is specifically the case of the first example used below - Yannie.

There is evidence that all three languages are used by Filipinos, not only in single conversations but in single sentences (intrasentential code-switching cf. Saville -Troike ibid:60-1) particularly by adults who are well aware of the differences between them yet, out of habit, combine them. For example, the following exchanges took place in the home of Yannie who is 5, between him (Y), his mother (M), his auntie (F), his godmother (V) and myself (I), translations are in parentheses:

Y Tita (auntie) Fhe, I'm hungry.

F Piges sto kouzina, kai pes sto Mama sou. (Greek). [Go to the kitchen and speak to your mother].

Y Mama, Gutom na ako. (Filipino) [Mama, I'm hungry]

M Ti thelies, Yannie? (Greek) [What do you want Yannie?]

Y Kanin at itlog (Filipino) [Rice and eggs]

A few minutes later V speaks to Yannie:

V Layo diyan baka ikaw ay matuladsikan nang mantika (Filipino) [Go away because the oil might splash on you].

Y (leaves the kitchen and sits next to his auntie - F) Tita Fhe, Gusto mong kumain? (Filipino) [Auntie Fhe are you hungry?] Rizi kai avga (Greek) [Rice and eggs?].

F Dthen thelo (Greek) [I don't want any.]

YTito Michael, Are you hungry? Do you want rice and eggs?

I That sounds very nice but I'm not hungry, thankyou.

Y (Goes back into the Kitchen and speaks to his mother) Mama, telios se? (Greek) [Mama, are you finished?]

M Sandali lamang. (Filipino) [Just a minute.]

A few minutes later Yannie comes out of the kitchen with his plate of rice and eggs.

Y (Shouts) Mama, thelo me nero. (Greek) [Tr. I want some water.]

M (brings water)

After his food Yannie sits down. I start asking him about his day at school. He shows me his school book. After this he starts tweaking my nose in fun, and laughing. I respond in kind, he laughs again.

F Tutoi Yannie, stop it. (Then to M) Ate Rhenie, tingnan mo si Yannie. (Filipino) [Look what he's doing.]

M Tutoi Yannie, Katse Kala (Greek) [Yannie, behave.]

Y (Sulks, then asks) Tito Michael, do you want to watch my Peter Pan video?

The first words are Filipino but the sentence is finished in English. Yannie's auntie responds in Greek, which he clearly understands. Yannie repeats the statement to his mother, this time in Filipino, his mother responds in Greek by asking what he wants. Yannie answers in Filipino. Yannie's godmother, Vicky, tells him to leave the kitchen in Filipino. In Filipino, Yannie then asks auntie Fhe if she is hungry, then finishes the sentence in Greek. Coming to Tito Michael[31] he asks the same question in English. He goes back to the kitchen and asks his mother, in Greek, if she has finished cooking. She answers in Filipino this time. Later he asks for water in Greek.

The example shows sentences which in themselves are linguistically consistent but which may be responded to in a different language. Thus, Yannie begins the exchange by making his hunger known in English; he is responded to in Greek and instructed to see his mother; he does so, but repeats his statement in Filipino; whereupon his mother responds to him in Greek. The exchange continues in a similar vein throughout.

One of the central questions about code-switching is whether the user recognises the technical differences between the different languages, or rather just associates them with particular people. In this example, Yannie does not use the same language with the same person all the time, which suggests that his experience of language is one that is well and truly mixed and not one which necessarily associates a certain language with a particular person. However, it cannot be assumed that he does not know the difference between Filipino, Greek, and English, since he answered positively that he did and could speak consistently in any.

Yannie merely 'mixes' out of habit and in contexts in which it is appropriate, but separates them if this is also necessary. This indicates the extent of Yannie's "communicative repertoire" (Gumperz 1977), in his awareness of the "varieties . . .or styles used in a particular socially-defined

[31]Because of my romantic involvment with Tita Fhe I am referred to as 'Tito (uncle) Michael"

population and the constraints which govern the choice among them" (cited in Saville-Troike ibid: 49).

The terms used by Yannie in addressing his auntie - "Tita", and his uncle "Tito", show traditional Filipino respect to related elders, and conversations with them are usually initiated with these terms. Even adults use formal terms when addressing someone more senior, as in the example where "auntie's" address of her older sister is "Ate". Filipino terms of address may also be mixed with the remainder of a sentence which may be in Greek or English.

It is interesting that 'respect', which forms a particularly important part of Filipino inter-personal exchange, is conveyed through a Filipino term whereas the rest of the sentence is continued in a language for which there are obvious corresponding 'respect' terms ('uncle' 'auntie'). So, even a sentence which is predominantly English or Greek may begin with a formal Filipino address. Although 'Tita', 'Tito', and 'Ate' are ascriptions of seniority, there are converse terms ascribing inferiority which are also conveyed through language: 'Tutoi' and 'Ining' are male and female terms of address, denoting 'little boy' and 'little girl' respectively. These would normally be used by a parent or older sibling and prefix a younger person's name, hence: "Tutoi Yannie". Thus, social positioning and authority are confirmed and perpetuated with the Filipino language.

Switching from one language to the other both in and between sentences is not uncommon in this family, but even more complex examples are evident where mixing <u>within</u> sentences occurs (intrasentential code-switching). An example of this took place in the supermarket, all the same people were present except V:

F Yannie, grigora (Greek) kumuha nang (Filipino) basket (English) [Tr. Yannie, hurry, and bring a basket]

Y(brings basket)

F Efharisto. (Greek) Thankyou]

M To Yannie Me paris poli chocolata. (Greek) [Don't take so much chocolate].

Y Kaunti lamang (Filipino) [Just a few], Afto einai poli orea (Greek) [This (the chocolate) is delicious].

M, F, and I leave Yannie at the chocolate counter and walk on . . .

I Come on Yannie, you'll get lost. (Yannie runs towards us).

Y Thelo alo biscuit (Greek) [I want another biscuit]. Dadalhin ko sa (Filipino) [I will take it to. . .] school (English) avrio (Greek) [tomorrow.

M Ela Yannie, (Greek) Wala nang pera (Filipino) Alepora (Greek) [Come Yannie, I don't have money. Next time].

At 5 years old Yannie seems a little more consistent in his use of language and does not mix his own sentences quite as much as the adults around him. This may have to do with his formal training at school and the distinctive teaching of English and Greek as separate disciplines. Mixing therefore may simply occur through habitual use over a longer period of time.

Filipino children and their parents seem to be able to use a single language consistently and in any given situation. For example, I was spoken to in straight English, other Filipinos were spoken to either in straight Filipino or mixed, and Greeks were spoken to in straight Greek. "Communicative competence" (Hymes 1966) in the contexts Yannie occupies therefore is not just knowing a language code but is also knowing what to say to whom and how.

However, just because a child may be fluent in more that one language, or switch rapidly from one language to another, does not make them totally

competent in the cultures normally corresponding to those languages (see e.g. Fishman 1980). A complete switch of rules as to how language is used is different from just speaking the language. This would simply identify the speaker as bilingual and not necessarily bicultural. But Yannie's use of Greek hand gestures and the appropriateness of other communicative expressions which will be discussed later, I believe, force us to appreciate how culture is not something which is external, something 'out there' to be possessed in greater or lesser quantities but is embodied appropriate to the social contexts which are occupied.

There are some similarities of this 'appropriation' with the children of the other groups. For example, Electra (the Greek/British girl) who uses Greek in one part of the house and English in another part (see p. 89 ff.); and Martin the Iraqi boy who uses Arabic in the home, Greek on the street, and English in the Refugee Centre (see p. 95 ff.).

Although Yannie also speaks confidently on the phone in any of the three languages available to him, it seems that his expertise is purely verbal. He is, as yet, without the same level of versatility in writing. This emerges as a more important issue later as with Keithlyn (8):

> "When I'm writing I mix up the letters. I know the Greek letters but I mix them up with the English ones. . .in my language (Filipino) there is (sic) the same letters for English, but the Greek is different, so I get mixed. (laughs) . . .My father makes me write some things in Filipino. . . But I want to write Greek all the time . . .so I can practice. . .My friends at school don't speak Filipino.

Keithlyn is responding to a question about the problems of having to learn three different ways of writing. Unlike the liberal mixing involved in talking, the same flexibilities cannot be extended to writing. One cannot simply "mix

the letters" and expect to be understood as if one were talking. This compares with Ferguson's (1959) discussion of 'diglossia' who initially used it to refer to speakers' use of two or more varieties of the same language, each under different conditions. He proposed that languages have both a 'high' and a 'low' variety, equivalent to formal and informal usage. Writing and a 'literary heritage' is of the high variety but not of the low, and, as such, does not entertain standardised inconsistency in vocabulary and grammar. It seems clear that Keithlyn is confronted by precisely this: despite being able to mix and switch language/s (though in the home is not permitted the same linguistic freedom as Yannie), she sees that it cannot work with writing.

Moreover, Keithlyn and her parents relate the learning of writing to belonging: Keithlyn shows a reluctance to write Filipino by countering her father's authoritative request with "But I want to write Greek. . ." a desire justified by the fact that her "friends don't speak Filipino". Keithlyn's sense of social alienation is experienced through literacy or rather the lack of it. This further questions the extent to which one can belong to a culture simply by speaking its language fluently. The 'culture' to which Keithlyn desires to belong is very much a literary one (school), and one in which its 'correct' learning is rewarded formally and informally. It is not so much a question of one or the other but of the different modes of belonging which each provides and supports. One can belong as a communicator of spoken language, but to 'belong' in the context of the school requires its written form too. This extends not only to passing exams but to filling in forms, and getting a job etc.

For Keithlyn, belonging and identity are explicit factors in language learning: written and spoken. The point is also to do with group identity and the choice between respective Filipino and Greek communities (cf. Saville-Troike ibid:60).

Belonging through writing may or may not be as strong as through speaking but it carries a more concentrated requirement of (as Keithlyn puts

it) "practice". The written word also provides interesting comparisons in the other two groups where the Iraqi Martin discovers he can no longer write Arabic as well as he writes English, and where Greek/British children find their written homework a challenge to their mother's authority and a medium of subordination. These will be discussed more later in their appropriate contexts.

Moving back to spoken language, it was during a gathering of friends organised by her mother, that Keithlyn spent almost the entire evening speaking Greek with a Greek kindergarten teacher (who teaches at the Filipino playschool). Although her mother understands Greek very well she prefers Keithlyn to speak to her in Filipino in the home and Keithlyn is well aware of this. The following exchange illustrates how, despite being spoken to in Filipino by her mother, Keithlyn defies her mother and continues in Greek. Keithlyn (K), Teacher (T) Mother (M).

T Ti na kanies sto skolieo simera; (What did you do at school today?)

K Egrapsa poli. . . Mathematiki. (I wrote a lot. . .Mathematics.)

T Pios sou aresi poli; (Which do you like the most?)

K Mathematiki. (Mathematics)

T Yiati; [Why]?

K Yiati me grapso einai poli diskolo. (Because writing is difficult).

M (shouts from the kitchen in Filipino) Ining Keithlyn.

K (responds in Greek) Ela Mama (Yes Mama)

M Dalhin mo sa lamesa (Take in this plate)

K (goes to the kitchen and brings in the plate) Pou tha vazo to piato. Then boro na. . .(Where will I put the plate? I can't. . .)

M [Comes in and looks disparagingly at Kiethlyn for speaking Greek] Ilagay mo dine (Put it here) [makes a space on the table]

K [looks sheepishly back, returns to the teacher. Continues conversation in Greek - quietly].

Keithlyn's effort to stake a claim for herself as a competent Greek, takes advantage of the situation in which a native speaker is present. The native is the Greek teacher at 'Munting Nayon' the playschool which Keithlyn's younger sister (5) attends. Keithlyn chooses not to break from her Greek 'flow' and responds to her mother in Greek.

Although generally the use of language is contextual, i.e. Greek is used at school and Filipino in the home, this example demonstrates how space is further subject to contextual subtleties. Keithlyn exploits an opportunity for that dimension of herself which would otherwise remain largely unexpressed at home. This compares again with Ferguson's (ibid.) 'diglossia' in which the 'high' language variety is usually that which is learned at school, and 'low' which is learned at home. The presence of a native Greek speaker overrides the normal (tacit) rules of the house as far as Kiethlyn is concerned, and permits a context in which she defies her mother and experiments with an alternative - the one normally reserved for school. Whilst not exactly a 'punishable' offence, Kiethlyn is well aware that her parents prefer her to speak to them in Filipino in the home. Effectively, Kiethlyn experiments with her parents' authority precisely by using Greek. The presence of a native Greek speaker in the space of the home makes the experiment both possible and viable.

Kiethlyn demonstrates the kind of limited single-mindedness evident also in children of Greek/British parents of similar age in the use of one language and the refusal of another. In both of these groups language is used in the context of, and in opposition to, the mother and "mother" tongue, though contextuality and intensity differ since Kiethlyn reverts back to Filipino soon after the Greek teacher leaves.

Kiethlyn speaks Filipino with her mother again. Moments earlier she had responded to her mother in Greek, which she may well have been corrected for had there been no Greek company. Keithlyn continued in Greek with her younger sister, out of earshot of her mother. This choice to speak Greek to her sister displays the awareness of being a child among other children. Keithlyn's younger sister is a 'safe bet' with whom to continue in Greek. A 'child among other children' is again reminiscent of Allison James' point about culture among children (1993:95), and in what she describes as, paraphrasing Geertz (1975:50), "the child's understanding of the world".

> the culture of childhood is enabling - providing children with a sense of belonging to a group of children - it also constrains the ways in which that sense of belonging is achieved and experienced. Children only gradually get to know and grasp the subtleties of the conceptual structures which inform their experience of the social world; just so their identities emerge slowly, to be tried and tested out in the company, largely, of other children (James 1993:95-6).

The assertion of a 'Greek' Kiethlyn, trying out the social and linguistic bridges and boundaries around her, testifies to the social permeations which are possible in certain places at certain times. Yet this only becomes apparent when we take seriously the notion of child agency, and children as capable of creating their own contexts of interaction not only among themselves but also over and against adults. Linguistic experimentation as illustrated here is not simply 'showing off' but the testing of viable social possibilities in certain contexts.

The illustration is suggestive of 'who' Kiethlyn is, of which aspects of herself she is conscious in certain circumstances. Kiethlyn, by stretching the contextualities of language and space, demonstrates a challenged and

challenging self-assertion of her own, hybrid uniqueness. Surprisingly, the example is also at odds with the experience of Yannie in the home whose parents show absolutely no objection to his use of Greek. Observation among other Filipino families suggests however, that this is more an idiosyncratic phenomenon than a standard age differentiation.

Different attitudes to different language usage within the same cultural group rest upon their social and contextual conventions and subtleties and which in turn may derive from the particularities of power and status relationships among the speakers. But at the level of inter and intralinguistic variation individuals may have strong, personal ideas about 'good' and 'bad', 'correct' and 'incorrect' words, grammar, and pronunciation, or about the 'contamination' of one language by another (cf. Fischer 1958, Frender et al 1970,). But as Edwards clearly puts it:

> In a way, both intralinguistic and interlinguistic anxieties are expressions of a larger issue, one that is powerful precisely because it possesses emotional and symbolic qualities - the relationship between language (or dialect) and individual and group identity (1994:146).

This point is evident in an older age bracket, where Louis' (15) experience of parental disapproval and linguistic assertiveness are recalled as points in his own history and as aspects of belonging.

> I speak Filipino, Greek, English, whatever I want. It depends on the situation. I don't mind which language I speak, but before I just wanted to speak Greek. That upset my mother and father but I didn't care. . .I don't know, I just wanted to speak Greek. . .But now I don't mind. . .If my friends come to the house I speak to them in Greek of course. And then when my father speaks to me or my mother, we speak Filipino. No

> problem. Now I don't think about it. But before I did. It was embarrassing then . . .

Louis shows a clear preference for Greek at a particular age - "I just wanted to speak Greek" - His comments extend the temporal dimension of the experiences of Yannie and Kiethlyn and, as such, enable him to compare his own transition and the diminishing importance of linguistic boundaries: "Now I don't think about it. But before I did. It was embarrassing then".

Apart from being a narrative of linguistic usage, Louis' comments are also feelings about group association (cf. Saville-Troike ibid.: 200) and the different 'points' in the history of who he experiences himself to be at particular times. They are marked with its most intense feelings, at least insofar as they are recalled from the perspective of the present. Louis 'talks' through the selves that were and are conscious to him.

It is important to mention that among ordinary Greek children the formal learning of English (or any other foreign language) does not seriously begin until 13 or 14 where lessons may continue until the student has reached 17 or 18. So, on one level it might be argued that using English among peers between these ages for either Greek/British teenagers or Filipinos becomes a more acceptable language than it might have been two years or so earlier. On another level this is also about 'sameness', except this time it is the 'sameness' to speak English rather than just Greek.

Louis' previous embarrassment but present conciliation finds support in Lambert's (1979:186) comments on the dynamic relationship between language and identity:

> one can become confused about one's personal identity, or begin to behave as though one actually were inadequate and inferior. As these sentiments spread through a social system, members of the system may be prone to

give and accept one's 'inferior' fate, at the same time as they ready themselves to counter-react in the sense of rejecting the accepted image of one's group, starting often with an exploration of the opposite view - that one's own group is as good if not better than the high prestige group. As the counter reaction gains social force, the relative attractiveness and status of the two or more ethno-linguistic groups in the society can change.

This discussion of Filipino children of different ages highlights how identity choices are made and expressed through the use of language in different ways and at different times in their lives. Although school and home provide the basic spatial domains of language use, in the case of the home at least, this space itself is subject to varying contextual conditions. Yannie experiences a fairly permeable boundary between different languages in the home. The family members around him commonly use a mixture of Filipino and English. This is further combined with Greek. There are little in the way of sanctions and prohibitions over which languages should and should not be used. This renders his linguistic agency at least, unstifled and thoroughly dynamic.

This contrasts sharply with Kiethlyn who is expected to use only Filipino in the home. While this is already mixed with English words, Greek is less permissible, other than for homework and writing practice. Keithlyn's linguistic boundaries are therefore less permeable. Her efforts to make them moreso are made in contexts she deems 'safe' to experiment in.

Louis' narrative is one of personal history and how language, and feelings towards language, are combined with his relationships towards his parents and friends respectively (see p.112 ff.). Although Yannie arguably experiences multi-lingualism as an unconscious bridge between himself and others and to

self expression, Kiethlyn and Louis experience it far more as a boundary through which they need to pass in order to assert themselves.

Language then cannot be reduced simply to 'cultural attitude' or rather "the attitude of Filipino families to language" but must be explored in its unique and particular examples. Language and the use of language varies, as Montgomery states:

> . . .not just according to who we are but also according to the situation in which we find ourselves. . .[. . .] any given instance of language is inextricably bound up with its context of situation. . .different types of situation require us to handle the language differently. (1986:101).[32]

Greek/British Children

Among the Greek/British families the use of only two languages compares most closely with "type 1" of Harding and Riley's (1986: 47-8) classification (i.e. 'one parent - one language') where: the parents have different native languages with each having "some" degree of competence in the others language; the language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community, and, where the parents speak their own language to the child from birth.

Parents Pat and Taki made a decision from the outset to speak to their child (Vassilis) in their own native languages (such 'plans' are not always

[32]It seems probable there are attitudes on the part of both children and their parents which are compatible with certain ages (of the children), but a much broader (perhaps numerical) study would have to be made to be more clear on the extent of this. There does seem to be a relative rigidity of 'bounding' by both adult and child from the ages 8 - 12, whereas before and after this a greater flexibility exists. Whilst this implies some kind of developmental process it is not intented strictly as such, but rather as a tentative record of the relationship between age, context, and language use.

made but sometimes just assumed). Although they maintained that Vassilis did not separate the words in his vocabulary. They also believed that he knew that one was Greek and the other English.

Relevant to this, Taeschner (1983:23) stresses the importance of bilingual children's acquisition of synonyms and semantic fields and how children must learn to generalise across them. Only when they are able to do this do they realise they are dealing with two different languages, and that names for things are arbitrary.

Vassilis continued using separate languages with each parent but also occasionally inserts Greek words into English sentences and vice versa. His parents claim that when he was 4 he was able to translate between them, changing 'vlep' to 'clean' and 'gipedo' to 'football pitch'. Mixing was limited to nouns and verbs and did not extend to more complex grammatical phrases.

Among the Greek/British children, as with the Filipinos, language use is contextual and subject to age, place, who is and is not present etc. Similarly, there are key issues of identity and boundary-maintenance which are served and disputed in and through these contexts and through the languages which are part of them.

As is the case for the Filipinos, there is the fundamental spatial division of school and home. Greek is almost invariably spoken at school, the home however, is more contested and therefore more complicated.

To begin with, children of pre-school age, not surprisingly, are forced to conform to parental preferences as to which language they use. Which, perhaps, aims to influence the child's early experience by exposing them to particular linguistic settings. One mother explains:

> We (group of British mothers) decided to start our own playschool . . .because these were the early days and we didn't want them (children) too Greek. . .we wanted to keep all our British identity. . .we didn't want our

children growing up speaking only Greek, or not fluent English. So we started our own playschool with other English-speaking children.

The establishment of an institution for the very purpose of language -learning is a fairly radical 'bounding' of a linguistic community, and an effort to hang on to those culture traits deemed vulnerable to extraneous forces (languages) beyond it. Many mothers believed this would ensure better English fluency later in childhood. A few offered anecdotal evidence of "others" who had insisted, after the fact, that this was so. There appeared little concern for their development of Greek at this stage since it was commonly believed they would "pick it up anyway".

Some parents sent their children to Greek playschools, or both Greek and English playschools on alternate days. Jackie made other arrangements with her friends:

> We used to have a Friday night party for our children so they would all speak to each other in English. It was fine when it started but as soon as they started the main school they all changed and began speaking Greek with each other.

Parental planning philosophies underlying these strategies suggest the desire for their children to understand and speak their (mother's) language. They also suggest the tension between this and the practical necessity to learn Greek. It is arguable that the playschool is more about keeping the mothers happy than the children, since it permits them the possibility of holding onto and passing on their own pasts. For, if their children became, as they say "too Greek" then this possibility would be at risk[33].

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[33]This links with the earlier discussion on parental pasts in Reflections on Parental Displacement (see p 67 ff.).

The comments imply the parental tendency to depict the child in respect of their 'futures'. This tendency is addressed by Jenks (in Brannen and O'Brien 1995:15) who maintains that:

> The metaphoricity through which the discourse of childhood speaks is predicated on the absent presence of a desired tomorrow; with 'growth', 'maturation', and 'development' writ large at the level of individual socialisation, and 'pools of ability', and a concern with the 'wastage of talent' . . .we have, in modernity, dreamt of futures. . .(Jenks ibid.:15).

