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NEGOTIATING IDENTITY, CONNECTING THROUGH CULTURE: HELLENISM AND NEOHELLENISM IN GREEK AMERICA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1999

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the construction of racial and cultural identities among Greek Americans within the theoretical context of "white studies." I argue that early in the 20th century, Greek immigrants capitalized on the discourse of Hellenism to present themselves as legitimate members of the "white" American community. The claim of a biological continuity between ancient and modern Greeks served as a rhetorical strategy to differentiate Greek immigrants from their southeastern European counterparts and consequently to contest their representation as a degenerate race. The argument that Greek immigrants were Hellenes, and therefore the cultural predecessors of American ideals, enabled the immigrants to transcend their ethnic identification by making available to them a legitimate claim to what was perceived as the universal ideals of Hellenism.

The second part of this dissertation addresses issues of contemporary Greek-American culture and identity. Through an in-depth analysis of ethnographic narratives I show that Hellenism and Neohellenism offer themselves as meaningful cultural resources from which individuals draw to attach meaning to their lives. Therefore I caution against any view that homogenizes the cultural space of "whiteness" and relegates "white ethnicity" as role playing and a set of easily disposable social practices.

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My findings suggest that rather than being determined by a particular culture, cultural identities are constructed in the intersection of complex connections from diverse cultural traditions. Therefore, I develop the notion of "cultural connectivity" which enables us to understand the creative fusion, juxtaposition or negotiations individuals could undertake with available and diverse cultural resources.

The notion of "cultural connectivity" intervenes in our conceptualization of the category normally described as "white Americans." Here I show that "ethnic cultures" offer themselves as a meaning-making resource for the "non-Greek" individuals I interviewed. This finding points to a process of ethnicization in American culture where ethnic cultures become the primary sources of self-identification. I suggest that ethnic descent is not necessarily a factor determining an individual's cultural affiliation. The notion of "cultural connectivity" can be fruitfully employed in this respect to underline the notion that individuals can develop multiple links with cultures irrespective of ethnic descent.
Dedicated to my mother
Για τον αγώνα της
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Ana was the first, among the very few individuals, who whole-heartedly supported my academic reorientation from engineering to anthropology. She
continues to stand by me, cherishing the joys and absorbing the difficulties resulting from a career change. I marvel at her capacity for gentleness as I call her το φως μου.
VITA

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TRANSLATIONS

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Major Field: Interdisciplinary Program
Fields of Concentration and General Examination:
Ethnicity, Race, Cultural Identity (Gregory Jusdanis, Sabra Webber)
Ethnography: Theory and Method (David Horn, Sabra Webber)
Modern Greek and Greek-American cultures (Gregory Jusdanis, Vassilios Lambropoulos)
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PREFACE

This dissertation addresses issues of racial and cultural identity associated with early 20th century Greek immigration as well as contemporary Greek Americans. My study of the construction of a "white" Greek-American identity situates this work within the field of "white studies." The critical concern of the practitioners in this field to demonstrate the operation of a social process in the making of "whiteness," and therefore challenge the normalcy and naturalization of this category, informs my socio-historical discussion of the "whitening" of Greek Americans. My concern in this part of the work is to identify the discourses activated by early Greek immigrants to negotiate a "white" racial status within the dominant racial system at the time. Another aspect of this study, namely the ethnographic focus on the meanings present-day Greek Americans attach to their Greek cultural identity, seeks to intervene against the understanding of "whiteness" as a homogeneous cultural formation. Here I identify the cultural particularities of Greek-Americans within the racialized category of "whiteness" to intervene against a current tendency to treat the descendants of European immigrants in terms of the undifferentiated category "Euroethnic."

There is a methodological distinction to be made in this work. The historical and ethnographic components of the dissertation draw from different sources of primary evidence. The former involves the examination
of texts and institutions which variously represented the immigrants. Here I do not claim that I have drawn from every single bit of available historical evidence. Rather, my main concern is to identify the discourses on immigration within the period and contextualize the evidence in respect to cultural representations. The latter component draws from extensive interviews I collected during my fieldwork among Greek Americans in Columbus, from 1995 to 1997. Here I should note that I do not view the recorded narratives as representative parts comprising a whole. Rather, I pay close attention to the particularities of each narrative, noting its points of convergence with as well as divergence from others. In this regard, my concern is not to represent a homogeneous Greek American culture, but to address in-depth how specific individuals differentially situate themselves in relation to aspects of Greek and American cultures.

The dual historical and ethnographic orientation of this dissertation also exemplifies two different analytical priorities in my approach to identity. The historical section privileges the notion that identity is a historically constituted category operating within the domain of power relations. To the extent that early Greek immigrants were subjected to hegemonic racial and cultural classifications, and they were pressed to negotiate their social identity in terms dictated by the dominant culture I examine the ensuing social antagonisms over their place in the American national community. Here I identify the discourses that enable the emergence of a new social category of identification for the immigrants, that of the "American Hellene."

While Chapter 2 addresses the process of ethnogenesis (i.e. the emergence of the category "American Hellene"), the ethnographic section takes its point of departure the manner by which social actors situate themselves.
themselves in relation to already historically available categories of identities. This of course does not mean that I view identity construction as a static process. Rather, I take into consideration the dynamic element in the process of identity-making by focusing on how individual identities built on already existing categories of identification (Greek, Greek American, American Hellene). Without neglecting issues of power relations, I pay close attention to the manner by which individuals attach meaning to their identities, negotiate their position vis-à-vis Greek culture and often challenge commonly held notions on identity. In this respect I treat the recorded narratives as theoretical commentaries on identity construction and address their interrelationship with my own social-science understanding of ethnicity and identity.

There is a productive tension between my ethnographic and historical approaches. My close attention to the construction of contemporary cultural identities illustrates that the discourse on Hellenism has not been a solely rhetorical trope attaching legitimacy and prestige to Greek Americans, as my historical perspective seems to suggest. Rather, as a cultural resource and a body of learning, ancient Greek culture offers itself as a reservoir from which individual actors draw to make meaning in their lives.

**Whiteness, Identity and Ethos, Hellenism and Neohellenism**

I have centered my work around at least four conceptual axis: a) ethnographic fieldwork; b) "whiteness;" c) the relationship between cultural identity and ethos; and d) the connection between Hellenism and Neohellenism. The first term describes the primary anthropological method whereby an ethnographer acquires first-hand knowledge about a local
culture in whose social life he participates. "Whiteness" stands as an ever constructed category of identity which often, but not always, involves the demarcation of racial boundaries. Cultural identity involves claims about attributes of the self while ethos is associated with categories of perception and beliefs attaching meaning to habitual cultural practices. Hellenism refers to a body of knowledge about ancient Greece. Finally, by the term Neohellenism I mean the culture of the Greek nation-state and its diasporic articulations. These four concepts do not stand independently. With the exception perhaps of "ethnographic fieldwork," which generates the knowledge presented throughout my text, the interrelationship of the remaining three terms constitutes a crucial organizing framework in my exploration of Greek-American culture and identity.

Whiteness: Studies on the social construction of "whiteness" have been numerous. The manner by which various groups such as the Irish, the Jews, and southeastern European immigrants were classified as "white" and examinations of pre-modern articulation of non-European whiteness have contributed a great deal in our understanding of the processes implicated in the construction of racial categories. The concept of "whiteness" has been useful in my work since it helps me to situate the reconfiguration of Greek immigrants identities within the racial and cultural politics in the first quarter of the 20th century. Within this context, I focus on the discourse of Hellenism which enabled the Greek immigrants to successfully present themselves as racially fit and nationally legitimate members of the American community.

Cultural Identity and Ethos: Since the advent of cultural pluralism, identity has been offering itself as an organizing concept around which
groups and individuals mobilize claims about their place within the socioeconomic order. The contemporary centrality of concerns with identity leads me to examine the manner by which Greek Americans construct their identity through narratives about themselves and their relationship with Greek and American cultures. I present extensive parts of their narratives and I adopt a close reading of the "native" texts to discuss their claims on identity. My interest is not to examine identity in isolation. Rather, my aim is to address how habitual cultural practices, or ethos, enter into the process of identity construction. Therefore, my primary ethnographic focus is on the cultural content of ethnicity and the manner the narratives can help us advance our understanding of the expression of contemporary cultural identities.

Hellenism and Neohellenism: I examine Hellenism from two different perspectives. First I discuss the manner by which early Greek immigrants were subjected to, and in turn negotiated the discourse of Western Hellenism (the idea of ancient Greece as it has been produced by Western Humanism). Secondly, I address the production of a discourse by the Greeks of diaspora on the meaning and significance of Hellenism. By approaching social actors as constitutive agents of meaning, this latter aspect seeks to correct the widely circulating view of modern Greeks as passive recipients of the discourse of Western Hellenism.

To a large extent, Neohellenism has been viewed in the West through the lenses of Western Hellenism. "The glory that was Greece" has historically overshadowed and often served as an index to negatively assess modern Greek cultural expressions. In this respect, I adopt two distinct perspectives. First, I discuss the manner by which Greek-American narratives on culture and
identity attach meaning to contemporary Greek culture. Secondly, I address the manner by which "non-Greeks" describe and situate themselves vis-à-vis Neohellenism. This examination leads me to comment on the relationship between "white Americaness" and Greek ethnicity, as well as reflect on the meaning of "symbolic ethnicity" and the cultural articulations of "white" European ethnic groups.

Dissertation Framework

My dissertation consists of the following four chapters:

Chapter 1: My ethnographic fieldwork among members of a community, who are spatially dispersed, presents a challenge to anthropologists who have traditionally worked in highly localized community. This ethnographic situation leads me to reflect on my fieldwork situation as well as on the processes resulting to anthropological knowledge. In this regard, I coin the term "fieldtexts" to refer to those texts produced by intellectuals and community members which address in one way or another the social entity "Greek Americans" in Columbus. I identify the theoretical and thematic concerns of these texts and I make them a centerpiece of my research framework. In this manner my work acknowledges intellectual threads that connect it with the contributions of other thinkers in the field while at the same time seeks to further our knowledge of Greek ethnicity in the United States.

Chapter 2: My concern on the role of discourses and institutions in shaping articulations of ethnicity, leads me to adopt a macro-perspective on identity construction. The premise of this approach is that claims on identity are activated within a field of power relations among social groups. Within this
framework I ask the following questions: What historical circumstances and social relations framed the reconfiguration of Greek immigrant identity during the first quarter of the twentieth century? What discourses the immigrants mobilized to legitimize the process of ethnogenesis, that is their claim to a new identity as American Hellenes? And what were the cultural strategies this minority group activated to negotiate the assimilationist pressures exerted by the dominant culture?

Chapter 3: While "Chapter 2" addresses the rhetorical construction of identity within the context of cultural politics, the following chapter adopts an ethnographic orientation to discuss the meaning contemporary social actors attach to a Greek identity. This is the second theme of the dissertation, entailing a micro-perspective I designed in order to play close attention to the manner by which individuals activate or negotiate identity claims. I do not confine my study on the process of individual identity construction alone. Rather, I examine the relationship between claims on identity and understandings of Greek practices, or ethos. Given that Hellenism figured prominently in identity claims, this concern led me to an innovative analytical perspective: an examination of the relationship between "low" (everyday Greek culture) and "high" (Hellenism) culture in the construction of identity. Thus in many respects this research strategy turns my earlier chapter "on its head." While my historical perspective led me to address the strategies evoking Hellenism, my ethnographic work examines Hellenism as a cultural resource generating meaning relevant to the lives of individual actors. The development of theoretical insights on the construction of cultural identity is a central component of this part of my work. In this chapter I ask the following questions: In what ways do individuals construct their cultural identity?
identities? What is the relationship between identity claims and ethos? In what way "low" culture factors-in in meaning-making regarding "high" culture?

Chapter 4: The third dissertation theme involves modes of Greek cultural production in the United States. In many ways this concern grew from insights generated in "Chapter Three." If individuals of Greek descent connect with Greek culture in diverse ways (which I theorize as "cultural connectivity"), in what ways, I ask, "non-Greeks" differentially situated within Greek America implicate themselves in Greek cultural production in this country? How is their "cultural connectivity" to Greek culture expressed? To this end I interviewed a number of non-ethnically Greek individuals, asking them questions about their sense of their own cultural identity and their relationship with Greek culture. This chapter then addresses the following questions: Under what socio-historical circumstances do these individuals become social agents on Greek cultural production? What forms does the production take? And what are the contexts enabling this production?

Significance of the Study

My study aims to examine the socio-historical processes associated with identity construction among Greek Americans who are an anthropologically neglected group. The significance of my work lies, first, in the close historical and ethnographic analysis of identity reconfigurations and the making of a "white" ethnic group. In this respect my study contributes to our understanding of the construction of racial identities in American society. Furthermore, my method of extensive and close ethnographic attention to the
individual narratives on cultural identities addresses the multidimensionality of contemporary identities, making my study relevant to ethnographers and theorists, particularly those concerned with "white" identity. My analysis of the relationship between identity and cultural practices will enrich, I hope, our understandings of the complex processes involved in identity construction, challenging an exclusive understanding of European American identities in terms of role playing and strategically activated ethnic significations.

There are two innovative methodological perspectives in my study: An ethnographic examination between "high" and "low" culture and the production of an ethnic culture by "non-ethnic" individuals. The role of the interdependence between popular and elite cultures on cultural reproduction can generate interest among not only anthropologists of ethnicity, but also community cultural activists concerned with cultural preservation. The involvement of "non-Greek" individuals in the production of Greek culture points to the processes leading to the dissemination of an ethnic culture to the mainstream society. It challenges the dichotomy between the Self and Other, as it results in the enrichment of the public cultural life through intercultural exchange.
It is not sufficient to reject one tradition and embrace another—this is the convert's danger, involving an oversimplification of both.

Mary Catherine Bateson

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

TOWARDS AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF GREEK AMERICA: "FIELDTEXTS" AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

How does one gain access to anthropological knowledge of a non-bounded, non-localized, non-homogeneous social entity? How does one explore, ethnographically, the heterogeneous ways by which individuals interact with cultural traditions, intranational and transnational institutions, texts and people? These questions, raising the now commonplace notion of the dissolution of homogeneously shared cultures, have challenged with particular urgency anthropology's time-honored methodological bedrock, participant-observation, the extensive involvement of an ethnographer in the social realities of a locale.\textsuperscript{1} With increasing urgency, ethnographers realize that participant-observation alone can no longer accommodate anthropological knowledge of social worlds which can be more productively understood as complex, loosely connected multilocal networks, rather than
face-to-face, tightly-knit localized communities.

The already canonized view of social actors as traveling subjects (see Clifford, 1992) and the projection of local travel practices as central in the understanding of the social and political position of a group (Tsing, 1993) have amplified what anthropologists have traditionally been all along, frequent and well-seasoned travelers. In this formulation, the traveling anthropologist has finally encountered his soul-mate counterparts, traveling ethnographic subjects. Furthermore, anthropological understandings of the interdependence of transnational localities, such as the relationship between diasporas and their respective homeland, has logically given rise to the notion of multi-local ethnography (Marcus, 1995). In this arrangement, the ethnographer traverses two or more locales to accommodate the interconnectedness of social worlds and tease out the relationship between local and supra-local ideologies (see Danforth, 1995). Sherry Ortner's (1997:63) "radically de-localized fieldwork" involving a trek to eighty cities and towns in the United States to interview members of her high school class exemplifies the current ethnographic moment: being on the road, as a strategy to document the shreds and patches left behind by the dissolution of traditional face-to-face communities.²

Yet, travel need not be the postmodern condition of the ethnographer. Within the framework of an anthropology of proximity, ethnographies of local networks and institutions can still function as productive sites to address issues of polyvocality, multivocality, heterogeneity and travel. Or more accurately, as I discovered in my own ethnographic situation, long-term ethnographic work within a community can present itself as a necessary condition to identify cultural formations and social actors that stand apart or
in opposition to each other. As I will explain, focus on the way aspects of the community relate, no matter how disjointedly, with social actors and institutional entities, leads us to substitute the metaphor of cultural fragmentation with one emphasizing threads of connectivity.

"Fieldtexts": Conceptualizing the Field of Fieldwork

To begin addressing the strategy I adopted in response to my fieldwork situation, let me first personalize the question I raised in opening this chapter: How do I conceptualize the expanse and territories of my ethnographic project once my analytical unit is neither the village nor the ethnic neighborhood? How do I gain access to the Greek America that is a set of social formations consisting of unevenly overlapping and partially connected networks of ethnic, religious, kinship, business, and cultural entities, in an urban setting?

The massive physical presence of Columbus Ohio's Greek Orthodox Cathedral, symbolically affirming its significance as activator of Greek religious and social networks can serve as a starting point towards defining my ethnographic "territory." The church and the institutions it supports form a central, yet partial link of its members with the Greek world. Nevertheless, the early spread of the Greek immigrants and their offsprings to the suburbs and full entrance into American mainstream results in a de-centered social entity linked via multiple, partially connected networks whose existence itself, rather than providing a locus for the ethnographic study of the community, raises instead the anthropological question: Where is that community located? Or rather more precisely, how do social activities and institutions activate the formation of communities and what is it that brings these entities together? The religious identity of the church makes it a circumscribed domain, since
not all members of the Greek settlement in Columbus choose to associate themselves with Greek Orthodoxy. Furthermore, the Greek presence in Columbus becomes more diverse once we consider that the emergence of Columbus as a Midwestern financial center. This development has attracted a number of educated Greek immigrants as well as individuals born and raised in closely-knit Greek communities in the rural midwest, who bring with them a diverse set of views about their connection with Greece, or the Greek world. These arrivals may not attach themselves to any of the Columbus Greek community networks at all. In this emerging multi-layered social reality one has to take into account the circulation of Greek letters and culture in university settings, poetry and literary readings in private homes, public fund-raisers, the museum, the theater, and the practices of non-Orthodox Greek families. Travels to Greece and exposure to its culture add yet another site contributing to the shaping of Greek-American cultural identities. How then does one theorize and investigate ethnographically this complex terrain?

