16

‘Narrations of the Nation in Mobility Life Stories: Gendered Scripts, Emotional Spheres and Transnational Performativity in the Greek Diaspora’

Anastasia Christou

Introducing Actors, Approaches and Interactive Affective Contexts in Researching Greek Mobilities

The joys and perils of international migration are historically part and parcel of the phenomenon. As a historical phenomenon, migration is enduring and continues to shape contemporary social life, public and political debate. Politically contested and socially complex, migration is one of the most pervasive forces of a globalized world under multiple crises, closely related to notions of displacement and emplacement, belonging, in/exclusion and identity. Multiple power dynamics are involved in both migrant and migration stories, as with inter-/intra-generational relations which are often challenged by diverging perspectives on gender and sexuality. Hence, not only wider challenges of societal

A. Christou (✉)
Department of Criminology and Sociology, School of Law, Middlesex University, London, UK

J. Mulholland et al. (eds.), *Gendering Nationalism*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76699-7_16

incorporation place strain on identities and relations, often migrant communities themselves are constrained by struggles over ethnic group cultural values and norms that may lead to friction, fraction and trauma.

This chapter examines some of these liminal spaces of fragility and fracture that members of the Greek diaspora experience, especially as they negotiate first- and second-generation identities in understanding how ethnic/national consciousness impacts on family relations and personal aspirations. While my investigations of the Greek diaspora have involved multi-sited, multi-method, comparative ethnographic research with several migrant generations on varying mobilities (e.g. ancestral homeland return migration, homecoming visits, transnational mobilities, etc.) and settlement in Greece, Cyprus, Germany, Denmark and the United States, this chapter will draw primarily from narrative material (for details on methodological and theoretical context, refer to respective studies in Christou 2006; Christou 2011a, b; Christou and King 2014), mostly focusing on *second-generation* biographical (life history) portrayals.

While personal identities are continuously developed, reflected and shaped through their inner dialogue (cf. Archer 2000), the methodological tool of using life stories and narrative accounts to elicit responses on identity construction is useful in stimulating reflexive inner dialogic processes whereupon participants can sift through emotions, social roles, memories and stories to develop further awareness of their sense of self (Christou 2009). Conceptually, as Faist (2010) suggests, the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism have served productively for the past decades as analytic lenses through which to view the outcomes of mobilities and shifting borderscapes. While at times both concepts are either used interchangeably or erroneously conflated to denote the same, it is pertinent to note their distinction for a productive study of social and cultural transformations during cross-border movements. In the case of the Greek migrant samples, the research confirmed that beyond its Greek etymological origin, phenomenologically and empirically, the Greek case was a pronounced *diaspora* in fulfilling most of the conditions that Safran (1991), Brubaker (2005), and Cohen (2008), among others, have advanced in explaining the diasporic condition and consciousness. Parallel to this and integral are the transnational activities and identities that the Greek diaspora exhibit which are no doubt linked to the former.

To reiterate what has been already endorsed in King and Christou (2010), while the classical definition of diaspora such as the one advanced by Cohen (2008) encompasses a multiplicity of flows and mobilities, such as counter-diasporic returns to the ancestral homeland by the second generation, there is a conceptual trap involved here since the protracted meaning of diaspora can also become conflated with other notions such as transnational social fields and varying ethnic communities. Hence, it is important to underscore that, 'what distinguishes the diasporic condition from contemporary international migration and transnational communities…is historical continuity across at least two generations, a sense of possible permanence of exile, and the broad spread and stability of the distribution of populations within the diaspora' (King and Christou 2010, 172). What makes the second generation an even more fascinating case study as discussed in this chapter is the fact that their sense of 'possible permanence of exile' as described above continues to manifest despite their relocation to the ancestral homeland, and, hence the 'unbearable' nation/state (cf. Christou 2014) with its overbearing 'nationness' as presented through the discussion of the narrative extracts that follow.