In other words, the planning of the child's linguistic future lies at the heart of these strategies and in ways that do not necessarily reflect the practical educational needs of the child itself in the present. They are more often 'futures' laid out in terms of parental convenience.

However, the achievement of bilingualism is invariably seen as a positive outcome both by (older) children and their parents, but there is also the potential to see its process as problematic (see e.g. Hornby [ed.] 1977). The combination of languages and the mixing of foreign words into Greek or English sentences was limited to the infrequent verb or noun and does not constitute the extent of code-switching and mixing evident among the Filipinos. This may have to do with the permanency of the Greek/British families in Greece and the comparative temporariness of the Filipinos. It may also be related to the greater linguistic and cultural flexibility of the Filipinos. Nevertheless, Vassilis, for example, occasionally mixed words from both English and Greek: "I will *vlep* (clean) my teeth"; "It's a *gipedo* (football pitch)"; "*Tha Kliesto* (I will close) the door". Indeed, Vassilis at the age of 8, adds to this linguistic confusion in a more general way by identifying himself in the following example as "all mixed up". Myself (M), Vassilis (V), Father (F):

M Where does your Mum come from?

V From England

M And where does your Daddy come from?

V Greece

Mi If your Mum comes from England and Daddy comes from Greece, where do you come from?

V (hesitates) mmm. . .I don't know

F You're both aren't you?

V Yes I'm both. . .I'm all mixed up (laughs).

With a little prompting from his father, Vassilis discerns that he is a combination of identities, adding "all mixed up" to his father's definition of "both". The practical 'living out' of this extends into language when he moves between his mother and father addressing each in either or both languages. The self-ascription of "all mixed up" is almost identical to Keithlyn's (the Filipina girl) experience of learning Greek and Filipino writing. Both use the term "mixed" and both find the self-definition, or at least the unarticulated, imagined implications of it amusing (see 'Introduction').

As has been said, even young children begin to show a linguistic sensitivity to the demands of different social contexts and assert themselves in response to them. Yet it is not until later (as in the 8 - 12 age category) that children's sensitivities to the wider social aspects of this become apparent. In the mother's experience this can take deeply humiliating forms such as that undergone by Yvette, of being asked (or rather rhetorically asked and thereby insulted) by her daughter as to why she was "so stupid" since she couldn't speak Greek as well as her daughter. Her child shows awareness of a crucial difference between herself and a "stupid" mother, and confronts her with it; mother is a liability, embarrassingly unacceptable.

"Stupid" is not just an accurate description of how the child perceives this but an assertion of self, a frustrating, perhaps violent, fictive definition of someone who is, but ought not to be, 'other'. It is a metaphor which, in Hastrup's words, is a "device allowing people to mean more than they can say, and perhaps more than they mean. . ." (1995:27).

The child's decision to label and exclude her 'foreign' mother from the area of the school is effectively the establishment of a boundary of exclusion. A differentiation between the child and her mother in the context of the school area. The "stupid" (in this case Yvette), are kept safely at bay in an effort to maintain not just linguistic and peer purity, but more especially a social respect in relation to those peers. The verbal label and therefore 'act' of exclusion confirms that the child-agent wields considerable power in certain linguistic domains and hence shows that he or she is intimately implicated in the day-to-day making and taking of roles and in establishing, confirming, and altering relations.

Similarly, the examples offered by parents whose children refused to speak to them in English at a certain age (rather than just a certain place) raise questions of other dominating and manipulative influences. This is shown through examples in which children openly admit to laughing at their mother's inept Greek, both in the company of their Greek peers and even when they are absent. Linguistic incompetence does render mother socially different, unable to partake at the same level, her efforts to do so are humorous, particularly so if she is guilty of a *faux pas*.

By way of illustration, Pat explains how her children laughed and teased when she wanted to say that a cake she had made was very soft. Instead of 'malako' (soft) she said 'malaka' which translated is equivalent to the intensity of the insult 'arsehole'.

> They just laughed and laughed. . . I knew I'd said it but it just slipped out. Actually, I knew the word already because Taki (husband) had told me ages ago . . . It was just a sort of slip. . .there are a few words that just sound the same and if you don't say them right you've had it. But they just went on about it all the time. They told their friends and everything. . .they didn't care how they embarrassed me.

Unlike Yvette, Pat is not ignorant, just unskilled. Her mistake, she confesses, was simply a "slip", the first recognition of which is the laughter of her children (two boys 11 and 12). Yet this "slip" is held up for ridicule and broadcasted. Such ritual 'finger-pointing' turns a figure of authority into one of fun and ridicule. The simple slip of a tongue, empowers those who are expert to make an example of those (otherwise superior) who are not, particularly if it's an adult.

Also, pidgin Greek is deemed worthy of ridicule. Jackie explains the experience related to grammar difficulties she continues to have with conjugated verbs and her inclination to use English grammar forms with Greek words:

> They mimic my accent and repeat to each other my grammar mistakes in this sort of silly, mimicking voice. . .and laughing. Sometimes they don't even explain my mistakes, they say they can't be bothered and I would forget anyway. I do forget but the teasing is really awful.

This further illustrates the potential of power reversal that unskilled use of language may have. Mimicry of their mother's voice 'others' her as some kind of comical oddity, their laughing underlines this further. The children's reluctance to correct her mistakes may stem as much from laziness, as she sees it, as from a concerted effort to keep her ignorant. And her complaint

that the "teasing is really awful" sounds similar to what a child might complain of. Thus, through respective linguistic expertise the child may take on the authority normally reserved for an adult, and the adult has no choice but to assume the position of a child.

It seems many incompetent parents are held up as examples of ridicule, for example, Jennifer (14) speaks of when she was about "ten or eleven" when she would translate the payment procedures of utility bills to her mother, who, despite having paid such bills before,

> . . .never actually knew what they said. . .(laughing). And when we went shopping, sometimes she couldn't understand the people in the shop so I had to translate.

Her mother admits to "not understanding much". Jennifer also remembers at the same age deliberately confusing her Greek father by speaking to her brother (in her father's presence) with grammatically incorrect English combined with nonsense words.

> He (father) would look at us totally confused and ask what we were talking about, then we'd just collapse laughing, it was so funny. We could say loads of things - even swearing, but sometimes we didn't even understand each other. . .

Jennifer and her brother deliberately contrive their own incompetence, which contrasts sharply with the unintended incompetence of the 'foreign' adult in the previous examples. This deliberate gibberish serves a similar purpose to what Montgomery discusses as 'anti-language':

> This has two main consequences: it enhances the possibility for verbal play and display. . .and makes the anti-language especially impenetrable to outsiders. . .the sense of solidarity between members of the subculture is heightened and maintained; and their frequently illicit dealings can remain semi-confidential, even when conducted in even relatively public places such as the club bar or street. (1986: 95).

This is not dissimilar to the use of language explored by the Opies ([1959] 1977, 1969), and James (1993:160-1) whereby child culture is established and maintained, and is shown to be particularly prevalent in children's games. The demonstration of linguistic competence whether through genuine translation, teasing, or gibberish, accomplishes an inversion of the social hierarchy which is both entertaining and empowering as well as heightening a sense of (child) solidarity.

I have already commented on the importance of locating language within its social context of use, and have suggested how this can inform us of 'bounding' identity and behaviour in a way that conforms to structure and asserts agency. However, what has not yet been explored is the intentionality of language use (c.f. Vasques, Pease-Alvarez, Shanon, 1994:30).

Returning to language as an interactive process (rather than a tool to de-stabilise power relations) and in particular to the problem of 'choosing' language there is clearly deliberate intent in the examples so far discussed, a deliberate intent, that is, to change the social context in which the child is engaged. Each example so far cited has shown how this is achieved to the benefit of the child. However, there is also evidence that the use of a certain language may well occur involuntarily. Older children (13 -15) confirm the use of different languages (or words in the same sentence) in a way that is comparable with children much younger. Amalia (15) maintains:

I use the first words that comes out. . .Which ever words come into my mind. . .I don't really think about the difference. I'm just too lazy to use the right words in the right place. . .I don't go to my Dad and say "I'm going speak Greek now. Usually I speak Greek to him and sometimes I don't. . .and I usually speak English to mum because its easier. . .I don't know (shrugs) I just do it.

Premeditated language use and the exercise of prior choice renders such children not just technically bilingual and capable of choice, but as unthinkingly so and not necessarily conscious of exercising choice. This compares with comments recalled by Vasquez, et al (1994:30) in their study of a Mexicano community in the US where one 12 year old bilingual boy on the subject of 'choosing' language states "you don't know 'til you do it".

The authors raise the point in connection with linguistic 'choice' in a particular context. Although the choice is always available, it is not clear whether it is made before speaking, after it, (which would be absurd), or, whether a 'choice' is made at all. This reveals the problem of the level of consciousness about language choice prior to its actual use. The issue resounds within the problem of anthropological interpretation itself, in that it is debatable whether the choices people make about anything are deliberate or not, and the extent to which our interpretation depends on our particular reading of the field.

Patterns of language inevitably emerge from the interplay between different socio-linguistic contexts. Language use is fostered through participation in community life as manifested in the interactions among the social networks of kin, compatriots, and friends (cf. Velez-Ibanez and Greenburg 1992). As bilingual abilities increase in these circumstances so the child manifestly compresses the experiences of two into one whereupon the

linguistic divisions between them become unimportant and merely incidental to the social context.

Nevertheless, the need and desire to be linguistically flexible does not always remove choice even in the most mundane contexts. The choice to speak either Greek or English is however, in part influenced by whoever is listening, the location, and all the surrounding circumstances. The following illustration of this involves Amalia coming into the sitting room from her adjacent bedroom while her friend remained there ('M' indicates her mother):

A Mummy, then eho ta lefta (I don't have any money)

M Well I haven't got any.

Amalia . . .Pos Pliroume yia to video; (How are we going to pay for the video?) - goes to the table where there is some money.

M But that's yiayia's (grandmother's) five hundred there. You've got to get the yogurts too.

A Simera? (Today?)

M Yes. Anyway you haven't got the video yet. (It is paid for on return).

A . . .Avrio tha plirosoume kati. (We'll pay something tomorrow)

M Oh alright!

A. . . Emeis tipota; (We are skint?)

M Nai (yes)

A. . .Exo pente xiliades (I have 5000 drachma). (She didn't want to break into it)

M Well have a look in my purse . . . I think you'll find it in my room.

A Mama, Pou einai portofoli sou; (Mum, where is your purse?)

M In my black bag.

A Den Piraze, tha pliroume Avrio (Doesn't matter we'll pay it tomorrow)

M Until daddy comes back you'll have to wait

A Den Boroume na paroume ta lefta apo 'do; (Can't we take the money from here?)
M OK take that, and do it the other way around.
A Kai poté irthei tha tin vrisko (And when she comes I'll find her).

Amalia's conversation with her mother demonstrates that, although the person to whom the message is directed is her British mother, Greek is the chosen language (despite her earlier admission that she usually speaks to her mother in English). This cannot be used as an example entirely devoid of choice since Amalia is consistent for some time and therefore at least makes the choice to be consistent. Amalia's friend is also present but is not directly involved in the conversation.

The example shows the ease with which Amalia engages with her mother, in a cross-lingual exchange as she and her friend plan to rent a video. It involves a process of obtaining money and entails a procedure of financial negotiation where she attempts to avoid spending her own money, resolves to borrow someone else's (grandmother's) who is not there, and, whilst remaining unsure of whether she has to pay for the video before rental or after, decides to take the money there and then. Overall, the exchange alternates throughout from Greek to English depending on who is speaking and is regarded as not uncommon in the household.

Amalia's decision to communicate to her mother in Greek whilst her mother speaks English is surely due to the presence of her friend. But this rather glosses over the deeper issue of 'who' Amalia is in this context. By this I mean of whom is Amalia conscious? Who is she 'choosing' to be in this context? She chooses to speak Greek in her own home where the number of people whose first language is English is at least equal (greater if I include myself) to the number of those whose first language is Greek. Numerical predominance is clearly not a consideration in making that choice. The

'strength' of the presence of a peer suggests that is probably a more likely explanation. The self of which Amalia appears most conscious is not necessarily the one talking to her mother but the one listening to her in the bedroom. This further adds to Giles' et al (1973) (cited in Saville-Troike ibid.:203) point about modifying one's language to match that used by other speakers in an encounter, (and for a listeners' social approval), in that it poses the problem of two linguistically distinct listeners in the same encounter, yet where the one being directly addressed is so in a language not their own. Amalia's comments earlier, that she usually speaks English to her mother, are contradicted here and therefore supports the 'friend in the bedroom' theory.

Vasquez et al (ibid.) confirms a similar view in that research has also shown that the language experiences of children in bilingual communities are dominated by peer interactions (ibid.:47). This is also true of children in monolingual communities (e.g. see James 1986). However, this is not to deny the importance of the empowered self to make the linguistic choices I have been discussing, it is merely to put them in context. Neither is it to say that Amalia is at the mercy of her peer relations, rather it is to emphasise that she has a choice of how to relate in their presence, a choice which is exercised through her own agency.

Similar examples occurred in the presence of Amalia's father though here linguistic roles were reversed. After telling me how well he related with Amalia, her father gave examples of how they would often go to the beach together for a swim and suggesting that other Greek fathers find that their children would rather be with their friends. Amalia came in soon afterwards (F is father):

F Thelies na pas sto paralia? (Do you want to go to the beach?)

A (pauses, seems surprised) When?

F Tora. Mazi mou! (Now. With me!)

A (pauses, smiles) No, I can't. I'm going to see Varvara (friend).

F Oh. Isos argotera? (Oh. Maybe later?)

A Mm. . .I don't know. . .maybe (leaves the room)

F (calling after her in English now) We can take Varvara if you want.

A (No answer)

F (sounds reluctant?) Maybe.

In this example it is her father who speaks Greek to Amalia, and she who responds in English. Amalia's friend is now absent. It is therefore not inappropriate to speak English though it would seem quite appropriate to speak Greek. Amalia however chooses not to speak Greek, presumably with the understanding that it is unproblematic for her father to understand, and, perhaps because of my (an English speaker) own close proximity to the exchange. Nevertheless, it is arguable that Amalia demonstrates the ability to adapt to a linguistic context with irony.

The content of the exchange confounds Amalia's father of his theory about his relationship with his daughter who seems little interested in going to the beach with him. Indeed, she is surprised and even amused at the idea.

Begging momentary leave from a strict assessment of language, what is also interesting is the additional information conveyed and the reason Amalia gives for her refusal. Varvara, her friend, takes precedence over her father as a social companion thus confirming her integration into mainstream Greek 'youth' culture. This is interesting since Amalia seems a particularly shy girl, an impression confirmed by her brother and her parents, who expressed concern when she was younger that she might not integrate socially as a teenager because of her shyness. Yet even in one so apparently (and alegedly) shy, agency remains potent.

Examples of linguistic usage outside the company of other Greeks, where only British mother and child are together, show the experience of the

relationship between language and identity to be far more than just a 'social performance' in which a child can show its affiliation with other Greeks present. For example, only now, later in life, does Michael concede to speak to his mother in English. He acknowledges the difficulty he and his mother had, and may continue to have, but the following statement shows how he experienced his mother's dislike of him speaking Greek all the time, which simply had the effect of making him even more resolute:

> We used to argue about it (laughing) . . . I think when I was about 11 I just felt I was Greek and that was it. She couldn't accept it so that just made me even more . . .sort of Greek (laughs). It was really difficult, because, I suppose, I really didn't know who I was. . . Like at school, it was OK but when I came back home, changing to English was like . . . y' know I just wanted to speak Greek all the time. I could speak English, no problem I just didn't want to . . .I don't know why. Maybe it was just my friends or something. It's OK now though I'm not really bothered. . .I speak in English to her and that keeps her happy, but before . . .

This is an historical narrative about the contentious nature of language in Michael's life. "We used to argue about it" highlights the importance his use of the two languages had for each of them. His temporal distance from it now affords him the luxury of seeing it as humorous. He states his unequivocal 'feeling' of Greek-ness (at 11) - a 'feeling' his mother, apparently, was less inclined to accept. Yet he tempers this feeling by confessing that he really "didn't know who he was", and illustrates this by comparing school with home as linguistically separable spaces. That he just "didn't want to" speak English at home again underlines the importance of choice in language. Ultimately this is a choice of identity, the casual line "maybe it was my friends or something" is more than the vague possibility it sounds like, but is a

statement about "sameness", a statement about whom he identifies with. The completion of this linguistic 'history': "It's OK now I'm not really bothered", is reminiscent of Louis (Filipino) commenting on his own linguistic past, and appears to be reconciled to the consequences of using different languages in different contexts.

Much of this raises the question as to whether or not feelings are in fact judgements, whether emotions are actually choices? It also links with the point made earlier about not necessarily thinking about words before they are uttered, and the possibility of choice being unconscious (Saville-Troike 1989:203).

Michael also shows how contrasting linguistic usage affords him the privacy he desires whilst remaining in the company of those whom he wants to exclude. That is, he sometimes deliberately speaks Greek when his English speaking grandmother is around (she comes to see them on holidays) so that she can't understand what he's saying about her.

> I know it's cruel but sometimes she really annoys me when she's here. . . so I talk about her in Greek, so she hasn't got a clue what's going on. That makes my mother angry but she doesn't say anything at the time because then my grandmother knows I'm talking about her. And I speak English if I don't want yiayia (Greek grandmother) to understand. . .

Such secrecy, and the hidden world of the foreign language here shows power over both grandmother and mother, and the ability to control situations purely through language. This theme is also considered by Woolard (1987) and by Saville-Troike (ibid.:69). Unlike the possibility of 'unconscious' choices referred to earlier this may be tentatively suggested as an example of what Bourhis *et al.* (1979) describe as "a deliberate tactic of

ethnic disassociation and psychological distinctiveness" (cited in Saville-Troike (ibid.).

The experience of the Greek/British child shows how just one language can be central to both parental and child identity, unlike the Filipinos. The decisions of mothers to send their children to English-speaking kindergartens highlights the dilemma of, on the one hand, their desire to communicate with their child in their own language and, on the other, the needs of child to communicate with its peers now and later in life.

Older children are confronted with the power of language, and its social consequences, its potential to humiliate, negotiate, empower, to include, and exclude. Inextricably linked with this are the burgeoning questions of social and cultural identity, explicitly played out simply in the refusal to speak English.

Teenagers show expert[34] bilingual ability, a liberal approach to its uses and the appropriate contexts for maximising its potential. Largely absent in these older children is the stubbornness of the younger ones; present, on the other hand, is an attitudinal[35] flexibility and willingness not to consider it so crucially a part of social, cultural or personal identity.

Iraqi Refugees

Like some in the Filipino group, the Iraqis compare favourably with "type 3" of Harding and Riley's classification (in Romaine 1995 [1989] 183 ff.). This is where the parents share the same native language; where the dominant language is not that of the parents, and where the parents speak their own language to the child.

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[34] Appropriate to their age that is.

[35] An attitude that is which is no longer hostile to the use of English in the home, as was the case in younger years.

The Iraqi children show similar abilities to the Greek/British children and the Filipinos in turning to appropriate language use in different situations. Similarly, these situations can be divided spatially between that of the home and that beyond the home. Home is dominated by the familial mother tongue, whereas experiences outside it may involve the use of either Greek, English, or Arabic. Since we are already familiar with Funda and her family it would be as well to begin with her and her experience of language as a particular but major aspect of social life.

As has already been mentioned Funda's activities are not entirely, confined to the home. Indeed there are three 'spaces' where Funda is called upon to use a different language. The main language of Funda's family is Chaldean. This is largely an oral tradition with very few written examples, though one of which the family proudly possesses. This is a book containing the biblical letters of St. Paul. Of the whole family only the father is capable of reading the text, it is indecipherable to the others, though they are fluent in the verbal form of Chaldean.

Chaldean is the main language within the home and through which each member of the family communicates with the other. However, in certain circumstances it may not be the only one, as Funda's father explains:

> Our language is Chaldean and we always speak Chaldean in the house. . .but if our friends come then we speak Arabic because they don't speak Chaldean. . . Funda does not know Arabic very well, maybe a few words like "hello" or "goodbye". . or "thankyou". Only little words like this. Chaldean is not a writing (sic) [written] language it is only spoken. . .and when the others [Funda's siblings] went to school they learned Arabic. . .but in the house we speak Chaldean. Funda came to Greece before she went to school so she didn't learn the Arabic. So we help her to understand and tell her the Arabic words.

This condensed account from Funda's father alerts us to the potential for linguistic diversity within the home. Although the family's language is Chaldean, it is a minority one and even many of their Iraqi friends do not speak it. So, in addition to Chaldean, Funda is also often exposed to Arabic within her home. While this use of two different languages is not contested to the extent it is among Greek/British children, nor mixed to the extent of the Filipinos it nevertheless still confronts Funda with the challenge to express and understand a different language to her mother-tongue within the home.

Funda also visits the Refugee Centre with her mother and siblings, where although she usually plays with other Chaldean and Arabic-speaking children, she may also be called upon to speak English with the supervisors or teachers. Whilst she does not have the fluency of her brothers and sister in English she is able to communicate with short simple sentences. These are either simple questions, answers, or statements: "I come now", "I make like this", "You come with me", and "Why you don't come?" and so on. She also attends formal English classes in the Centre with the other children, here she learns simple nouns and verbs.

Funda, as I have also said, attends kindergarten where she communicates entirely in Greek. She also has a young Greek friend who attends the same kindergarten and often comes to her house to play. She has attended the kindergarten for almost two years for about eight hours per week. Funda is now relatively fluent in Greek and on occasions when her friend visits speaks it in her own home. This again stresses the importance of peer culture and agency within the social processes of children among other children.

Yet Funda's confusion with English implies a lack of competence and a contrast to the fluency of other languages. The following example illustrates this. In a game played with Funda (a game her father also played with her), I asked, pointing to various features on her face:

M What's this?

and she would reply with the appropriate (or inappropriate) answer, thus:

F Nose.

M No, it's your mouth. And this one?

F Nose.

M Correct. And this?

F Ear.

M Good. And this?

F Hair

M correct.

There was confusion caused however, by drawing an imaginary circle around her face and asking: "What is this?" "Funda" she shouted. Intending for her to say the word "face" I reply: "well yes, . . .but", "IS FUNDA!" she repeated forcefully. Seeing the funny side of her response all the family laughed. But the confusion caused by my question, and my ambiguous response to her answer is rescued by the intervention of her father who explains to her the difference between what she rightly labels as her distinctive difference and unique physical self - "Funda", and the general term - 'face'. Smiling in recognition of her own confusion (after it is explained in Chaldean), she turns to me and shouts "FACE". Curiously, the word 'face' in Greek is *Prosopo* and is the same as that for 'person'. It is probable that Funda's confusion is related to this, since she is fluent in Greek and may well have translated what she knew to be "*prosopo*" simply into the wrong word rather than the wrong concept.