A potentially productive avenue of understanding may be achieved by closely attending "native" texts of a particular kind, which I will call "fieldtexts." By the term "fieldtexts" I mean any texts that address, comment, or theorize features of the social reality I encountered during fieldwork, as well as any commentary I received by individuals who explicitly sought to intervene in the formulation of my research project. These texts give the perspectives of individuals I met during my fieldwork, in my studies in relation to personally observed aspects of the Greek world in Columbus such as the community and the university, as well as the writings of academics and intellectuals who intimately participate as cultural producers and social actors in Greek American life.
James Clifford (1986b:117) long ago prompted anthropologists to turn their attention to the contribution of native texts in delineating and interpreting ethnographic realities:

First, it is no longer possible to act as if the outside researcher is the sole, or primary, bringer of the culture into writing. This has, in fact, seldom been the case. However, there has been a consistent tendency among fieldworkers to hide, discredit, or marginalize prior written accounts (by missionaries, travelers, administrators, local authorities, even other ethnographers). The fieldworker, typically starts from scratch, from a research experience, rather than from reading or transcribing. The field is not conceived of as already filled with texts. Yet this intertextual predicament is more and more the case...

Second, "informants" increasingly read and write. They interpret prior versions of their cultures as well as those being written by ethnographic scholars.

The field "Greek America in Columbus" is indeed "filled with texts." In what ways do these texts demarcate an ethnographic field and in turn frame anthropological understandings of the place?

**Fieldwork through "Fieldtexts"**

"Am I the first anthropologist to interview you?" I asked Alexandra in Greek, moments after she saw me to her house in an upper-middle class Columbus suburb where she and her husband live. Alexandra laughed, "mou fainetai eichoum e yemisei apo daftous" (it seems to me they are all over the place) she replied.

My question to Alexandra is not solely aimed as an ice-breaker. Greek Americans are accustomed to ethnohistoric interviewing. At one time or another, numerous individuals I spoke to or their family members have been asked by anthropologists, exhibit curators, historians, university students attending classes on Greek-American culture, to offer their testimonies about Greek America's past and present.
This interest has resulted in a valuable public record, the bulk of which has been produced by academics and local historians. Tonni Tripp Reimer, an anthropologist, did fieldwork in the Columbus Greek community and, in the anthropological tradition of the "four field approach," has published numerous accounts on ethnographic and biological aspects of the community. Her dissertation, "Genetic Demography of an Urban Greek Immigrant Community" (1977), presents a politically and economically assimilated yet culturally distinct community that had yet to feel the impact of intermarriage within its ranks; its conclusion is cited in the community's publication Greek Orthodox Church "The Annunciation" (1912-1987), (75th Anniversary, Diamond Jubilee, Columbus, Ohio. P. 16):

The purpose of the study was to relate the influence of cultural factors on the microevolution of a single population. Although confronted by continuing acculturation pressures and a growing population, the Greek community is attempting to preserve many facets of the traditional way of life. Through numerous organizations, church groups, sports clubs and informal associations, members of this community maintain close communication and interaction among themselves and retain an 'ethnic identity.' It appears that a majority of the population has a deep commitment to the Greek Orthodox church. The combination of this commitment, a church doctrine which strongly promotes endogamous marriages and a high degree of ethnic identity and cohesion within the population result in a high rate of ingroup marriage. Thus, while this population is politically and economically integrated into the larger Columbus community, it is culturally distinct, and in part, reproductively isolated.

Reimer's account is but one aspect of a thickly layered palimpsest of knowledge comprised by a number of documents that enrich and deepen the community's ethnohistoric record. In a collaborative project involving Diana, the community's appointed historian, and pioneer Columbus immigrants, the community has generated the telling of its own story in at least three accounts: the Golden Anniversary Album "Greek Community of Central Ohio (1912-1962)," the Diamond Jubilee Album "Greek Orthodox Church "The
The Greek people in central Ohio are a distinct minority when it comes to numbers. When our church was chartered by the State of Ohio in 1910, there were only about 30 Greek families living in Columbus at that time. For a generation or more, these families and the newcomers that arrived kept pretty much to themselves as they tried to get established in the New World. Being "foreign" in Middle America was what most Europeans did not want to be. In the 1960s, with a new focus on civil rights and an emphasis (a Greek word meaning to show forth) on appreciating our European heritage, we began to be proud of who we were. The number of Greek families was growing considerably in the '60s and '70s. We knew we needed to have a vision of the immediate future if we were to grow as community. We needed a larger church, a new gym, a better social hall, more Sunday school rooms and office space.

The historical albums are available for sale from the community for a small fee. They have also been filed in various libraries and research institutions nationally, a fact that makes them the primary sources of knowledge about Greek presence in Columbus, Ohio.6

Closer to the ethnographic present and the academic world, there has been more interviewing and additional production of texts on Greek people in Columbus. Nick Kardulias (1989:6, 12-13), an anthropologist who graduated from the Ohio State University, wrote about a crucial turning point in the community's history: the building of a New Cathedral and the church's legal battles over its expansion:

[The Church] decided to remain at the present location. Property acquisition began in the block bounded by North High, West Goodale, North Park, and Swan streets. By early 1984, the church had spent $677,000 to purchase seven buildings and eventually came to own sixteen... The three-year $4,000,000 project calls for the construction of a 600-seat church ..., a new social center with classrooms to accommodate a parochial school and a gymnasium as well as facilities for dealing with indigents, and a large parking lot. The plans also call for the demolition of all the existing buildings, except the old church, to clear the way for the new complex. Problems arose when the
The church and its elite have thus achieved their desired goal without concession. The reasons for this success lay in some basic but profound advantages with which the church embarked on this venture. First, the church owns the property and no federal or state money is being used in the demolition. On a statutory basis, then, the church is fully within legal bounds in proceeding as it wishes. Second, the church brought a wealth of resources to the competition. These include monetary backing and political contacts, both of which it could and evidently did utilize in this struggle. In addition, its players are strongly committed to this goal. The players from CBS [Citizens for a Better Skyline] are also dedicated, but lack the political savvy and resources of their opponents. On the negative side, the church elite demonstrated an almost amateurish level of competence in dealing with the media. A variety of statements made by church leaders portrayed them as driven and unyielding. What long-term effects this will have in terms of relations with residents of the district is difficult to say, although one can expect these not to be cordial for some time. The practical implications of this are probably minimal considering the fact that the church has many influential friends and can probably continue to count on their support.

Gregory Jusdanis (1991a:215, 217, 220), an Ohio State University professor who teaches and writes about ethnicity in the United States as well as Greek and Greek American culture, emphasizes the importance of Hellenism in crafting the diasporic consciousness of Greek Americans. Drawing from an ethnographic event in Columbus he underlines the role of the ancient Greek civilization in contemporary ethnic cultural politics:

When, for instance, first- and second-generation Greek Americans of Columbus, Ohio, erected a bust of Hippocrates outside the university medical center, they did so because they felt that Hippocrates belonged to them as Greeks.

The authority to claim Greek civilization, in a society regarding that culture as one of its sources, gives Greek Americans privilege in the struggle among ethnic groups for cultural recognition.

The notion of Greekness, feelings of cultural superiority and a sense of historical continuity and survival unavailable to other ethnic groups — except perhaps the Jews — has played a critical role in the resistance to assimilation. The unifying force of the Hellenic diaspora is no longer a place, the nation-state of Greece, but the imagined transcendental
territory of Greekness which groups or individuals may appropriate to suit their own needs and interests. Greece, of course, constituting the dominant interpretation of *Ellinismos* [Hellenism], is still the object of strong sentimental ties among diaspora Greeks.

Ethnicity among middle-class Greek-Americans, one or two generations removed from the immigrants, is a matter of "conscious" selection in an endless number of gradations in the choice of identity .... Ethnic identity for them is a symbolic act and not, as was before for the immigrants, a manifestation of their social structure. That is kinship relations, household sizes, developmental cycles, and gender roles on the whole resemble those in the dominant society.

Artemis Leontis, also a professor of modern Greek at the Ohio State University, interviewed thirteen individuals in preparation of the exhibit "Women's Fabric Arts in Greek America, 1894-1994" she curated in 1994, and published her thoughts and findings on at least two separate occasions (1995a, 1997a). Her research cautions that "identity" might not be a productive analytical category to start exploring the cultural complexities of Greek America. Referring to the work of Bourdieu (1977) and a number of studies on ethics in the field of political philosophy, she proposes instead that the concept of *êthos*, a set of habitual "practices and interactions that hold together the delicate, if resilient, network that is Greek America," better approximates the concerns and priorities of her interlocutors. Let's consider her ethnographic observations (1997a:88-89) as well as her theorization of Greek America (1997a:93):

The individuals I interviewed, especially the women closest to the circumstances of migration, were surprisingly resistant to questions of identity, "Who are you?" "What makes you Greek?" or "Are you Greek or American?" "Who are the Greek Americans?" Several women brushed these questions off: "America is a place where I live." Instead, they spoke about the process of exoikeiosis, of making the unfamiliar space of America an inhabitable place. They found a stable center not in the characteristics that comprised their Greek, American, or Greek American selves, but in an *êthos*, that is to say, an arena of habituation, that was theirs...
I think it is useful to keep in mind the image of net-work as we try to understand the interconnected threads of communication, associations, and institutions that comprise Greek America. I do not propose net-work as an all encompassing metaphor, for it fails to evoke the human historical input of people and groups as they redraw their boundaries, reaffirm their connections, and redefine sites of interaction. The network of Greek America is, however, a suggestive enough metaphor that one may draw out further properties. Net-work suggests that we not look for a continuous, well-circumscribed plane in America densely occupied by Greeks and their offsprings. Instead we should think of the different locations where Greek interests coincide or collide. We should consider nodes of activity - some interconnected, some isolated, some few and far between.

To this set of texts I should add my own early attempt to illustrate the process of the symbolic construction of ethnic difference in the Columbus Greek Festival and caution against its reading as a cultural text (Anagnostu, 1995:12):

The Greek-American festival constitutes a site which produces multivocal understandings of Greek-American ethnicity. In its spatial coexistence, the articulation of multiple understandings of Greek-American ethnicity produces — often competing, but not always mutually exclusive — discourse on the ethnic. The smells and tastes of ethnic foods appeal to the senses. Poetry readings on Hellenism as a cultural phenomenon, on the other hand, appeal to our intellectual and poetic sensitivities. Projects evoking tradition involve not only the static display or the performance of the traditional, but also the reflective engagement with family histories and immigrant pasts. In this latter, dialogical aspect, festival visitors as well as hosts evoke ethnic heritage and memory to subsequently employ it as a code to speak about "our ethnic past" and project it to "our ethnic future." Rather than being "texts" producing the meaning of the Greek-American ethnicity, festivals produce multiple discourses on what it means to be Greek-American. As our sense of community expands through the spread of new technologies, the dissemination of journals and quarterlies, national book exhibits, scholarly conferences and business conventions we face the challenge to engage in the intellectual work to make a difference in our constructions of the ethnic.

Individuals in the community have access to, and for a variety of reasons often seek to read, accounts on Greek-American and Greek culture. Through subscriptions to Greek-American newspapers and publications, the library and the internet, they sample recent publications and involve
themselves in the circulation of anthropological knowledge. Individuals married into Greek families actively seek to make sense of their cross-cultural contact and are avid readers of ethnographic and sociological accounts of Greek Americans. Diana, the official historian of the community, called minutes after she saw my article in the folklore journal Laografía, to which she subscribed. And educated Greek Americans, ever reflective on their ethnic affairs, routinely inquired about publications on their communities. Here, I would like to relate three responses to issues related to my fieldwork and published work. The first response involves two e-mail messages which Héni, a Ph.D. candidate, sent and then authorized me to reprint. One message addresses the lack of response to an invitation I extended through the Greek Student’s Association electronic list for a dialogue regarding issues of Hellenism and Greek identity. The other message is a response to an article I published in the Greek newspaper to Vima in which I protested that diaspora Greeks should not be treated as second class Greeks in Greece (Anagnostu, 1997a). The second response involves criticism I received from Tom, a distinguished member of the Columbus Greek-Orthodox community, about a programmatic article I published on directions of Greek-American research (Anagnostu, 1997b). Finally, the third comment belongs to Ioanna, a member of the Greek Orthodox community with a degree in sociology.

Eléni: I knew that none would respond. For many reasons that another time I may analyze. I will say this: ... People are also pissed off that the Modern Greek program makes a distinction between Ellines [Greeks everywhere] and Eladhites [Greeks living in Greece]. That infuriates me too sometimes.

Eléni In respect to the ability "to name the other," how is it possible that the dominant culture (part of which the Greek American culture is) gets to be a victim of condescension, dismissal or mockery as you mention in your article? (and if it does what qualitative validity does it have?)
You must have experienced a different Greek American community than I have in the eight years that I have been here. The hostility, superiority, snobbery, condescension coming from those Greek Americans who are part of the dominant culture and who regard and refer to the Greek culture with very demeaning terms: "they are unorganized, dirty, thieves" in other words, because Greeks in Greece refuse to adopt the role of the marginal and underdeveloped culture which Americans tailor-suit for all the non-anglosaxon minority cultures. Should I mention examples of behaviors which I witnessed when I was in Greece like: chubby Greek American shouting in a museum: "why they do not have air-condition? What do they do with all the money we give them?" Do you want examples drawn from the American context? Visit, just once, a Greek American church as a stranger among strangers. How do you think they will treat you? With indifference, in a scoffing, snobbish way. But you have probably experienced a different kind of Greek American reality.

Tom: I read your article, believe it or not, it was hard reading, but I read it through. But I am puzzled, you do not define your terms here. Who is a Greek American? Is there such a thing as an American Greek? If you have come from Greece you are basically a Greek. But I still don't understand. How they differ?....

Ioanna: You are asking me in what way Greek culture is meaningful to me. You should approach the question sociologically, to ask where did I grow up? Will you connect with the Greek world in a similar way if you were raised in rural West Virginia and Chicago? You should take into account education and the ability to travel. Take _____ for example; his family travels to Greece every year. It has been fifteen years since I visited Greece. Do he and I connect with the Greek world the same way?

In what way do these texts factor in the ethnographic project? What do they teach us, if anything? How should we address their concerns and cautions? Do they interrogate anthropological assumptions and how? Do they "clear the ground," so to speak, opening the path for further ethnographic prompting? Before I address "Fieldtexts" as a research resource informing ethnographic questions, let me turn my attention to the challenge posed to the ethnographer by the presence of intellectuals and sophisticated laypersons in the field.
Anthropologists in the Field

A great many of these interlocutors, complex individuals routinely made to speak for 'cultural' knowledge, turn out to have their own 'ethnographic' proclivities and interesting histories of travel. Insider-outsiders, good translators and explicators, they've been around. (Clifford, 1992: 97)

The anthropologist, who traditionally traveled in the company of the missionary and the colonial administration, and was accustomed to treating "ethnographic subjects as exclusive personal territory" (Ahmed and Shore, 1995:20), is now facing a different challenge: his often competitive coexistence with journalists, native intellectuals, writers, and cultural analysts. Clifford Geertz (1995:132) captures this moment of the "crowding" of the field. Ethnographers presently find themselves in fieldwork situations where all "sorts of scholars" are "present, or at least near by: historians, economists, philologists, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, art fanciers, filmmakers, musicologists, even now and then a philosopher or two. And journalists, of course, are everywhere."

Anthropologists have recognized that they can no longer take seriously the long cherished metaphor of the ethnographer as if he were a child learning a culture anew. Long justifying the construction of the Other as an anthropological subject, the concept of the anthropologist as child has been exposed as a rhetorical tactic allowing anthropologists "to appear ethically innocent and culturally invisible" (Rosaldo, 1989:204). Enactment of the anthropologist-as-a-child metaphor within my own ethnographic setting may become at its best a source of embarrassment, at its worst an exposition of anthropological naivété. I was often asked questions by community members about Greek-American culture and its future in the United States. I felt that in
In order to be taken seriously as a student and engage in a productive dialogue, I needed to respond in an educated manner. Moreover, I preferred to respond to those who confronted me from a variety of disciplinary angles. I could not have, for example, conceivably entered in a dialogue with Eléni without a knowledge of issues central to critical theory, identity politics and Greek studies. Yet an interdisciplinary orientation, a task particularly challenging for a novice fieldworker, is only a partial solution. Part of the challenge in my fieldwork situation came from the vast knowledge my interlocutors brought with them to our conversations. They quoted books and drew from several layers of Greek culture such as theater, architecture, literature, and history with such frequency and density that I was often unable to offer educated responses with respect to some intellectual threads raised in their discussion. A vast learning of the intellectual traditions of the "culture" the anthropologist aims to study becomes then an imperative dimension of the anthropologist's education. Once the notion of the ethnographic unit of analysis (the village or the ethnic neighborhood, the urban network, as an isolated closed system, unconsciously circulating belief systems) collapses, anthropologists cannot afford to ignore the effect of extra-local cultural productions in local worlds. Furthermore, they cannot afford not to take into consideration the knowledge produced by his social interlocutors.

"Fieldtexts" as Research Resource

There is a complementarity among Eléni's, Tom's, Ioanna's and Artemis Leontis' texts. They all emphasize position and the perspectival nature of knowledge; in addition, Tom's comments call for a rigorous delineation and attention to the particularities attached to labels of self-identification. As I
have already pointed out, terms such as 'American Greek," "Greek American," "American Hellene," and Greek Greek" among others circulate in community discourse on identity and they connote different degrees of affiliation with the Greek world, country of birth and citizenship. Furthermore, Eléni's stress on her negative reception by the community reminds us to address the circumstances under which a "stranger" becomes part of community networks. As I will later discuss, the concrete, sustained and I should add persistent participation in projects of particular community organizations constitutes a necessary part of the process of inclusion and acceptance within wider social circles of the community.