The Greek diaspora offers an interesting case for examining affective[1] interactions and confrontations as regards identity construction where rigid ethno-national and religious norms are often in antagonistic opposition to lifestyle choices, personal and sexual identities (Christou 2016). The disjuncture that exists between the 'gendered/sexed self' and the 'ethnic self' is one that often triggers heteronormative hegemonies of the nation as expressed and experienced by those diasporic Greeks who feel compelled to conceal their gay identities (Christou and King 2014; Christou 2016). The disjuncture exists precisely because the institutions of family and marriage are powerful cultural markers re-configuring migrant offspring lives, especially in the case where heteronormativity engrained within the 'ethnic self' clashes with lifestyle choices of same-sex relationships/marriages.

[1] Affective interactions here capture the visceral context of such through feelings, emotions, everyday life experiences, moods and so on, in a sensorial, embodied and experiential framing, as, for instance, discussed in Zheng et al. 2016 or Christou 2011a, b.

Additionally, patriarchal practices are frequently reproduced in conservative ethnic enclave behaviours in diasporic settings where migrants unveil extreme fascinations with morality and the safeguarding of women's bodies and choices (Christou 2011a, b; Christou and King 2011). Thus, it is imperative to go beyond earlier historical accounts that underscore the Greek diaspora family as a source of support, guidance and comfort and to recognize the existence of contemporary works that have critically examined the more complex and traumatic aspects of diasporic families. In such accounts of those family relations, there is clear and extensive evidence of patriarchy, tension, domestic violence and intolerance to offspring interactions with other ethnic groups, as well as fierce opposition to female independence and to a range of alternative sexualities (cf. Christou and King 2010).

Hence, any discussion on *gendering nationalism* should acknowledge the intersections of diaspora and gender by addressing the centrality of performative aspects of experiences in challenging traditional gender ideologies and relations where the prevailing norms are anchored in specificities of 'cultural authenticity' of the nation while denying migrant agency (cf. Al-Ali 2010).

Scripted Lives, Gendered Emotional Spheres and Performative Social Practices

One of the pervasive forces of the nation is its implication in the creation of invisible scripts that control our lives. The mythological power of the nation lies in its very narrative as a myth of authenticity and purity of identity that is at once real and imaginative but above all acts to connect those seeking membership in it through a sense of belonging (cf. Anderson 1983). The nation is also a signifier of honour and shame expressive in its ideals of cultural purity and religiosity (cf. Willert Stauning 2014). The encounter of my participants with such austere perceptions is recurrent and a source of frustration and trauma for most participants but even more pronounced for the women participants in the study. In the narrative extract below, Nicole's depiction of this is quite intense:

> Very old-fashioned and conservative behavior, especially with their daughters. They don't let them be free and independent. They police the girls but they don't mind if their boys fuck every woman in sight, and they don't even make the connection that those girls are somebody's daughters, instead they are proud of their sons and they don't care about the daughters of others as long as their daughter is a virgin. Such stereotypical morality of hypocrisy, very old-fashioned, honor and morality, idiotic and it really bothers me that sons have more value than daughters even today and I see it loud and clear in my own family. Pure inequality, and they don't want to admit it as hypocritical Greeks but as a Greek-Danish woman, I can see it, they do it in my own family, my aunts, uncles, everybody. (Nicole, 38 years old, Greek-Danish female)

The extract above clearly demarcates parallel but differing lives for male vs. female Greek migrant offspring—the former enjoying ample freedom (to indulge in acceptable heteronormative sexualities) and the latter enduring constraint (to protect their morality by restricting pre-marriage sexual encounters) as practised by Greek family norms. Interestingly, Nicole invokes the nation in juxtaposition here by self-identifying as a 'Greek-Danish' woman and being aware of the inequalities and the cultural distinctions that she perceives as hypocritical. In a sense Nicole's conscious reflexive deployment here is one of 'hybridity' and its functionality as a filter to understanding the meanings and modalities of ethnic life. While debates on 'hybridity' have been insightful and stimulating (e.g. Papastergiadis 2000; Brah and Coombes 2005; Stewart 2011), the concept itself has also been critiqued for its limitations (Werbner 2001; Acheraïou 2011). Hence, I do not wish to ground the narrative analysis here on the concept of hybridity but rather to draw attention to the productive elements of participant agency in reflecting on the very messiness or mixedness that cultural politics entail.