During similar conversations Funda often moved in and out of Greek particularly when a word in English did not come readily to mind. Funda did

not mix language to the extent that Yannie did but often selects phrases from her Greek vocabulary to substitute ones she does not have in her English vocabulary: *then to Vriskies,* (you didn't find it) now my turn; *then boro na to vrisko* (I can't find it) *pou einai* (where it is?) and so on. This attachment and detachment of words and phrases to and from different languages may or may not occur consciously, but is evidence of the linguistic fluidity which the lives of those such as Funda necessitate. Yet the dynamics through which this fluidity is created and shaped may appear in various forms. The following is a description of one of these (dynamics) and the social context is that which involves Funda, her father, and Martin her brother. I am also present and am hiding a coin behind in a hand behind my back, but Funda keeps guessing the wrong hand.

Funda: Then to vriskies. (You can't find it)
Father: La (="No" in Chaldean), corrects her with: "You can't find it".
Funda: (repeats) You can't find it.
Father: La, I can't find it.
Funda: I can't find it.

Funda: Boro na to vrisko. (I can find it)
Father La "I find it".
Martin [brother]: La, "I found it".
Funda: I found it.

Funda: Pou einai; (Where is it?)
Father: La "Pou einai" Where is it?
Funda: Where is it?

Our conversations were peppered with interjections such as these from her father and brother. Since I am English they attempt to prompt her to speak English and see to correct her. Funda is discouraged from using Greek with me and is given the English alternative. In the middle example father himself is corrected by his son Martin who correctly replaces the present with the past tense of the verb to 'find'.

Similar examples often occurred and on one occasion involved the partial translation of a film from the television. The television, a small black and white portable with poor reception, provided the mainstay of entertainment in the home but was not understood by everyone all the time. Funda's mother recounts the details :

> Martin and father they talk [about] the film. It is English and Greek underneath [sub-titles]. They tell her how to understand. So she learns like this . . .

As are many of the films on Greek television this one was in English with Greek sub-titles. What Funda's mother is explaining is how Martin and his father discuss the meanings of the dialogue and the sub-titles and how this provides the context in which Funda's exposure to languages other than Chaldean and Arabic is extended and facilitated.

These examples suggest an environment in which, through correction and collective learning, family members learn and teach each other informally. The learning of language then (at least in this example) for both adults and children is a family endeavour with each member contributing, correcting and counter-correcting according to the extent or limitations of their own knowledge. This contrasts sharply with families in which there are particular cultural axes to grind, for example, among the Greek/British families and in Keithlyn's (Filipino) family. Unlike these the refugees perhaps feel they have

no particular 'culture' to preserve since they do not consider their imminent or even eventual return to Iraq.

Funda shows herself as much a catalyst in the language-learning process as she is a 'recipient' of learning and language techniques. Her ability to engage in four different languages, albeit to varying degrees, is a response of necessity to different socio-spatial demands (in the kindergarten, at the refugee centre, in the home) as she moves through the course of an ordinary day.

Among slightly older children, exposure to different languages results in their combination for the purposes of playful interaction. For example, in the yard of the Refugee Centre children often play 'tig'. In deciding who is to be the catcher by the rhyming method of selection is used, but where the words are changed to "Our Father, Domine, Akada Makada, Sou einai". Each phrase accompanies a pointing gesture toward each of the children standing in a circle. The first phrase is English, the second Latin, the third gibberish, and the last phrase is inaccurate Greek (meaning "it is you"). None of these are mother tongues of the child participants, they are bits and pieces from their exposure to all of them and from which they have made their own rhyming lines for deciding who was 'on'. This mirrors their lives in other ways as cultural bricoleurs, such as in the collection and use of donated clothing and gifts as discussed in part 1.

This example of 'speech play' and other forms of cabalistic language reflects the linguistically diverse conditions under which the children are living and are attempting to master. A mastery which is not necessarily accomplished or even tackled at a technical level. For example, Sanches Kirshenblatt-Gimblet see

> the foci of children's speech play as - that is, whether the individual form is mainly dominated by phonological, grammatical, semantic, or socio-

linguistic structure - reflecting an exercise in whatever part of the structure the child is currently mastering (1971:43 cited in Saville -Troike 1989).

This linguistic bricolage, which satisfies the basic requirement for making selection may be taken as simply a decorative embellishment of a basic device which could easily have been in their own language. But the rhyme would not have taken its form had the children not been so exposed to English, religious Latin, and Greek. The gibberish is a neutral 'filler' perhaps because not all are either accomplished Arab, Greek, or English users, the phrase, including the gibberish, or it may well be a tacit compromise, a 'fair deal' that doesn't privilege any particular user. Combined as a rhyme in this way also suggests that the rhythm of language is an aid to its use and usefulness and perhaps to its functioning (c.f. Opies 1977 [1959]). A similar point can be made about Afnan (12), who mistakenly offered someone her "United Nations" instead of "congratulations", and for which her explanation was "they sounded the same".

As an English teacher at the Centre I taught several groups of children. In one of these was Martin (11) whom I introduced earlier. Having suggested to his class that they copy a list of English words I'd written on the blackboard and use their own Arabic words to translate them, Martin was embarrassed to admit: "I don't know the words". By this he meant he didn't know the Arabic translations of the English words.

Unlike Funda, Martin's mother-tongue was Arabic. However, he discovered he knew more in English and Greek than he did in this language. It is possible that the Arabic he used in his home was basic and had progressed little since he arrived in Greece six years earlier. His Greek and English on the other hand were fluent. He showed both practical skills in communicating, and technical awareness of tenses and grammar. Having

been in Greece and having attended English classes for six years this was not altogether surprising.

Looking over the shoulder of his classmates (who arrived in Greece much later than he, and, therefore, often had a better knowledge of written Arabic) brought teasing, and embarrassment. Conversely his superior English had them doing the same to him. His embarrassment and surprise at the discovery however veils an important realisation which had apparently remained hidden. That is, 'who' Martin had discovered himself to be in contrast to who he thought he was. This is shown in the exchange I had with Martin on the occasion in question. My role as teacher is indicated as T, Martin is Ma:

T You don't know the Arabic words?

Ma (smiles, says nothing)

T You don't know the Arabic words?

Ma (still smiling) No

T You know the English words?

Ma Yes

T Not the Arabic?

Ma No

T You know the Greek words?

Ma Yes

T You know more English and Greek than Arabic?

Ma Yes (laughs) . . .Before I knew, now I don't know. . . I forget.

What was previously Martin's mother tongue is now not so easily called to mind. This is not to say he doesn't use Arabic, but it seems there is no equivalence in his respective vocabularies. That he doesn't know the words, that he has "forgotten" illustrates how dominant the linguistic influences of

Greek and English have become. Saville-Troike refers to such phenomena as "language attrition" (ibid.: 213) and cites Dorian:

> Language loyalty persists so long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it; but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins. (Saville-Troike ibid.: 206).

Martin's apparent transition is not anticipated but is realised suddenly. He is at first embarrassed, smiling shyly and admitting quietly that he doesn't know the Arabic words, feeling perhaps, that he 'ought' to know. The emerging dominance of English and Greek and the corresponding demise of Arabic highlights this process, confronts him, and renders him (initially but literally) speechless. The surprise and humorous side of the incident soon conveys the wonder that something has occurred in his life seemingly unbeknown to him.

This illustration bears similarity with the question I posed about Amalia in the account of Greek/British children and the searching issues of locating identity through language. The demise of Arabic and emergence of Greek and English in Martin's case shows the dominance of life outside the home over that within it. Although it is not contested to the same degree as in the Greek/British home or in some of the Filipino homes this is arguably because Arabic is considered less of an identity-anchor to which the Iraqi families cling, as Martin's father explains:

> He (Martin) must learn Greek and English because we cannot go back to Iraq. If he does not learn (Greek and English) then he can do nothing here. . .nobody here knows Arabic, so he has to learn . . . I don't think we can leave here now so Greek is more important. . .

The example suggests not only that a vague sense of the past is preserved in the home, but that it can afford to be forgotten and literally left behind. The movement between languages, and the general, underlying shift from one to another is supported in other material on children in multilingual contexts (see Saville -Troike 1990:57-71), where it is claimed linguistic shifts may attributed to the opportunities children are permitted to engage with other children, and to the value parents may place on a particular language. This has consequences for communication within the family however, as Martin's mother confesses through a translator:

> "Now he speaks Greek. . . when he does that I can't understand him. He knows the words but I don't. . .but we have no choice".

That they "have no choice" contrasts with the other two groups whose parents not only conceive of their children as having choices but in some cases positively encourage them to opt for one over the other. Having "no choice" is ambiguous. It could mean that Martin's parents have no choice than to allow outside influences to take their course and take over the mother tongue. Or, perhaps more likely, it could mean that they have no choice but to cease trying to retain Arabic (other than for domestic communication) and encourage Martin to learn as much of the 'new' language/s as he can. Either way the linguistic 'gap' which appears between parent and child as a consequence of this process which we have encountered to some degree in the other groups is clearly evident, and is well described by Bammer:

> In this process language plays a complex role, both binding and dividing family members. For not only do parents and children often end up with different native languages, their different relationships to these languages

have notable social consequences. For example, in terms of both intra- and extra-familial relations the traditional positions of authority can be confused or even reversed depending on who does - or does not - master a given language. While the relationship of the parents to the language of the country that has become their new home is often, as it is tellingly put, broken, the children typically make the new language their own, learning to speak it fluently, accent free, and with confidence (Bammer 1994:101).

This tension is evident in all of the groups and particularly in the 8 - 12 age group and is negotiated and controlled in different ways. Among the Filipinos, Kiethlyn experiences a clear preference for her to speak Filipino and to avoid Greek in the home, however she might be said to test this in certain circumstances (as in the circumstances where the Greek kindergarten teacher is present). The Greek/British child also strives at some point to impose a Greek identity on the space of the home, and has more success than the likes of Kiethlyn, which is perhaps accountable to the added 'weight' of the surrounding (Greek) family and wider community.

Moving to an older age category among the Iraqis, examples of formal exchange show a clear authority of children over adults through linguistic translation. One key example of this was on Sundays when many attended the small church within the Centre. Religious services were usually said in English by a visiting priest to the Centre. The entire sermon was translated, with little hesitation, into Arabic from English by Hilda (13), for the benefit of the rest of the congregation. This translating and interpreting establishes children as linguistic brokers in a highly formalised and public context.

In less formal situations the potential and ability for language-brokering among the children is broad and versatile. The correct linguistic expression is brought in at the appropriate time and in any kind of context. Moving into and between as many as four languages within minutes of each other. I stood

with Hilda in the yard on one occasion as she chastised her sister Funda in Chaldean, told me what she had said in English, continued her conversation with Bushra in Arabic, and instructed a Greek delivery man all within a few minutes.

One does not need to be fluent in order to be effective in the use of language, even if it's a foreign language. Funda, Martin, and Hilda among others, show the ability to use phrases and terms appropriately and fluently. While these are in many respects spatially predictable, children show skill in moving and translating freely between them. Where the Greek/British children and the Filipinos are capable of traversing two and even three languages respectively, the Iraqis indicate a potential to cope with as many as four.

Each example shows how the uses of words and phrases in different contexts is achieved and effective both in the general social context of being a child refugee and in respect of the more particular circumstances of each child. I will now turn to communication in relation to less verbal aspects and in particular to the use of the body both as an animate agent and as located in particular spaces.

CHAPTER 6

EMBODIMENT AND 'DANCING TO THE MUSIC': GESTURE, STYLE, DOING & BEING

Words may store cognitive knowledge, but have a much lesser capacity for storing other kinds of experience which are embodied and stored in the social habit-memory (Connerton 1989). It is this habit-memory that paves the way for the continuity of the commonplace (the gestures, the

social habits, the rules for action), in contrast to the breaks and shifts in the cognitive outlooks of people (Hastrup 1995:41).

The totality of communication is not simply the use of words or the connecting of sentences and "[U]nderstanding the social means comprehending the use of words in practice not just having the capacity to read them" (Hastrup 1995: 38). Human communication involves an array of media that relay and decipher intents and meanings. Words are only one aspect of this and therefore must be seen in the context of other forms of bodily communication. Movement, gesture, bodily style, and activity provide important indications of social and cultural meaning and understanding, and as such are not mere supplements to language but are an intrinsic part (see Polhemus [ed.] 1978:279). That is to say culture is embodied not just spoken and seeps into everything from the smallest of gestures to much larger 'performances'.

Identities are stored in practice, in the 'habitus' of a particular people or person. 'Habitus' is Bourdieu's description of the link between the structuring of social relationships and the culture of a society. It is the "principle that regulates the act" a "system of modes of perception, of thinking, of appreciation and of action" (Bourdieu in Young [ed.] 1971:192). Habitus is the basis for that intentionless convention of regulated improvisation that lends a degree of coherence to the world (Bourdieu 1977: 79 in Gleeson [ed.]).

Many examples used in Part 1 described some of these aspects of communication envisaged by parents as preferable for their children to learn and use in multicultural settings. The insertion of Bourdieu here brings together the individualities of each group in a way that contextualises them within their familial and ethnic groupings, within which communication initially occurs, rather than merely approaching them as individuals. Later, I will use habitus more in respect of individuality.

Challenges and alternatives to communication emerge from other spaces occupied by the child, e.g. school and street etc. These come in the form not just of different languages but also in the ways those languages are used. It is not my intention to repeat points made earlier but rather to say more on how language connects with behaviour and action, and issues of agency as they relate ultimately to those of identity. Bodily performance is the demonstration of agency, and identity is both taken on and expressed through the body. As Hastrup puts it:

> cultural identities. . .can be elicited neither from spoken words nor written forms. The recollection of the 'rules', which makes actions possible, is not stored in texts, or in linguistic categories, but in a social habit-memory. This is not at all like a cognitive memory of rules and codes, but an *embodied* set of social practices that are transferred through various types of action (1995:42) [my emphasis].

Different kinds of 'performance' are demonstrated by different individuals and according to the circumstances of which they are a part. For example, children are shown to develop (what might be called 'typical' or recognisable as) Greek gestures and mannerisms as well as linguistic skills. These are dealt with early in each of the following sections. On the other hand the social circumstances and activities in which the children become involved differ according to their particular collective identities within the city. These are dealt with latterly in each of the sections.

"Dancing", in the title, is taken from Yannie's mother's explanation of how gestures are not taken seriously as indications of identity. That is to say she treats Greek gestures as superficial, and not seriously expressive of cultural identity. Here, I have re-appropriated it, since it applies aptly to the question of the extent to which the embodiment of identity, that is bodily and linguistic

'performance', is superficial or substantial. It is intended to juxtapose the difference between merely doing and actually being. How much of what the child does can be shown to be expressive of who they are?

Filipino Children

To return to Yannie's house, where three languages may be used interchangeably, we can observe how the bodily expressions such as hand gestures or expressions, accompany Greek words. But such gestures might also be used to give emphasis to points being made in another language, so that language and gestures from different communicative codes are mixed, the following example illustrates this:

During an evening meal Vicky, Yannie's aunt, brings in glasses of water on a tray from the kitchen. She places them on the table and leans over to pick up the salt. As she does so Yannie's mother tells her to be careful

M (to Vicky, in Filipino) Ingat ang mo [Be careful]
V Bakit [Why?]

Vicky looks down by which time the glass of water has fallen on the floor.

Y Oh, Po Po Po, anong ginagawa mo Tita Vicky? [Oh I say, I say; what are you doing auntie Vicky?]

Yannie looks down at the mess and exclaims "Po Po Po" while making tiny circular movements with the fingers of his right hand.

The expression "Po Po Po" is the translated equivalent of "I say, I say". It is possible to indicate amazement or a concerned response to a minor (or major) disaster, by accompanying the expression with tiny circular movements of the fingertips. Yannie shows his shock at the 'disastrous' accident by responding in a typically Greek manner. The expression can and is used with varying intensity and in different situations by both Greek children and adults. For example, the third "Po" may be given exaggerated emphasis to underline the seriousness of a certain point in a narrative, thus: Po Po Pooooo may be added to the story about a friend's serious illness. There is also inflexion and rhythm built in to appropriate it to a variety of circumstances.

'Tutting' is another Greek gesture habitually used by Yannie and adds gesticular variety to either mono or multilingual exchanges. This involves jerking one's chin out slightly, whilst simultaneously rolling back the eyes and tutting with the tongue. This denotes the shortest form of negative response in answer to a question. Any one of its three parts may be isolated to convey the full message.

In everyday life these go unremarked by Yannie's parents. They are neither condemned nor encouraged. Yet in reflecting about them it is confirmed by his mother that these are most definitely 'Greek' gestures and do not normally play any part in traditional Filipino communicative style. The point made earlier that language and communication for the Filipino through language and body is mere 'surface' phenomena on issues of identity is further underscored by Yannie's mother.

> No, we don't say anything when he does those things [Po Po Po, tutting, etc.] because it is not really rude or anything. He just gets that from his friends outside and sometimes they come in here [house]. But it's good he speaks many languages. . .Sometimes I do it (gestures). . .Maybe I will

think "Why am I doing like this?" but we don't worry about it, its OK. . . Its just like dancing to the music. . .

That is to say being Filipino is more than what is shown in external performance. The dancing metaphor adds impetus to the sense in which Greek style is not an ontological aspect of personal or cultural identity, at least for this Filipino mother but simply a detachable aspect of bodily communication. Taking on the language and gestures of another culture are likened to "dancing to the music". They are appropriate but superficial responses to certain contexts. They do not constitute profound aspects of identity but are merely appropriate accoutrements assisting the everyday flow of communication.

For Yannie, at the age of 5, who considers himself a "Filipino" and "from the Philippines" (whatever that means to him) one can only assume that multiple language and gesture codes he uses are also detachable from this identifying notion. As will be seen later this is in clear contrast to their importance for Greek/British children, for whom it is a clear and distinct mark of Greek and non Greek identity accordingly. The difference provides positivist and essentialist conceptions of child identity.

It is the case that certain aspects of communicative style are considered by informants in all groups as typically 'Greek' and are brought into the domestic sphere by the behaviours of those who mix in mainstream Greek society. Yannie, as his mother states, "gets it from his friends" that is, from school, the street, and from when his friends visit his house. They are clearly categorised as 'outside' influences but nevertheless interpreted by his parents as benign. The classification 'outside' indicates the sense of a deviation from the domestic norm, yet it is a code which is nevertheless part of the domestic norm.

Although Yannie does not indicate directly that he is conscious that it occurs, he does associate different languages with different people, but does not necessarily, as is shown in the above example, make this consumate with its gestural codes. For instance with myself he spoke consistently in English but used what I have described as Greek gestures. Also, with Greek-only speakers such as his neighbours and friends he used only Greek with appropriate gestures. So, whilst there is an awareness of different linguistic styles, it is not clear as to whether he is conscious of their gestural accompaniments.

Malign influences on the other hand are those which are deemed (by Filipinos) as confrontational, rude, and arrogant. The points made earlier about Kiethlyn and her mother's reaction to the possibility of too much emerging 'Greekness' are intended to show parental efforts to control 'culture' in the home and in particular the influence of Keithlyn's school friends on the way she speaks to her parents.

To recall, these are shown in the 'threats' Keithlyn's mother perceives in what she interprets as a 'Greek' lack respect for adult authority:

> sometimes when I'm telling Kiethlyn something she answers back . . . like a Greek child . . . like loud and very quick [abrupt] . . . and I tell her if you hear your classmates talking like that to their father or their mother you must not do the same because you are not Greek. I'm telling her that all the time, all the time . . .and I say its not nice . . .

The imputations made by Keithlyn's mother is that Greek in its various communicative forms is a 'threat', and secondly that Kiethlyn is vulnerable to those threats. However, the responses to these 'threats' are also part of Keithlyn's growing awareness of what are acceptable ways of being Greek and what are unacceptable ways of being Greek in the home. In other words,

learning the Greek language is one thing, knowing how, when, and where to use it is something else.

> She sometimes speaks Greek and when she is writing for her homework. Of course she must speak. But I want her to know Tagalog (Filipino) also . I don't mind the Greek even when she speaks to Glessie like that. But I don't want her to speak it the same way as the Greek children, they are loud and aggressive, they don't respect their parents when they are doing like this.

On one level Keithlyn's mother sees a clear causal connection between language and how it is used by describing how the 'Greeks' communicate, yet on another level she sees it as separable by accepting the use of Greek words but not the verbal and gesticular style which accompany them. Ideally, though only implicitly, she desires Keithlyn to speak Greek (if she is going to speak it anyway) with Filipino ("polite") style. In contrast to Yannie this would suggest that some ways of what are perceived as "Greek style" are not acceptable because they do challenge identity. From the perspective of her mother the use of language and gesture are perceived more substantially than superficially as threats to 'who' Keithlyn is becoming. More will be said on this later.

Generally, as Saville-Troike points out:

> While all language is learned in the process of social interaction, different linguistic forms are considered 'typical' or appropriate between adults and children (1989:227).

Greek style is often perceived by Filipino adults as forthright, aggressive, and 'angry', and to them shows a lack of respect particularly when used in exchanges with adults.

Filipinos on the other hand traditionally emphasise the importance of the control of aggression. It is in this respect, if any, that seems to challenge a Filipino sense of identity. The importance placed on politeness, patience and the control of aggressive behaviour, expressed partly in linguistic style, is seen in direct opposition to the apparent free reign given to emotions among Greek contemporaries. Filipino distinctiveness in this regard is underlined by Guthrie and Jacobs (1967:161):

> . . [there is] a strong tendency [among Filipinos] of smooth inter-personal relationships, of knowing when to speak, how to speak, and what to say, in consideration of another persons feelings.

And again

> A child is enjoyned not to make a parent angry. He is admonished not to quarrel and to avoid occasions that might lead to fights and arguments. Losing control of himself, talking loud in anger, and quarrelsomeness are represented as immature, marks of poor upbringing, of a family lacking in taste. . .(ibid.: 161).

The contrast with the perceived tendency of Greek children to give full expression to their feelings in the company of parents is stark. Older children, such as Louis, regret not having had the freedom which he believes his Greek contemporaries enjoy, though appreciates the cultural difference:

> They (Greek peers) say what they want to their parents, like my friends, I don't think it's right to do that. . .but you can say what you feel that way. Sometimes if I'm angry with my mother or father I want to shout, and sometimes I do, but I feel bad about that . . .because they don't get really angry. . .only me.

Louis' narrative expresses the tension that is revealed in points of dispute with his parents. The statement also reveals the way in which he communicates and 'feels' about his anger as a point which differentiates him from his parents. Yet the duality within him is shown by his reference to his Greek contemporaries as "they". "They" say what they want. But "he" doesn't think its right. He "wants" to shout but "feels" bad about it. The articulacy of the older child demonstrates the ability to impute to others rather than just being imputed.