The excerpts of the native texts I presented earlier indicate that "community" is never an autonomous entity, but always situated in response to wider institutions and discourses. The community's own telling of the story exhibits a reflective stance which situates it in relation to predispositions towards the "ethnic" in the American mid West while at the same it presents itself as a homogenous whole. The texts build on each other, Reimer's conclusion on the cohesiveness of the community constituting the starting point of Diana's presentation of the community as a functional whole. Kardulias offers us an insight into the church's political and economic power as it collectively undertook one of its most controversial and far-reaching negotiations with Columbus citizens. Yet, the texts carry another function as well. As they recognize acculturation and high degrees of assimilation they also engender assumptions of how the community is constituted culturally. Reimer's anthropologically-informed analytical emphasis on a "population" attaches the community with a cultural distinctiveness which absolutizes difference. Culture, unlike the economy and the political, is presented as an
isolated sphere which fixes the community in a position of radical difference. This positing of a distinct culture as the defining feature of Greek-American ethnicity is a common strategy of creating Otherness. Sherry Ortner's (1991:166) observation that "anthropological studies of the United States have had a chronic tendency to 'ethnicize' the groups under study, to treat them as so many isolated and exotic tribes" is of particular relevance here. This general tendency "to ethnicize' (the domestic version of 'orientalize')" indicates that "anthropologists studying America have mirrored anthropologists studying other people in this respect" (186). In addition, my conclusion on my article on the Greek festival carries an analogous reifying function. In failing to acknowledge that "index features" (Nash, 1989:10) constitute symbolic markers of difference, it introduces a false distinction between a symbolic and a "real" (therefore authentic) element in the construction of difference. 8

Yet other native texts intervene to reformulate this emerging profile. Ioanna speaks of the importance of location and Tom speaks about identity positioning and heterogeneity, thus subverting the community's homogenizing narrative. Gregory Jusdanis points out that an ethnic group makes identity claims capitalizing on the universal resonance of Hellenism. Eléni introduces a rupture in the image of homogeneity and success by pointing out fault-lines between immigrant Greeks and the community, launching a critique of ethnic hegemony from the immigrant margins. The discourse on Greek Americans is shifted beyond the community level, seeking to incorporate additional voices (Eléni), transnational connections (Jusdanis) and multilocal networks (Leontis).
Furthermore, my own institutional association with the modern Greek studies program at O.S.U enters into people's conversations in the ethnographic field. Although I have never made a conceptual distinction between Greeks living in Greece and Greeks living anywhere either in my article or publicly, Eléni's first comment indicates that my sheer association with the modern Greek Studies program already constitutes my position on the subject. This is claimed even though the article challenges any hierarchical classification between Greeks in Greece and diaspora Greeks, and may invite an opposite reading. Of course the tendency to a priori and uncritically assign homogeneity to scholars affiliated with Greek studies at O.S.U itself or with the scholarly functions it sponsors, a tendency which was abundantly clear in the recent exchanges in the pages of the Journal of Modern Greek Studies is subverted by the dissenting voice of Eléni who is herself institutionally affiliated with the program.

Issues of representation and inclusion, positionality, ethnic politics, and the construction of cultural difference emerged as predominant concerns in the "fieldtexts" I presented. The concern over identity and étos, as I will differentiate them below, are also making competing claims for analytical priority. Before I outline in detail how native texts inform my research questions, let me further address them as they are raised by native texts and as they relate to my fieldwork situation.

"FieldTexts" and Research Question (1): Cultural Identity

The emphasis on the community's cultural politics underlines the importance of the rhetorical evocation of identity to legitimize the symbolic claims of a group (Jusdanis, 1991a). In this approach, the resort to a particular
identity may act as a leverage in the competition for access to material resources and cultural prestige. There have been numerous instances during my fieldwork where I encountered instances of the rhetorical manipulation of ethnic identity. Competing identity claims particularly centered on the annual Greek festival in Columbus, an event of great material and symbolic significance for the community.¹⁰

Let's examine for example the renaming of the 1973 inaugural "Greek-American" festival to "Greek" festival in 1974. The modifications undertaken on the documents promoting the latter involved no changes in the content; in fact the initial text was used as carbon copy, with the label Greek-American erased and substituted by Greek. As one of the organizers who drafted the document explained to me, the process of initially naming the festival "Greek-American" took into consideration American attitudes towards ethnicity and foreign nationals. The inaugural naming "Greek-American" sought to project a public image of Greek-Americans as an American ethnic group with diasporic connections. A socially and economically assimilated group, with heavy residential concentration in middle and upper-middle class suburbs (Reimer, 1977), the Columbus Greek-Americans, as I was told repeatedly during interviews, nurtured memories of discrimination in the 1920s and, prior to the ethnic revival period which swept America in the late 1960s and 1970s, did not seek to bring attention to itself as ethnic. Thus, in their inaugural appearance in the public sphere, the group projected a dual identity, diffusing its potential association among the American public as a radically foreign Other. Relatively high attendance at the "Greek-American" festival emboldened the organizers to rename the festival, cashing in the increasing popularity of Greece as an exotic destination for tourists. This early Greek-American
consciousness of the meanings attached to signifiers and concomitant concern over its public image as an American ethnic and diasporic group anticipated later theorizations of the relationship between racism and diasporas. Drawing from the Jewish case, Michel Wieviorka (1998) argues that diasporic groups which are culturally different but socially and economically integrated within host societies are less likely to become the victims of racism. A dual claim of inclusion in the host society and cultural specificity escapes the logic of total assimilation or extreme exclusionism and mediates the view of the other as inferior or radically other. This diasporic model of double context, Wieviorka claims, is an alternative to combat racism, but it is not available to heavily discriminated on minorities who are socially and economically marginal in the host society.

This situational articulation of group identity is instructive, in that it illustrates the self-conscious awareness among Greek-Americans of the operation of ethnic identity within a social field characterized by hierarchical ordering of otherness. The fact that Diana, acting as the community's spokesperson on National Public Radio, homogenized the community by referring to its members as "Americans of Greek descent" illuminates the process of rhetorical articulation of identity. The statement of a socially and economically successful third generation Greek American, "it's not always in one's own advantage for people to know you are Greek," astounding as it might appear, underlines that the label "Greek" still carries a social cost, particularly at the higher echelons of American political and social life. On the other hand, I have witnessed an instance where an American-born individual, who variously identifies himself as American, Greek American or Greek, introduced himself to a female friend of mine as "Greek," an identification he
rationalized as offering him competitive advantage since he imagined that "Greek men are particularly popular" among American women. The strategies of social activation of identity and the assumptions they engender can be then a particularly fertile terrain of identity-centered research.

Western thought has cast identity as a bounded entity, demarcated in time and space with fixed temporal beginnings and its own spatial territoriality. Infiltrated in popular consciousness, this notion has informed the association with identity as a material object, a fixed entity that one losses or recaptures. This reification has been interrogated by understandings of identity as a constructed representation, activated for particular interests, the demarcation of social boundaries and ideological and social positions. As John Gillis (1994:5, author's emphasis) has observed, "Identities and memories are not things we think about, but things we think with. As such they have no existence beyond our politics, our social relations, and our histories." The acknowledgment of identity as a linguistic construct (associated with material, economic, political, social and ideological consequences) poses a number of methodological challenges in the investigation of identity. Its rhetorical and contextual dimensions make it a highly variable concept to unpack and cautions us to treat interviews with individuals as yet another context in which claims of identity are affirmed, negotiated or contested. Identity is "precarious," emerging in "concrete social relationships," residing "not within the individual person, or even the particular group, but between individuals and between groups engaged in social interaction" (Stern, 1991:xii; author's emphasis).

Interviews then, are yet another site where individuals activate claims on identity. In view of my earlier discussion on the utilitarian activation of
identity in the terrain of cultural politics, one might point out that Greek American claims on identity are sometimes and in certain contexts solely a rhetorical tool, a signifier selectively mobilized by an individual or a group to gain competitive advantages. If certain interlocutors are wary of identity-centered questions, isn't it more productive in some situations to turn our research focus elsewhere rather than privileging our research concerns? For example, referring back to Leontis' remarks, we can turn our a focus to the kind of practices individuals consider an important component of their identity. This approach, however, calls for an examination of the relationship between éthos and identity. What is the relationship between the two terms? Can we speak of the former without referring to the latter? In Chapter Three of this dissertation I examine these questions through a number of narratives I collected in the field. Below I present a brief introductory discussion on éthos.

"FieldTexts" and Research Question (2): Éthos and Identity

In its initial Homeric meaning, éthos carried the connotation of habituation, that is a natural association between an animal and its habitat. This meaning, presently manifested in the term ethology (the study of animal behavior), was applied to denote "an arena or range in which the animal naturally belongs" (Chamberlain, 1984:97). In this formulation, habituation involves a set of fixed habits and the concomitant resistance against any displacement in a foreign environment. We witness a change in the usage of éthos in the poetry of Hesiod and Theognis (963-70 B.C.) in which the meaning of the word was extended to apply to humans. As Chamberlain (1984:99) suggests, the term was seen as an expression of a potentially "bad" condition,
as for example in the deceptive appearance associated with the adoption of a pleasant social role underlying a fundamentally insincere essence:

We may speculate that the connection between the new use of étos and the Homeric is as follows: just as the horse possessed some area of his own which was unaffected by attempts to change his feeding grounds, so too the 'tricky' étos of a false friend is unaffected by any of the pleasing surface which Theognis mentions. In time both reassert themselves.

Chamberlain observes that the commonalties in Homer's, Hesiod's and Theognis' thinking involves the understanding of étos as habituation in an arena that "resists the imposition of outside influences" (99). The constitutive power of étos as habituation lies in its tendency to reassert itself, to react to any deviation from its original environment by re-turning to its initial condition.

Let me now turn to the "political" uses of the word as it has been identified by Chamberlain (101-2); his discussion can help me draw parallels between the ancient and contemporary usages of étos:

Perhaps because of its original connection with places, early on it was used of the 'places' where a city was located. In time the purely local sense is gradually replaced by a more abstract sense. The word now refers to the peculiar characteristics which citizens of a polis acquire as part of their civic heritage. We now hear explicitly of the étos of a city or constitution. It may be conjectured that this extension is coordinate with the previous one; that in reflecting upon both the soul and the state writers felt the need to express some sort of center of belonging. But this conception of the étos tês poleôs can be sharpened. Ta étê in particular are often mentioned in connection with trephô and paideuô, that is, with the socialization of children. ta ethe are often contrasted with the nomoi [laws] to form what seems to be a universalizing pair: nomoi regard the principles of order, written or unwritten, of the state, while the ethe look to the development of human souls, the 'morality' of the place. Hence the orators can speak to their audience of 'your' or 'our' ethe. Here the constant use of the plural seem to indicate that the cumulation of individual ethe forms a kind of moral ambiance which is peculiar to a certain polis and whose most important influence is upon the children of that place.
I quote this lengthy passage because it presents striking similarities as well as differences with contemporary meanings of ëthos. In locating a "center of belonging," a particular "moral character" to a certain civic community, and identifying the contrastive evocation of ethe (plural for ëthos) the excerpt follows the contrastive logic of identity: One could speak of "'your' or 'our' ethe," each set of conduct defining the identity of a place. This association between ëthos and identity has been more explicitly stated by Epstein (1978:122). He writes:

I refer to the identifiable thread of continuity of a group as its ëthos, the structure of assumptions, values, and meaning which underlie particular and varying expressions of cultural behaviour; and just as in the case of the individual the notion of personality is accompanied at the level of self-perception by the sense of ego-identity, so ëthos has as its counterpart the sense of collective identity, the consciousness of belonging to a group that exists in time (122).

This formulation of ëthos as a "structure of assumptions, values and meanings" moves away from the ancient Greek exclusive usage of the term as morality, exhibiting similarities with the manner by which the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977) has theorized habitus. It is my understanding that he uses ethos and habitus interchangeably. The terms refer to those values, ideas, body postures and movements, moral precepts and codes of conduct which are unconsciously embedded in the psyche and bodies of individuals. Habitus constitutes what an individual takes for granted, considers common place, unreflexively accepts as the natural state of being. It defines what is an acceptable, or more precisely, a thinkable range of possible behaviors, constituting the acculturating mechanism by which society reproduces itself.

In Chapter Three I will problematize Bourdieu's (1977:94) assertion that habitus is "placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be
touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit." Yet, I suggest that the notion of habitus provides us with a powerful analytical tool in identifying the process and nature of ethnic cultural reproduction. It turns our attention to the sites of cultural reproduction such as the family and the ethnic community and provides a locus to identify the clusters of ethnic behaviors passed to post-immigrant generations. Moreover, it prompts us to address whether or in what manner habitus factors-in in the construction of an individual's cultural identity.

"FieldTexts" and Research Question (3): White Cultural Identities and Symbolic Ethnicity

The classic sociological view of white ethnicity as a bundle of cultural traits from which a particular group has gradually weaned as the result of the groups' assimilationist contract with America gives much credence to the view that white ethnics are, to employ Rosaldo's (1988) term in another context, "people without culture." Backed by statistical evidence on the loss of language and cultural traits, one could argue that assimilation is inevitable as white ethnic groups trade their ethnic cultures for the fulfillment of their socioeconomic aspirations. This is the "price paid" in what is described as an irreversible process of cultural extinction. White ethnics have been largely absorbed within middle or even upper-middle class America and have scattered in suburbs. This fact only affirms claims about the cultural homogenization of whites by heightening the disassociation between white ethnics and a demarcated and visible cultural space. Although classical sociological understandings of ethnicity have been superseded by the now dominant paradigm of symbolic ethnicity, it is still the dominant popular
interpretation of the middle class white immigrant American experience. The	onotion of a gradual waning of ethnic cultures adopts a fundamentally
organicist understanding of ethnicity. Its analytical assumptions locate an
authentic beginning, normally represented by the immigrant culture, to
subsequently measure the next generations' deviation from this original form
which is then understood as "cultural loss." This static formalism precludes
the understanding of ethnicity as a constantly changing process of
generational invention and rearticulation (Fischer, 1986).

The paradigm of symbolic ethnicity, on the other hand, mediates
between assimilationism and cultural pluralism. It seeks to account for the
persistence of the descendants of European immigrants to evoke ethnic
symbols and celebrate their ethnic heritage. Gans (1979) [whose views have
been widely popularized by Alba (1990) and Waters (1990), and have been
adopted by Bakalian (1993) on Armenian-Americans and Scourby (1994) on
Greek Americans] has theorized "symbolic ethnicity as an individual's
voluntary and temporary association with an ethnic group, an association
which does not necessitate durable ethnic ties and long term commitments to
the group."12

Mary Waters (1990:150) suggests that the celebration of symbolic
ethnicity mediates the American dilemma between individualism and
community. It "fulfills the need to be from somewhere," while at the same
time enhancing the value of choice in American culture and giving a sense of
richness and diversity to the middle class without contradicting the American
"craving" for individualism. Symbolic identity is an identity without social
cost, Waters suggests, insisting that in our contemporary discourse on
ethnicity we need to differentiate between white and non-white ethnicity.
The ascriptive nature of the social category of ethnicity in the United States provides whites (unlike non-whites) of mixed European ancestry the option for voluntary association with a particular ethnic group according to adaptive needs and socioeconomic aspirations. Being safe and desirable, the celebration of white ethnic identities in America carries no social cost. This contrasts with non-white ethnic groups which are heavily discriminated against and as a result are constrained in celebrating their ethnicity. As Urciuoli (in Jusdanis, 1996) suggests, groups "colonized directly into the United States: Native Americans, African Americans, as well as Puerto Ricans .... there is no equivalent of a Puerto Rican or black 'town,' a picturesque neighborhood of restaurants, shops, cafes" which markets ethnicity to both insiders and outsiders alike.  

Symbolic ethnicity is theorized as the articulation of par excellence postmodern identity. Centered on consumer culture and leisure, it celebrates the free play of codes, the enactment of social play in ethnic festivals and parades. Symbolic ethnicity exemplifies, according to Jusdanis (1996) the ideology of liberal multiculturalism. No longer do a set of obligatory practices determine behavior. Rather, selectively evoked and temporarily activated, ethnic customs can become the subject of nostalgic "ethnic" reminiscence tracing hints of transnational connections. Playfully enacted in festivals and parades, and artfully manipulated for cultural or economic capital, symbolic postmodern identities are largely perceived as a commodity-centered play of signifiers within the context of cultural tourism and leisure consumerism. Spectacle-oriented, they celebrate identity, heritage and roots, becoming liberal multiculturalism's more visible public sign of cultural diversity (Jusdanis, 1996).
An understanding of white identities as the primary expressions of postmodern aestheticism can certainly lead to a critique of the consumer-oriented and excessive culturalism of our times. Yet, unqualified adoption of this paradigm can have the reverse effect, namely bringing about a homogenization of white cultural identities and thus neutralizing their substantive and socially relevant potential. Furthermore, I would like to indicate that theories of symbolic ethnicity assume a rather simplistic duality in the operation of culture. On the one hand, it implicitly poses as its counterpart a "real" ethnicity which it associates with structural constraints and limitations. The model of this counter-symbolic-ethnicity is the Durkheimian face-to-face organic community where the individual is subjected to an ever-present social mechanism enforcing conformity to social rules and ideals. Furthermore, symbolic ethnicity can be seen as an extension of Parson's projection of an ontological view of social groups where the need to belong is posited as a necessary dimension of the human condition. Once Durkheim's model of organic solidarity has been superseded in modernity by mechanical solidarity, and social cohesion is further undermined by fragmentation and excessive individualism where "choice" looms large in an individual's attachment to a social group or cultural tradition, the paradigm of symbolic ethnicity presents culture as an innocuous bundle of customs and cultural traits which the individual evokes to personally connect with tradition and feel part of a larger social whole (thus the mediation between individualism and community). Culture then is viewed as either a determinant of behavior or an innocuous bundle of traits and signifiers activated by the individual to playfully mark difference in the American cultural marketplace and the homogeneous space of the suburbs. In this sense the affiliation of
white ethnics with aspects of their cultural traditions is stripped of its potential to inform an ethical, social or political stance. In this respect, symbolic ethnicity not only has internalized the subaltern critiques of the cultural pluralism model by associating the celebration of European ethnicity with subtle reinforcements of racism (Waters, 1990), but it also enables subaltern subjects to pose themselves as the only meaningful agents of change and anti-hegemonic critique. This unexamined position towards the operation of culture does not take into account the manner by which various permutations of ethnicity and the interaction between individuals and cultural traditions can inform commitments, inspire life-time pursuits, frame individual behaviors, and activate the operation of institutions and the arts.