At the same time, it is important to note that the exclusions and constraints faced by my study participants do extend to male migrant participants. This underscores that patriarchy impacts both women and men in significant and similar ways. Andrew's lengthy narrative excerpt below is full of intense feelings of hatred as he discloses painful childhood memories and the emotively traumatic articulations of extreme suffering in oppressive and unbearable conditions of the ancestral and family context.

> I have plenty of regrets. I have encountered numerous difficulties in adjusting to having Greek parents and they are far too multifarious to list here. To be brief, Greece is a poor, backward nation and one of my greatest masturbatory fantasies is to see their beloved homeland evaporate…. Calling Greece a nation that I would feel at home is an insult to my education and sense of self. Suffice it to say that I come from a degenerate race of miserable, self-serving troglodytes. I have had many, many opportunities to learn more about my debased race. I have very little pride on the gigantic accomplishments of the Hellenes since the birth of Jesus. The outstanding or salient elements of the Greek character are: a sense of ignorance; an amazing ability to lie to oneself; a desire to relax and do little or nothing. I would rather kill myself than think of myself as one of these miserable barbarians. We speak Greek when we talk about simple, everyday matters. If I had my way, we would drop Greek in favor of a civilized tongue. I would like to demur on this point of loving, caring parents who sacrifice their lives for their children. The most challenging part of our relationship (for them) must be that I hate them and this place (Greece) and everything it stands for. For me, I would like to be less angry, and I wish I didn't let them see it sometimes. If I could, I would stand time and nature on their respective heads, murder God and Jesus, and live through even such an experience to escape and survive. (Andrew, 43 years old, Greek-American male)

Andrew is very vocal about his anger above and his explicit rejection of elements of 'Greekness', be that the Greek language, history, religion, social norms. Contrary to what Brubaker (2010, 76) claims when he states that, 'migration is as old as human history, and so too are questions of membership and belonging. The development of the modern nation-state fundamentally recast both migration and membership, subjecting both to the classificatory and regulatory grid of the nation-state', the excerpt above appears to reflect a different expression of belongingness. As a unit of analysis, the nation is evidently central in the lives of participants in the research on the Greek diaspora (cf. Christou and King 2014) and the fragmentation and discontent it triggers is exemplified in the emotive language that Andrew employs to describe some of the deeply affective impacts it has on the psychosocial well-being of diasporics. It is also apparent that 'movement beyond the nation-state is currently recasting migration and membership again in a postnational mode, but there

is little evidence for such an epochal shift' (ibid 2010, 76), since identities continue to be shaped, among other signifiers, through national consciousness. Andrew's position is clearly an indication of a postnational modality when he vehemently wishes to sever ethnic ties. In this context a postnational modality of identity or citizenship would reflect one that is defined as post-territorial (refer to Sassen 2002 on notions of postnational and denationalized citizenship). As astonishing as it may appear to those migrants eager to claim a sense of homing and belonging, Andrew evidences a rejection of both. Moreover, while he did not want to speak on the record about his personal circumstances in relation to his private and intimate life, the sexualized imaginary he offers above concerning his ancestral 'backward nation' is equated with one of his 'greatest masturbatory fantasies' to see his parents' 'beloved homeland evaporate'. In a sense, the nation, the ancestral homeland becomes both the oppressor and liberator of repressed sexuality as Andrew equates his climaxing with freedom from the constraints of his ancestry.

In the next section, we will discuss how transnational performativity of both ethnicity and identity is stimulated and dismantled from the very inception of the nation as 'tribe' on a grand scale a la Anderson's (1983) 'imagined communities', but the strong bonds of which may turn into restraint of individual agency. Hence, as Andrew illustrates, the nation is experienced as the ultimate oppressor of autonomy, thus its erasure signifies agentic liberation from the constraints imposed on social actors. In (re)telling his life, Andrew is (re)scripting a livelihood of freedom from the otherwise oppressive limitations that a life anchored in the nation entails. For Andrew the 'happiness script' is one that obliterates the nation, evaporates roots and removes any traces of religiosity and family ancestry.