These examples show how some aspects of Greek gesture and behaviour are adopted by children in ways that either supplement or replace traditional Filipino styles of communication. They show the habits imbibed and chosen by children in their encounters through life beyond the home, and they reveal the levels at which cultural identities are affected by them.

Examples, other than those of bodily gesture and rules of politeness, may also be used to illustrate the 'performance' of identity. Despite their involvement with local Greek children, young Filipinos also find both individual and cultural expression through events which unite large sections of the Filipino community itself. That is, these events permit individuals to dress, speak, sing, and dance in public competition, and the competitions themselves are described by the adults as expressive of Filipino 'culture'.

The 'Little Prince and Princess Competition' is an annual event for Filipino families to which their children are invited to compete for the title 'Little Prince' or 'Little Princess', for boys and girls respectively. This is a major event

and, like others similar to it, spares little expense in its staging. This was held in the 'Park Hotel', a large five-star establishment which availed its extensive ground floor hall for the event. Field notes recall the event.

There were detailed and comprehensive forms to be filled in when scoring the contestants. Each column relating to each round - personality, talent, swim wear, and so on. A large white folder contained the photographs and profiles of 11 children aged from 5 - 8. Their hobbies, schools, and favourite games accompany their names, ages, and photos.

In the front, right hand corner of the hall the diminutive contestants were coached through the final stages of preparation. How to walk, bow, speak clearly and so on. Cameras flashed, microphones and lights were tested, and the time drew towards 8.30. Order was imposed by the host who explained the program to the audience and the evenings proceedings commenced.

The first round was the "swim wear" round. Little Joanne steps onto the stage, with hands on hips, she steps forward in time to the music, struts and poses at pre-arranged points on the stage, her hat and small round sunglasses compliment her bathing suit and beach shoes. She stops at the side of the stage, one hand on her hip, swinging to the beat of a current popular song. Cameras flash again, the audience cheers and claps. Adjusting the number '1' tied to her wrist, Joanne waits for the next challenger. This is Greg, he is dressed in his Bermuda shorts, with a matching towel swung round his neck, his wet, tangled hair lending effect. He follows a similar routine but without the feminine poise of the first contestant.

The remaining nine contestants follow in turn, and so it goes for the remaining rounds. There are four of these in all: 'Swim wear', 'Evening wear', 'Personality', and 'Talent'. Contestants are interviewed on the 'Personality' round. Questions relating to their families their favourite animals, favourite people, and hobbies. The 'talent' round involves the performance of songs, dancing, and poetry recitation. Quotations are preferred by some children;

one of the contestants, offers the thoughts of a former Filipino politician and sage Dr. Jose Rizal who said: "If you don't love your own language, you smell like a fish". Appropriately said in Filipino, this is richly applauded and cheered, yet the host continued announcing in English! In its original context the saying refers to the Philippines and its people and the influence of occupying powers (formerly Spain and latterly the USA).

'The Little Prince and Princess Competition'

Each contestant is scored in each round. These are displayed on an overhead projector to the entire audience of some 300. The jostling for positions on a makeshift league table is cheered or jeered accordingly. This occurs between rounds, the time during which also provides space in the program for "special guests". These include last year's reigning 'Little

Princess'. After being interviewed on the benefits of her success over the past year and presented with a bouquet of flowers she is escorted away.

The following round is followed by a 'guest act'. Attired in matching black leather and hats, six teenage children (three boys and three girls) harmonise to the then currently popular tune 'All for One', with backing provided by a karaoke machine. Then Mayla, in her long yellow grass skirt, bikini top, and large matching pom-poms in her hands, dances energetically to the theme tune of 'Hawaii Five 'O'. Other 'child acts' intersperse the main event which after some three hours comes to an end.

Filipino child 'performers'

Each of the four separate categories is won by a different child, and the victor of each is awarded an impressive trophy by their parents who are invited up to the stage to make the presentation. All the children receive a

trophy of some description by the insertion of some spurious categories not included in the original program ensuring that no one goes home empty handed. Thus additional awards go to Mr. and Miss 'Friendship', Mr. and Miss 'Photogenic', as well as others.

There is a prize of a large trophy to the overall winners, the new bearers of the titles: 'Little Prince' and 'Little Princess' presented to a boy and girl respectively, and inevitably the presentation is made by last year's 'Little Princess' (The former 'Little Prince' has since returned to the Philippines!). Replete with sash and crown the winners are paraded around the stage and congratulated with a kiss from the former Princess.

Interval performances such as those described were also performed by children at occasions on which adults competed for prizes. Such as 'The Original Filipino Music Competition'. This is another annual event and involves men and women performing traditional Filipino songs to recorded music for such prizes as two return tickets to the Philippines, television sets etc.

Both kinds of event provide interval entertainment in the form of child performers like Jason who performs a dance in the style of his hero Michael Jackson, and Jesslyn (9) and Dimitra (10) who performed an extremely competent mime and dance routine to the song 'Too Sexy for My Shirt', during which items of clothing were removed according to the place where it is mentioned in the song. Thus shirt, hat, scarf (and imaginary cigarette) are systematically discarded in time to the words and music. Their walk and style clearly coached and choreographed for maximum adult-(model-like) effect was almost comical in its accuracy and precision. An adult audience clapped and laughed as the children wiggled and strutted to-and-fro on their imaginary cat walk. Announced as "special guests" along with the Philippine ambassador to Greece, their celebrity status was well received.

'Too Sexy For My Shirt'

Competitiveness and enthusiasm for opportunities to 'perform' are evident in both adults and children. The latter are encouraged and seem reluctant to turn down the opportunity of public parade. The children appear largely untroubled by so much attention.

Yet it is clear that the children carry with them the reputations of their families, who show unrestrained joy if their child wins. In other words competitiveness is being played out by parents through their children. Family pride, honour, and esteem *(karangalan)* are common themes running through Filipino culture, and in part are carried and displayed in the public performance of their children. Esteem belongs not so much to the child as to the family they belong to. To be able to perform in such a way is to prove one's family *'Hindi Mahiyain'* or (directly translated) 'without shame'. The

concept although linguistically negative is conceptually more positive, thus, more appropriately, it means 'with honour'.

Such descriptions provide a model of the child in Filipino culture. By engaging with these models through performance Filipino children demonstrate not simply a conformity to them but a potent agency in respect of them. As communicative events they are both models of and models for (Geertz 1975:95) Filipino (childhood) culture. Furthermore, the process through which children acquire ritual competence is "perhaps the most fundamental socialisation of all since they thereby learn about the nature they have as actors" (Goffman 1971:157).

Criticism of such events comes both from within the Filipino community and beyond it. Some of those asked to participate or help in an organisational capacity were uncomfortable with the prospect. Politely declining they felt such events to be exploitative. One organiser of the Little Prince and Princess competition defended the event:

> This happens all the time in the Philippines . . . It's not exploitation. We are not selling them, they are not slaves. We want to show to the people that the children have talent and beauty, the children have a right to do this. . .If we don't let them express themselves, then what will they do. . . It is competitive but everyone gets a prize and everyone has a good time. . . It reminds us of the Philippines because we do this all the time at home. Our children know how to present themselves in public. They do not shy away from people, they learn to see what they are good at and how to express themselves. . . If those people want to think that this is exploitation then they don't understand the Filipinos, and they should not judge us like that. . . Our children are proud to sing and dance and we are proud of our children. . .

There are some important points to note from this view of the children. The first is that the event is charitable and those asked to organise it are not paid for their services, so the comments are not motivated by financial gain. There is a sincerity in the belief about what the event does for the children. But this is not to deny that it is also organised very much for adult entertainment as well as familial esteem. That such occasions are common in the Philippines underlines its justification as a 'cultural event'. It should also be added however that common opinion holds the contest arrived there from the United States "about twenty years ago".

Therefore, it is debatable to what extent it should be considered "typically Filipino" either by the Filipinos themselves who have adopted it wholesale, or by my analysis. In any case it is suggestive again of the range of influences impinging upon the Filipino child, and draws our attention to the notion of the 'global child' as a categorisation of a childhood which is comprised not only of a number of diverse cultural and/or linguistic traits, but of wide-ranging transcultural aspects of social life. The titles 'Prince and Princess' can only be assumed to refer to notions of beauty and high status, and as such perhaps reflect these values in Filipino culture generally (see Johnson (1995), and Cannell (1995)).

Adult investment is neither denied nor underplayed. There is great pride attached to one's child doing well in a competition. The competitiveness is not at the level of the individual however, but at the level of the family who take immense care in the coaching of their potential stars. Preparation for a competition may start weeks before an event. Angelo (7) was coached by his auntie in how to 'walk' in a swimsuit, and in an evening suit. He was shown how to take the stage and leave it in a dignified fashion. He was taught how to speak clearly and precisely - in English. Sunshine, a girl of 6, was coached in dancing to a particular record, how to walk in a long dress. Gazing into a full-length mirror she rehearses the litany of her favourite school subjects.

There is also great admiration for child performers who are asked to perform routines of singing or dancing (these are confined to styles which are imitations of their pop idols), which they also practice and prepare for in meticulous detail particularly if they are a duo. Dressing, moving, and speaking, as the principle mediums of successful 'performance', are rewarded by applause and cheers of the Filipino audience, and ultimately by the trophy for the one who performs them best.

The display of "talent and beauty" is further justified by the appeal to a child's "right" to express themselves. Clearly this moral basis makes explicit the point made by those who are indignant at the suggestion that such an event could be exploitative. On the contrary, it is a child's "right" that they have the opportunity to honour their family.

The convergence of cultural styles through gesture and bodily performance whether Filipino, Greek, English or American occurs inevitably in the body (embodiment). The body is not only perceived as resistant to 'other' styles but absorbs them, and chooses between them, though this may be carefully managed and controlled by parents in terms of what is acceptable and adaptable to the nurturance of 'traditional' Filipino values. As will be seen in the next section, this contrasts with the Greek/British children.

The examples of Kiethlyn and Louis show a distinct dualistic tension in what is 'acceptable' cultural behaviour, in that dualism is acted out (by Kiethlyn) but with the 'sources' of it clearly evident in the influences of home and school. Louis similarly expresses the dualism in relation to his friends and his parents but is equally articulate about the resultant contradictory "feelings" in himself. These examples illustrate also the more general contestedness over what a child is - a bearer of cultural tradition, a bearer of the future, yet also a potential (and actual) rejecter of cultural tradition (see Jenks 1996). The dynamic of 'othering' and 'otherness' is central to this and operates both on generational and cultural levels. Otherness in both of these

children is essential to self-definition and is generated from exposure to contradictory and opposing views.

Yannie experiences the dualism though lacks the tension experienced by the other two which may be explained by his comparative lack of experience beyond the home. This is supported in the findings of Miller (1970) in her studies of Pima children living in the Salt River reservation:

> younger children are more influenced by the standards and language of the home and still largely unaware of attitudes and school and the outside world. With the gradual influence of the school and one's peers, the older child becomes more and more impressed with the success on the outside and the practicality of identifying with the affluent majority (1970: 54-55).

In all examples, the body is the principle maker and interpreter of signs, gestures, and performances. It is therefore the obvious focus of communication and identity, though it must also be seen as embedded in the social context/s from which communicative codes and performances are learned, as Polhemus states:

> The body, as a vehicle of communication is misunderstood if it is treated as a signal box, a static framework emitting and receiving strictly coded messages. The body communicates information for and from the social system in which it is a part. It should be seen as mediating the social system in at least three ways. It is itself the field in which a feedback interaction takes place. It is itself available to be given as the proper tender for some of the exchanges which constitute the social situation. And further it mediates the social structure by itself becoming its image (Polhemus 1978:296).

In this respect the embodiment of communication, or 'habitus', whether through language or gesture is suggestive of Douglas' (1971, 1970, 1973), notion of the body as an image of the social system or social context as is affirmed by Johnson (1987) and Worthman (1992).

That is to say, through speaking and acting the Filipino child partakes in and generates a range of communicative devices and preferences which are indicative of the diversity of their social lives. Nevertheless, there is, on the parental level, an acceptance of some forms but a resilience to others, though not necessarily a strict standardisation of these. In other words parents attempt to control and monitor what their children have access to and negotiate their use of it according to their own individual and familial standards. Although this may be a struggle (as well as a negotiation) between child and parent, and between what are considered to be 'Filipino values' and 'non-Filipino values', there is a general acceptance that at least some forms convey more or less basic Filipino values.

This lengthy account of Filipino embodiment and performance has drawn out several examples of the way in which personal and cultural identity is expressed in ways that supplement language. The body is both the focus and agent of enculturation and acculturation, of conformity and non-conformity, of sameness and difference. Through the slightest of gestures to major social events, the body provides the requisite 'place' for culture in both its maintenance and creation.

Greek/British Children

> . . .the use of gesture is . . .a sign of incurable otherness within the European or 'western' context. . .But it is also . . .a way of defining their own enclosed world, just as certain kinds of gesture and attitude mark

Greeks for each other and reaffirm their sense of cultural intimacy and solidarity (Herzfeld 1995:138 - 9).

Like the Filipino parents, British mothers vary in their responses to what they perceive as acceptable or unacceptable difference or 'otherness' manifested in their children's behaviour. Those gestures and 'performances' described among the Filipino children are also a part of the lives of Greek/British children. Some are minor gestures adding emphasis, momentum, and feeling to speech, others are slightly more pronounced. For example Dthanai was thought by her mother to be "becoming Greek" by shrugging her shoulders, pushing her chin forward, whilst simultaneously turning the corners of her mouth down. This was in response to her mother asking if she had found some sticky tape she was looking for.

Dthanai couldn't find it. The gesture denotes helplessness and inquisitiveness. She asked her mother again. . .

D Where is it (the sticky tape)?

M I don't know. Look in your room, you had it there yesterday.

Dthanai returned minutes later with a frown on her face, one hand on her hip and, rather than repeat the question verbally, she quickly turned her other hand palm up with the fingers spread out in a deliberately slow movement. This denotes the despairing expression often heard in Greece: "Ti na Kano;", meaning "What can I do?". Interpreted in the context it is the equivalent of "I still can't find it, where is it?". Dthanai's mother responded by getting up from her seat and finding the tape for her. No words were exchanged.

Such gesturing, including that described among the Filipino children, was used in combination with both English and Greek speech. Comparative material also shows that Greek-Americans cling tenaciously to Greek style for

generations, even when they are speaking English (cf. Tannen 1981). This suggests that while some aspects of communicative performance change over time other aspects are less fluid and remain fixed. This resistance, as Bourdieu (1979) shows, is precisely because these aspects are embodied. Such embodiment is also tackled by Shilling (1994) who discusses the body as constituted by culture and society, and as increasingly a developing "phenomenon of options and choices" (p.3). These options and choices extend beyond the cultural constitution of the body as such and into the minutiae of everyday communication.

Like the Filipino parents, such gestures were not necessarily contentious for Dthanai's mother, on the contrary they amuse her:

> Sometimes it's in English . . .when they shrug their shoulders and turn their heads like that. . .and it also depends on the game they're playing. If they're on their own they'll just slip into Greek with all the gestures. . . [demonstrates]. It's funny to watch because I don't do any of that so she doesn't get it from me, so it's like they're someone else's kids. They're not really aware of it themselves and I don't say anything but it does make me laugh.

Like some Filipino parents such aspects of cultural otherness in their children are not worrisome. But also like the Filipinos, as 'Greek' communicative style takes hold in other aspects of social protocol such as politeness and respect for parents, they begin to touch cultural sensitivities not anticipated. Pat speaks of when her own daughter was seven:

> When I was in England I was trying to get her to say "please" all the time . . .or when she was supposed to say it. Because my father was appalled when she wouldn't say "please" or "thankyou". But when we came back to

> Greece after our holiday my husband thought that she was being too formal. I tried to tell him that in England you have to say "please" and "thankyou" a lot if someone asks you something, or if you want something. . Then he said to me that saying it was being over-formal, like it sounds sarcastic and cheeky. . .It caused a lot of friction between us.

Negotiation also reveals a mutual sensitivity to the appropriateness of each parent's preference. Pat continues:

> We decided that when she talks to me she'll say please; and when she talks to him she won't have to. At least then when she goes back to England she won't sound rude to everyone.

"So she won't sound rude to everyone" is Pat's reason for teaching her daughter to say "please". Her husband's requirement that the child not grow to appear over formal or even "sarcastic" is met by his reluctance to inculcate superfluous courtesies. The difference is addressed by deciding on a plan aimed to evoke the right response in the right circumstances.

Pat envisages the training of her daughter to prepare her for visits to England where the adoption of a new set of mannerisms will perhaps be taken on somewhere between the two airports! The scenario is also suggestive of a mother's preoccupation of her own cultural roots where she must guard against the future embarrassment which those of her daughter, during the occasional visit, may evoke.

Parental perceptions persist in the imputation of their child as a receptacle of adult culture[36]. The reality, on the contrary, as shown in this example, focuses on the child as a catalyst of adult sensitivities about their own identity

[36]This is what much of the recent work in the anthropology of childhood culture has attempted to counter, by demonstrating that children are active participants in the creation of culture rather than mere recipients of it (see e.g. James 1993).

and histories. In their efforts to create a child in their own image, Pat and her husband not only attempt to counteract each other's image in the child but, in the process also find themselves subject to the child's unique combination of behavioural tendencies.

As in the examples of the Filipino children, the style of exchange among older Greek/British children is often perceived as confrontational and aggressive, and again as abrupt and impolite. Elizabeth notes the behaviour of her son Michael:

> When he was angry he just went all Greek . . .waving his arms around and all that, and his voice went up. The first time he got upset I hardly recognised him. I think he saw his friends behave like that in front of their parents. First I was just shocked. He was never like that before . . . they seem to get all their feelings out in this sort of dramatic way. I suppose we bottle it all up. We're just more controlled. It's just the way they relate, they shout at each other all the time. . . I don't like it when he goes all dramatic like that.

The perception of the 'Greek way' is one lacking certain control. Yet this lack is paradoxically demonstrated in an excess of linguistic and bodily animation. This is all the more unacceptable because Englishness is embodied (and perceived as) restraint and formality. The perception being that the excessively performing 'Greek' body threatens loss of 'non-Greek' control. The so-imputed 'chaotic' son, while not preferred is nevertheless excused and justified on the grounds that it's "just the way they relate". Note again the use of the third person plural which associates Michael with a collective 'other' category (Greeks), rather than a more personal "he".

Language is embodied and verbal expression is inseparable from gesture, posture, and non-verbal forms. A further illustration, shows how Michael (15)

confirms the difference between the 'Greek' way of being angry and his mother's way:

> It's a great language to be angry in because you can just go all out and really express yourself. My mother is really restrained, it's like she doesn't have any feelings about anything because she doesn't get really angry. . .My friends' mothers go crazy, even over the smallest thing. . .So it's definitely this culture thing. Actually my mother is getting more like me, because whenever she gets angry lately she starts doing it in Greek, but she didn't used to.

Both Michael and his mother locate communicative style 'outside' and beyond the home, which again confirms the precedence of peer, rather than family influence on the adolescent (cf. Saville-Troike ibid.:246). Also, Michael draws a distinction between the expressive style of his mother and his own style, implying that his is "better", which suggests that even minor disagreements or disputes are bodily performed and not just spoken. His use of the word "restrained" can also be taken as "controlled". In other words he endorses the controlling metaphor .

He maintains that latterly his mother has come to expresses herself not only in Greek language but in Greek 'style'. Michael, as an agent of communicative style, turns around the earlier situation when his mother wanted him to speak English - now she speaks to him in Greek. But a further twist to this is that it is usually only when she is angry that she turns to Greek. This compartmentalising of language according to mood, compares with that in which language is contextualised according to areas within the house (see the example of Electra p. 83 ff.).

The connection of language and bodily style combines two aspects of a single process which, like Keithlyn's (the Filipino girl) mother, some parents

are inclined to think are completely separable. Filipinos and British mothers encounter the native language (Greek) in combination with its gestures etc. - a total form of communication - and not a form in which one can easily separate what is being said from how it is said, but where one is acceptable and the other less so. That they see these forms as separable is perhaps because the language (as a whole) is foreign, - for them it is something learned rather than, for the child, something imbibed and embodied.

What is considered 'polite' and 'good manners' by the mothers of these two groups is contrasted to what they see as a Greek abruptness or even rudeness in the communicative behaviours of their children. Although on the whole they don't mind their children speaking Greek they frequently object to the way in which it is spoken. The implication is that they'd prefer them to speak the native language with a 'Filipino' or 'British' style. That is, to replace one style with another. The suggestion that the content of language is intimately connected to the manner in which it is learned and communicated highlights a dynamism which is largely invisible to the users but glaringly obvious to otherwise unfamiliar spectators. That is to say, although children may remain unaware of the cultural habits and codes of communication they exercise their 'foreign' parents are only too aware. Personal sensitivities to such 'cultural' differences are potentially points of social tension, as has been shown by Scherer (1979).

Like in the Filipino experiences there is clearly more to the lives of Greek/British children than their verbal and gesticular exchanges. As revealing as they are, they do not constitute the entirety of socio-cultural performance.

Although gesture reveals the communicative use of certain parts of the body, those parts can also provide loci of identification for children themselves in the understanding of their dual influences. The identification of parts of the body with each parent suggests a supplementary dual 'nature'

through which, as a more tangible and locatable point of reference, difference can be 'empirically' compared. Rosanna (8) explains:

> Mummy is from Scotland and Daddy is Greece [sic]. . .My mummy says I'm "half and half". . . Daddy says I've got Mummy's smile and Mummy's feet . . .but I've got Daddy's eyes.

That Rosanna goes directly from speaking about the respective origins of her parents to speaking about the parts of her body that most resemble either one of them is perhaps indicative of at least an association of parts of her physical body with the different countries explained to her by her parents. This, literally, not only embodies language, but also national difference.

This is further supported by the clarifying comments of her mother:

> I would try to discuss it with her by saying "Remember your Daddy is Greek and your Mummy is Scottish - that makes you half and half". Or something like that. At first she was fascinated by it and wanted to know which half was Greek and which half was Scottish.

The close integration of Greek/British children with purely Greek children inevitably sees them developing peer culture through similar interests and social habits. For boys and girls of between 8 and 14, friends may come from school or the neighbourhood. Basketball and football are the most common activities for boys while girls find recreation usually in smaller groups and more often within the house. There is more than a passing resemblance here to the Iraqi refugees. This spatial division of gender is a general and recurrent theme in contributions on gender and space from the study of ritual (e.g.

Richards (1956) and Poole 1982) to labour and leisure (e.g. Campbell (1964) and Papadopolous (1996)).