The manner then, by which ethnicity as a cultural resource shapes social agency, instead of being dismissed, can become a central research question. During the interviews I collected, individuals articulated multiple ways of negotiating and connecting with culture. Culture was seen simultaneously as a burden imposing behavioral modes on individuals and a meaningful resource worth exploring and translating into social action. This dual operation of culture positioned individuals in a self-reflective stance which sought to select aspects of culture appealing to the individual self. In this sense symbolic ethnicity is useful in reminding us that increasingly the engagement of individuals with culture takes place at an individual level where individuals consciously select aspects of their cultural traditions to cultivate or reject. At other times, however, the individuals expressed the complex ways in which ethnicity carried an impact in their lives and informed life choices and individual behavior.
"Fieldtexts" and Research Methodology

The image of Greek America as a historicized network proposed by Artemis Leontis (1997a) can serve as starting point to begin envisioning the cultural and social formations which make up the conceptual as well as material landscape of Greek-America: families, the Greek-Orthodox communities, Greek university programs, the Greek-language school, theater companies, academic and literary texts, travel accounts, this text, Greek festivals, poetry readings, travels to Greece, the Archdiocese of North and South America, the Greek American museum, heritage societies, libraries, ethnic business associations.\(^{15}\)

The view of the Greek American social world as a network affords no privileged vantage point from which to view Greek America. Any one particular position enables a view of connecting institutions and activities but its horizon may be blocked by yet denser interconnections one needs to unravel to gain an even broader understanding. Thus the position of both the ethnographer and the social actor at once enables and obstructs knowledge, opens some possibilities for knowledge as it hinders others. Deciding on a perspective in the analysis of the socio-cultural world does not mean choosing to let go of other possible perspectives. Taking into consideration the interrelationship among the social components comprising Greek America works against a narrow research focus. This is aided by the recognition that the social terrain of Greek presence in America is not disconnected from other institutions, ideas, movements and people operating in American society. Immigration policies, social attitudes towards immigrants, understandings of multiculturalism, intermarriage, academic attitudes towards ethnic programs, are all related in complex ways with layers of Greek America's social
landscape, the shaping and direction of Greek-American institutions, cultural formations and individual subjectivities. Nor is Greek America disconnected from the position of Greece in the American imagination, world geopolitics, and diasporic kinship networks.

How then does the anthropologist examine this complex, overlapping, social landscape? How does he trace relations and connections, how does he make sense of dense social networks, when the identification of clusters of cultural activities not to mention their interactions, poses such analytical difficulties? To return to the question with which I opened this chapter, how does one gain anthropological knowledge of a non-localized, social entity? And how does one do that without traveling? If there is no privileged cluster of activities or institutional center in this scheme of things, where does the anthropologist locate himself to even get a start with his ethnography?

_Greek American as a Network: Participant Observation and Interviewing_

I suggested earlier in this Chapter that traveling need not be the necessary postmodern condition for producing ethnographic knowledge. I mentioned that extensive fieldwork in a community close to the ethnographer's "home" can present itself as a condition to acquiring knowledge about heterogeneous and spatially dispersed social worlds and institutions. I spent more than two years familiarizing myself with various contours of these worlds, timidly in the beginning, gradually progressing with confidence and ease later, as I came to relate meaningfully with individuals and establish my social place as a language school teacher, secretary of the community's cultural organization, and ultimately the

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ethnographer-researcher. Situating oneself in these institutional networks, getting to "know" a wide variety of social actors and being exposed to diverse points of views is an inherent process of community-making. In fact the knowledge of "where individuals come from," a social process artfully exercised by a great number of community members is a necessary part of belonging to the community. It not only presupposes extensive social contacts and commitments but also serves as a platform for social and political maneuvering aimed towards realizing particular agendas, and in so doing, initiating community-constituting projects.

The demographic as well as social make up and significance of the Columbus Greek community in which I conducted my ethnography is important in my project of understanding Greek America. Columbus hosts social networks that connect the city with all aspects of Greek immigration. Immigrants, Columbus-born Greek Americans, their children and grandchildren, as well as Greek-Americans born in close-knit Greek communities of rural Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania and West Virginia who moved to Columbus for career reasons, constitute a multivocal and heterogeneous world which comes together as a social entity as individuals participate in various functions of community life such as church-going, Greek language school, cultural organization, dances and communal celebrations, assemblies, and the festival.

The heterogeneity of the Greek community in Columbus then can be located along ethnic, cultural, linguistic and class lines. This was evident in community members' responses during my fieldwork. The announcement of the specifics of my project to many individuals was received by statements like "you will get different responses depending on who you talk to." This response
and the fact that certain community members even volunteered to name individuals holding different views on Greek culture and language, points to an issue of great ethnographic significance: In what way does a heterogeneous community constitute and reproduce itself, and to what end? I will not address this question in this dissertation. Nor will I explore the interrelationship between class and ethnicity. I will also not address in detail the issues raised by Eléni (Greek Studies, African American literature) concerning Greek American views on Greece and intra-community divisions. The knowledge produced in this dissertation is partial, not unlike all ethnographic endeavors (Clifford, 1986a).

My primary emphasis will be the identification and contextualization of differing views on culture and identity. Meeting individuals situated in different locations vis-a-vis the community was a challenging part of my fieldwork. To this end, my participation in community-sponsored, or community-related organizations irrevocably shaped my fieldwork. These organizations constitute social worlds partially connecting individuals with the Greek community. It is this aspect that enabled my acquaintance with social actors marginally associated with the community and variously connected with Greek culture. The Greek Language School class for adults was such a site: it generated great intellectual and emotional relationships among Orthodox and non-Orthodox Greeks, non Greeks and individuals who were discovering their Greek heritage. The Greek-Orthodox association of university students was another site: it brought me in contact with young Greek Americans who navigated college life through multiple social connections, including the Church, and the Greek studies program at the university. The Hellenic Heritage Foundation, the local cultural organization,
an intellectual and social forum, provided the initial compass to orient me in the complex contours of community social life. My professional association with the department of classics and the modern Greek program, brought me into contact with Greeks, Greek Americans and non-Greeks from all walks of life whose interest in ancient and modern Greece forged the making of intense intellectual communities.

Participation in relevant locales, then, enmeshes the ethnographer in certain ethnoscapes of Greek America. Yet, the "key" so to speak for accessing the crisscrossing dimensions of Greek America, was an ethnographic focus on individual social actors within particular locales, agents who people, move among and thus outline the larger formations of this ethnoscapes. The process of selective, in-depth interviewing presented itself as the primary means to produce ethnographic knowledge. In interview settings, individuals evoked social settings and various institutions, and social activities through which ethnic culture is activated, produced, reproduced, or contested. The product was often a narrative on the relationship between identity and cultural practices. I collected such narratives from a total of fifteen individuals and I analyzed in detail the ethnographic material I collected from interviews with nine social actors. The interviews ranged from an hour-and-a-half to, more commonly, over three hours. On many occasions I arranged for follow-up interviews, which lasted from two to four hours.

The anthropological knowledge of Greek Americans has been scarce. Greek Americans have been largely represented sociologically, as a socio-economically successful group whose members have been dispersed to the suburbs. High rates of intermarriage, language and culture loss are routinely cited as evidence of their assimilation. The description of them as church-
centered supports claims on the ethno-religious character of their identities. While the facts presented in these studies are correct, they contribute in the making of a sociological type, the assimilated, church-going Greek American. My purpose in this dissertation is to present an alternative view of Greek America and the people that inhabit its social landscape. Thus my choice to present the points of view of selected social actors is a strategic one. It seeks to counter the construction of a typical Greek-American ethnicity.

Therefore, in collecting ethnographic material, my aim was not to represent the whole of Greek America through its parts. Rather, my concern to document what I perceived as diverse positions, which was enabled by my familiarity with a number of people, positions and social roles informed my selection of the interviewees. Furthermore, particular positions articulated by a social actor should not be interpreted as typical of his or her generation or economic position. In other words, I do not subscribe to the notion that social actors in the same generational cohort or class location share a generic outlook in their affiliation with Greek culture.

Anthropologists have recently suggested that ethnographic interlocutors "play the part of theoreticians in the field" (Ardener in Macdonald, 1993:6). In his ethnography of Cretan shepherds, Michael Herzfeld (1985:xi) anticipates this turn:

In the headlong rush to make our rural studies less exotic and more 'relevant,' we all too easily forget to give the villagers themselves a voice. Indeed, the very act of writing ethnography presupposes that the villagers' ideas belong to the level of description rather than of theory, and this obscures their ability to draw on a theoretical (or at least conceptual) capital of their own.

Herzfeld goes on to note that the anthropological proclivities of these highland shepherds to theorize social and cultural life is the result of their
historically constituted opposition to official authority and discourse which has confronted them with the need to decode and manipulate this discourse. As the excerpts drawn from the "fieldtexts" and my discussion of the naming of the Greek festival indicate, Greek-Americans are involved in a highly reflexive relationship with dominant ethnic classifications which they seek to activate for their own purposes. As bearers of otherness, or boundary crossers between the immigrant household and the mainstream, the Greek Americans I spoke to exhibited a sensitivity to reading social situations in anthropological terms. There are instances that I will present in later sections where their sophisticated theorization of identity and culture closely resonates with the observations of professional cultural analysts. The question then arises, how do I discuss ethnographic "data" generated by local theorists?

First, whenever I am authorized, I identify my interlocutors. Naming can denote respect and acknowledgment of the human dimension lying at the heart of the ethnographic exchange. The incorporation of a large number of interacting social actors in an ethnography can certainly be confusing, as the anthropologist Jill Dubisch has recently remarked, and can exert particular demands on the readers. Yet, this identification avoids the simplification and typifications involved in the textualist readings of culture, where statements of interlocutors become solely data supporting anthropological interpretations. To facilitate the reader for mnemonic purposes I attach next to the names of my interlocutors in parenthesis an attribute which they attached with particular significance during our interviews. For example, Eléni, who expresses a particular affinity to Greek theater becomes Eléni (Greek theater) and another individual by the same name, Eléni, who studies Byzantine history and culture becomes Eléni (Byzantine studies).
When Greek Americans articulate theoretical insights, I quote the narratives they produce at length. In addition to providing evidence bolstering my own arguments, this method accommodates the inclusion of diverse points of view and also demonstrates the complexity of often-nonlinear narratives. Individuals I interviewed frequently made authoritative assertions early in the interview process, which they later qualified, nuanced, or even confronted as they settled into the interview. Only extensive quotes can do justice to these complexities. Since identity is fundamentally a temporal category, I do take into account reference to the past, but my aim is not to present biographies of the individuals I interviewed. Rather, I present and analyze their discourse on culture and identity without making any claims of "knowing" the intentionality and deep thoughts of the persons to whom the narratives belong.

In this respect, the ethnographic sections of this dissertation constitute an attempt to explore the manners in which social actors theorize identity and culture. By a process of comparison across cultural domains I make general observations about claims of identity and culture as well as identify their connections with social science understandings of the issues raised during the interviews.

Dissertation Framework

My dissertation is organized around three central themes which correspond to Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

Chapter 2: First, my concern on the role of discourses and institutions in shaping articulations of ethnicity, leads me to adopt a macro-perspective on identity construction. The premise of this approach is that claims on identity
are activated within a field of power relations among social groups. Within this framework I ask the following questions: What historical circumstances and social relations framed the reconfiguration of Greek immigrant identity during the first quarter of the twentieth century? What discourses the immigrants mobilized to legitimize the process of ethnogenesis, that is their claim to a new identity as American Hellenes? And what were the cultural strategies this minority group activated to negotiate the assimilationist pressures exerted by the dominant culture?

**Chapter 3:** While "Chapter Two" addresses the rhetorical construction of identity within the context of cultural politics, the following chapter adopts an ethnographic orientation to discuss the meaning contemporary social actors attach to a Greek identity. This is the second theme of the dissertation, entailing a micro-perspective I designed in order to play close attention to the manner by which individuals activate or negotiate identity claims. I do not confine my study on the process of individual identity construction alone. Rather, I examine the relationship between claims on identity and understandings of Greek practices, or ethos. Given that Hellenism figured prominently in identity claims, this concern led me to an innovative analytical perspective: an examination of the relationship between "low" (everyday Greek culture) and "high" (Hellenism) culture in the construction of identity. Thus in many respects this research strategy turns my earlier chapter "on its head." While my historical perspective led me to address the strategies evoking Hellenism, my ethnographic work examines Hellenism as a cultural resource generating meaning relevant to the lives of individual actors. The development of theoretical insights on the construction of cultural
identity is a central component of this part of my work. In this chapter I ask
the following questions: In what ways do individuals construct their cultural
identities? What is the relationship between identity claims and ethos? In
what way "low" culture factors-in in meaning-making regarding "high"
culture?

Chapter 4: The third dissertation theme involves modes of Greek cultural
production in the United States. In many ways this concern grew from
insights generated in "Chapter Three." If individuals of Greek descent connect
with Greek culture in diverse ways (which I theorize as "cultural
connectivity"), in what ways, I ask, "non-Greeks" differentially situated
within Greek America implicate themselves in Greek cultural production in
this country? How is their "cultural connectivity" to Greek culture expressed?
To this end I interviewed a number of non-ethnically Greek individuals,
asking them questions about their sense of their own cultural identity and
their relationship with Greek culture. This chapter then addresses the
following questions: Under what socio-historical circumstances do these
individuals become social agents on Greek cultural production? What forms
does the production take? And what are the contexts enabling this
production?
CHAPTER 2

FROM GREEK IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICAN HELLENES: CULTURAL POLITICS AND IMMIGRANT LEGITIMATION

As I was heading towards a Saturday afternoon interview appointment in the Greek Orthodox Cathedral's Reception Hall in Columbus, I did not think twice when my eye caught the preparations going on for a wedding reception in the Social Hall. Weekend wedding preparations are common occurrences as the church routinely rents its social hall and adjacent classrooms for social functions, such as corporate business workshops and pre-election rallies for local politicians. The Social Hall is a spacious place hosting a number of diverse events during the community's annual cycle: dances, Sunday school celebrations, Greek language school graduation commencements, business conventions, religious presentations, and Sunday's post-liturgy coffee-hour. During the community's festival it is converted to accommodate a pastry market, bakery, art displays, and a children's corner. Promotional pamphlets advertise it as a 6,000 sq. ft. "very elegant facility with carpeted floor, chandeliers, large dance floor, stage and built-in bar, [with its] banquet hall overlook[ing] a landscaped courtyard filled with seasonal flowers."
As I yielded to ethnographic curiosity and stepped in to survey the scene, I came across yet another metamorphosis of the place. A backdrop of stylized ancient columns representing classical ruins stood out among elaborate floral arrangements, and all-white fabrics and linens making for the spirit of the occasion. In response to my inquiry, the interior decorator in charge asserted that a classical Greek background is in much demand for wedding receptions. Images of broken ancient columns, the "ruins of an empire" (Eisner, 1991:100) that once lured 19th century travelers to Greece, now provide contemporary weddings with a romantic aura, albeit today, within a symbolic center, of the diasporic Greek community.