Transnational Performativity: The Nation in Ruins and the Self Under Construction

One of the core tenets of diasporic life is that of transnational relations and indeed transnational identities in the making between the 'here' and 'there' of the respective country of birth for the offspring (usually the host

country for the first generation) and their ancestral homeland. The pioneering work associated with the transnational turn in migration studies over two decades ago (i.e. Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Smith and Guarnizo 1998) focused on the migrants as social agents of mobility empowered and acting from below while engaged in activities spanning two or more nation-states encompassing cultural transfer, social remittances, kinship networks, political engagements and even business entrepreneurship (Faist 2010). To a certain degree this transnationality may seem refreshing and sustaining of one's creativity and multidirectionality of experiences, but often it is also a source of tension and contestation when it comes to norms, values, morals and lifestyle choices. At the same time, the idea of 'freedom' and 'escape' (cf. Ahmed 1999) seems to be a salient feature in narratives of mobility and return when it comes to both first- and second-generation diasporans (cf. Blunt 2005).

So, for instance, Anna who is a second-generation Greek-German discusses the exclusions that her mother experienced in the homeland attributed to her activist leftist practices and ideologies during an era of authoritarianism in Greece. The episode below and similar ones conveyed to Anna by her mother made a huge impression on her:

> She was being followed and her life was made difficult, she was forced to leave, wanting never to return again. Even today when she narrates this incident it is a very emotional moment and she bursts into tears when talking about these stories. …In this way I too, as a young child, experienced the reality concerning our existence as Greeks in a foreign country, the search for a cultural identity. (cited in Christou 2011a, b, 156)

The stigma of exile that Anna's mother experienced was one where the magnitude of the nation as a unit of collective belonging is dismantled and replaced by a container of fear, trauma and intense emotionality that has remained intact for many decades. Such affective encounters are also ingrained into the developmental trajectories of the second generation, and, as a result, the search for a sense of cultural belonging and a sense of identity can be exacerbated (cf. Damousi 2015).

In that sense, Anna then narrates her own search for an identity through her mother's traumatic past experiences in the homeland, marked

by the unbearable feeling of marginalization and the agonizing moments of surveillance due to her political beliefs. It is somewhat astonishing that given such an ingrained family narrative of exclusion by the very nation that is supposed to embrace its members in the veil of an imagined community, Anna's search for a sense of place and self is characterized by a strong pull toward that same homeland:

> I had a great liking to Greece, I loved Greece very much, the Greek culture which I imagined in the way I wanted to and knew about and at a certain point in time, after having lived in Germany… I experienced the two cultures intensely. I was greatly influenced I would say half and half, not more or less – I felt the powerful desire to return and so I am here today. (cited in Christou 2011a, b, 157)

Anna talks about the intensity that one experiences when immersed in a life of two cultures, often at the polar opposites of practices and social norms. And, here, she quantifies those influences as being 'half and half', as other participants often refer to percentages in articulating their cultural selves. At the same time, Anna describes the potent emotionality of return as a desire of self-actualization and hence a life plan, the relocation to the ancestral homeland, in her case, moving from Germany to Greece, the latter being the place that became a catalyst for her mother's relocation to Germany. If there is an analytic point to underscore here, it is one that encapsulates both the emotional spheres and the gendered scripts that transnational performativity generates in the mobility pathways that both the first and second generations experience. Here, we realize that despite the trauma and sense of exile that Anna's mother had experienced as we discovered earlier in her extract, Anna herself makes an agentic break from any predisposed life script and decides to immerse herself in both cultures in experiencing them fully and intensely. The emotionality of return migration is also underscored as a 'powerful desire' for Anna who makes the even more serious life decision to relocate to her mother's country of birth and her ancestral homeland. But, how does the ancestral homeland figure in terms of participants' mobility pathways and identities? Here, it is crucial to revisit the emotional spheres of personal and social suffering when patriarchy is aligned to national belonging.

As Walby (2011) brings our attention to 'gender regimes' to acknowledge the persistence of patriarchy in following a critical and political edge to our analysis of social relations, it is important to note that both women's and men's social lives are shaped by the kind of socio-cultural, structural, heteronormative patriarchal regimes that find anchor in the discourses of the nation, evident above, among others, in both Nicole's and Andrew's narrations. Even trauma in such cases becomes a pathway, albeit a painful one, to developing one's identity and coming to grasps with the fragments of such gendered identification processes as curtailed or cultivated by national consciousness and experiences. Thus, 'not only do social practices produce and reproduce norms of masculinity and femininity but the reconfigurations of everyday life as constrained or shaped by migration can further pronounce such categorizations' (Mavroudi and Christou 2015, 2). Hence, diasporic identities involve processual entanglements (cf. Mavroudi 2007) with roots/routes, post/nationalist and emotive parameters (cf. Herzfeld 1997).