The 'performance' of identity however, goes beyond the use of language and the actions of the body and gendered space. It is equally to do with other kinds of choices individuals make about socialising. The Filipino families demonstrate an important socialising activity outside the home (Little Prince and Princess) competitions - which centre upon the importance of the child as a symbol of socialising success, a key Filipino value. This is an overtly public choice of socialising activity as well as a forum to show off socialising success.

Among the Greek/British children there is little which is directly comparable to the 'Little Prince and Princess' competition. However, this is not to say that there aren't choices and experiences of cultural performance which aren't 'Greek' or even Greek/British.

Like any large city Athens is divided up into areas and sub areas. Each of these has its own 'platiea' (square). These are often spaces in which young children can play, with seats around their periphery for supervising adults. They are usually places of intense activity from late afternoon till late in the evening for all ages both male and female, though they are areas more predominantly populated by children in the 8 - 14 age group. Older children, both boys and girls, although often congregate in the squares and in discos or coffee bars.

Spiro (his British mother calls him "Pip"!) is fifteen and visits coffee bars with his Greek friends. He assesses one aspect of his sociality and that of his contemporaries by his success with girls.

> . . .I go to the coffee bar with my friends, maybe from school . . . if I like this girl or that girl then I talk to her. . .First you look at her and if she looks at you and smiles then you know its OK to talk. . .and you go over and talk to them. Maybe you have to try a few times but you have to know

how to look at them. Sometimes we (he and his friends) have a competition to see who can go with (date) her. But they (the girls) can do it too if they want, they can come and talk to you . . .but not many do that. I've done it many times that's how you get a girl, a *passarella*. . . some of them (his friends) do Kamaki. . .but I don't. . .

"Getting a girl" is presented here as a condensed image of success and achievement for Pip, an achievement sufficiently valued that its process is recalled in detail. It provides a model of respected social status among his peers and a model for his own self respect. "Knowing how to look at them" hints at the bodily skill necessary to initiate certain types of relationship, and his implicit possession of this skill.

Spiro has a girlfriend, several girlfriends, something he puts down to his having fair skin and blue eyes, which in turn he puts down to his mother. His resentment (discussed below) of being made by his British mother to come home early in the evening when he was younger (when his friends were allowed to stay out late) is compensated for now in his admission that "being half English has some advantages". He believes girls think he is "different" from the others, which physically he is, an "advantage" he puts to being as (socially) similar to his Greek contemporaries as possible, at least in his exploits with girls. That is to say, he imputes to himself a 'British' identity in a way and in a measure acceptable to him, and to the extent that it gets him the esteem he desires from his peers.

Furthermore, despite boasting of having had many girlfriends, and, as he puts it "even sex", he is fervently protective of his sister (14), from the attentions of other boys, (by swearing he'd "kill anyone who went near her"). His comments are compatible with the traditional relationship between the genders within Greek culture (cf. Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1992:*passim*). That is, the value attached to male virility and machismo identity is the

'contentious' opposite of the highly prized feminine virtue of virginity. To be known to posses the ultimate in *dthrope* or 'shame' is to risk never being married, and bringing shame on one's entire family (cf. Campbell in Clogg [ed.] 1983)

Spiro's accounts compare with the Greek tradition of 'Kamaki' and the sexual exploits of some Greek males in Greek holiday resorts.[37] But Pip is indignant at the suggestion and denies that this is what he does because his girlfriends are "not foreign women. . .".

Ironically, being "different" allows Pip to compete with his friends at what might be described as their own game, or 'out-Greeking' his Greek friends precisely because he is part British. Whilst using what he considers to be his part-Britishness to gain sexual access to girls and the esteem of his Greek contemporaries, he reconfirms his Greekness by virtually contrasting his own exploits with the brotherly arm he extends in protection of his family's honour (his sister), which, it seems, requires he do both. This combination of family honour and cultural mixing is similar to the Filipino children who use (formerly) non-Filipino forms to both express Filipino values generally and to compete for family honour in particular.

As a Greek/British boy however there are some historical aspects of his life he deems different to those of his Greek contemporaries. Although he enjoys the same privileges as his friends, he admits that this has not always been the case:

> When I was about 12 mum would call me in really early about nine or something. It was really early and all my friends would still be out. I hated that. She said it was because it was getting dark and I had to be in bed.

[37]This is a pastime of Greek males who engage in challenging each other to establish ephemeral romantic and sexual relationships with foreign women. (See Zinovieff in Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991) Kamaki translates as 'spearfishing' in which males are envisaged as (phallic) spears, and females as hapless fish.

> Because she's English and all the children go early there, so I had to as well. That's why I preferred Greece, because over there (England) it's dangerous for children.

The belief that streets are dangerous justifies early bedtimes but does not accord with the belief that Greece is safer. If Greece is safer then why can't children go to bed later? Citing the low violent crime rate as one of the things most British mothers like about living in Greece, habitual adjustment to it in relation to the social lives of their children seems less easy to grasp. It is arguable that this has more to do with a British tendency to exercise greater control over children.

Another example of what might be described as cultural performance is that recounted by Michael, mentioned earlier. He describes a painfully embarrassing experience during Easter two years ago:

> Around Easter everyone goes to the church. We went with my aunt, my father's sister. . . And everything was the same as usual for the Easter service. . .it was quite long but at the end she made me do this thing underneath the epitaph. The epitaph is the table in front of the altar. It's decorated with flowers on Holy Thursday night. She said I had to crawl under it, she said: "it's part of our (Greek) tradition" . . . that children are supposed to go under the table for good health and good luck. So there I was crawling down on my knees in the shape of a cross once. . . twice. . . I couldn't believe I was doing it. I hadn't done this all my life and I thought here I am doing it now. . . I'd never heard of this, but she said it was traditional. She said it was because I didn't come to the Church enough . . . because of my mother (she goes to the Anglican church), which I suppose is true. But it was so embarrassing . . . I did it for her or she would have created a scene in the church. Later she said she was so proud of me . . .

she started crying and said that I was a real Greek now. . .I said well I'm Greek but not that Greek. . .but I think that upset her. . .

Michael cringes at his conformity to his aunt's wishes to crawl under the epitaph, yet does it to avoid further embarrassment. His aunt describes the ritual as "traditionally Greek". He confesses never having known about it. His aunt blames this on his mother for not being Greek Orthodox. His aunt's request is carried out and prompts her to affirm that Michael is a "real Greek" now. He clearly does not share the extent of 'Greekness' his aunt sees in him, or wishes for him to be, and makes it known. This narrative of power reversal - from reluctantly conforming to an imputed image of Greekness, ends with Michael asserting and placing limits upon that conformity. This narrative reflects on the two sides of Michael's identity: one which conforms to others' impositions of similarity (if reluctantly), the other which declares its 'felt' limits and difference.

Changing tack slightly the performance of children's bicultural identities are also the focus of those involved in an organisation called the 'Cross-Cultural Association' (CCA). Founded in 1978 (though it ceased to function formally in 1991) the organisation was made up of both Greek men and their foreign (mainly English-speaking) wives. The association held open group discussions and listened to talks and lectures by visiting speakers. This provided the opportunity to share and exchange related ideas and experiences on Greek/foreigner marriages.

The Cross-Cultural Newsletter was a development of The Cross-Cultural Association. This justified its purpose as a means of providing:

". . .help to children born of marriages between Greek citizens and foreigners and to make them aware of the value and meaning of the two different cultural traditions in which their parents were raised. . , [and]. .

.help for parents coming from different countries overcome their problems of adaptation. . .". (First issue 1980).

Formally, as stated, the key aim of the group was the social, cultural and educational care of the bi-cultural child. Children, whose parents were members show little recollection of being involved beyond producing a drawing or a letter for the 'Children's page'. Informally, it would appear from the talks, discussions, and minutes produced by the organisation that it was dominated by adult concerns and had little to do with what became labelled the 'bi-cultural child'. The token invitation to 'perform' bi-cultural identity through letter-writing or involvement in the Association is, on the one hand, not of great concern to the children and another parental imposition.

As in the Filipino examples of 'The Little Prince and Princess' the performing body is a vehicle for personal and familial honour and potential shame though in quite different ways, and to varying degrees. Whereas the Filipino child 'performs' clearly in a very physical way, the Greek/British child performs in a more cerebral way writing letters and drawing pictures. The following letter is from Sofi aged 5:

> About being half English and half Greek. It's nice because it's nice to speak half English and half Greek. About having an English mummy. I have to think a long time about why I'd rather have an English mummy than a Greek mummy but I like having an English mummy and a Greek daddy when I'm out playing I might think of something to tell you about it. . . (Cross Cultural Newsletter August 1984).

and

> I stay with my grandparents in England in the summer. I like being there because my grandfather plays lots of games of 'Happy Families' and other card games with me and takes me to the puppet show in the park. He reads to me and gives me piano lessons too. My grandmother has the same name as my second name. She makes lovely meals for us and also makes dresses for me and my dolls. We play pretending games and we laugh a lot. Sometimes I help her to do jobs and cook. We have lots of fun there (Klieo 7 Ibid.: July 1986).

The Greek/British child experiences contrasting influences more immediately than children in the other groups, that is, within the home, rather than as a distinction between inside and outside the home. Socialisation is clearly more pointed toward the cerebral incorporation of cultural forms. For example, language learning (illustrated by concerns over 'which' kindergarten to attend) and the performance of ones "cross-cultural-ness" through writing. Among the older children this is further supplemented by the more physical, bodily expression of cultural habits (animated gestures, gender relations, polite protocol) as they are provided by peers and family members.

Iraqi Refugees

The same kind of 'Greek' bodily gestures are as evident among the Iraqi children as among the other two groups. For example, Sargon enthuses with "Po Po Po" at a suggestion that his lottery card might be worth millions, this too is accompanied with a waving movement of the hand. Rimon indicates a negative response to a question as to whether he had done the English

homework he was given, by tutting and throwing his chin up, the most economic way of conveying a negative response.

These gestures are largely uncontentious in the Iraqi's home, perhaps explainable by the relative similarity of verbal and bodily exuberance evident in Arabic exchanges generally. A feature commented on by non-Iraqis working in the Refugee Centre who often perceived them as "loud", "rude", "aggressive", and "boisterous".

Although there are efforts to maintain a level of ethnic distinctiveness, aspects of Greek manner and style do not prompt the same kind of indignation which is evident among some Filipino parents and British mothers. Although language is different and some efforts are made to preserve it, bodily and performative style is similar to that of the Greek, and therefore seemingly requires no special treatment either by way of avoidance or encouragement by parents.

As is shown among the Filipinos, and in the social life of Greek/British children, the Iraqis also express identities through particular kinds of collective performance. In this respect however I would like to focus not so much on the children as Iraqis but rather as <u>refugees</u>. This is to move from both a geographic and generational notion of identity and culture to a bureaucratic one (c.f. Zetter 1991, Vincent 1991).

Social marginality generates its own structures and its own symbolic codes and activities. These structures codes and activities raise questions about how identities are imputed by non-refugees (i.e. helpers and authorities) and, in turn, how these are perceived and interpreted by the refugee children themselves. 'Performances' as refugees yet as members of Greek society, are shown in several different ways, some of which I will attempt to highlight.

One of these is quite literally a dramatic performance and involves a celebration in the Refugee Centre over the Christmas period. Although

instigated by the organisers of the Centre, the playing out of two stories focused upon the theme of childhood (the story of Santa Claus) and their religion (the story of the nativity) respectively. These highlight global aspects of childhood and religion theatrically re-enacted as they might be by children anywhere.

The clothes and costumes used for these, were those that had been donated to the Centre for general use by the refugees, and provided the entire wardrobe for these performances. Dresses, veils, scarves, hats, and trousers in a wide range of styles and colours made both performances possible. These were the accumulated 'left-overs' of donations that had been made throughout the year.

Playing out 'Agios Vassilis' (Saint Basil), or 'Santa Claus'

The donning of what is discarded by others provides a crucial part of the playing out of a central childhood myth and the story of their religion. The clothes themselves signify a life that renders what is useless into something useful, and more fundamentally highlights the performance of those who perceive the refugees as 'other'. Moreover, as will be shown again later, the refugees turn that perception into something which is valuable to them other than what was intended by those who impute.

Playing out The Nativity

Other donations of food, toys, functional and ornamental items, were raffled for the children and their families at the same celebration. One boy became the proud winner of a naked Barbi doll, another a jigsaw puzzle (with a piece missing). One of the children won an electric razor, and another a pair

of ladies' tights. The mismatches of prizes and their recipients brought howls of laughter and mutual teasing.

Upset at not having won a toy tractor which was held up after the corresponding ticket had been drawn, Abraham (9) initiated the first exchange in a spate of swapping and bargaining which then followed. Prizes were re-appropriated as their personal and functional value took over from their collective entertainment value. Toys and practical items of different kinds were exchanged according to need and preference, some things were double-swapped. Disposable razors in return for dolls, and tins of beans for toy cars and teddy bears. Charitable donations provided the medium of entertainment as well as the capital of practical exchange.

This performance of barter and exchange is a key signifier of social identity. The 'scene' emerges from the very conditions of refugee life and what is enacted in the exchanges is indicative of genuine need. It is arguable whether, as Bhaba (1986:268) has it, the value of an exchange is simply "in the encounter", or that "it is the act of exchanging that gives value to that which is exchanged". But what is overwhelmingly the case is that as receivers, users, and barterers of others' discarded 'gifts', this performance of collective identity underlines the refugee's position as socially marginal.

The Iraqi refugee child may also perform the role of a 'Greek' child. For example by singing the 'Calendar'. This customary activity occurs just prior to Christmas and is a lucrative pursuit for children willing to do it. It is akin to carol singing in the UK and involves children going to doors in the neighbourhood either alone or in groups.

'The Calendar' is a song that goes through the months of the year and defines the religious feasts of Greek Orthodoxy and the weather characteristics of that time of the year. Starting with January it goes through to December and culminates in the celebrations of Christmas and New year.

Sargon boasted that he made up to 7000 drachma (£21.00) in the week before Christmas. He admits to sometimes getting the words wrong, but that "people will give more if I gets the words right". It seems that the more convincing his performance, i.e. the more like his Greek counterparts, the greater his profit will be. Sargon's performance is accompanied by the playing of a triangle continuously through his singing. Bigger and better triangles are thought to be more impressive to prospective punters and so early profits are converted to entrepreneurial investments by the purchase of a more impressive triangle.

Singing 'The Calendar'

There are two versions of the tune which accompanies the words, one is deemed more difficult than the other. The simpler version is the one used by Sargon and most of the refugee children, and is the same as that for the

traditional and widely known "Jingle Bells". There is reason to believe that the use of this tune is almost exclusive to the refugees and appropriated by them (since I heard no Greek child using it). The combination of a local song with what is arguably an internationally memorable and recognisable tune, engages Sargon in the creative invention of what is effectively a rendition of a local tradition in a global form. Primarily, it serves the purposes of getting him money, but it is also a guide for gauging his personal competence as a 'Greek' child i.e. a measure for becoming 'Greek'.

Another example of performative communication is one of imputed 'refugee' identity and a partial reversal of that identity by the children themselves. This involved a party to which the children had been exclusively but collectively invited. This was put on by one of the fast food restaurants in the city ('Wendy's'), though it was held in one of the most exclusive hotels (appropriately named 'The Intercontinental'[38]). A group of around thirty five refugee children with six supervisors arrived at the entrance of the large room on the ground floor and waited while the hotel staff distributed pink, white and blue balloons.

At first the children were asked (in Greek) by one of the organising hosts if they were "happy to be in Greece" they responded (in Greek) that they were. Their status as foreigners was underlined by her, despite the fact that many of the children had been there for as long as 6 years, and had not as she had also assumed 'just arrived'. Her question assumed that they had sufficient grasp of the native language to understand and respond (which they did, but, given her assumption that they had only recently arrived it seemed an ambitious expectation) in the same language.

The children were brought to some kind of order and entertained by a performing clown. "Yia sou, pethia" (hello children) he shouted in Greek. "Yia sou" they all shouted back. "Kathiste kato, kathiste kato" (sit down, sit down),

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[38]The children having come from Asia, are living in Europe, and hoping to go to the USA!.

he said. He began his magic routine and proceeded from the simplest of tricks to more complex ones involving disappearing animals and birds.

As he called the children out from time to time as stooges and assistants, none of them, when asked, gave their real names. Rimon became "Vasillis", Rana was "Maria", Martin was "Markos" i.e. all adopted traditional Greek names. This switching of names seemed to satisfy the momentary demand of becoming 'Greek'. To pretend to the most important status figure in the context (the clown) presumably provided a short-cut to their foreign identity not being made more conspicuous by public admission of a 'strange' (foreign) name. As if to add to the temporary currency of their name-game the Greek clown introduced himself as "Billy" (a highly improbable Greek name!).

The party culminated in the entrance of Father Christmas and the arrival of the American national basketball team, (locally and internationally known as 'The Dream Team') the stars of which were well known to many of the children having seen them on television. Posing for photographs and being seen with the stars occasioned the reversal of their identity yet again. From being temporary Greeks with Greek names, they reverted again to their Iraqi names when introduced to the team.

As if to display a complete adult ignorance, questions as to why the children had changed their names were met with silence, bemusement, and even a laughed "I don't know. . .like this". One cannot assume that name-changing is without reason but simply that those reasons are not easily articulated. It is possible that within this context they conceive of themselves as acceptably Greek whereas outside they do not.

This apparent 'playing of the system' by means of double reversal, through personal and collective performance, shows not only contextually appropriate competence but also an awareness of imputed identity, and, an ability to manipulate it.

Whether public and publicised favours for those imputed with and deemed 'underprivileged', are any more than a symbolic enactment of the latters' low status is worth raising here. Comparing these with the other two groups the Filipino families may describe themselves as "economic refugees" and share some sense of being marginal, but experience nothing like the extent of material need that the Iraqi refugees do. On a continuum of social marginality clearly the Greek/British children, being far more integrated experience little or no marginalisation, whereas for the Iraqi children it is dominant, the Filipinos lie somewhere in between.[39]

The place of some kind of 'compensation' for the plight of refugee life, in the shape of such invitations, in this case at least, is shared with the fact that these are also promotional events. It was clear that the occasion was commercially driven: not only were there many 'Wendy's' advertisements visible where the party was held, but these were also strategically placed when the basketball stars posed with some of the children for press photographs. While resisting the cynical temptation to suggest that refugees are merely 'good to profit from', one cannot pass over the event without pushing commercial 'good will' further than naive altruism.

Yet, such glamorous performances of shifting contexts and shifting identities are in contrast to more mundane realities of daily life. For example, refugee identity is no more graphically illustrated than in the children's efforts to provide food for themselves. This was usually achieved at the *Laiki* (market). The members of the religious community who organised the Refugee Centre, together with three or four adults and some of the children, went regularly each week to gather food for the refugees who eat there. They

[39]The difference between the Filipinos and Iraqis in this respect is perhaps explainable by the former's strength in numbers and communal solidarity, and more importantly the willingness of Filipino men, along with Filipino women, to be employed in domestic work outside the home. This lends itself to a greater sense of social integration and economic freedom.

collected discarded onions from the ground, unwanted fruit from the stalls, and were happy to receive what could no longer be sold.

There were often as many as five or six children depending on whose turn it was to help. One of the key roles of the children was to guard the boxes of vegetables that were collected by those more physically able. Marlene, fluent in Greek, showed no hesitation in negotiating her way around the busy stalls engaging with the stallholders:

M Kyrie, sas parakaloume, boroume na paroume aftes; (Sir, if you please, can we take these [oranges]?).
S Ohi tora. Argotera. (Not now, later)
M Pote; (When?)
S Misi ora (Half an hour)

Or in the scavenging for spare empty boxes in which to carry food:

M Signomi Kyrie, boro na paro afto to kouti; (Excuse me sir can I take this box?)
S (tuts [= 'no'])
M Yiati? den einai kala. (Why? it's not good)
S Ohi to thelo. (No, I want it)
M Alla den einai kala. (But it's not very good)
S Entaxi, to paries, fige. (OK you can take it, go away)
M Efharisto. (Thankyou)

Many of the children are known by the majority of stall holders and their presence draws sympathy once it is known who and what they are. The children are their own 'bread-winners', directly involved in the provision of their own food, as well as in its provision for others who come to eat in the

Refugee Centre. They are veritable urban hunters and gatherers. By not paying for the food the children again prove they are potent symbols of marginality and, because of that, a focus of attention for those traders unfamiliar with them. But the double marginality of refugee and beggar are yet mixed with the social competence to initiate requests for food and boxes in the native language.

A similar interplay between refugee and competent Greek was also played at Apokreas parties. 'Apokreas' simply means 'carnival' and marks the beginning of the pre-Easter season in Greece. During this period children customarily dress up in classical costume and attend organised parties in their localities. Concerned that the refugee children should not be missed out two local schools sent out invitations to them.

An Apokreas party

Moreen (10) and Marlene (11) arrived at the Refugee Centre (from where we would all leave) in their frocks with Marlene's younger sister Rita (8) in a bumble bee outfit and ballet dress. The dresses were supplemented with copious amounts of face make up and artificial jewellery. Ashak (11) went as a cowboy and Abraham (9), his brother, dressed in what seemed to be like a bullfighter's costume with a machine gun. All of these costumes were provided by what clothing donations had been made to the Centre. The older boys simply painted their faces with red dye (which later proved extremely difficult to remove!), in an effort to appear different from usual.

Having arrived at the venue the Greek children displayed an array of different outfits: there were Zorro costumes, spaceman suits, fairies and angels, cat suits, and mouse suits. Apart from Moreen, Marlin, and Rita, the refugee children were conspicuous for their absence of costume. Although Martin earlier tried a very impressive 'mouse' outfit the others simply laughed and pulled his tail, so he discarded it and joined the others by dyeing his face red. His desire to appear different than usual, and therefore like the other (Greek) children, is countered by the need not to look <u>too</u> different from the refugee children, the dyed face perhaps provided an acceptable compromise.

The invitation to the party, to as it were "join with and be like the Greeks" is extended to the refugees precisely because they are refugees and <u>not</u> Greek. There is a complex interplay here between the notion of *ksenos* and that of *dhiki mas* which Herzfeld (1995:126 ff.) discusses in relation to Greek themes of social sameness and difference, and which is traceable in the examples so far outlined (e.g. the Christmas party, the Market). Although invited to be "like" them, the refugees are identified as 'other' precisely in the demonstration of hospitality. Invited to be friend or 'ours' (*dhiki mas*) they are confirmed as stranger (*ksenos*). Sameness and difference is, subsequently also duly performed in the refugees' response.