The evocation of ancient Greece in the wedding reception is only one example of the public association of Greek Americans with the classical. Early in the twentieth century, during the first wave of Greek immigration to America, a legacy of Western Hellenism tracing itself to Romantic philhellenism viewed Greek immigrants as the direct heirs of the Greek ancient tradition. Thus, when Chicago's infamous Hull House Theater cast Greek immigrants in its 1899 inaugural production of the Greek classical tragedy "The Return of Odysseus,"

The thought which came over and over again into every mind was: These are the real sons of Hellas chanting the songs of their ancestors, enacting the life of thousands of years ago. There is a background for you! How noble it made these fruit merchants for the nonce; what a distinction it gave them! They seemed to feel that they had come into their own. They were set right at last in our eyes .... The sons of princes, they had known their heritage all the time; it was our ignorance which had belittled them .... The feeling which these humbly proud fellow-citizens of ours put into play was at the same time their tribute to a noble ancestry and a plea for respect. Those who saw them on that stage will never think of them again in quite the same way as before...
The association between Greek Americans and ancient Greeks is evoked by Columbus public events such as the Greek Festival where greeters dressed in classical gowns welcome festival visitors, the ceremonies surrounding the Columbus Marathon where community members in classical gowns were invited to place the laurel wreaths on the heads of the winners, and the dedication of the statue of Hippocrates to the O.S.U College of Medicine in 1988 (Jusdanis, 1991a). The following official welcome of the city of Columbus to the 1934 American Hellenic Progression Association (AHEPA) convention illustrates this theme (Convention Catalog):

The history of the country from which you or your ancestors came to America has shown to the world treasures unbounded. For centuries Greece was almost alone the center of human culture, the effects of which can reach even to our own day. "The glory that was Greece", must be a proud memory to everyone through whose body flows the blood of such magnificent forebears. (Ohio Governor)

Let us pull together and show our friends that the Greeks of today are, in truth, the same as those who made possible that famous line of poetry "the glory that was Greece"! [AHEPA Convention General Chairman, Ted Pekras. Letter to the delegates of the Eleventh National Convention of the Order of AHEPA, August 19th to 25th, 1934. Deshler-Wallick Hotel, Columbus, Ohio]

Persons coming to Columbus during this convention will not need a key to the city for no door will be locked to exclude the fine citizenship that composes the personnel of this national organization. The public buildings, the churches, the schools, the parks, the universities and in fact all of the city is pleased to open wide the door of hospitality to the patriotic citizenship of Greek ancestry that has made this country its adopted home. (Welcome Letter)

Yet this description of the relationship between classical Hellenism and Greek Americans has not always universally accepted. In the context of early Greek immigration in the United States (1890-1924), it was vehemently contested as nativists sought to classify Greek immigrants as an inferior race, and therefore undesirable aliens.
The disassociation between the Greek immigrants and the cultural progenitors of the American ideals of governance was then a necessary first step to discredit the immigrants' claims for inclusion in the American nation. Greek Americans, aided by the knowledge and rhetorical skills of American philhellenes, and their own position within the nation's socioeconomic order activated their own counter-discourse, claiming a direct continuity connecting them with the ancients. Thus the cultural politics of 19th century Europe associated with the incipient formation of the Greek nation-state as a local response to dominant discourses (Friedman, 1992; Herzfeld, 1982, 1987), were to be reactivated almost a century later, this time in the American context. To be sure, the circumstances were different. In the former case, the formation of a Greek nation-state and its identity were at stake (Jusdanis, 1991b); in the latter case, the legitimacy of immigrants as equally participating citizens in a host society was depended on it. Yet, in both cases, the underlying operating logic was similar: As a people tracing a relationship with the ancient Greeks, modern Greeks had to prove that they were legitimate heirs of their ancestral culture. In their architecture, cultural achievements and social standing they had to negotiate what historian Richard Clogg (1992:1) calls the "burden of antiquity," namely the necessary reference to classical Greece in the process of defining Neohellenism. Yet the criteria evaluating their status were not always of their own making. As I will show in the following discussion, the Greek immigrants' claims of direct continuity with the ancients were evaluated by standards imposed by the dominant American culture.

In this chapter I historicize the relationship between Greek Americans and Hellenism by examining how Greek immigrants in the early 20th century...
evoked Hellenism to gain legitimacy in the United States. I identify the discourses activated over the inclusion of Greek immigrants in the American nation within the context of "white ethnicity," to suggest that the negotiations over the place of the Greeks in the American national imagination centered around race and class. A particular Greek American organization, AHEPA (American Hellenic Progressive Association) posited a direct continuity between Greek immigrants and ancients Greeks to make a case for the Greek immigrants as "white" Americans. At the same time, and within the framework of social Darwinism, the historically mediated quick ascendancy of the immigrants in the middle class supported the argument on the economic and social fitness of the Greeks in the American nation.

*Greek Immigrants: An Inferior Race or Heirs of Classical Hellenism?*

The "new immigrants" from southeastern Europe, Armenians, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Lithuanians, Mayars, Poles, are no longer "birds of passage," a transient labor force, Clinton Stoddard Burr declared in his "America's Race Heritage" (1922). He cautioned American citizens that in their plan to rear families and make America their permanent home, these "mongrel submerged populations, the very dregs of Europe" (177) threaten "the race purity and hereditary genius of future Americans" (176). A year later, on October 15, 1923, a host of American dignitaries including Judge H. N. Wells, a representative of Atlanta's mayor, attorney Carl Hutcheson, as well as Congressman William D. Upshaw in absentia, extended a "very warm welcome" to hundreds of Greek delegates of the American Hellenic Progressive Association (AHEPA) during the organization's First National Convention.
Inaugurated by the welcome address of Carl Hutcheson, himself a honorary AHEPA member, who emphasized "'loyalty' to [the] Old Glory [of Hellas]," and "adjourned by the singing of 'America'" the Convention constituted a public event ritually transforming a particular class of Greek immigrants to "Americanized Hellene[s]" (Leber, 1972:162,164).

These two concurrent events, the publication of Burr's explicitly racist book excluding southeastern European immigrants from the American national community, and the ceremonial public reception of Greeks in America, represent two divergent views on immigrants. On the one hand, Burr's description of the immigrants as "mongrel submerged populations" exemplifies the desire to exclude the immigrants from the American national community. During the early 20th century this position was embraced by prominent scholars, novelists, popular writers, prestigious academics, research institutions and the revived Ku Klux Klan, and it sought to circumscribe the boundaries of the American national community around the racial category "white," an ascription habitually reserved for the Protestant Anglo-Saxon founders of the American nation (Gossett, 1963). On the other hand, the public welcoming of AHEPA exemplified the imagining of America as a country of immigrants, as an asylum for immigrant masses. Such an advocacy on the inclusion of the immigrants was supported by leading industrialists, by assimilationist scholars, and by religious and liberal civic organizations which posited cultural "Anglo-conformity" as the condition necessary for the integration of the "new immigrants" to the "white" community.

Although the intolerance towards and the welcoming of the immigrants can be seen as two contradictory positions, this is not necessarily the case. As
Ali Behdad (1997:157) has argued, anti-immigrant and pro-immigrant sentiments exemplify an American ambivalence, rather than a contradiction on the issue of immigration. The powerful myth of America as "an asylum for immigrant masses who come here in search of liberty, freedom, and opportunity," and the fear of the immigrant as an element threatening American cultural and political institutions represent, according to Behdad, two poles of American nationalism. This is "an ambivalent nationalism that simultaneously acknowledges the nation's immigrant formation and ethnic heterogeneity and disavows them" (158).^ For the purposes of my discussion here, I should note that early in the 20th century, the myth of America as asylum precluded the acceptance of ethnic heterogeneity and difference. "To be accepted as immigrants, newcomers had to forsake their ethnicity and relinquish their political, and even cultural differences" (Behdad, 1997:160).

Behdad's observations sensitize us to the nature of negotiations any southeastern European immigrant group had to undertake in order to become part of the American national community. A claim to "Americaness" entailed establishing an argument for racial and cultural inclusivity. Since 1790, when Congress enacted a law granting citizenship privileges to "all free white persons who, have, or shall migrate into the United States" (Annals of Congress, in Jacobson, 1998:22), there was a normative association between citizenship and whiteness. In other words, citizenship was a racialized category (Jacobson, 1998). Therefore the demonstration of being able to adhere to the principles of American political culture (fitness for self-government) was a criterion for inclusion in the category "whiteness." The racial status of the immigrants then became the primarily contested category among nativists and racists seeking the exclusion of southeastern European
immigrants. It was also of paramount importance to assimilationists, for
different reasons. Since the latter advocated the fitness of the immigrants in
the American civic culture, evidence of "assimilability" was instrumental in
popularizing assimilationist positions.

The issue of national exclusion and inclusion then was primarily
contested between two ideological camps. Anglo-conformists and nativists
fought over institutional legitimation, control over immigration policies and
the boundaries of the racial category "white." While assimilationists sought to
expand the category of "whiteness" to include the "new immigrants" from
Southeastern Europe, the latter insisted on preserving the status of "white" for
those of Northern European ancestry. I should note that the battles between
assimilationists and nativists intensified during the interwar era of the Red
Scare, massive unemployment and labor movements, culminating in the
restrictive 1924 Immigration Act, which totally barred immigration from Asia
and seriously curtailed immigration from southeastern Europe. The 1924
immigration policy marked a new era where the pressure for naturalization
and assimilation, on one hand, and the institutional discrimination against the
immigrants, on the other hand, became the dominant public ethos of the
period. My aim in this chapter is to address the manner by which the Greek
immigrants were represented by these two ideologies and in turn discuss the
strategies they adopted to claim themselves as legitimate members of the
American national community.

I focus my discussion in the strategies for racial and cultural national
inclusion adopted by a particular organization, the American Hellenic
Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA). Founded in 1922 as a non-
sectarian, non-political organization, AHEPA embraced the assimilationist
discourse of 100% Americanism, promoting such ideals as good citizenship, patriotism and philanthropy. AHEPA's well publicized public appeal and institutional acceptance in a period of rampant nativism is a striking phenomenon indicative, I will argue in this chapter, of the institution's unique historical position that fulfilled, earlier than any other "new immigrant" nationality, the redemptive contract with America: namely, the immigrant's economic and social success, accompanied by uncompromising identification with American cultural and political norms. Insofar as the "new immigration" at the turn of the 20th century was largely an economic phenomenon which raised in the process issues of the immigrants' racial status and socioeconomic mobility, I situate my discussion of early Greek immigration to the United States (1890-1920) within the country's racial and class economy. The evocation of Hellenism by AHEPA as a legitimizing claim to membership in America's civic culture adds yet another dimension to my analytical framework. Thus, the manner in which Hellenism was linked to issues of class and race in the socio-historical negotiations of the Greek immigrants in the United States becomes central to my argument. I suggest that the simultaneous operation of two factors, one associated with the role of the economic function of the Greek diaspora and the other with the discourse of Hellenism, rendered possible AHEPA's call for - and early American positive response - for the inclusion of the Greeks in the American nation.

Theoretical Context: "Whiteness"

The transformation in the representation of Greek immigrants from members of an inferior "Mediterranean race" to fully-fledged American citizens illustrates that racial categories are social constructions subject to
negotiation within particular socio-historical circumstances. This leads me to present a brief introduction on the construction of "whiteness" in the United States and subsequently to situate the discourses on the racial classification of the Greek immigrants within the context of early 20th century immigration in America.

As Theodore W. Allen's (1994, 1997) comparative study of racial oppression in America and Ireland has shown, "whiteness" was invented as a racial category by the seventeenth century Anglo-America plantation-owning elite in order to prevent the development of black-white solidarity and the potential of working class revolt. According to Allen, the propertied elite consciously adopted a strategy of social engineering fostering a race consciousness to deter the development of "inter-racial" class-consciousness. Allen calls the series of laws barring black people from equal participation in social and political life a "racial oppression" system. The conferring of a "white racial status" was accompanied "with unprecedented [white] civil and social privileges vis-a-vis African-Americans, privileges that, furthermore, were made to appear conditional on keeping 'non-whites' down and out" (1994:14). For example, among the racially biased legal measures put in place, the Virginia Act of 1723 sanctioned the following: it denied free African-Americans the right to hold any office of public trust; it barred them from "being a witness in any case against a 'white person;"" it excluded "free African-Americans from the armed militia," and forbade "free African Americans from possessing 'any gun, powder, shot or any club, or any other weapon whatsoever, offensive or defensive" (Allen, 1997:250). These denigrating for African-Americans laws resulted in a sense of race pride and "empowerement" among the whites which functioned as a system of social
control to prevent the formation of an interracial class consciousness between propertyless poor European Americans and African-American former slaves.

Since the Civil War, the social category "whiteness" has been gradually extended to include a number of non-Anglo groups such as the Irish who were legally incorporated as equals within the system of white "racial privileges." Yet, non-Anglo, non-Protestant European immigrants were never fully "imagined," in Anderson's formulation (1991), as an integral part of the American nation. They were marked and heavily discriminated against during periods of war, economic, social or political crises, becoming the primary targets of religious and racial nativism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Higham, 1988).

Today, official government usage of the category "white" refers to "persons who trace their origins to the 'original peoples' of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East to the Pakistan border" (Sanjek, 1994:109). Thus, in addition to the popular conception of Euroethnics as whites, the official designation includes categories who occupy "borderline locations in the sociopolitical space of whiteness," such as Arabs, Armenians, etc. (Harrison, 1995:64). Yet, the contingency of the racial status of these groups is illustrated in a 1987 Supreme Court decision which declared (besides official designation of these groups as whites) that Arabs and Jews could use civil rights laws to gain redress from past discrimination since they are not racially whites (Harrison, 1995:64). Given that Euroethnicity confers social honor to descendants of European immigrants (Alba, 1990:313), it is important to note that the category "European ethnicity" posits a hierarchical differentiation within the category of whiteness. Yet, within the current context of identity politics, the fascination with difference, as well as the association of
"whiteness" with hegemony, "white status" remains a contested category. This is illustrated in the case of a "black Egyptian" who rejected his ascriptive classification of white as meaningless, and challenged the U.S. department of Immigration and Naturalization's race and ethnic standards (Harrison, 1995:64). The discrepancy between official designation, popular attitudes, and ethnic self-identification is illustrated in the case of Mexican-Americans. Oboler (1995:41) observes that although the 1940 census reclassified individuals with Spanish surnames as whites, Mexican-Americans "were excluded as foreigners in U.S. society" in the public realm. It is noteworthy that although middle-class Mexican-Americans accepted their classification as whites, the Mexican-American movement in the civil rights era mobilized around, and claimed rights on the basis of a distinct ethnic Mexican-American identity.

Addressing AHEPA's inclusion in a national community which imagined itself, both racially and culturally, as White Anglo-Saxon, situates my work in what Bonnett (1996) has recently identified as the emerging field of "White Studies." In his critical review of recent works on the socio-historical construction of "whiteness" [Theodore W. Allen's "The Invention of the White Race: Volume One: Racial Oppression and Social Control" (1994), David Roediger's "Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics, and Working Class History" (1994), the first three issues of the journal "Race Traitor: Treason to Whiteness is Loyalty to Humanity" (1993-1994), and Ruth Frankenberg's "The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters" (1993)], Alastair Bonnett (1996:146) identifies three factors stimulating the emergence of "whiteness" as "the object of historical and critical scrutiny within 'race' scholarship": a) The political and intellectual
climate of anti-racism which has shifted the emphasis away from the non-white Other towards White racism (thus making "whiteness" the object of concern); b) The impact of deconstruction in its interrogation of centered identities such as masculinity and whiteness; and c) The essentialist response of "white" academics who adopted the position of "speaking as a 'White person'" about, or even for "White People" (147), in reaction to the similarly essentialist subaltern claim that whites, because of their privileged racial status, are in no position to contribute to research on "non-white" people.

The increasing ubiquity of "whiteness" as the object of scholarly scrutiny is indicative of a corollary shift of emphasis within racial and ethnic studies, away from the focus on ethnicity, towards a "race-centered analysis" (Harrison, 1995:48). An articulation of the rationale of this research agenda is presented by Steven and Sanjek (1994), who, in the tradition set by Stephen Steinberg's "The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America" (1981), seek to revitalize scholarly interest on issues of race and class. Their concern that the 1970's focus on ethnicity constituted a neo-conservative agenda excluding considerations of racism in the United States, has been compounded by Waters' (1990:164) observation that "a subtle reinforcement of racism" is inherent in the current celebration of Euro-ethnic identities. The public celebrations of "white" ethnics affirm the ideology of multiculturalism, Waters suggests, thus hiding the differential treatment racial groups are subjected in the country.

There is a growing literature addressing the processes involved in the construction of a marked, "white" American identity and in the process mapping an emerging social landscape which markedly deviates from the one described by Gordon (1964:5) more than thirty years ago: "Indeed, the white
Protestant American is rarely conscious of the fact that he inhabits a group at all. He inhabits America." Lieberson (1985:171) has identified the emergence of this new "white" ethnic group whose members declared an "American" ethnic ancestry both in the 1980 U.S. census and, since the 1972, the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. This population largely consists of fourth generation descendants of northern European immigrants, Lieberson observes, to subsequently describe its social characteristics by drawing from data obtained by the General Social Survey between 1972 and 1980. He observes that the new white ethnic population is disproportionately located in the rural south, its majority has been raised Protestant, and they tend to be "more 'conservative' than the total white population .... think[ing] that too much is being spent to improve conditions of blacks (41 vs. 29 percent for all whites) and are less likely to object to the level of military spending" (178-179). Warren (1995) discusses the political manifestations of a "white" identity, explaining the formation of a "white" ethnic group in terms of "a displaced majority" consciousness developed within the post-civil rights sociopolitical context of affirmative action and open-door immigration policy. In Warren's (1995:132) discussion of the location of middle-class symbolic identities of Euro-ethnics [as have been theorized in Gans' "Symbolic Ethnicity" (1979), Alba's "Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America" (1990) and Waters' "Ethnic Options" (1990)] vis-a-vis the "displaced majority," we should add yet another articulation of "white identity" among lower class immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. Observing the success of racial politics in influencing state action and having to carry the cost of the liberal welfare programs, these blue collar ethnics (heavily concentrated in the cities of the Industrial North and the
Great Lakes region) organized themselves into cross-cultural coalitions which stressed a shared history of discrimination to press their interests on the state. According to one of their intellectuals, Michael Novak (1973), it was ripe time for the development of a "white ethnic consciousness" among the "PIGS-those Poles, Italians, Greeks and Slavs" who were underrepresented in school curricula, stereotyped and discriminated against by the dominant culture, ignored by intellectuals who valorized black, Hispanic and other-non-white minorities.

Given this overview on the social construction of "whiteness" a number of questions arise regarding the early 20th century racial classification of Greek immigrants in the United States: In what way were the immigrants able to confront the stigmatized status as members of an inferior race? What cultural strategies enabled them to posit a "white" identity as early as the first quarter of the 20th century? And what were the criteria for their inclusion in the American "white" community?