Such identities are confined and transgressive, contested and contesting of nationness and ultimately in seeking inclusion may experience and exert exclusion. Therefore, as paradoxical as it may appear at surface, the painful experiences of patriarchy and oppression with all the trauma associated in coping and making life choices, may collectively create new life scripts and a revisiting of one's sense of identity and belonging. It is important to understand such processual entanglements when conducting narrative research on topics that trigger powerful emotional responses. Moreover, it is appropriate to keep in mind that researchers should maintain proximity with nuanced and critical (collective and personal) critiques as a pathway to potentially alter practices of power. This (feminist) awareness is one which understands power to be continually 'becoming' (Browne 2008, 146). It is relevant here to note that trauma plays a particular social role as regards how the nation prescribes collectivity in the name of shared values or ideals that appear to be greater than the nation and are conflated under notions of 'authenticity' and 'morality'.

Concluding on Narrations of the Nation in Greek Migrant Lives

If there is such a thing as a feminist utopia, it should be principled on a plight to resisting hegemony, eradicating patriarchy as a form of hegemony and advancing alternative frameworks for equitable, socially just and ultimately happy collective and individual lives. Hegemony is manifested as social, cultural, ideological and political power that flows through and within the boundaries of the nation which maintains its own normalization in enforcing the respective values and norms that sustain it. The nation operates as social container of power. This kind of hegemony is found in the practices of patriarchy that the participant excerpts referred to in earlier sections. As membership in the nation implies implementation of its core values and principles, those social actors who adhere and embrace those ethno-cultural values fulfil their role which at the same time sustains their sense of belonging. It would be a logical fallacy to assume that those who disobey such ethno-national norms and values would continue to enjoy acceptance, tolerance and membership in this context. Hence, more specifically, as the ethno-religious parameters demarcate such spheres, it is evident to understand as Whitehead et al. (2013, 127) argue that 'religions have already decided on what constitutes the gender and sexual identities of men and women; such identities are embedded for all time and for all to access in their respective scriptures. Those who read, learn, believe, and promote such readings are, willingly or not, co-opted into a larger hegemonic project around gender power'. This exemplifies the view of many feminist scholars (e.g. Daly 1985) of the patriarchal conditions that religions operationalize to oppress women and to reinforce their marginalization across a number of social spheres. If 'patriarchy has God on its side' (Millet 2005, 51), then, it becomes clear that as Kantsa (2014, 827) demonstrates, 'same-sex desiring women often feel the need to hide their sexual choices from their kin and relatives in order not to endanger their relations. But also in ever-growing cases where women engaged in same-sex relationships feel "brave" enough to come-out to their parents, it is usually the parents who negate, this time, the act of "coming-out", by refusing

to talk about the issue, and warn their daughters that they should remain silent on their sexual preferences. Since kin and family relations are still important in Greek society, this is their way of sustaining and preserving the relationship with their daughters'.

At the same time, for those who cherish a sense of ethnic identity but who do not wish to conform to the exclusionist principles of such may experience a dichotomized identity and further struggles to belong compounded by deep feelings of alienation. That kind of particular understanding of the ethnic self cannot be adequately grasped when such an identity rejects the reproduction of cultural norms and seeks to reinvent a self that is crafted by choice and agency (cf. Kirtsoglou 2004; Pavlou 2009; Yannakopoulos 2010; Kantsa 2014). If we reflect on the narrations articulated by participants in earlier sections in this chapter, we sense that Greekness is confronted by an eroding of hermetically sealed traditional notions of identity, and, as a result, breaks down and dismantles gendered and sexed stereotypes that accompanied it in the past. In particular, the agency expressed in the case of same-sex sexualities highlights that issues of gender, family, kinship and sexuality in Greece have shifted narrations around practices of desire and the scripted stories around them through the lens of choice that participants articulate. Irrespective of the enduring and unbearable hegemony of the ethno-cultural signifiers that the nation exerts on diasporic identities, such diasporic identities are agentic albeit saturated by the particular emotive and performative spheres that participants move through.