The explicit imputation of refugee identity marks them out from the other children. At the beginning of the party they were introduced and described as "special guests", also I was secretly informed that, come the distribution of gifts, they (the refugees) would get "ten small (gifts)". I was warned not to tell the other (Greek) children who would only receive "five". These were party hats, jigsaw puzzles, small plastic toys, chocolate etc.

This singling-out of refugee children further highlights who and what they are. The effort to include them in the activities of 'normal' Greek children (indeed, lavish upon them in excess of ordinary Greek children), paradoxically merely confirms their marginality.

A second Apokreas party to which the children were also invited involved a raffle in which the children drew a single numbered ticket from a bag and which corresponded with any one of a collection of toys. It slowly dawned on Abraham after tearing away the patched up wrapping paper of his 'prize', that the large remote-controlled electric car, which had corresponded to his ticket number, previously belonged to another child. At first delighted he gradually came to realise that it was less than perfect. The windscreen was broken, the wires were disconnected, and there were no batteries. Each fault was discovered one by one and was accompanied by a mournful

> "Oh look . . . Is not new, . . . it's not nice, it's bad. . . Before I think it was nice, now is not nice. Why they give me like this?". . .I take home and my brother [Virab] will make nice".

After taking it back to the Centre he allowed Virab to dismantle the car, remove the motor, and, with a piece of cardboard and a battery, they together constructed a makeshift fan. Turning a useless toy car into something at least half useful and half entertaining is indicative of a life forced to make the most of what it has, something out of relatively nothing.

Although this demonstrates creativity with what are more symbolic than practical items, and therefore again the possibility to turn someone else's donated 'symbol' into one's own practical appliance (like the clothes in play acting), they fall short of a clear conceptual grasp of others' imputations. This is not so in the following example of some of the older refugees.

This involved the visits to the Refugee Centre (on alternate Saturdays) of a group of Greek children from a private school in Athens who, as part of their school leaving diploma, had to engage in some charitable service in the city. An article which appeared in an English-language newspaper after the first visit described its purpose and included the impressions of one participant:

> The project was established as part of the diversified curriculum that aims to broaden the students' horizons. . . .beginning with the students donating articles of clothing and non-perishable food items to the refugees . . .Each student was given a task. . . which was to feed seventy needy people. . . [The] Center looks like a haunted place where criminals are hiding but the people who live there are anything but criminals. . . (From 'The Greek News' February 17 - 23 1995 p.10).

The article raises some key issues about the perceptions of outsiders. One is the role that the Centre plays in the education of those not quite so underprivileged. As an element in the ". . .diversified curriculum that aims to broaden the student's horizons. . ." the refugee Centre sits alongside the other key threads in the curriculum of the privately educated.

Slightly indignant, one of the refugees Heriknas (16), believed that it would be amusing and no less legitimate if all the refugee children from the Centre were allowed to go to the schools and homes of those who'd visited them in order to broaden their own "horizons"!

The key part of the article at least for the refugees was that the Centre was described as a ". . .haunted place where criminals were hiding. . .". I pointed out that the sentence qualified the impressions of the writer (". . .but the people who live there are anything but criminals. . .") and that they should not take this too seriously. They remained unconvinced.

> What do you think will happen when the people read this, they will think we are like criminals, dirty. . . like we are living in a prison or something . . . they will not come to see us because nobody likes to go to a haunted place.

I responded by saying that this was just an impression of one of the students. However, Mariam, agreed with her sister:

> Yes, but the people don't think like that. . .all they will see is "haunted place where criminals are hiding". . .

That the refugees were included in a program for a baccalaureate was also commented on. Hilda insisted that she felt like a "strange animal for people to look at", others believed it was important that young Greek people "should know what was going on" and the difficult conditions which refugee life entailed and that is was good that they came.

Mariam insisted that I write to the newspaper and complain. "You are always writing things, now write about this". Made in humour, it was a genuine request so, with reservation, I agreed. The girls seemed satisfied that someone would make <u>their</u> impressions felt. The letter was published and excitement was further fuelled by the editor's apology.

The example demonstrates further the effect of imputed identities, the sensitivities they affect, and of the level at which the children were conscious

of the impression they and the Centre gave to the world beyond its gates. The competing narratives of lives from the perspectives of those who observe them and those who live them provide insight into the refugee home as both an 'etic' and 'emic' phenomenon. That is to say, the way in which individuals interpret their worlds, how that is expressed, and the impact it generates, can easily offend or affirm another's place in it.

Strictly speaking, this might have been covered in the section on language, since the argument is over the selection of words. But what is more fundamentally at stake is the 'act' of telling the story and the identities of its tellers. To paraphrase Davidson (1984:247), if we operate on the distinction between what words mean and what they are used to mean, metaphor belongs to the domain of use (see also Hastrup 1995:37).

Performing the story and the importance of getting it right is, as I found out, easily undermined as a representing medium. Indeed, as Kerby points out "it is through various forms of narrative emplotment that our lives - our very selves attain meaning" (1991:3). It is not just the 'accuracy' of a story that is at stake but, in this case, the dignity of its protagonists.

I have tried to show how these children 'perform' identity in a number of contexts by exercising creativity in the adoption and discarding of appropriate roles.[40] Their lives as refugees and yet, in many cases, as competent Greeks (not to mention the ability of some to narrate it all in English), combines with their activities at parties, in the market, their use of donations, gifts, and their self-reflection on the imputations of others, to

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[40]Briefly, I have concentrated more among the Iraqi children on the collective perfomance of identity than isolated examples of individuals. The reason for this stems mainly from the field experience itself, the strong solidarity among the refugees and their tendency to do a great deal together in groups. But this neither denies their individuality nor smothers it. Rather, it shows them as part of a bureacratic and socially marginal culture to which they are often called upon to respond collectively. I have also emphasized their experience as refugees rather than Iraqis. This is justified on the basis that their lives are largely expressed as refugees in Greece rather than Iraqis in Greece.

establish them as skilled in linguistically complex, socially marginal, yet potentially creative contexts.

In summary, what this section shows is how the children are confronted with communicative dilemmas from which they must choose in order to establish and/or maintain both a personal and a cultural identity which is socially viable. These choices are made through linguistic and embodied engagement with different socio-cultural forms. Where that choice is not necessarily conscious it is at least enacted.

The range of language choices is at least comparable to the range of gesticular forms, and bodily activities and locations. Identity therefore is comprised of the 'selection' of these by the child as they are deemed appropriate by them. Multiculture, to which I have somewhat guardedly endeavoured to appeal as a way of describing these identities, turns out to be, therefore, little more than what the range of social possibilities provides.

Prior, then, to moving into the last section and a consideration of the more theoretical consequences of what has been discussed, I suggest that multiculture, like culture, is simply that which is created, maintained, and altered by the provision and performance of socially viable choices, the embodiment of which, whether in thought, word, or act, infuses contexts with subtly or dramatically variant meanings among those who make up those contexts.

That is to say that culture, or 'a culture' is not ultimately chosen as a total form, but rather, is constituted by the range of socially viable choices available. Simply because these choices or potential choices are perceived as incommensurable or radically different, by parents (or as 'contested' by the anthropologist) clearly does not mean they are so for the child, who is beginning to locate him or herself within them.

Identity in these accounts is constructed from a *bricolage* of socially viable forms of, what parents (or the anthropologist) might consider, 'different cultures', but what the child considers more or less expedient selections (of words and acts) with immediate social validity.

PART 4
CULTURE, MULTICULTURE, AND IDENTITY

The remaining two chapters confront two important issues which emerge in the ethnography and which are conveniently summed up by Vered Amit-Talai in a discussion of 'Multicultural Youth'. They are:

> (1) the cultural competencies involved in the production and reproduction of forms of collective action, and (2) the development of individual consciousness through handling multiple cultural frameworks (Amit-Talai and Wulff [eds.] 1995:228) [Numbers added].

I will address each of these issues respectively in the two remaining chapters. The first considers the notion of culture, its means of production and reproduction, how an ethnography of multicultural children might be discussed, and the possibility of how membership of more than one culture might be possible.

CHAPTER 7
CULTURAL IDENTITIES: LANGUAGE AND SOCIALISATION

In a discussion of multiculture and with regard to the ethnography, in what, or where, does culture reside? At home? In school? On the street? Do these domains constitute different cultures, or are they part of a single culture? How do we account for culture with respect to the children whose occupation of these domains has been described? And, in what respect can these be descriptive of identity? These questions are rather blunt and in order to answer them it is necessary to say something on the notion of culture itself.

Any enquiry into culture is incomplete without a discussion of the work of Clifford Geertz (e.g. 1975) who approaches it as a network of symbolic interactions.

> The concept of culture I espouse . . .is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on the surface enigmatical (Geertz 1975:5).

Geertz accuses anthropology, or more accurately anthropologists, of having shied away from cultural particularities in definitions and maintains they have contented themselves with taking refuge in "bloodless universals" (1975:43). By this he means that the concept of culture has been studied as a purely theoretical structure but which neglected the activities of individuals within it and the means by which they shared, maintained, and interpreted its symbols and values.

Geertz' ethnographies, by contrast, are embedded in the contexts of the daily lives in which his subjects partook, not as simple automatons explainable by the collectivising structures which are theoretically prior and whose ends they serve, but as discerning and broadly interpreting individuals. Attempting to assess mental processes, his symbolist approach relies upon the systems of symbols and events of everyday life. He addresses religion, kinship, law, language, politics and economics as such symbolic systems in which are engaged the social action of minds.

Geertz encourages the analysis of culture by attention to empirical fieldwork which he suggests is not so much a scientific technique as a relationship (Geertz 1975:14) between structural forms and the individual. It

would seem that he espouses this relationship with a view to understanding the meanings symbols or 'clusters of symbols' have for those who use them and who act in ways that render them meaningful. Culture for Geertz is not a causal realm of behaviour but a context of intelligibility (Jenks 1993:62).

Geertz' literary and analytic device of "Thick Description"[41] not only attempts to describe social contexts in minute detail, taking every aspect of it into account as potentially affective, but pushes toward the task of explaining and interpreting the structures of signification and meaning within it. Geertz's ideas are dynamic and compelling, yet also incisively paradoxical:

> Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions are its most tremulously based, in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others, that you are not quite getting it right. But that along with plaguing subtle people with obtuse questions, is what being an ethnographer is like (1975:29).

Geertz' model of culture permits its members an ability to manipulate cultural materials through meaning and interpretation, but, in Durkheimian fashion, appears not go so far as to concede their power to create them (see Jenks 1993: 62-3) - a somewhat peculiar suspension of the cultural process. This is aside from other criticisms of Geertz' work, such as Roseberry's (1982) and Keesing's (1982) on the abstractness of Geertz' symbolic forms, and the process of their creation. Yet for others, Geertz formulated the compelling view that culture was the means by which the individual engaged with

[41]A device which considers every conceivable facet of a particular field experience in terms of its potential effect on the whole. The minutest of details are conveyed in the most comprehensive form, rendering their textual exposition literally 'thick'.

society, and thus effected a significant shift in social analysis. For example, Cohen maintains

> Geertz paved the way for anthropologists to recognise that culture is not an intractable social force imposed on members, but is continuously recreated by their interpretive prowess (1994:135).

Geertz expressed his own achievement as a shift from the "laws-and-causes of social physics" to analysis of "significative systems posing expositive questions" (Geertz 1983:3). Indeed, Geertz saw cultures as "webs of significance" (1975:5). Taking Cohen's favourable view of Geertz' interpretivism may be a useful concept to dwell on briefly.

In the thesis, this theoretical framework assists us in addressing not just the terms 'Filipino' and 'Refugee' etc., but allows us to look at how these categories are interpreted and lived by those who do or do not occupy them. For example, not only can we consider Kiethlyn (the Filipino girl) as 'a Filipino' but we can also consider how she interprets being a Filipino in relation to her mother, and in relation to her school friend, as well as a competent Greek in relation to these. Not only can we talk about Martin (the Iraqi refugee boy) as an Iraqi and a refugee, but as a particular Iraqi and refugee and how his English and Greek language impinge upon and operate within these impositions.

In other words, the children interpret and respond to their worlds in ways that cannot be predicted exclusively by only one of the cultural or linguistic groups from which they gather their cultural and linguistic material. Indeed, we must consider their "webs of significance" as stretching over the boundaries normally constituting the ends and beginnings of culture. For example, Martin's (the Iraqi refugee boy) learning of Greek and English is necessitated by the social context with which he engages. Electra's

(Greek/British girl) mixing of Greek hand gestures with English words, likewise. We cannot make culturally exclusive sense of Funda's (the young Iraqi refugee girl) quadro-lingualism without recourse to all the linguistic contexts she is exposed to throughout the day.

Multivocality is a key theme in Geertz' assessment of culture, that is, the notion of "many voices", multiple interpretations of the same events, and that a shared word or symbol does not guarantee a shared meaning of it. Geertz' contribution later provided the impetus for anthropological postmodernism and the notion of polysemy (many meanings). Moreover, the emergence of later developments suggest that neither should we assume a 'one person, one meaning' interpretation of polysemy. Individuals themselves are contradictory (Rapport 1993), their interpretations may change over time, or differ according to the circumstances. We see this quite clearly in Vassilis, who both believes in the evil eye rituals practised by his grandmother yet doesn't believe them as is the preference of his mother. He admits that it depends on whom he is talking to. Agreeing with both his grandmother and his mother shows how he is capable of conceptually carrying the orientations of more than one cultural 'group', when their two principal members (as far as Vasilis is concerned - his grandmother and mother) consider them utterly opposed.

Geertz maintains, however, that culture is more an activity of "thinking" than of "doing" (see Cohen 1994:135), which affirms earlier criticisms of Roseberry (1982) and Keesing (1982), but if this were so, what must we make of doing? What must we make of bodily activity if it is so superficially split from the mind? What can we mean when we speak of culture as 'embodied', as I have done so frequently in the ethnography? What becomes of the gestures used by Electra, the bodily performance of anger in the examples of Michael (the Greek/British boy) and how he perceives Greek as a better language to be angry, and what of Yannie's 'tutting' (denoting a negative

response)? What do we make of the refugees attendance at Aprokreas parties, of dressing up to act out universal childhood stories, of singing the Calendar? Are not these aspects of culture too? In Geertz' defence it is possible to counter that it is in the thinking about doing that culture becomes meaningful and open to interpretation. But this rather ducks the issue and reduces culture to a purely cerebral process at the expense of a bodily one.

Although Geertz' approach to culture is captivating, it is questionable whether this distinction, inferred by Cohen, between thinking and doing, I would, rather, consider them both (thinking and doing) as (embodied) culture. Moreover, not only is culture about doing, but thinking is also an activity, something that one does. The unfortunate division between them is a remnant of the Cartesian legacy which continues to dog intellectual enterprise. Without neglecting the importance of thinking what I am suggesting is that culture does not need to be thought in order to be effective or affected. Arguably, culture is precisely that which need not be immediately conscious (i.e. thought) in order for us to affect or be affected by it. I would not go so far as to say that culture might not even involve thinking at all but it does beg the question.

My playing down of thinking and stress upon embodiment and doing, is inspired not only by the ethnography and the children, but also by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1971, 1979). Bourdieu's notion of the 'cultural unconscious' (also discussed in Jenks 1993:133) which refers to the tacit, unspoken grounds which precondition cultural production, resonates with his notion of habitus mentioned earlier (see p. 47, 84). Habitus treats more seriously the importance of embodiment and, in respect of cultural reproduction, is typified as "the system of modes of perception, of thinking, of apperception, and of action" (in Young [ed.] 1971:192). 'Habitus' is a Latin word, which according to Jenkins, refers to "a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body" (Jenkins 1992:74). Thus,

Bourdieu's approach assists us more than Geertz in conceiving of the notion of 'culture' (or multiculture) as it is discussed in relation to the children in the ethnography.

Habitus is a useful way of discussing a range of social attributes which, although they may vary from individual to individual are also to some extent shared. Jenks, in his discussion of Bourdieu, describes the habitus in the following way:

> The habitus is a concept that seems to take meaning at a number of different levels: it is in one sense the metaphor for membership of a community grounded in intellectual or aesthetic considerations yet it is also available as a key to integration into a Durkheimian creed of solidarity, a key that is acquired in early socialisation (1993:132).

That it is a "key to socialisation. . .acquired in early socialisation" makes habitus all the more important as a concept in the analysis of children and culture. Jenks takes the example of language to illustrate habitus and shows that certain ways of speech which demonstrate membership are more than mere means of communication; as he puts it "they speak far more than they can say". They are "totemic", "emblems", they "symbolise the particular group", "they carry with them the group's particular interests and orientations, and they display the group's thought style" (Jenks loc. cit.). Thus, although habitus is not considered synonymous with culture it is an alternative way to understanding how it is learned, since it links the individual with the collective in what may be identified as 'style' (Hebdige 1979).

Habitus may be considered as the means by which socialisation occurs. It is the vehicle of transmission of action from one generation to the next. In his analysis of the French education system Bourdieu (1971) focused his attention

on the role the school plays in the constitution and transmission of cultural knowledge. He states that

> the cultural field is transformed by successive restructurations rather than by radical revolutions, with certain themes being brought to the fore while others are set to one side without being completely eliminated, so that continuity of communication between intellectual generations remains possible. In all cases, however, the patterns informing the thought of a given period can be fully understood only by reference to the school system, which is alone capable of establishing them through practice, as the habits of thought common to a whole generation (1971:192).

What Bourdieu is showing is how patterns of communication perpetuate in certain communities though not necessarily in their totality (c.f. Bourdieu 1977, 1989). The same may be said of the transmission of culture generally, though the values of one generation are rarely identical to the one preceding it. Admittedly, there is a Durkheimian thread running through Bourdieu's work and is evident here in the production and maintenance of a social consensus, though he is critical of Durkheim's positivism in its dependence on stasis (see Jenks 1993:129).

Bourdieu conceives of society as illusory and intends that his analysis will reveal the 'deeper' structural relations operating underneath. Bourdieu sees the cultural process as self-sustaining and self-perpetuating. In this way, Bourdieu shifts from an ideological function of culture into an awareness of the specific efficacy of culture, in that, it is seen as structuring the system of social relations by its functioning (Bourdieu 1977: 24-25).

It is not the implicit overiding sense of coherence and structure that I wish to retain from Bourdieu, since this seems to play down the importance of individuality, but more the sense of the "specific efficacy of culture".

Moreover, this does not necessarily preclude culture as communicated or as being 'effected' by individuals. Though not perhaps intended by Bourdieu in this way the 'specific efficacy of culture' simply re-appropriates the word 'specific' from one of conceptual exclusivity to one of actual, embodied and encultured individuals. Each child interprets culture and social life in unique ways and makes culture effective literally in specific ways.

Yet this effectiveness or agency is in dynamic relationship to structure which Bourdieu can also help with. Bourdieu includes within his definition of culture all semiotic systems from language to science, art, and literature. He argues that individuals become aware of reality within culture, and that its essentially political function is controlled by certain status groups who confer cultural legitimacy. Since his discussion is primarily about education systems, his examples of such status groups are for example teachers. However, we need not necessarily keep to such a strict definition. For our own purposes parents clearly operate as teachers or exemplars of culture. In this thesis I have described their efforts to disseminate culture, to keep a check on, and control the activities of their children.

Yet, neither can we neglect the influence of peers as conferers of cultural legitimacy. Explicit and implicit in the ethnographic descriptions are children (at least those over the age of 7) comparing or contrasting themselves with their friends; endorsing and rejecting individual examples of culture to which they may choose or choose not to belong. I am reminded of Louis the older Filipino boy, who confirms how 'Greek' he feels despite the wishes of his parents; also of Michael (Greek/British) who, despite being aware of his 'difference' as a younger boy, now contrasts himself sharply with his mother. There is Martin (Iraqi refugee) who associates himself strongly with his Greek friends, and, despite engaging in the same street activities as gypsies and Albanians distinguishes himself from them. Examples of culture and belonging may be adopted, perpetuated and sustained or, for that matter,

rejected and changed. Thus exemplars of culture are not necessarily confined to teachers or even parents.

Language and Culture

I would like to return to the notion of habitus and the example of language, since it involves both the thinking of Geertz and the doing of Bourdieu, and because it is so prevalent in the ethnography - involving virtually every child in one way or another. It is also a way of highlighting socialisation as a dominant issue in the analysis of multicultural childhood. Furthermore, this enlightens us as to what culture is, and the part language plays in it.

Not only is the issue of language so prevalent in the ethnography but for children generally it plays a fundamental role in learning to be social, as Hendry puts it:

> A child in any society learns to perceive the world through language, spoken and unspoken, through ritual enacted, indeed through the total symbolic system which structures and constrains that world (1986:2).

This must also be true in contexts which are multilingual, or rather, for individuals whose 'worlds' demand multilingual competency. Thus, we can recall such examples as Dimitra whose domestic world literally is divided up into various rooms around the house in which separate languages are used. We can also recall Mariam and Heriknas the refugee girls who are indignant at the choice of words chosen by a local newspaper reporter. Both of these examples stem from contexts which rely heavily on language to constitute

them. Indeed, they are issues created out of multilingual contexts and force children to take cognisance of them in defining who they are.

In a similar vein to Hendry, Miller and Hoogstra maintain that a child's experience of speech

> is not only pervasive, but it co-varies with social context. That is, speech provides a "map" to the social terrain in that it indexes socially constituted categories (e.g., roles, statuses, situations, and events) through the choice of linguistic options (Miller and Hoogstra in Schwartz et al [ed.] 1992:85).

Although, in one respect language is a surface phenomenon of 'habitus' as well as a structuring component of cognition, it is also a guide through it and, perhaps even unbeknown to the agent, even creates it.

> Every confrontation between agents in fact brings together, in an *interaction* defined by the *objective structure* of the relation between the groups they belong to . . .systems of dispositions. . .such as a linguistic competence and a cultural competence and, through these habitus, all the objective structures of which they are the product, structures which are active only when *embodied* in a competence acquired in the course of a particular history. . .(Bourdieu 1977: 81 original emphasis).

For example, Amalia chooses who she wants to be in a particular context precisely by speaking Greek to her English mother (in the presence of her [Amalia's] Greek friend). Kiethlyn is normally constrained by language in her home and not permitted to use Greek in it, yet in the presence of the Greek kindergarten teacher finds opportunity to defy this 'rule'. Language, indeed multilingulism, allows Kiethlyn to limit or challenge the influence of others' through her own agency.

Some children show linguistic and bodily orientations toward 'Greekness' and display "a particular group's style" (Jenks [on Bourdieu] loc. cit.). For example, Michael demonstrates how the Greek language is not just a set of words to be learnt and communicated with, it is a performance: "It's a great language to be angry in". Electra communicates an entire message as to the whereabouts of a roll of sellotape through the flick of a wrist and the simultaneous shrug of her shoulders. Both of these examples communicate to their respective parents not just feelings or questions but what is perceived as 'cultural identity'.