**Historical Context: The New Immigration**

The era between 1880-1920 witnessed an emigration of epic proportions in America, characterized by the movement of nearly twenty-one million immigrants from the agriculturally based economies of crumbling empires and the newly emerging nation-states of southern and southeastern Europe (Dowd, in Feagin 1997). Enabled by the labor demands of a rapidly expanding American industry, these ethnic diasporas encountered two interrelated native systems, that of capitalist social relations of production and of hierarchical racial classifications. If the initial absorption of these unskilled and largely uneducated "new immigrants" within the system of
American economic relations involved a dramatic, yet largely predictable, transformation in their economic function from former peasants into an industrial labor force, their location within the existing hierarchical racial order became the source of intense contestation and struggle. The phenotypes, genotypes, customs and habits, health and appearance, intelligence, cranial capacity and work habits became the object of a discourse which sought to classify, assess, measure, evaluate and predict the "fitness" and assimilability of the "new immigrants." The immigrants were subjected in what Omi and Winant (1987:61-62) call "racial formation," a "process by which social, economic, and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings." In the battles over the conferring racial meanings to the "new immigrants," as inferior races according to racist discourse and as potential members of the American nation according to assimilationists, the case of Greek immigrants received particular attention. This was due to the fact that the link between Western Hellenism and the Greeks, ancient and modern, was attached with a complex history. American Romantic philhellenism which featured prominently in American social life during the Greek war of Independence was premised on the understanding of the Greeks as the direct descendants of the ancients, fighting for the regeneration of ancient Hellas. The presence of Greek immigrants in America rekindled the question of the position of the newcomers vis-a-vis the ancient Greeks. Nativists and proponents of Aryanism, denied any continuity between the ancient and modern Greeks while assimilationists vehemently opposed this position. What was at stake in the battles surrounding the relationship between the modern Greeks and the ancients was the place of the Greeks vis-à-
vis the American national community. By establishing a direct link between the ancients and the moderns, Greek immigrants might be included in an American nation which traced the sources of its cultural and political institutions to ancient Hellas. Disproving any connection relegated the Greeks as degenerate people, unfit for citizenship. Indeed, early Greek immigrants were described in racialized terms which emphasized the relationship between race and citizenship. They were labeled "black Greeks" (Papanikolas, 1987), "of inferior intelligence" (Karampetsos, 1998:66), "the scum of Europe," 'a vicious element unfit for citizenship,' 'ignorant, depraved and brutal foreigners'" (Papanikolas, in Moskos, 1989:16). Newspapers also described immigrants from southeastern Europe, including Greeks as "'troublemaker,' 'inferior,' and 'non white'" (Karampetsos, 1998:62). Affirming the link between ancients and modern Greeks served as a pre-requisite to ensure Greek immigrants a legitimate place as American citizens. There is an element of historical repetition in this scenario. As it was the case in the early 19th century Greek effort to establish an independent nation-state, once more, this time in the context of American immigration, the Greeks were subjected to the Western preoccupation with positing ancient Hellas as a foundation for western culture and identity.14

**Aryanism and Racial Hellenism**

The presence of Greek immigrants in the United States rekindled a question central to Western Hellenism, namely the relationship between the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the southernmost peninsula of Europe and the ancient Greeks.15 Advocates of Nordic superiority pointed to the phenotypes of the Greeks as well as of other "new immigrants" to erase any possibility of
physical and intellectual kinship between the newcomers and the Aryan race. Nativists hurled racialized slurs against Greeks, describing them as "goddamn black Greeks" (Papanikolas, 1987:166) and "treacherous, filthy, low-living lot" (Fairchild, 1911:144); sections of the general public also viewed Greek immigrants as representatives of an inferior, degenerate race:

The driver mounted his quickly emptied wagon, with a curse upon the 'Dagos," and the crowd informally discussed for a while the immigration question; its verdict being, that it is time to shut our doors against the Greeks, for they are a poor lot from which to make good American citizens. (Steiner, 1906:283)

Edward A. Steiner (1906), an advocate of new immigration, cogently anticipated the Aryanist, as well as the scientific and popular classification of the Greeks as undifferentiated members of a racially inferior Mediterranean race:

We never picture the heroes of Greek epics, undersized, like these moderns; round headed, looking into the world out of small, black, piercing eyes, their complexion shallow and their hair straight black. We too, would place them nearer modern Palermo than ancient Athens, and judge their blood to have flowed through the veins of rough Albanese mountaineers and crude Slavic plowmen, rather than through the perfect bodies of those Greeks who have dissolved with their myths, and who disappeared when Mt. Olympus was deserted by its divine tenantry. (Steiner, 1906:283-284)

Serving as a classificatory index of a racial typology, Steiner's reference to "the perfect bodies of those Greeks" alludes to the discourse of racial Hellenism, which rendered the ancient Greek body as the ideal of physical development and consequently, as the icon of modern European identity (Leoussi, 1997). In the American context, a particular brand of racial Hellenism became widely popular in the 1920s, that posited an essential racial homogeneity between the Nordics and the ruling elite of "non-Asiatic" civilizations. "Persian - Greek - Roman these three are one. And these three are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh," Charles W. Gould (1922:62), a
spokesman of Aryanism declared, adding that “their white blue veins ... fair
hair, and blue eyes marked both Greek and Persian, and distinguished them
clearly from Asiatic and Egyptian” (82). The story of an originary Aryan
race whose various branches became the ruling elite of the people it
conquered and in the process produced empires and civilizations served as a
powerful ideological tool to legitimize the superiority of the Aryan race.
American Aryanists evoked Gobineau's explanation of the decline of the
ancient civilizations as a result of unregulated racial intermixing to proclaim
the Nordics as the sole, triumphant survivors of the original Aryan race and
also popularize and reinforce the fear prevalent among immigration
restrictionists that miscegenation with the “new immigrants” will ultimately
result in the degeneration of the American civilization.18 As the following
passage published in the popular National Geographic magazine illustrates, a
particular Anglo-American phenotype came to stand as the embodiment of the
classical racial ideal:

Thinking of Homer, of Praxiteles and of Phidias, one looks for Helen,
for Hermes and for Athene, but the only Helen I saw in Athens was an
American girl, married to a member of the cabinet and whose golden
hair, blue eyes and classic features made her once the reigning hostess
in the city. And it is only in the islands or deep in the country, where
the Albanian plain has never reached, that one finds the facial
lineaments and the bodily grace which the ancient sculptor has taught
the modern world as being common to all Greeks of classic times.
(National Geographic, December 1915, in Karampetsos, 1998)

Aryanism proved a powerful ideology in relegating southeastern
European immigrants to a non-white status. I should note that the refutation
of the immigrants' "whiteness" was a matter of class as much as race. The
association of the Aryan race and ruling class, initially formulated by
Gobineau, was strategically deployed by Clinton Stoddard Burr who pointed to
the social class of the immigrants as a further proof of their non-Aryan status.
Burr conceded that traces of Nordic blood are still evident in the “higher classes of North Italians, Poles, Magyars, and Bohemians, from Germanic infusions” (138), but he reminded his audience that the “new immigrants” originated not from the higher intellectual classes, but from "the mongrel submerged populations, the very dregs of European humanity" (177). To prove the non-Hellenicity of the Greek immigrants, Burr similarly argued that "the blood of the classic Greek and the noble Roman patrician has mostly disappeared” (23) with traces of Nordic blood being evident among only the modern Greek gentry. Greeks now belong to the Graeco-Latin group which is also represented by the Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, white Mexicans, and Romanians, Burr concluded, thus racially homogenizing the Mediterranean people.19

Aryanism sought to exclude the immigrants from the American nation by employing a racist discourse positing an idealized northwestern phenotype as the embodiment of "whiteness" and representative of intellectual and moral superiority. The racialization of the immigrants, that is the making of race a central component of immigration discourse, carried significant implications in assimilationist ideology. Thus while assimilationism, particularly its brand of Anglo-conformity, centered around the cultural transformation of the newcomers it did not transcend a concern for race. Racial fitness was a concern to the assimilationists, as much as cultural assimilation. Thus the production of knowledge of the social, psychological and biological make-up of each immigrant nationality became crucial to assess the potential assimilability of the immigrant newcomers. In the Greek case, this project was undertaken by Henry Pratt Fairchild, a Yale sociologist whose voluminous “Greek Immigration to the United States” (1911), in its patronizing
representation of "the Greek" and "the Greek immigrant" as a child-like Other, deserves a place within the colonial legacy of anthropology.

Continuity and Greek National Character

Although early 20th century anthropology classified the "new immigrants" as a distinct "Mediterranean Race," it did not fail to address the cultural particularity of each immigrant nationality. Studies on the effect of a regions' varying micro-ecologies and climates on the national culture and character of a particular people became the dominant mode to acquire knowledge about the immigrants. The understanding of the immigrants through the paradigm of environmental determinism necessitated the adoption of a transnational perspective, a methodological innovation which in the Greek case was carried out by sociologist Harry Pratt Fairchild who conducted fieldwork both in Greece and Greek communities in the United States under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Fairchild posited the topography of the Greek peninsula as the primary force shaping the Greek national character. His argument was twofold. He suggested that the geographical and social isolation caused by the rugged mountainous terrain of the country produced a race whose national character was indelibly marked by "a fractiousness, a sectionalism, a clannishness, an inability to take the point of view of one's neighbor, ... [and an inability to] unite in any common enterprise" (10). Moreover, he drew on Malthus and Adam Smith to endorse his claim that topographical isolation, and consequently the lack of diverse and expansive economic networks, forced the ancient city-states and contemporary communities to respond to population pressures by producing a
race of maritime wanderers, adventurers, and entrepreneurial traders. He wrote:

Especially in the Levant, the Greek is much superior in energy and business ability to the native peoples among whom he finds himself placed, and he has consequently found it to his advantage to devote himself to commercial rather than agricultural activities, with the result that he succeeds in building up a much greater fortune in his new home than he could ever have hoped to acquire in the fatherland. Today, the most prosperous business men of Alexandria, Cairo, Smyrna and Constantinople are largely Greeks, and even as far as Persia they are found in control of all important business. More isolated cases of successful Greek merchants are to be found in cities almost all over the world. Stated succinctly, Greece has always been a splendid place to go away from to make a fortune, and the very topographical peculiarities which have forced the Greeks to wander, have produced a race admirably fitted to secure the desired in new fields. (8-9)

The positing of a continuity between the ancient and modern Greeks placed Fairchild in the midst of a heated, and highly controversial debate on the racial composition of the Greek people. His strategy consisted in presenting an assortment of contradictory views on the Greek national character, underlining the risks inherent in any generalization on the subject, and subsequently evoking his anthropological and ethnographic authority to produce an authoritative statement on the issue of racial continuity and national character. He is particularly emphatic in undermining the fascination towards modern Greeks held by European Romantic philhellenes by singling out the following disdainfully dismissing comments of one of its most popular proponents, the poet Lord Byron (Hanbury, in Fairchild, 1911:13):

Lord Byron himself said, 'The Greeks are perhaps the most depraved and degraded people under the sun, uniting to their original vices both those of their oppressors and those inherent in slaves" (13).

At the same time, Fairchild's presents both extremes of the argument centering on the racial continuity of Greeks, to subsequently reject them both.
The first view posited that "the Greeks of today [are] legitimate descendants of that people who filled the world with its name and glory" (18). The second, legitimized by the "authority [of scholars such as] Cox, Professor Fallmerayer, A.L.Koeppen, Dr. Hyde Clark, Benjamin Ide Wheeler and W.A.Eliot" (18), advocated against any trace of racial continuity between ancient and modern Greeks. Fairchild adopted the position advanced by the anthropological authority of his era, William Ripley, who in his "The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study" (1899) suggested that the Greeks, along with other southeastern European nationalities, were part of a distinct Mediterranean race. Yet, to solidify his argument that modern Greeks represented the degenerate descendants of the ancients, Fairchild had to confront a stumbling block, namely the continuity between the modern and ancient Greek language.

With physical anthropology ruling out direct racial continuity, the persistence of a cultural element, language, served to Fairchild as an unmistakable evidence of the Greek race's continuity. Although "widely divergent from the ancient," the operation of the Greek spoken vernacular constitutes sufficient grounds for Fairchild to testify an "unbroken connection between the two" which in turn guarantees the "national continuity of the people" (56-57, author's emphasis):

But whatever may be said in regard to the physical descent, there can be no doubt that spiritually the modern Greeks are the direct inheritors of the ancients. A familiarity with the modern people brings countless illustrations of the similarity of thought and character between the old and the new, and clarifies many a dim passage of ancient history. This spiritual identity has been taken by some writers as a proof of physical unity. It should rather serve as an illustration of the permanency of custom, language, and habit of thought, which enables national character to survive, while the physical basis on which it rests is slowly but profoundly changing. (20)
In this passage we recognize Fairchild's great intellectual debt to the Herderian view of language as the embodiment of a particular race's patterns of thought, "common traditions and common memories" (Berlin, 1976:165). Yet, the sharing of experiences and habits of thoughts with the ancients endows no special status to modern Greeks, Fairchild argued, once more evoking his ethnographic authority to propose that, rather than conferring the Greeks a particular advantage, the link between the ancients and the现代s functions to the detriment of the latter. "After knowing the Greeks for some time one is strongly tempted to say that one of the greatest curses of the modern nation is the inheritance from a glorious past" (34). Modern Greeks heavily invest in projects to establish a continuity with the ancients and consequently employ such a connection to atone and compensate for present shortcomings and failures, he observes, patronizingly urging the Greeks to redirect their energy and money towards the progress of their country.22 In translating the “burden of [Greek] antiquity” (Clogg, 1992:1) according to the prevalent Eurocentric view of Greece as “the spoiled child of Europe” (Manatt, cited in Fairchild, 34), Fairchild exposes the apolitical and ahistorical tendencies of his methodology. If the understanding of the Greek immigrant in the United States calls for an environmental etiology, the understanding of Greece's place in Europe is devoid of any attempt to situate the issue of Greek cultural continuity within a European cultural, economic and political context. Instead, according to Fairchild, the Greek concern with national identity triggers the unproblematized reproduction of the colonial hierarchization between Self and Other. Greece becomes the metaphorical child of the West, the aboriginal European Other (Herzfeld, 1987).
Fairchild’s ideological force rested in his ability to link the case of Greek immigration with the American concern over the reformation and the potential assimilability of the “new immigrants.” Through a litany of negative attributes attached to the Greek national character, the metaphorical child of Europe becomes for Fairchild the child-immigrant in need of reform. "The Greek is much inclined to be indolent, egotistical, vain and superficial" (29), he comments, stressing the "ignorance and stupidity of the people" (63), who display “a sort of childishness, which is a prominent feature of the Greek character” (25). Despite his claim of scientific objectivity and rhetoric on the possibility of unintended inaccuracies in his account (ix), it is evident that Fairchild is unable to disguise his anti-Greek prejudice. His view of the Greeks as “people not fitted by mental equipment or training for analytical reasoning: they habitually look only at the surface of things” (74) strategically complements his resigned melancholy over the number of "sadly-overeducated" professionals unable to be absorbed by the Greek economy (41).23 Fairchild's positions proved particularly useful in constructing the modern Greeks as the degenerate descendants of the ancients. Even the persisting traits of the national character are corrupted ancient survivals. The current national manifestation of the ancient commercial spirit is tainted with "one of the most serious faults of the race," dishonesty (24); wealth acquired through enterprising initiatives is idly wasted rather than invested. The Greek plutocrat's leisure in Oriental coffeehouses or the clubs of Athens offends Fairchild's capitalist sensibilities. A discourse on degeneration allowed Fairchild to strip the Greeks of any meaningful link with the ancients. Ultimately, "The Greeks share many characteristics with other south European races" (21), he notes, thus
embracing Ripley's Mediterranean model. His assimilationist project has reached a full circle. Like any other immigrant group from southern Europe, Greek immigrants present the potential for improvement and inclusion in the national community. In this manner, the criteria for assimilation were set by the dominant culture in a long-term contract between the immigrant and America:

The business of the alien is to go into the mines, the foundries, the sewers, the stifling air of factories and work shops, out on the roads and railroads in the burning sun of summer, or the driving sleet and snow. If he proves himself a man, and rises above his station, and acquires wealth, and cleans himself up - very well, we receive him after a generation or two. But at present he is far beneath us, and the burden of proof rests with him. (Fairchild, 1911:237)

In Fairchild's commentary on the Americanization process of the immigrant we recognize the central motif of "the genetics of salvation" (Sollors, 1986), the generational understanding of American identity as a matter of descent. Significantly, we are also reminded that class status, understood as material wealth, served as the index of the immigrant's inclusion in the American national community, not unlike the Protestant covenant with God. Here, economic and social mobility served as the mirror of the racial fitness of the immigrants in the new environment since they contradicted a notion shared by opponents of immigration, namely, the effects of emigration on the physical and intellectual abilities of the emigrant: "Europeans become debilitated in America. Conquest crushes, and emigration sometimes leads to enfeeblement - lack of vital force, the flattening out of human beings, and sad uniformity" (Berlin, 1976:177). It is not surprising then, that the potential assimilability of immigrants was assessed in terms of their inherent racial composition, an issue which was addressed by advocates of assimilationism through the perspective of social Darwinism.
The Two Strands of Assimilationism

Assimilationist thought involves at least two distinct intellectual strands. The first, referred to as "Anglo-conformity" advocated the "complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group" (Gordon 1964:85). The Americanization movement found its original institutional expressions early in the 1890s through institutions such as "settlement houses," and early in the 20th century through the private "'lineage' patriotic societies," the Daughters of American Revolution, the Society of Colonial Dames, and the Sons of the American Revolution which initiated an active campaign consisting of educational programs "designed to teach the foreign-born to understand American political institutions, to become naturalized, and to embrace patriotic sentiments" (Gordon, 1964:99).