It is apparent throughout the discussion of the empirical findings from research with the Greek diaspora that this is a case where the heteronormativity and the hegemonic patriarchy exemplified in participant narrative accounts underscore how strong the national idea remains in lived personal and social experience. In other cases the nation can be seen as embracing forms of home-nationalism whereupon choice of gender and sexual scripts becomes enlisted as the 'national ideal'. Caution should be raised in not categorizing the Greek diasporic case as one fitting a 'traditional' end of the spectrum and hence as an exemplar of the nation more generally, while in other ethnic contexts the national imaginary may have seen significant shits (however circumscribed and problematic such a generalization may appear) as reflective of more 'progressive'

accounts. So, for instance, at the time of finalizing this chapter, the United Kingdom is at the same time marking the 50th anniversary of the Sexual Offences Act 1967, which partially decriminalized gay sex, yet has one of the worst records on gender equality at work.

In this chapter I have explored some of the dimensions of how the nation is narrated through mobility life stories of Greek diasporics and how such life scripts are shaped by gender, emotion and transnational experiences. Some of the findings highlight the compartmentalized practices of social expectations where the dynamics of sexuality, intimacy and gender render belonging to the nation as untenable. Clearly, as notions of contemporary families and attributes of identities are resisting stereotyped behaviours, in mirroring more progressive understandings of the role of the nation in people's lives, it is hoped that a new schema will develop that critically reflects on the plurality of identities that hold equal acceptance to those that mirror primordial perceptions of the national self.

Gender and sexuality are contested concepts and have been transformed through contingent processes in social relations and social divisions. A range of innovative, pluri-methodological and comparative insights on a spectrum of geographical regions and historical periods have tried to make sense of such inequalities, marginalizations and exclusions stemming from sexual and gender social politics. Narrative, biographical and ethnographic research aim to explore oppressions and lived experiences in understanding the personal and the political as inscribed on bodies marked by differing degrees of power. Such analyses and findings have in turn enriched academic activism in combining conceptualizations with praxis.

References

Acheraïou, Amar. 2011. *Questioning Hybridity, Postcolonialism and Globalization*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ahmed, Sara. 1999. Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2 (3): 329–347.

Al-Ali, Nadge. 2010. Diasporas and Gender. In *Diasporas: Concepts, Identities, Intersections*, ed. Kim Knott and Sean McLoughlin, 118–122. London: Zed Books.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. *London*: *Verso*.

Archer, Margaret. 2000. *Being Human: The Problem of Agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blunt, Alison. 2005. Cultural Geography: Cultural Geographies of Home. *Progress in Human Geography* 29 (4): 505–515.

Brah, Avtar, and Anne Coombes. 2005. *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Browne, Kath. 2008. Power and Privilege: (Re)Making Feminist Geographies. In *Feminisms in Geography: Rethinking Space, Place and Knowledges*, ed. Pamela Moss and Karen Falconer Al-Hindi, 140–148. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2005. The 'Diaspora' Diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (1): 1–19.

———. 2010. Migration, Membership, and the Modern Nation-State: Internal and External Dimensions of the Politics of Belonging. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1: 61–78.

Christou, Anastasia. 2006. *Narratives of Place, Culture and Identity: Second-Generation Greek-Americans Return 'Home*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

———. 2009. Telling Diaspora Stories: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections on Narratives of Migrancy and Belongingness in the Second Generation. *Migration Letters* 6 (2): 143–153.

———. 2011a. Narrating Lives in (E)motion: Embodiment and Belongingness in Diasporic Spaces of Home and Return. *Emotion, Space and Society* 4: 249–257.

———. 2011b. Translocal Spatial Geographies: Multi-sited Encounters of Greek Migrants in Athens, Berlin and New York. In *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, ed. Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta, 145–161. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. 2014. Ageing *'Phantasmagorically'* in Exile: The Resilience of Unbearable and Unattainable Homelands in the Jewish and Cuban Imagination. In *Re-thinking Home: Transnational Migration and Older Age*, ed. Katie Walshand Lena Nare, 176–187. London: Routledge.