Such examples of different communicative systems and performances through embodiment confirms Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Socialisation is communicated through language which is embodied. This leaves us with a tentative answer to where and what culture is. It is not just an activity of thinking, as was suggested of Geertz, nor even ideas or feelings of identity, it is also one of physical activity, of bodiliness, of how, where, and why the body moves and is moved (see Shilling 1994).

But, as some of the children show (e.g. Electra, Michael) different communicative styles can also be mixed. Gestures normally accompanying one language may instead accompany another: Greek gestures may be used with English words; in the example of Yannie Greek gestures may be used with words from different languages, which themselves may be swapped between and within sentences.

Language and Socialisation

Indeed, this notion of shifting from one language to another, or from one language context to another, is a central issue for analysts of language socialisation, and has prompted a more dynamic approach to the relationship

between socialisation and language use (see Schieffelin 1990). For example, Ochs (1988) has argued in favour of an approach to language and socialisation that examines both the impact the adult has on the child and that which the child has on the adult.

In contexts of interaction between adult and child, adults are clearly exposed to the possibility of transformations in their own understandings. An example of this is brutally conveyed in Yvette's experience of being told by her daughter that she is "stupid" because she can't speak Greek. The incident results from Yvette's linguistic inferiority. Yvette is not only left humiliated but asks herself "What the hell am I doing here?". It is also illustrated in less extreme examples such as that where British mother (Pat) mispronounces a word, to which her children respond by ridiculing and teasing her; and where Jennifer and her brother play games with their parents deliberately to confuse them.

Exchanges between adults and children have also been examined by Gaskins and Lucy (1987 cited in Miller and Hoogstra 1992) who suggest that because children's mastery over linguistic skills is usually considered inferior, and because children occupy a special status by virtue of being children, adults are required to adjust their ways of communicating, thinking, and behaving. So, not only do children acquire adult culture but they participate in creating it.

The examples I have described reverse this scenario in that the linguistic 'incompetent' is very often a parent. This is shown in the examples of Martin (the Iraqi refugee boy) whose mother relies on him for translations, Michael (the Greek/British boy) who excludes his English speaking grandmother from conversations by speaking Greek, Dimitra (the Greek/British girl) whose mother, compared to her, is 'stupid', and Rimon (the Iraqi refugee boy) on whose competence his parents rely to make asylum applications. In these,

as with others, not only is normal linguistic competence reversed but it affects the dynamic of power relations between child and adult.

To what extent therefore, could it be suggested that adult linguistic inferiority, and adult status (*qua* adults) affect the child's ways of communicating in a language in which they (the children) are the more competent? It is clear that such social processes and interactive dynamics simply become ever more complex, yet must be addressed if we are to understand individuals' occupation of multilingual and multicultural contexts.

The dynamism inherent in these approaches confirms Wentworth's (1980) criticisms of static notions of socialisation and culture. Furthermore, Wentworth argued for a socialisation-as-interaction model, because:

> Society cannot replicate itself precisely within the novice, because at the least the novice's own frame of reference plays upon the meaning of the interaction (Wentworth 1980:84).

What Wentworth's model of linguistic socialisation is suggesting is the effect of mistakes, failures, misunderstandings, personal preferences, as well as resistances of children to learning certain kinds of behaviour or language. The 'novice' she refers to is taken to be the child. But, as is shown in parts 1 and 2, the 'novice' may also be the adult. This bi-directional approach and its mutual affectiveness of social and cultural influence becomes even more important where children are more linguistically skilled than adults.

Language, Context and Fluidity

These contributions to language, and their relatedness to the socialisation of children in multilingual (and multicultural) situations, provide an intricate and dynamic model which seriously considers the ideas of movement and fluidity between linguistically important contexts. That is to say they reject socialisation as a one-way process of cultural reproduction, imitation or copying. Such dynamic models, maintain Miller and Hoogstra,

> acknowledge[s] the negotiated nature of interaction even with young children; and that accords to the child participant the kind of psychological complexity that yields inevitable individual variation in the apprehension of cultural meanings (1992:90).

"Individual variation" invites us to consider further the related problem of individual interpretation of interaction and culture, the diversities of interpreting 'others', and the messy mire that cultural 'claims' and acts can become.

The recent anthropological movement away from treating culture as monolithic or static and towards a conception which acknowledges the fluidity of individual persons in and between specific linguistic and cultural situations, assists us in making better sense of the identities which occupy such fluid worlds.

The ideas of movement and fluidity stem from recent (and not so recent) theoretical interests in migrancy and travel (e.g. Drummond 1980, Clifford 1992, Hannerz 1992, Chambers 1994, Robertson et al [eds.]. These depict the world as a place of constant flux, no longer, if ever it were, a place of rigid definitions and essentialisms. All the examples I have used involve migrancy

of different kinds and the settings which are described highlight the resulting contexts of social hybridity.

Resulting from similar fields of movement and migrancy are studies of children's linguistic development. Research of children in multiple linguistic and cultural situations have often been restricted to studies of bilingualism (see Grossjean 1982: esp. 167-220, Romaine 1995: esp. 183-286). Although these concentrate more on the concerns of technical linguistics, they do not neglect the importance of the social context of language use. These contexts however, are not always of the type most favourable to detailed ethnography since they range from, for example, psychological models of linguistic development (Grossjean 1982, Romaine [1988], 1995, Harding 1986) to 'multilingualism as a world phenomenon' (e.g., Edwards 1994).

An exception to these, and a work which is primarily an ethnographic study of the socialisation of bilingual children, has been that of Vasques et al [eds.] (1994) who discuss how different languages are appropriated to domestic and school contexts within the community. Their study of a Mexicano community in Northern California covers the detailed movement of children between people and settings, the learning and the perception of the comparative values of speaking, reading, and writing. They suggest that

> Defining what a particular aspect of language or culture does and does not mean is a literate activity; so, too, is rejecting, criticising and extending tacit propositions, whether the text consists of a segment of a television program, a gossipers' tale, an application form, or a sign on a door. Literate behaviours are not simply bi-products of literacy. They are products of talking about knowledge in the social world (Vasques et al [eds.] 1994:115).

If Vasques et al are correct then language is a product of knowledge about the world children occupy, even if that is knowing appropriate sounds and signs without being aware of their full significance. Language derives from knowledge of the social world and from how relations in the social world are effected and maintained. But literacy and knowledge about the world are not merely causally related they are intrinsic and dynamic.

This fluid concept of the relationship between language and "knowledge about the world" assists in the development of a theory which releases us from the analysis of arbitrary definitions vis-a-vis specific 'cultures' as though they were sharply defined entities with which the children consciously engaged and disengaged throughout their daily lives. Culture as "knowledge about the world" helps us to understand Yannie (the young Filipino boy) for example as operating with a single system of knowledge which happens to involve an array of linguistic and gestural signs, and which I, among others, label 'Filipino', 'Greek', and 'English' respectively.

It helps us to understand that Sargon (the older refugee boy) acts on the 'knowledge' that an improved rendition of 'the calendar' song and a bigger triangle will improve his financial gain. It helps us to understand the 'knowledge' Hilda and Miada (two of the older refugee girls) invoke about how their current situation threatens their futures. Vassilis (Greek/British boy) responds to knowledge about his parents being from different countries by describing himself as "all mixed up". Thus it is a single flow of 'knowledge about the world' the children occupy that is represented in the children's words and behaviours, not so much concepts of separable cultural entities. What is demonstrated is a cognitive and bodily *bricolage*, effected and affective by their own agencies, a pragmatic identity rather than an essential, or even semantic, one.

In developing a similar idea to 'knowledge about the world', Fardon [ed.] (1995) poses the question as to whether the anthropological concept of culture is therefore theoretically obsolete. He argues that:

> a world once made up of distinct cultures and societies is moving through a phase of transition towards becoming something different. Argument then revolves around the time-depth required to account for this change historically, as well as identification with the factors responsible for it. More radical is the suggestion that the world was never accurately described as an array of cultures and societies, but that people were once predisposed to see it that way. (Fardon [ed.]1995: 5).

The point Fardon goes on to develop is that the concept of culture as it is traditionally used should be disregarded since the world is no longer experienced in such terms but in terms that simply reflect its local and global concerns (ibid.:1-2). This conceptual turn to the global and local represents the polar ends of a continuum of concerns with which the individual is engaged with varying degrees of intensity. This dismantles the notion of culture as one of purely local derivision or of only local geographical consequence. This is of direct relevance to the notion of multicultural identities, in that identities from broadly differing parts of the world are brought into play locally. Fardon challenges students of 'boundary' and 'culture' to reconsider these in the light of a theoretical and practical appraisal of a *dialectic* of the local and the global.

Such a dialectic is not merely intended as an analytic tool but a practical means of situating oneself within the world. This is demonstrated by the children again in their individual references to the parts of the world with which they are (however tentatively) connected. Scotland and Greece are weighed up by Rosanna (whose mother is from Scotland and father from

Greece) in an effort to gain knowledge of which is which and how it is represented in her own body. Kiethlyn likewise considers the comparisons between the Philippines and Greece, an example which is also attached to the dimension of time, where Greece is linked to the present, and the Philippines to the past (through her parents) and to the future (as the place where they will eventually return). Time is also linked to the comparison of Iraq and Greece in the conceptions of some of the older refugees. But, unlike Kiethlyn, there is no prospect of return, so Iraq is merely 'the past'. The future, as yet, is unknown, but must nevertheless be 'prepared' for.

But distances between different spaces need not necessarily be so great as those between different countries. Many of the examples show how discontinuities occur between home and school. For example, Amalia's (Greek/British girl) change of language between these domains, or between home and the street like in the case of Martin (the refugee boy) who not only changes language/s but changes from a 'working' role (i.e. cleaning windscreens) to a 'non-working' role . There are even discontinuities between bedroom and sitting room in the example of Dimitra (Greek/British girl) who is required to use English in one and Greek in another.

These dialectics of space and time function to situate those who use them as modes of expression. They are conceptual dimensions of 'knowledge about the world' within which they are able to think and act 'appropriately' in contexts which invoke them. It is stressed that these are part of a single world rather than the disintegrated one of 'different cultures', they form a single system of knowledge upon which variations of communicative style and embodiment are necessary. I base this interpretation on the relative ease with which linguistic and cultural differences are engaged by the children and the relatively little apparent trauma with which moves between these differences are accomplished.

In an effort to tease out the implications of this, Fardon further suggests a conceptual move from 'culture' to 'knowledge about culture' as a more amenable strategy for the comprehension of increasing cultural "complexity" (ibid.:9):

> Culture claims thus become bracketed by claims about knowledge generally and knowingness in relation to particulars; the effect is that relative to our knowledge of what it purports to describe, the culture trope appears to imply closure and coherence that can be challenged either by demonstrating the diversity of the bits from which every culture is fashioned or the knowingness with which people articulate them. From this perspective, it seems that representations of 'culture' are, as J.D.Y. Peel suggests of ethnohistory, the more 'serious aspect of social self-reproduction' (1993:178 cited in Fardon [ed.] 1995:10).

The intended outcome of this is to do away with notions of 'bounded complexity' and to employ a "way of looking" at a world that otherwise makes the possession of culture problematic. Further to this, Strathern ([ed.] 1995), and other contributors to her edited volume, address the means by which individuals "shift" the contexts of knowledge and thereby endow it with appropriate (as she sees it 'local' or 'global') significance.

To summarise, I am suggesting that if culture, as Geertz holds, is a "web of significance" then multiculture, rather than being a number of different "webs of significance", is a single web which allows a variety of apparently different communicative 'modes' (language, gestures, activities) to co-exist and be recalled in their appropriate contexts.

These different modes are 'taken on' through language and bodily activity and take shape as literally a 'body of knowledge' about others and self. The multicultural child paradoxically, is constituted through its own distinct web

of symbolic forms. The different boundaries which each of these symbolic forms represents are the points at which the child is reminded of aspects of itself which other significant individuals in their lives may not share in quite such an intense way. As these become increasingly more or less conscious, in and between different contexts, and over time, so they become more or less constitutive of the self.

This constitution of self is played out for example by Electra (Greek/British girl) through language and gesture in a way her mother finds amusing. This amusement suggests that Electra's mother is more conscious of their 'difference' than Electra is, since they are different from the modes she herself has imbibed. Electra identifies more closely (at least in the context in which this was observed) with what are typically 'Greek' aspects of communication. Martin (the Iraqi refugee) provides another example in that his Greek and English language competence is gained at the expense of his Arabic. The former two gradually take over from the latter not just as means of communication but as modes of belonging, and aspects of identification - a point supported by his strong association with his Greek friends.

It is also illustrated in the example of Kiethlyn (the Filipino girl) who engages with the issues of being described as 'black', and of writing and speaking Greek. These take on dimensions of significance in ways that are clearly not shared either by her parents or her school friends.

The refugee children at one of the apokreas parties to which they were invited, collectively identify themselves with Greek names, yet, when the context alters revert back to their own original Iraqi ones. Obviously perceived by the them as quite appropriate to their contexts, they are baffling to observing adults.

There are many such examples, each of which could be recalled and discussed at length. The point however, is simply to show how examples such as language differences, skin colour, rules of politeness, or informal

naming etc., provide symbolic forms which the children choose to assert their own samenesses and differences.

This can be made even more explicit in the ethnic or nationality definitions children accord to themselves such as 'Greek' (Michael) 'Greek/British' (Jennifer), 'Filipino' (Kiethlyn), 'Greek with Filipino' (Louis), 'Iraqi' and so on. Although ethnicity can provide a good testing ground for what individuals conceive of as 'cultural identity' it cannot be considered as identical to it. While aspects of culture such as language, gestures, interests, can cross social boundaries, ethnicity appears not to have the same level of flexibility.

Commonly understood definitions of ethnicity such as 'Black', 'Asian', 'European' etc., arguably incorporate physical features of the body more than definitions of culture. Although it is possible to have a mixed ethnicity one cannot choose to be 'Black', 'White', or 'Asian' etc., in the same way that one can choose to use (or learn) a different language, or certain gestures, or hold certain beliefs. In other words, while it is easy to mix the software of identity, hardware is a little less malleable (this is why skin colour is clearly so important as a marker of identity).

It is between the different aspects of active identification and dis-identification which the children forge a sense of who they are culturally and personally, through such mediums as linguistic, bodily, individual, and collective conformity and creativity.

CHAPTER 8

CONSCIOUSNESS, MOVEMENT, AND MULTIPLE CULTURAL FRAMEWORKS

> . . .if, as I was saying, the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge (Bhaba 1990:211).

'Hybridity', from Bhaba's passage, suggests the range of social identities the children can choose from, and the ease with which they move between distinct socio-cultural/lingual contexts, and how this range is constitutive of a single hybrid identity. The children do not of course classify themselves as 'hybrids'. Rather, they define themselves in quite distinct ways as 'Greek', 'Filipino', 'Mixed', etc., depending on the circumstances in which they find themselves. But the process of self-definition operates out of a comparison of these, and out of the dynamics of sameness and difference to which they are exposed.

This chapter discusses the notion of culturally hybrid consciousnesses as a unifying factor (culture?) of all the children, yet also considers individual distinctiveness within this widely embracing concept, and with which notions of hybridity are constituted in different children. But whereas the last chapter concentrated on cultural identity this chapter focuses more on individual identity and the self.

The importance of identity and self for the thesis is justified by individuals' responses to multicultural settings. It has been common in

anthropology to consider individual identities as examples of homogenous culture, as has been its hallmark since Malinowski. Among the children here, however, while in one sense they may be of certain cultural traditions (Filipino, Greek, British, Iraqi, etc.) they are also exposed to at least one other cultural tradition whether it be through language, behaviour, or beliefs - and not in any superficial way. Therefore, through analysis of individuals it is possible to gauge the 'mixing' of different cultural traits in a single identity. The embodiment of mixed culture has consequences for individuals as self-aware authors of their own social action and for the social forms in which they participate.

Interest in identity, the self, and consciousness, has only recently been taken seriously in contemporary social anthropology and perhaps most notably and comprehensively in the recent work of Anthony Cohen (e.g. 1994). Cohen sets out to explain the historical absence of the self from sociological and anthropological theory, and, in his attempt to recover it, asserts that the study of culture cannot afford to neglect it.

Cohen's contribution explains how, traditionally, anthropology has discussed the comparisons and contrasts of 'cultures' and how these have merely assumed and posed the integration of collectivities: the shared values of 'culture' provided its social and conceptual integrity, and its symbols marked its beginning and end; the streamlined collectivity determined its individual parts, and anthropology provided the commentary on how it all worked.

But the demise of 'grand theorising' and the rise of interpretive anthropology has effected a radical turn-about in the analysis of culture: from the tendency to <u>integrate</u> individuals within it, to a far less deterministic model which <u>aggregates</u> them (cf. Cohen 1994:119).

Cohen argues that the distinctiveness of the individual must re-emerge from crass social determinism to a position of influence, power, and agency.

He shows that the self has primacy in the creation of social life and states therefore, ironically and controversially, that the self is "the obvious point at which to begin" a study of social and cultural identity (1994:132).

By explicitly posing the question "what is the self?" Cohen encourages and challenges the anthropologist to consider its historical neglect, and prompts us to consider more seriously the self as the primary component in society and culture. The individual makes culture possible, it follows, therefore, that one cannot fully understand 'culture' - anthropology's principle trope - without understanding the individuals that populate it, make it and re-make it. In order to understand culture it is necessary to understand the individual within it.

> The external world is filtered and, in the process, remade, by the self. It is in this sense that the self is the centre and the premise of the individual's world (Cohen 1994:115).

The 'location' of culture, Cohen's implicit task (1994: 118), is in the local mediation of wider (national, global) forms, and ultimately rests on the interpretations of local consciousnesses, and which, because of their differences generates an aggregation of communicated thought rather than an integration of it. Cohen is supported by Rapport (1993) who provides a small scale study of a remote English village. In this Rapport highlights how interpretive differences are hidden by a common language and argues that despite comparable orientations to the world individuals talk past each other. Rapport's point, as Cohen sees it

> is not to show merely that shared cultural forms conceal a multitude of substantive differences, but. . .that it is by appropriating these forms in their individually distinctive ways that individuals constitute their selves -

and thereby make their worlds . . . Individuals order their worlds by applying their world views to them (Cohen 1994:117).

Rapport (1993:152), shows that the self is made socially competent by culture without being subjugated by it. It is thus able to contribute, to "re-make" its world by imposing itself upon it.

Making and Re-making Identity

By recalling some examples from the ethnography we can see how Rapport's point works in relation to multi- or hybrid culture. In respect of the refugees we noted how at one of the apokreas parties to which the refugee children were invited there was the opportunity for them to change their names and thereby become temporary Greeks (as opposed to Iraqis). We noted also how Abraham received a broken, electric toy car, recognising its inferiority, he converts it into an electric fan. The 'patron'[42] culture of refugee life (itself a hybrid culture, since it implies geographic displacement) provides many such opportunities for 'remaking' (literally) aspects of the world if only in these small, and on the face of it insignificant, ways. The children derive precisely such individual competencies from their inventiveness in the circumstances in which they find themselves.

Among the Greek/British children we noted how Vassilis was made socially competent by exposure to contrasting beliefs about the 'evil eye' and his ability to respond appropriately to his grandmother and his mother

[42]Because of the difficulties of their circumstances refugees anywhere often must rely on the willingness of others to assist them in their material and non-material needs (see Harrell-Bond et al. 1992).

without necessarily feeling he himself was being contradictory - each response is invoked by a different context and is consistent with it.

Louis and Leslie Ann (Filipinos) articulate (in English) a sense of belonging to either Greece or the Philippines, and thereby show the competence to compare and contrast alternative spaces of belonging. Yannie, their younger (Filipino) counterpart, demonstrates a tri-lingual, virtually seamless, competency (Filipino, Greek, and English), from the range of separable linguistic contexts he is exposed to.

Examples of such cultural competence, of making and re-making worlds, are repeated many times over in parts 1 and 2. Occupation of diverse cultural contexts or rather contexts which are populated by diversely interpreting others, prompts not only the re-adjustment of the self to them, but a change in the context by virtue of their interpretation. For example, British mother Pat and her Greek husband Taki are forced to reconsider the contexts of their daughter saying 'please' and 'thankyou' and alter their personal preferences about when these should be used. Kiethlyn (the Filipino girl), by interpreting the presence of a Greek adult as a 'safe' context in which to speak Greek to her mother imposes herself and remakes that context. Rimon, the refugee boy, even more profoundly, by his presence and contribution alters the asylum application of his family in his transcription of their 'story'. The children are thus made multiculturally and/or multilingually competent without being subjugated by the 'cultures' or contexts in which this occurs.

By premising culture on the self and then endowing the latter with the power to 're-make' the former, Cohen and Rapport reverse traditional anthropological theorising. From this can we see in the examples above and throughout the thesis how the external world of the three groups of children is 'remade' by their participation in it?

That is to say, my own position on the structure/agency debate gives emphasis to the individual, and in these cases to the child as creative agent

and therefore as part-creator of structure. Structure is impossible without the individuals which make and interpret it.

As has been implied the experience of 'culture' is premised on 'contextual' experience, and the contextual, likewise, on the experiencing self. Accepting the centrality of individual consciousness and agency as necessary to the self and therefore to the social, and for much the same compelling reasons that Cohen and Rapport provide, I will continue to discuss the problem of identity by considering children's selves and consciousnesses within the notion of multiple cultural and contextual frameworks.

Pertinent to this is a consideration of James' (1995) account of children's experience of self-consciousness. Here, by building on previous work (1993), James attempts to account for how children come to know who they are. How they conform to a 'child-culture' in contrast to 'adult culture' and how they develop and test their own unique contributions to both in their efforts to impose themselves on their social milieus. She asks:

> . . what do children make of and do with the different versions of who they are supposed to be? That is to say, as children, how do they deal with the multiple child-selves on offer as they become consciously aware of themselves as a child, and, at the same time, become increasingly self-conscious (James 1995: 62).

The point is stated clearly here and serves as well for children in diversely contextual situations, where radical differences in language and behaviour render shifts between different or what James calls 'multiple' selves all the more marked.

James draws on the ideas of Taylor (1985) for whom consciousness is:

> the process by which we. . .reflect on the significance of things, events, emotions, desires, feelings - privileging some above others. Consciousness therefore is not merely the process of representing external reality to the self; rather it is an *evaluative process* through which 'our understandings reflect what seem to be the truth about what we feel' (1985: 262 cited in James 1995: 62) [My emphasis].

Taylor, in support of his thesis, focuses on the idea of shame:

> I am ashamed when I am shown up as contemptible or unworthy before others . . .This means not only that I must be self aware in order to be conscious of what is shameful about me. It is also that what is shameful can only be explained in terms of an awareness of the person: for the shame of my situation is partly constituted by my appearing unworthy in social space (Taylor 1985:264).