The post-World War 100% Americanization movement was promoted by a concerted effort of Federal Agencies (The Bureaus of Education, Naturalization and the Committee on Public information), State governments, municipalities and local organizations. The organization sanctioned a number of practices such as learning the English language, buying war bonds obtain naturalization papers, explicitly demonstrate patriotism, which were considered a sign of Americanization (see Gordon, 1964:100).24

The second trend is exemplified by the "melting pot" ideology which has been described as "a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrants groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type" (Gordon, 1964:85).25 In his historical and semiotic analysis of the "melting pot" metaphor, Sollors (1986) traces the invention of
the expression "melting pot" as a vision of America as a nation where "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men" (Crevecoeur, in Sollors, 1986:75). The notion of the palingenesis of the old world immigrant to an ever emerging new American, became immensely popular through Israel Zangwill's (1864-1926) 1905 performance of "The Melting-Pot" (published in 1909), a play on the life of a New York Jewish family. As Sollors (1986:66) observes, "[m]ore than any social and political theory," the play's rhetoric "shaped American discourse on immigration and ethnicity, including most notably the language of self-declared opponents of the melting-pot concept." Thus, a literal interpretation of the melting-pot ideology was embraced by advocates of the "new immigration" who sought to establish that racial intermixing between the "old" and "new immigrants" would melt away racial differences, and contribute to a superior American nation. The notions of regeneration and rebirth, inherent in the notion of the melting-pot, was further elaborated by a number of scholars, intellectuals and radicals who saw American identity as a continuous process which necessitated constant renewal of allegiance to a number of principles required by the American as well as foreign-born Americans. Thus, Emory Bogardus' "Essentials of Americanization" (1922), Edward Bok's "The Americanization of Edward Bok" (1920), Robert Spiers Benjamin's edited volume "I am an American: By Famous Naturalized Americans" (1941), John Dewey's address "Nationalizing Education" (1916) are placed within the tradition of "universal regeneration" (Sollors, 1986:87-88) which viewed "Americaness" as a matter of participation in an ever-negotiated process of democratic citizenship. On the other hand, the metaphor was appropriated by Anglo-conformists who employed the "melting-pot" imagery to denote the melting away of the immigrant's old-world
loyalties, customs and memories and his rebirth as a complete American. As I will discuss later, the assimilationist appropriation of the symbolism of the "melting-pot" imagery became of central importance during the post-War association of immigrants with subversive un-Americanism.

"Melting Away the Differences"

Advocates of assimilationism were quick to recognize the economic role of the new immigrants in the context of an emerging transnational capitalism. In an era where African-Americans were denied the right to participate equally in the industrial economy of the North (Allen, 1994), assimilationists and industrialists joined forces to pose the "new immigrants" as the solution to the labor shortage in American society. The call for European immigration was forcefully stated by Roberts, a leading advocate of the melting-pot brand of assimilationism: "[T]he past industrial development of America points unerringly to Europe as the source whence our future unskilled labor supply is to be drawn. The gates will not be closed; the wheels of industry will not retard; America is in the race for the markets of the world; its call for workers will not cease" (1912:viii). Unlimited access to European unskilled labor was actively pursued through overseas recruitment campaigns organized by leading industrialists, whose project was facilitated by a nearly open-door policy for European immigrants.

The ensuing massive influx of poor and unskilled labor, who initially formed an industrial proletariat, rekindled a dormant nativist movement whose mobilization against the "new immigrants" centered on two central issues: Concern over a class cleavage among whites as a result of the availability of low-wage immigrant surplus labor and the racial fitness of the
"new immigrants," accompanied with fears of miscegenation. Melting pot advocates argued that "new immigrants" constituted a force of vital economic significance, responsible for building the infrastructure of the nation:

America could never have finished its transcontinental railroads, developed its coal and ore deposits, operated its furnaces and factories, had it not drawn upon Europe for its labor force; for it was impossible to secure 'white men' to do this work" (Roberts, 1912:50).

Supporters of the melting pot ideology addressed the concern over the immigrants' racial fitness by assuring the public of the efficiency of the immigration selection process. Furthermore, they postulated that the effect of industrial labor over the European newcomers functioned according to the principles of Darwinian natural selection. Will the "sons and daughters of backward races" be physically able to endure the demands of industrial work and the quick pace of American life, Roberts (1912:vii) raised the question, to subsequently assure his readers of the efficacy of the immigration apparatus. First, he argued, it is only the "best-stock" of various nationalities which immigrates to the country. Secondly, the immigration offices further screen this pool of immigrants by restricting the entry of the sick and the criminals. For Roberts, the ultimate test of the fitness of the "new immigrants" lay in yet another selection process, the unfailing operation of industrial capitalism which discards those who cannot withstand the demands of hard labor:

No sooner is the immigrant admitted than he is put to the test by our industrial organization. The strain and stress found in our mills and mines, in our shops and factories, are not met with in any other country. Thousands of foreigners every year fail in the test.... Among the throng are the unfit, weeded out by our industrial system, and they go back to Europe where the drive and hurry of American life are not found." (Roberts, 1912:16-17)

Ultimately, the concern over the racial fitness of the "new immigrants" was intimately linked with the issue of their inclusion into the American
national community. The racial fitness of the immigrants was defended by melting-pot ideologues who argued that their incorporation into the nation will ensure "the rebirth of a new, superior, future-bound America" (Sollors, 1986:96). Supporters of the melting pot advocated both a racial and cultural synthesis, an endless recombination of genes and symbols, so to speak, whose outcome was optimistically predicted as superior from the existing Anglo-Protestant culture. Yet the argument did not convince a public which, during the post-World War I fears of foreign subversion, pointed to the immigrants' participation in strikes as an un-American display of national disloyalty. Furthermore, from the perspective of the industrialists, the melting-pot belief in the unerring operation of the industrial system was not sufficient to eliminate the costs associated with the selection of "unfit" workers. In this context, it is perhaps no accident, that the conceptualization of Anglo-conformity as a rapid, "pressure cooking assimilation" (Gordon, 1964:99) was actively appropriated by leading ardent industrialists-assimilationists (Gordon, 1964:99) who staged Americanization workshops as the means to instill to the immigrants the values of hard work, discipline, patriotism and national loyalty.

The aim to totally transform the immigrant to an 100% American, found symbolic expression in the public spectacles of the "Ford English School graduation exercises" which appropriated the melting pot ideology as the central metaphor denoting the withering away of immigrant cultural differences and national loyalties.26 As symbolic expressions of the immigrant's rebirth as an American, these rites of passage redefined the criteria for incorporation in the national community from a model of "genealogy of descent" to the immigrant's becoming an American during his
life-time through the work ethic of hard work and discipline, patriotism and loyalty to the country. If liberal assimilationists were in favor of immigrant inclusivity, they also set the criteria for the contract of the immigrants with America. The immigrants were to be subjected to close scrutiny in fulfilling their own part of the contract. In the case of the Greek immigrants, measuring to the "virtues" of the ancient Greeks became the primary condition for their acceptance as American citizens: "But after all, they will be judged by the way they live to-day and by the measures in which these small, dark-haired traders and workers exemplify in the lives the virtues of those men of old [ancient Greeks], whose names they have inherited and whose fame they are eager to preserve" (Steiner, 1906:291).

A particular section of Greek immigrants was historically situated both in terms of class and cultural affiliation, to fulfill the contract of social and economic success with America earlier than any other "new immigrant" group. The view of the Greek immigrants as worthy members of the American national community was propagated by a Protestant historian, Thomas Burgess whose "Greeks in America" (1913) legitimized the ideological foundation of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA).

_Cultural Exceptionalism: Greek Immigrants as American Hellenes_

The claim that the relationship between the Greek immigrants and the ancient Greeks endowed the former with special privileges in relation to other immigrant groups was expressed as early as 1904. It took a particular local form in Chicago, providing Greek immigrant with a strategy to combat "the

In the last five years, since Greeks have been coming in large numbers to Chicago, they found that Americans made no distinction between them and other more ignorant immigrants from southern Europe. As the modern Greek is devoted to his own country and race, the Greek immigrant bitterly resents the criticism of his manners and habits in America by Americans who he believes, disregard his historical background and tradition.

This explicitly biased account signaled the launching of a cultural project consisting of a series of lectures on the "glorious history of Greece" (Kopan, 1990:123) and the presentation of performances of ancient Greek plays to American audiences. The Greek immigrants were not alone in the politics of cultural promotion. Jane Addams, the founder of the Hull House, a settlement house providing social and cultural support to Chicago immigrant groups, played an instrumental role by organizing and supporting the pro-Greek events. A Nobel laureate for Peace and renown philhellene, she made the Hull House particularly available to the Greek immigrants who saw it as their "spiritual and cultural hearth," their "home-away-from home" (Kopan, 1984:).

Greek exceptionalism was neither confined to localities nor was it solely produced by Greek immigrants. It circulated in national discourse, as the following comments made by the vociferous proponent of assimilation Theodore Roosevelt illustrate:

The Greek immigrants' apogee at Hull House was reached on 12 February 1911. On that day, while visiting the world-famed settlement, former President Theodore Roosevelt was informed that the young men in the gymnasium were Greeks. Seizing the opportunity, the President addressed the assembled immigrants and stated that they, unlike other ethnic groups who were expected to abandon old-world loyalties and look toward a new life in America, were exempt because of their own

The popularization of this discourse was instrumental in the attempt of the Greek immigrants to gain legitimacy in American society. This project was undertaken by a number of philhellenes, who set themselves the task of establishing and consequently popularizing the historical peculiarity of the Greek immigrants as bearers of the "Hellenic genius and culture." The differentiation of the "new immigrants" into distinct national/racial units, which served as an index to assess assimilation potential, and was also employed as a methodological tool to understand each race as a distinct sociohistorical phenomenon, proved particularly appealing to these intellectuals. The logic was simple: if the "new immigrants" did not belong to a single race, but possessed their own historical particularities, the redemption of Greek immigrants in Americans eyes dependent on establishing a continuity between the immigrants and the ancient Greeks.

The case of the Hellenicity of the Greek immigrants was compellingly presented by Thomas Burgess, a product of 18th century Romantic philhellenism. Designed as an answer to Fairchild, Burgess' book "Greeks in America" (1913) ingeniously capitalized on, but at the same time set itself against Fairchild's conclusions. As Fairchild's scientific authority had dispelled the Aryanist myth, it was Burgess' task to show that far from being the degenerate descendants of the ancients, Greeks had demonstrated in America all the qualities worthy of a true Hellene. Burgess posited the continuity between the Ancients and the modern "scions of Ancient and Medieval Hellas" (6) through a racial genius, an essence with assimilative powers which manifested itself in the "industrial" and "institutional"
achievements of the Greek immigrants. Two historical contingencies enabled Burgess to build his argument: the quick ascendancy of a number of Greeks into the American middle class and the social and cultural prominence achieved by the Greek orphans and boys brought to the country in the 19th century and reared under the tutelage and financial support of American philhellenes. The biographical sketches of the latter “famous American-Greeks” is reserved for a separate chapter in Burgess's account in order to “show how splendidly a Greek may develop if given the proper opportunities.” These Greeks who became directors of American institutions, intermarried into high American society, and assimilated into Protestantism, became for Burgess a living example of the potentialities of the Greek immigrants as exemplary American citizens:

Many of these Greeks had no better start than the average Greek immigrant of the immigration period to America. Thus we Americans may realize what stuff Greeks are made of; and may we not look forward to like attainments by some of our present Greek fellow citizens? (190).

For Burgess, the racial essence of the Greeks was manifested in traits such as "love for liberty" (89), jealousy and factionalism. But for him, as in Fairchild, it was the entrepreneurial orientation of the Greeks that became the commonplace reference testifying to the Hellenicity of the Greek immigrants: "There is, however, little chance in the factories for the Greek to display his natural enterprise as he does in business ventures. Indeed it is independent business that he looks forward to some day" (45). The relatively quick ascendancy of the Greek immigrant laboring class into an increasingly visible bourgeoisie, manifested according to Burgess, "the typical Greek genius for adaptability and versatility in business" (31). In fact, it was the entrepreneurial orientation of Greek immigrants, reflected in their status as
property-owning businessman, that enabled the argument of the Hellenicity of the immigrants and their rights to an American citizenship. Before I turn my attention to AHEPA’s discourse on the Americanization of the Greek immigrants, let me briefly discuss the historical circumstances facilitating the emergence of Greek immigrant to a middle-class status.

**Greek Immigrants and their Ascendancy to Middle Class**

"It was in the role of small businessmen that Greek Americans were to find their archetype," Charles Moskos (1989:23) has emphasized, locating the emergence of the urban Greek-American middle class as early as the 1910s. By 1920 a large number of Greek immigrants had become owners of small businesses, mostly specializing in enterprises such as sweet shops, food service, retail and wholesale produce, pool halls, floral shops, hatters, dry cleaners, and shoe repair. Lacking a starting capital, early Greek immigrants overwhelmingly invested their labor in the anticipation of turning into independent small entrepreneurs. Peddling candy, fruits and flower, or shining shoes in street corners were the occupations which eventually led to the ubiquity of Greek-owned confectioneries and restaurants, or the Greek monopoly of bootblacks in Chicago and the florist shops in New York. As they expanded their business they invited and hired their relatives or other Greek immigrants, preferably from the same area of origin. In a number of instances they secured cheap laborers through the padrone system, where they hired young Greek boys as indentured labor, especially in the boot-black business (Malafouris, 1987). They initially approached their American immigrant experience as the means for socioeconomic mobility and, as their enthusiastic participation in Greece’s involvement in the Balkan Wars
testifies, they initially saw their place in America as temporary sojourners rather than permanent residents. Their orientation during the formative immigrant years [1900s-1920s] was towards the homeland where they planned to return once they had saved enough capital to secure a comfortable living for themselves and their families. In the meantime, arduously adhering to the traditional honor system of familial obligations, they sent remittances home to endow sisters with dowries, and contribute to the economy of their families. This approach to immigration as the means of socioeconomic mobility which can be achieved through participation in merchantilistic networks can be traced, according to Tsoukalas (1992), to a central pattern of the Greek diaspora experience during the 18th and 19th centuries. Tsoukalas argues that immigration constituted an adaptive strategy of the owners of small or medium size farms in rural Greece, especially in the Peloponnese and the mountainous Greek islands. Within the context of 19th century Balkan agricultural economy, what differentiated these farmers from the self-sufficient zagruska system of extended Slavic families and tenants of large land holdings, was their participation in a network of cash economy and later in the capitalist market. Unpredictable fluctuations in the market, as well as demographic pressures and bad harvest constitute the factors which determined their views of the Greek trade networks operating in the ports and urban centers of the Mediterranean and Central Europe as safety nets ensuring the economic survival of their household in periods of crisis. Thus, the potential for migration became routinely integrated within the planning processes of families which sent their sons to these centers, usually following the traditional migration paths of their co-villagers.
The presence of Greek reception networks in these trade centers, where historically the category "Greek" signified membership in the merchantilistic class (Bur, 1991), ensured the immigrants' incorporation in networks characterized by socioeconomic mobility. At the same time, the retention of the propertied land and its cultivation by the remaining family members ensured a place of return for the immigrant sons, while promoting the circulation of material goods and money from cosmopolitan Mediterranean cities to even more isolated villages, and in turn bringing economic welfare and social prestige to families. The practice of immigration as a strategy conferring economic and social advantages led to the development of a bourgeoisie ideology among the rural propertied farmers, which also operated, according to Tsoukalas, in the immigration of the Greek small property owners to the United States. Tsoukalas documents that those families which traditionally looked at the eastern Mediterranean as the places of socioeconomic mobility, directed their attention to the United States when increasing Balkan nationalisms made immigration to Eastern Balkans and Mediterranean increasingly difficult. In this view, the Greeks approached their American immigrant experience as their fathers and grandfathers had done before them in their wanderings in Eastern Mediterranean, as a temporary sojourn leading to socio-economic mobility. One important difference between the Mediterranean and the New World, however, was the initial absence of "reception networks" ensuring the incorporation of the new comers into the middle class. In their search for a means of reproducing such networks, early Greek immigrants traveled widely within continental U.S.A. in search of optimal employment opportunities, working in the process in railroad gangs of the West, and coal mines in Utah and West Virginia.
Ultimately, they were able to realize their bourgeois aspirations within the context of urban American economy, where the majority of them concentrated, eventually forming, as we have discussed, an urban Greek American middle class.

In view of this economic function of the Greek diaspora I should note that Burgess idealized the Greek immigrants, painting a favorable portrait of notorious Greek labor agents and glossing over the injustices and the exploitations involved in the padrones system (see Malafouris, 1987). Ultimately, he represented Greeks as agents, actively pursuing economic opportunities, insistently claiming themselves as the descendants of the ancients. Yet, he did so only to render the Greek immigrant knowable through the lenses of American Hellenism. Like other historians, Burgess chose to ignore the radical element among Greek immigrants (Georgakas, 1996), thus setting the stage for a class-based incorporation of Greeks in the United States.

**AHEPA and the Emergence of "American Hellenes"**

In the post-World-War I climate of unemployment and fear of foreign subversion, the institutional battle between the nativists/racists and the assimilationists over immigration policies was decidedly won by the former. The industrial rituals posing the symbolic rebirth of the immigrants as American I described earlier, were unconvincing to a public increasingly exposed to a discourse on the immigrant as racially inferior, unpatriotic and economically threatening. In the process, racist nativism created powerful institutions such as the Immigration Restriction League and enlisted the alliance of a number of anti-immigrant intellectuals and politicians to legislate a "Nordic victory," the restrictive immigration Act of 1924 (Los
Angeles Times, in Feagin, 1997:25). For the nativists, who after the 1924 Immigration Act joined the Anglo-conformists in an aggressive assimilationist campaign, an immigrant status suggested a threat to the American ideals of patriotism and democracy. The increasing participation of immigrants in the labor movement was seen as evidence of a subversive, communist-oriented, un-Americanism.