———. 2016. "Ageing Masculinities and the Nation: Disrupting Boundaries of Sexualities, Mobilities and Identities." *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography,* 23, 6: 801–816.

Christou, Anastasia, and Russell King. 2010. Movements Between 'White' Europe and America: Greek Migration to the United States. In *Diasporas: Concepts, Identities, Intersections*, ed. Kim Knott and Sean McLoughlin, 181–186. London: Zed Books.

———. 2011. Gendering Diasporic Mobilities and Emotionalities in Greek-German Narratives of Home, Belonging and Return. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 20 (2): 283–315.

———. 2014. *Counter-Diaspora: The Greek Second Generation Returns 'Home*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cohen, Robin. 2008. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London/New York: Routledge.

Daly, Mary. 1985. *Church and the Second Sex*. Boston: Beacon.

Damousi, Joy. 2015. *Memory and Migration in the Shadow of War: Australia's Greek Immigrants After World War II and the Greek Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Faist, Thomas. 2010. "Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners"? In *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Conceptual, Theoretical and Methodological Challenges*, ed. Rainer Bauböckand and Thomas Faist, 9–34. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1997. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-state*. New York: Routledge.

Kantsa, Venetia. 2014. The Price of Marriage: Same-sex Sexualities and Citizenship in Greece. *Sexualities* 17: 818–836.

King, Russell, and Anastasia Christou. 2010. Diaspora, Migration and Transnationalism: Insights from the Study of Second-Generation 'Returnees'. In *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Conceptual, Theoretical and Methodological Challenges*, ed. Rainer Bauböckand Thomas Faist, 167–183. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kirtsoglou, Elizabeth. 2004. *For the Love of Women. Gender, Identity and Same-Sex Relations in a Greek Provincial Town*. London/New York: Routledge.

Mavroudi, Liz. 2007. Diasporas as Process: (De)constructing Boundaries. *Geography Compass* 1: 467–479.

Mavroudi, Liz, and Anastasia Christou. 2015. Introduction. In *Dismantling Diasporas: Rethinking the Geographies of Diasporic Identity, Connection and Development*, ed. Anastasia Christou and Liz Mavroudi, 1–11. Farnham Surrey: Ashgate.

Millet, Kate. 2005. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday.

Papastergiadis, Nikos. 2000. *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Pavlou, Miltos. 2009. Homophobia in Greece. Love for Equality. County Report for i-RED (Institute for Rights Equality & Diversity). http://www.red-network.eu/resources/toolip/doc/2011/11/25/i-red_homophobia_in_greece2009--6.pdf. Last accessed 13 Dec 2016.

Safran, William. 1991. Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1 (1): 83–99.

Sassen, Saskia. *2002*. *Towards Post-national and Denationalized Citizenship*. In *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, ed. F. Engin Isin and Bryan S. Turner, 277–291. London: *Sage*.

Schiller, Glick, Linda Basch Nina, and Cristina Szanton. 1995. From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 (1): 48–63.

Smith, Michael P., and Louis Guarnizo, eds. 1998. *Transnationalism from Below*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Stewart, Charles. *2011*. *Creolization*, *Hybridity*, *Syncretism*, *Mixture*. *Portuguese Studies 27* (*1*): *48*–55.

Walby, Sylvia. 2011. *The Future of Feminism*. London: Polity Press.

Werbner, Pnina. 2001. The Limits of Cultural Hybridity: On Ritual Monsters, Poetic Licence and Contested Postcolonial Purifications. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7: 133–152.

Whitehead, Stephen, Anisa Talahite, and Roy Moodley. 2013. *Gender and Identity: Key Themes and New Directions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willert, Trine Stauning. 2014. *New Voices in Greek Orthodox Thought Untying the Bond between Nation and Religion*. London: Routledge.

Yannakopoulos, Kostas. 2010. Cultural Meanings of Loneliness: Kinship, Sexuality and (Homo)sexual Identity in Contemporary Greece. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 18 (2): 265–282.

Zheng, Wang, Fangzhu Zhang, and Wu Fulong. 2016. Affective Neighbourly Relations Between Migrant and Local Residents in Shanghai. *Urban Geography* 38 (8): 1182–1202.