Taylor takes shame to demonstrate the *evaluation* of connections between awareness, consciousness, the self ('I'), and the person ('me' as object). James compares her own approach with this and her attention to children's ideas of shame and embarrassment, and public definitions of social correctness. From the analysis of the particular manifestations of difference in the children in her fieldwork she considers that it is the idea of difference which matters most.

> I interpret the children's recognition and use of the idea of difference as a feature of their developing self awareness, arising out of the distinctions children make between the self and others . . . That this leads to a consciousness of the self, of one's individuality, and sometimes a shameful self-consciousness occurs through reflexive interpretation by the child of

> the gap between the self of the child (I) and the self as an object (me) upon which other people . . .gaze, express opinions about or adopt attitudes towards (James ibid.:63).

In a similar way, and following on from James, I would like to approach the problem of how those children I have described conceive of their own selves in view of the circumstances in which they live, and the particular experiences they have.

Linguistic and behavioural codes carry practical and symbolic consequences. Moreover, the identities these codes communicate are more than simply embodiments of physical sameness or difference (ibid.: 67-74). They are reflexive identities whose means or vehicles of communicating sameness and difference (language and behaviour) are as important as what is communicated. This is simply to place as much emphasis on language and behaviour (as communicators of self and as vehicles of consciousness reaching out to and interpreting other consciousnessess), as on physicality and bodiliness themsleves.

These processes derive uniqueness and conformity where appropriate, in similar ways to those in James' study, with the exception that the content of critical comparison manifests itself in forms of ethnic and linguistic, as well as generational, culture. Neither is this to say that language, behaviour, and symbolic forms do not involve the body any less than those in James' study, it is simply to emphasise that the children conceive of their similarity and difference also in relation to national, linguistic and ethnically different forms.

Because of their uncommon situation the children are forced to develop not just a bodily familiarity with themselves and an awareness of how it 'performs' in the world of other bodies, but a socio-cultural, and ethnic awareness which that body carries around and communicates. It is this which constitutes the experience of difference in addition to whatever their bodies,

in and of themselves, might communicate. This further confirms Bourdieu's concept of culture as embodied (1989). Earlier in the thesis this was linked to socialisation. Here it relates more to consciousness.

Children's consciousnesses in the contexts and situations mentioned develop awareness of the necessity to employ different languages in different places and with different people. For example, the home may be monolinguistic one moment but bi- or multi-linguistic the next as for Funda (the refugee girl), Dimitra (Greek/British), and Kiethlyn (Filipino). The context may call for translation, formal (Hilda) or informal (Martin, Jennifer), Gestural nuances, manners and other forms of interactive engagement may change according to circumstance. Shifting between such contexts and the development of the skill necessary to perform in them affects hierarchical relations between children and adults as well as those between children themselves. This was mentioned in the previous chapter in relation to language, but here it is recalled to point out its consequences for consciousness and awareness of being a conscious player in multicultural frameworks.

The example of Yannie's multi-lingual home and the virtual seamless code-switching between words of one language and those of another; his experience of school mirrors in a more formal way the tri-linguistic home; his and Keithlyn's use of gesture and communicative techniques, each of which meet differing responses from their parents; the ability of Kiethlyn and Louis, the older Filipinos, to comment and narrate their experience of felt difference and their efforts to perform acceptable 'similarities' to those with whom they compare themselves, aggregate the collective experience of the Filipino child at different ages and where contextual demands differ.

British mothers and Greek fathers discuss their responsibility in providing matrices of identity for their children. But polarised or compromised adult structures may be challenged by their children. The contested beliefs of evil

eye (Vassilis) or the spatial separation of English and Greek within the home (Dimitra) must be negotiated both socially and in terms of personal identification. Electra's, Amalia's, Vassilis', Pip's, and Michael's reflections and choices on gesture, language, romantic relationships, and emotions all indicate awareness of who they are in multicultural contexts.

Like many of the younger children in the other two groups Funda, the Iraqi refugee, relies mainly on her parents for stories of her familial origins, an origin which communicates in a largely unwritten form. Chaldean may be the principle language of her home, but it may also be 'interrupted' by Arabic as when her Iraqi compatriots visit. This is further complicated by the need to learn Greek and English. Although these skills/styles may be spatially differentiated, they are all consciously present and come to the fore in different situations. Martin's embarrassment about forgetting his mother tongue is a realisation that the demise of his Arabic (and his growing Greek and English) is not just a deficit of one set of words and an increase of another set, but a changed self, as is Miada's awareness over a personal "future" that is in jeopardy if she and others are not sufficiently skilled in moving from one language to another.

Far from being just channels for the reproduction of adult (or even 'child') culture, the children concern themselves with the demands of each context in that they are increasingly aware, not just of certain kinds of bodily, linguistic, and cultural conformity or social difference, but of conceptions of ethnic, social, and cultural identity. Furthermore, the children express the very processes of reflexive identity itself through their commentaries and narratives, extending consciousness, and confirming, as James recognises, the body in its activity and location as a

> vehicle for consciousness raising,. . . where negotiations about identity take place. Replicated daily in other contexts and through other mediums,

> the complexities and paradoxes involved in becoming social are therefore perhaps the complexities and paradoxes of consciousness itself. [. . .] individuality and independence vie with the pressure to conform and. . .it is clear that it is out of the gap between sameness and difference, the gap between conformity and individuality, that children's self consciousness emerges (James 1995: 74).

Meaning and Interpretation

Similarity to, and difference from, are shown to be contextual, contingent and infinitely variable. Perhaps then, multicultural or hybrid consciousness is also contextual, contingent, and specific. But it is only by locating its symbolic boundaries that we can speak of the "conceptual space" it bounds. That is, only by considering the meanings of words and acts can anything be said of individual self consciousness.

This is supported in the work of Giddens (1991). For him, the self is viewed as a 'reflexive project' and appears similar to Taylor's "evaluative process" (1985:62) in that it is maintained by continuous self-reflection and revision. We see examples of this in Hilda (the refugee girl) who evaluates her present situation by making a causal relation between her present and her future. Michael (Greek/British) considers his personal awareness of cultural difference, and how he has changed from earlier years. Louis (the Filipino) describes a similar process.

This brings us back to the discussion of structure and agency in parts 1 and 2 and the point made by Giddens on structuration in which he maintains that the self is reflexively made through constant adjustment and alteration. The self "has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflective activities of the individual" (Giddens 1991: 52). For Bourdieu (1977, 1989) however, this

"creating" and "sustaining" is more than a reflective activity but is physical - embodied.

In Cohen's (1994) specific criticism of Giddens he accuses him of an essentially Durkheimian posture which treats society as an ontology which somehow becomes independent of its own members, and assumes that the self is required continuously to adjust to it. Giddens' view, according to Cohen,

> fails to see society as adequately informed by, created by selves and by implication, therefore, fails to accord creativity to selves. The 'agency' which he allows to individuals gives them the power of reflexivity, but not of motivation. . .(1994:123).

citing Giddens to demonstrate his charge he adds:

> Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place. . .(Giddens 1991:9).

Cohen believes Giddens' view of agency is "sadly attenuated. . .whose intentionality is neglected. . ."[43] However, it seems to me that Giddens simply wishes to emphasise capability as a necessary condition of agency rather than a displacement or "neglect" of intention. To be capable[44] of doing is where he

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[43]This charge is perhaps attributable to Cohen's more 'phenomenological' stance (despite his reluctance to endorse it entirely) [p.123]), particularly as it is espoused by the philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (see Rickman [ed. & tr.] 1976) and his *Verstehen* (intentional understanding), the agency of which aims not so much in explanation of things as in making us at home with them.

[44]Capability is a necessary and sufficient condition for agency, as far as Giddens is concerned, and intentionality is premised upon it. Indeed, is meaningless without it. I therefore suggest that their dispute is simply one of emphasis.

locates agency. One may be capable without being intentional and yet be an agent.

Although the 'internal' qualities of reflexivity and intentionality are key aspects of meaning-making both rely on the external qualities of symbolic life. Communicative forms provide the raw material for the social construction of boundaries of the self: through their being uniquely interpreted, and socially re-presented. Cultural forms may well be given 'personal' life by being made meaningful, but they are only given 'social' life when they are made public. Both are necessary to agency and identity. The self, obviously can only be detected if it is in some way represented publicly, and only in this respect can selves be said to make meaning.

An understanding of this may be assisted by returning to Geertz's "webs of significance" (1975:5), while lacking the fluidity I described earlier with regard to language, it is nevertheless useful in artificially 'freezing' or slowing down aspects of that fluid movement and provides a cultural model which suggests that the individual weaves available symbolic and linguistic threads, and manipulates their meanings for his or her own purposes (cf. e.g. Goffman 1971). Though denying the individual the potency to create these forms, Geertz argues that meaning is simply the product of individual interpretation. Cohen complies at least with this:

> . . .cultural forms, such as language, ritual, and other symbolic constructions, are made meaningful and substantial by people's interpretations of them. They are given life by being made meaningful. (ibid.: 166).

But interpretation is in turn a product of choice; a process of eliminating potentially inappropriate, unviable, or unvalued outcomes or meanings.

Hastrup (1995:11 via Taylor 1989:27) expresses something similar by referring to the self as a 'moral' space.

> The identity of a person . . .is also firmly linked to the horizon within which we are capable of taking a stand (Taylor 1989:27). It is not a property but a space with unfixed boundaries, perpetually subject to expansion and contraction. It is a moral space which allows us to orient ourselves, and thus to 'become' ourselves in the first place. The notion of a moral space points to the fact that the space within which we orient ourselves is not just a society or a language, but a space within which our grasping the world in terms of values is inseparable from our way of living (Hastrup 1995:11).

The suggestion of a 'moral' space has about it not only the feel of being able to make choices amid social dilemmas, rather than merely react as an unthinking (or even thinking) reflex, but also the idea that the range and even possibility of choices is created by social context.

One can only choose 'appropriate' interpretations (and from them make certain meanings) from what one perceives of a number of alternatives. The choices which are made and those which are rejected clearly depend on the context in which their ambiguities are presented and in which a number of variables and permeations are always possible. That is also to say that the availability of choice and of reflective action is limited by structure. For example, Heriknas and Mariam negotiate a choice to define themselves in the press, or at least to deny the implicit definitions that are imputed to them. Michael, in his decision to do as his aunt had asked and crawl under the epitaph as a sign of "real" Greekness, does so despite not feeling any such intense association. Kiethlyn, quite distinctly, mixes two forms of 'crossing' to

indicate a foot in each of the religious traditions represented by her mother and her school without, as she presumably sees it, upsetting either.

The importance of choice, the reflexive "place" of choosing, and the way in which public forms of the self are chosen and activated, are central to what might be considered the enterprise of self. Indeed, Handler (1988) comments that:

> choice is the creative manifestation of the self, the imposition of the self on the external world (Handler 1988:51).

In respect of the selves in this ethnography, choices may be made about relationships, language, behaviour, gestures, religion, and in commentaries and narratives. It is the manifestation of unique agency with which the child, or anyone else for that matter engages with the world.

The notion of choice has also been discussed in relation to ethnic identity, and has been expressed under such terms as 'situational ethnicity' (see Okamura 1981) in an analogous way these examples can be seen to be 'situational selves'. They are, as Handler (above) states, "impositions", acts of agency, upon the world. The primary power of agency is the ability to make choices of this kind and to make them effective. So, identity is not simply reflexivity (Mead and Giddens) or an evaluative process (Taylor), it is also an imposition (Rapport and Handler), an ability and an intention to 'choose' (Cohen and Handler). 'Child', 'Filipino', 'Refugee', 'Greek' denote little of the selves to which they might refer, and only something of the rationalising self which chooses to designate others so - a choice which is also limited by the contexts and structures within which they are made.

But the moral space or the 'taking of a stand' in respect of selfhood and identity of which Taylor (1989) and Hastrup (1995) speak is precisely the space and the posture where the choosing and consideration of what

precisely 'similarity' and 'difference' (James 1993, 1995) mean (Cohen 1994) and the consequences of acting on them are pondered. That is, not simply of "which difference makes the difference" (Bateson 1973), but also choosing what it means? and why? It is what emerges from the process of "rendering meaningful", and alters continually the individual agent who decides when and when not to conform, how and why, who and who not to be.

But consciousness leads us also to suggest that the opposite of expressed choice - what is not articulated - can be revealing also (see Taylor 1989:92 ff., 98). That is, in minor hesitations such as when Martin (the refugee boy) is momentarily speechless when confronted with the fact that his new languages are taking over the old one; the momentary speechlessness prior to the self-ascription "mixed" with which Vassilis, Moreen, and Kiethlyn described themselves in response to questions about belonging.

In other words identity, self, and consciousness have not only to do with establishing a meaning within a gap between expressed similarity and difference but also has to do with inarticulacy, silences of unknowing, which lie between knowledge of how and why one is different or the same, and simply knowing that one is different or the same. That is, the paradox of permitting the "unspeakable" a voice. As Stuart Hall puts it "Identity is formed at the unstable point where the "unspeakable" stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of a culture" (1987:44 in Chambers).

Movement and Consciousness

We can add to these thoughts the idea of movement, movement between people, languages, spaces, cultures, contexts and meanings. Movement in events and narratives about space and time conceive of the self as changing from place to place, situation to situation, from feeling to feeling, or from

meaning to meaning. Indeed, it is in continuity and movement that meanings and choices, stories and histories, are sought and made. As Chambers puts it "identity is formed on the move" (1994:25). I have implied in the thesis that this is problematic for adults, but not so much for the child. This suggestion rests upon the assertion that the children's identities are not yet fixed or grounded in a particular cultural or linguistic mode. Yet, this is also a restriction imposed by the very notion of childhood. The social categorisation of children and childhood, in respect of their not having formed a sense of a fixed identity, continues to separate them and their supposed 'culture' from their senior counterparts. Indeed, it could be argued that posing anthropological questions in respect of such a broad category underplays the importance of their distinct individualities.

Nevertheless, ovement is central to all of these (child) identities, and their experience of linguistic and cultural nomadism conjures up what Chambers describes as a "mobile habitat":

> a mode of inhabiting time and space not as if they were fixed and closed structures, but as providing the critical provocation of an opening whose questioning presence reverberates in the movement of the languages that constitute our sense of identity, place and belonging (1994:4).

This is quite literally the case for the children here, and, I would like to suggest, that the kind of consciousness which is generated is precisely one of movement itself. So many of the comments and narratives recalled and comments made are those which emerge from comparisons between times and places, between pasts, presents and futures, between countries, homes, schools, and streets, and between the activities and people encountered in these dimensions and spheres.

The idea of movement and change, of travelling between cultures, contexts, languages, roles, and personas, has been more implicit than explicit, but this is because culture is itself more often implicit that explicit. Identities are, and 'become' precisely because they move, not because they are static. This fits in with broader notions which are clearly part of the children's experience - if not first hand then mediated through significant others - such as the migrant 'identities' of their parents. It fits also with the idea of a world in constant motion. As Berger maintains one's home is not in a thing or a place but "in a life being lived in movement, and an 'until story' (1984:64). In a more comprehensive yet concise summation Chambers puts it thus:

> The 'truth' of the subject emerges only in fragmentary manner, in an interweaving of appearances, perspectives and practices and narratives. The identity of the subject . . .does not involve a logical identity, but is rather the 'same' that varies, modifies itself, has various faces and phases: a subject that loses its Cartesian certainty and is only able to recognise itself when it is 'in play', in movement, in other words, when exposed to alterity. This subject does not have its foundations within itself, it can only 'believe in itself' through the testimony of its body, memory, language, other subjects, and the opacity of its own consciousness (Chambers 1994: 118).

Of course, we can never really know how "opaque" individual consciounesses are and therefore cannot know how limiting they may be. Nevertheless, this is precisely the kind of identity which we are forced to consider in accounting for the children in this ethnography - varied and modified, identities which recognise themselves "in play", an embodied "testimony" of different selves, perhaps capable of anchorage but only momentarily. Chambers radically concludes from this that

> the very idea of the authentic subject and its grammar of truth is displaced. We are left discussing the event of the gesture, the sign, the signature, the simulation, the language. This suggests an ethics whose only recourse lies in the recognition and acknowledgement of the transient mechanisms that sustain such a presence and representation (p.129).

CONCLUSION

To Chamber's reflection we might add a word of caution with Hobart's assertion that, "It is the anthropologist who all too often defines the terms for other people's subjectivity" (1995:68). Admittedly, those in the field appear to move, to shift between contexts, to change between languages, and between the demands of significant others, and perhaps consciousness mirrors this. Yet, if this were also the totality of their experience, then how much thought and activity would have 'expired' before it could be reflected upon. That is to say, how swiftly does such movement and fluidity flow? Is there no time to catch breath, no moment to consider, to 'feel' that one is actually defining a part of oneself? Is there no emic meaning congruent with the expressions "I am", "I was", "I will", which were so much a part of the children's self-expressions in the field. Or, is there, some sense of stability, frozen moments or imaginations, of the past, the present, or the future? Is there at least the notion that change slows sufficiently to compare a thought or feeling with another and conclude they are similar?

These are questions for postmodern anthropology generally as well as for those in the above ethnographic accounts. But Bateson's (1951: 173) notion of relatedness at least conceives of the necessity of relatedness for concepts to make sense. Movement in order to be recognised as such needs stasis.

In his discussion of self consciousness Cohen (1994:180 ff.) paradoxically suggests that the 'fiction' of the modern novel best articulates the 'fact' of the conscious self. Among the examples discussed by Cohen is the aptly titled: 'The Enigma of Arrival' (Naipaul 1987). Cohen explicitly refers to the central character's view of himself and his reconciliation of life and its changes as merely 'flux', yet the character also finds a 'niche' for himself (p.190). The experience of self, identity, belonging, and memory converge in a dual metaphor of both movement and situatedness. A perspective of stillness of unchangingness is revised to one of movement, but the novel demonstrates the possibility of both in the same self.

It is admitted that it risks a return to a neo-phenomenological position of how the mind is presented to consciousness; that which is essentially 'me' and that which is in the environment, and through it, inevitably, a return to Cartesian dualism. I concede I have no response to this except that emic 'stability' must be as voiced as etic flux.

I would like at least to suggest not so much that identity or self are unmoving or immutable - this is manifestly not so - but that their movement, change, flux and flow are relative. Relative, that is, to contexts, and to feelings. That in some sense I remain an Iraqi, a Refugee, a Filipino, a Greek, a child, or whatever when, and if it suits me, and in a way that suits me, but that it is highly nuanced by the meanings I, and others impute to it. Put another way, am I not permitted to establish and alter the limits of my own movement and stability on questions of identity?

These questions aside, in summary, what surfaces is a consciousness of bodily and cultural sameness and difference and the movement between them, a meta-culture which the children alone are skilled in and participate in. It is not just 'Filipino', 'Greek', 'British', 'Iraqi' nor 'Refugee' cultures but the emergence of a code of understanding which transcends each of these respectively and which requires its own learning and socialisation. The

suggestion is that for all the children in the ethnography another level of individual and social consciousness is operating beyond that which is reducible to merely national cultures or even multiculturalism. It is perhaps a monoculturalism wherein the required skills to succeed within it are the radical conceptual and behavioural shifts between the domains they occupy.

It is quite conceivable that if all the children were to come together they would successfully share a great deal about their lives in Greece, albeit from different perspectives. They would share a culture of movement between languages and sets of behavioural norms of how others impute social, cultural and ethnic identities to them. Indeed, they would share a 'habitus' of cultural, linguistic, and embodied bricolage, the individual contents of which may differ but the strategies for connecting them a multiplex balancing of nations, cultures, and languages, all within a single body.

This thesis has been more about children than childhood, and more about their specific contexts of social engagement than about their concepts of 'culture' or 'multiculture'. It has highlighted their movement between different cultural and contextual domains; their shifting between languages, between the embodying of different sets of social norms, and their narratives (verbal and otherwise) of being and moving 'in-between' these domains.

It has been an attempt to understand, or simply to 'pose' the possibility of multicultural identities in children. I am unsure of how far it has succeeded even to do this since I am uncomfortably aware of the gaps it leaves unfilled and the questions it leaves unanswered. But what I hope to have achieved is some clarity on the ways in which culture is learnt and contested in the socialisation of children in multicultral contexts. I also hope to have shown how complex and enigmatic the identities which emerge from these are, and also how efforts to elucidate them fully are fraught with difficulty.

I began in the introduction with the "mixed-ness" of Moreen, Vassilis, and Kiethlyn. I noted also their laughter in relation to the predicaments of their

respective 'identities' (a predicament, and response which was repeated throughout the entire field experience). Laughter was part and parcel of the children's narratives about experiences of different 'cultural' feelings, about multilingualism, and identity and belonging. Laughter is an enigmatic response and an expression to a domain of "experience that defies words" (Hastrup 1995:43).

I speculated briefly on the apparent embarrassment which the awkwardness that such personal confusion can stimulate. I further suggested that their inarticulacy might be explainable by their immaturity. But laughter is far from inarticulate. It is as valid an expression as the words that might even be used to mask it (as in the case of their parents?). A detail easily neglected and "left out by the grammatical map" (Hastrup ibid.:19), one of those social items like "poetry, babbling, fantasy and silence", and where "unspeakable" desires uncover the limits of *la langue* (loc.cit.). Laughter is as constitutive and creative as Hastrup's 'imagination'. Scruton describes it thus:

> It is not only I who change when I burst into laughter: the world changes with me. It is as though I become reconciled with the object that amuses me - it is no longer a threat to me, no longer something that cuts me off or limits my desire. And behind this attitude lies another - the sense that I am 'laughing with' my true companions. Even if they lie out of reach, these companions are present in my imagination, supporting me. All fellowship is fortified by laughter, which is why social awkwardness is overcome when people begin to laugh. A truly solitary laugh - one which intimates no community - is not a laugh at all but a snarl of isolation (Scruton 1994:495).

Laughter breaks through the isolation and communicates precisely the enigma of those identities I have struggled to articulate. Through it they

become reconciled to that which amuses them; to that which is thereby no longer a threat and no longer cuts them off. They laugh with companions, yet literally those out of reach. Social awkwardness (prompted by the anthropologist's questions) is overcome through laughter. It expresses so much of what apparently cannot be put into words, and is perhaps the definitive utterance of that mono (meta) culture beyond the multiculture.

I concede to the probability of only having scratched the surface of the social chaos (Hastrup ibid.:32) of a multicultural childhood, or the enigma of a multicultural self. Nevertheless they are arguably most articulately, concisely expressed, for those to whom I have imputed the term, through laughter. These children are not intimately known to each other yet they find a more or less common response to questions of identity in the language of amusement, which was often as far as so many of my questions got.

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