The emergence and appeal of AHEPA needs to be understood in this context. Founded by Greek businessmen in Atlanta Georgia, in 1922 as a non-political, non-sectarian, fraternal institution, AHEPA fully embraced the Anglo-conformity perspective of 100% Americanism. It adopted English as its official language, promoted naturalization, assimilation, and a number of American ideals such as respect for law, good citizenship, patriotism, philanthropy, and the separation of church and state. Embodying "the social aspirations of a growing Greek American middle class" (Moskos, 1989:41), AHEPA sought to radically disassociate itself from its immigrant past. By assuming a non-political orientation, it distanced itself from the deep political divisions of Greek immigrant communities. By rejecting an ethnic Greek-American identity, it disentangled itself from immigrant culture, while at the same time it disassociated itself from the alleged "menace of the 'hyphenated American'" (Gordon, 1964:99). AHEPA members defined themselves as Americans of Hellenic descent, designating themselves as the legitimate heirs of the "noblest attributes and highest ideals of true Hellenism," which they sought "to revive, cultivate, enrich and marshal into active service for Humanity" (Article F of the AHEPA constitution; Leber, 1972:148). AHEPA's brand of Hellenism resonated with the American idealized version of Hellas as the embodiment of democracy and freedom. It was an American Hellenism,
venerated by, as well as immediately recognizable and familiar to the American public, which endowed AHEPA with public recognition and prestige. In the words of the pastor of a St. Paul church which AHEPA members attended once a month in a body:

Young men of the AHEPA, we welcome you today, for we recognize in your fraternity an organization which is seeking to help us build a better America. Throughout the centuries Hellas stood for enlightenment, for liberty and progress; ... And we extend to you who have come to help us build here in America, a great, free, enlightened Republic, the warm hand of fellowship. (in Leber, 1972:185)

Or, according to The Patriotic Order Sons of America paying tribute to the Order of AHEPA:

this organization is to be congratulated on its vision of Americanism and the spirit in which it seeks to exemplify it. The Greeks are among the most thrifty of our citizens, and are all good business men. Such an organization as the Order of AHEPA is not only welcome for the good it may do to the Greeks, but also for the definite contribution to the cause of making America better by making better Americans." (in Leber, 1972:198)

AHEPA's reaching out to American institutions projected the image of the Greeks as loyal Americans, successful businessmen and uncompromising patriots. Through its class position and its association with Hellenism (as we saw in Burgess class was to a large extent evoked to legitimize the claim to Hellenism), AHEPA was able to insert itself in the great narrative of the progress of the American nation. The AHEPA leaders were well aware that they were fulfilling all the conditions set by the Anglo-conformists for the immigrants' inclusion in the American nation. Reached within one generation, AHEPA's socio-economic upward mobility and uncompromising commitment to American political and civic ideals constituted "a convincing argument to those who believe that the assimilation of any foreign group, to the American ideals and principles, is not possible in one generation" (AHEPA'}
Supreme Secretary, 1925; in Leber, 1972:195). Furthermore, AHEPA was historically situated to successfully negotiate the American demand of the immigrants to strip themselves of all "Old World loyalties, customs, and memories" (Higham, in Gordon, 1964:100). By aligning itself with the Hellenic ideals of democracy and freedom, AHEPA was in a position to project an allegiance to universal, rather than ethnic values. To transcend its ethnic origins, AHEPA adopted an organizational structure and a code of conduct which sought to distance itself from the immigrant world. Its existence as a corporate, fraternal organization independent from the Greek Orthodox church marked its identity as a non-ethnic organization. At the same time, its connections with masons provided its members access to influential social networks and secured support of its mission by prominent members of the Anglo-Protestant community. Yet in addressing AHEPA's assimilationist orientation one must take into consideration the extraordinary social pressures to conform to American cultural ideals. Nowhere this is more evident than in the comments of a non-Greek AHEPAN, Reverend Thomas James Lacey, who rhetorically dictated the procedural principles to be followed in the organizations' 1934 convention in Columbus, Ohio (Convention Album, 1934:50,51):

We 'll assemble in Columbus in the good old Buckeye State;  
So brother, pack your suitcase and be sure to note the date. 
We will not begin on "Greek" time, so take heed you don't be late 
and 

Toward Columbus each brother will soon turn his step,  
To the glorious conclave of the mighty Ahep'.  
No politics there will ever find mention;  
No pulling of wires to get votes at convention.  
If a brother gets office, then truly indeed  
The place sought the man and forced him to lead.  
No lengthy debates our patience will tire;
In short, snappy speech full of passion and fire;
Each man presses his point incisive and dear.
Then goes to his seat as the delegates cheer.

In Lacey's patronizing verses the delegates could not miss the indirect, let alone the direct references to Greek immigrant culture. The Greek relaxed attitude towards punctuality, still commented upon in Greek American circles as "Greek time" is interwoven in the above comments with allusions to the manner by which immigrant parish assemblies conducted their administrative meetings. The call for order, respect for the majority vote, fair voting procedures, non-political discourse, and disciplined oratory stand out in direct contrast with the fractious, politically charged, polarized, argumentative, and often disorderly conduct associated with early Greek immigrant parish council elections.

There is a paradox in AHEPA's discourse on ethnicity. On the one hand, the evocation of ethnicity in terms of descent was necessary to legitimize the organizations' claim as the bearer of Hellenic cultural ideals. On the other hand, the suppression of the cultural expressions of ethnicity was required as the means for integration into the White Protestant community. Membership in this community, understood in terms of civic participation in the ideals of democracy, responsible citizenship and patriotism was secured then by the understanding of ethnicity as a biological phenomenon. It was AHEPA's cultural affiliation with the Protestant understanding of Hellenism that enabled their claim to a legitimate American identity.
The term "culture" has been historically associated with two widely divergent meanings. On the one hand, in its early Latin usage it connoted the cultivation of the mind and manners, generally understood as refinement through education. In modernism, it was associated with class differences, referring to arts and letters produced by and appreciated among the circles of "high society." "High culture" as it was to be known, stood for cultural refinement and it was the exclusive domain of the educated intelligencia, those who were "cultured." On the other hand, since at least the Greco-Roman tradition of recognizing the diversity of people's customs, culture connotes the customary behavior and belief systems of a group of people. It referred to the habits and beliefs of the common people, the folk.  

This difference in meaning attached to the term traditionally conveyed a number of dichotomies. "High Culture" was associated with monumental works of art and human thought which could be appreciated universally by particular audiences, usually the elite. Picasso could be appreciated by French as well as Italian and French intellectuals, and Maria Callas could fill opera houses to capacity in New York, but also Athens and Rome. In contrast, culture in its anthropological sense carried a highly particularistic connotation. It
was shared by a particular people, providing a highly localized symbolic and moral system serving as a compass for appropriate behavior. In that sense it informed everyday and ritual practices of the people. The concept of cultural translation, the traditional task of anthropologists, testifies to the particularity of the concept's breadth. Death is a universal phenomenon but the rituals that surround it were culturally specific. One knew how to mourn dead in a particular culture but needed a cultural script to make sense of the mourning practices of others.

The dichotomy between "high" and "low" culture and the hierarchies embedded in this distinction have been challenged in postmodernity. Opera, the traditional bastion of high culture, is now incorporated in popular festivities in celebrations surrounding sport events like the "1998 World Soccer Cup" in France. Classical performances, commonly associated with "serious" art now routinely incorporate elements of popular culture such as tap dancing and stand up comedy. This is how Mike Featherstone (1992:267) describes the dissolution of these boundaries:

If we examine definitions of postmodernism we find an emphasis upon the effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life, the collapse of the distinction between high art and mass/popular culture, a general stylistic promiscuity and playful mixing of codes. These general features of postmodern theories which stress the equalization and leveling out of symbolic hierarchies, anti-foundationalism and a general impulse towards cultural declassification, can also be related to what are held to be the characteristic postmodern experiences.

In view of this "characteristic [of] postmodern experiences," it will be of interest to address how social actors construct their cultural identity in relation to "high" culture. To the best of my knowledge, anthropologists and folklorists studying "white" ethnic groups in the United States have focused on the construction of ethnicity around popular culture. While the importance of

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popular expressive culture in public ethnic performances (Danielson, 1991; Silverman, 1997; Swiderski, 1987), the uses of food in the construction of symbolic ethnic boundaries (Lockwood and Lockwood, 1991; Montaño, 1997; Theophano, 1991), and the interrelationship between ethnicity, class, kinship and gender (di Leonardo, 1984) have been extensively studied, the role of "high" culture in the construction of cultural identity among "white" ethnics seems to be a neglected research domain.

In this chapter I will address the manner by which social actors interrelate their sense of contemporary Greek culture with ideas, values, and arts associated with ancient Greece and the Byzantium into the construction of their cultural identities. "Low" culture in this use refers to Greek immigrant values, practices and beliefs. "High" culture on the other hand, includes the body of learning about ancient Greek culture and Byzantine society.

**Neohellenism and Hellenism**

While the relationship between western Hellenism and Greek identity has been discussed within the framework of cultural politics as a local response to dominant discourses (see Friedman, 1992; Herzfeld, 1982, 1987) there has been little attention to the manner by which social actors attach meaning to the ideas, practices and values associated with Hellenism. Even sophisticated ethnographic commentaries systematically exploring the relationship between western Hellenism and nationalist scholarship in shaping local identities, do not go beyond the view of local populations as sole imitators of roles imposed by dominant discourses, rather than active interpreters of Hellenism (Herzfeld, 1985:199):

Verse dueling is a well-established practice in many cultures...
Some scholars' claims to a classical origin for the Cretan variety ignore even the closest parallels both geographically and stylistically, thus reinforcing the more general concern of nationalistic folklore scholarship with the uniqueness and antiquity of Greek culture. This has proved a remarkably successful rhetorical strategy within Greece as elsewhere. A Rhodian villager, for example, told that similar verse forms existed on Samoa, insisted that these must have come from ancient Greece! One could hardly seek a more striking illustration of the constitutive powers of a dominant scholarly discourse. The rural population, initially represented as more or less passive heirs to an ancient tradition in order to satisfy the ideological requirements of local elites and foreign powers, has been progressively persuaded to adopt that role for itself [my emphasis].

Herzfeld's emphasis on the role of the state in constructing individual identities follows the thesis formulated by Hobsbawm (1983): Modern states impose normative ideologies that establish a continuity between the present and a "suitable historical past." Yet, as Tad Tuleja (1997:3) notes, the construction of identities is not a phenomenon necessarily originating through mechanisms of political power. He writes:

[The politically powerless may also have the power to invent, to apply the creative impulse to their own private heritages, and in doing so to keep their own walls vibranty renewed. Ethnic groups, regional groups, organizational and occupational groups, families: all such groups may find themselves creatively utilizing 'past practices' — both inherently aged ones and deliberately aged ones — as manipulable markers of a common identity.

In the interviews I collected, there is ample evidence to suggest that ancient Greek culture is an integral part of the social imagination of my interlocutors. The following excerpts, belonging to Ron (Renaissance/Ancient Greece), who identifies himself as an American citizen of Italian and Greek ancestry but often "feels like a Greek immigrant," Éléni (Byzantine Studies) and Éléni (Greek Theater), both first generation Greek Americans, amply testify to this cultural orientation:

Ron Just to give you an example: it was more important for me to go to Athens and visit the Parthenon, or go to Delphi and Epidauros, and the Mystra, it was more important for me to go there than any place in the
United States. Yeah, it will be nice to go to Washington D.C., it will be nice to go to Gettysburg, but to tell you the truth I have more connection with those ancient things, to me it was more powerful to go to Sounio than go, let's say, to San Francisco. I don't know why, perhaps, maybe is a little romantic, but I just think that I have a closer connection with those ancient things as part of my own culture and things I really love; maybe people want to go to New York and want to go to the top of the empire state building because that's kind of a unique place and a some kind of special thing but it's much more powerful personally to go let's say, to the grave site of Marathon; it's kind of odd but I do have this connection. One of my hobbies has always been Greek history and I have read a lot of Greek history; I do not study it as a scholar, but I know a lot about it...

Eléni (Byzantine Studies) My love for America is immeasurable (12) I am an American citizen but then I feel very very fortunate because my parents were able to instill on me that imagination called Hellenism. So I have two strong cultures and sometimes I don't want to think they are two, I want to say they are one and they are one beautiful culture and I think this is what makes America go around so well because we have learned to live with ourselves and with others who feel what I do.

Eléni (Greek Theater) The way I understand the [Greek] spirit is that there is just a love of life, the life force is very invigorating. It's like they are making things not considered important into something of importance. Everything is turned into something important. I always liked to use the character of Zorbas as an example. I mean, he is probably the kind of character that symbolizes the Greek spirit. He is very compassionate, he lives life to its fullest, when he argues he argues with passion, and when he loves he loves with passion; and also the way I understand the spirit, I think is something ancient that it calls for it. I think that when I was doing Greek theater in the "Greek company" I felt that I was in touch not just with my ancestry but with something that was ancient and classical, something that was not just old but something that was reverberating throughout time that opened me up deep inside. I didn't feel closed up.

These excerpts highlight the firm hold of ancient Greek culture on the social imagination of my interlocutors. Classical Hellenism mobilizes travel, attaches significance to places, inspires learning, imbues artistic practices with meaning. Its centrality in defining the self seems to be repeatedly asserted. Viewed in isolation, statements like "I have a closer connection with those things as part of my own culture" and "I was in touch with my ancestry" could be taken as evidence on the operation among my interlocutors of an
understanding of Hellenism as the signifier of the spatio-temporal transcendental unity of the Greek nation. Yet I would like to caution against such an oversimplified reading. Rather I recommend that these statements should be carefully contextualized within the entire text of the collected narratives. Such an approach provides a more nuanced reading of the social actors' position vis-a-vis the relationship between Hellenism and Neohellenism. Thus I have discovered in my fieldwork that social actors are active interpreters of Hellenism. They not only draw from its diverse cultural layers to attach meaning to current social practices and positions in cultural institutions but refer to particular arts, cultural and political aspects of ancient Greece and the Byzantine society to draw connections with contemporary expressions of Greek culture. The ensuing interrelationship between Hellenism and Neohellenism was central in forging their cultural identities. Before I discuss their narratives in detail, let me present the three *dramatis personae* who occupy central stage in this chapter.

*Dramatis Personae: Profiles of Social Actors*

Eléni (Greek Theater): Imagine an expressive individual in her fifties who wants to be known as Eléni (Greek Theater) - an individual whose sensitivity and warmth as well as creative engagement with the Greek language have been an inexhaustible source of human and intellectual enrichment in the adult language class I teach at the Greek Orthodox church in Columbus. She is someone who, whenever I find when I visit the arts-and-crafts store she currently manages in an upscale Columbus mall, possesses the uncanny ability to make me feel at home in an environment that I normally experience as a "cold" and impersonal institution. In stark contrast with her
growing up in a small town in rural Ohio, Eléni has led a peripatetic
cosmopolitan life professionally centered in theater. Born to a father who
immigrated to the United States in 1916 when he was fourteen years old, and a
mother born to a Greek immigrant family in rural Kentucky, Eléni was
exposed only to bits-and-pieces of the Greek culture. "My mother spoke very
little Greek and my father kept his diner open twenty-four hours a day, seven
days a week; he was home only to sleep, three hours a night," she tells me. "To
see my father I had to go to the restaurant" she continues "and I started
bussing tables when I was seven; but he never spoke Greek in front of me,
except when he didn't want me to understand what he was talking about with
his friends." There were a handful of Greek immigrant families in town, but
there was no permanent Greek Orthodox church, the symbolic ethnoreligious
center characterizing the social organization of Greek communities in
America. Neither was there an organized Greek language school, only
sporadic individual tutoring initiatives in which Eléni participated and
received her early grounding in the Greek alphabet and basic vocabulary.
Eléni was baptized Greek Orthodox by an itinerant priest who visited her Ohio
town four or five times each year during the major holidays of Easter and
Christmas and performed baptisms and weddings in a rented hall which was
transformed to a social hall with food offerings upon the conclusion of the
liturgy or the sacraments. It was an early experience which marked Eléni's
associating of church-going with a "blend of incense and food smells." "Where
is the food" was the first question Eléni asked during a childhood visit to a
Presbyterian church, highlighting the blurring of the distinction between
the secular and the sacred which, as we shall see, has followed her in her
understanding of classical Greek theater. Héni attended Ohio University in Athens, OH, where she received a degree in theater and speech with a minor in English, followed by two years of graduate studies in Philadelphia where she received a masters degree from the Professional Acting Program Conservatory. Her professional career as an actress centered in New York where she worked as an actress and artistic director in the "Greek Theater of New York," a non-profit, off-Broadway theater company staging contemporary as well as ancient Greek plays; later on, Eléni "enjoyed the fullest doing theater" in "The Greek Company" in New York, where she acted and directed classical plays including Antigone, Medea, the Odyssey, and Aristophanes' the Birds. Eléni's twelve-year association with the New York world of theater was followed by her six-year association with the entertainment industry in Los Angeles, before reorienting her professional career and settling in Columbus in 1995.

Eléni (Byzantine Studies): Eléni's early experience was marked by her traveling between the United States and Greece. She was only seven years old when her father repatriated to Greece. After only eight months the family returned to the United States, to Eléni's birthplace, Kansas Missouri. In the course of five years, in 1936, the family repatriated again, an occurrence that resulted in Eléni experience of Second World War and the Nazi occupation of Greece. Eléni's adolescent years were marked by yet another experience, her exposure to the literary circles of her father native city, Volos. Eléni remembers meeting famous poets and writers such as Aggelos Sikelianos (1884-1951) and Gregorios Xenopoulos (1867-1951) who were invited to give presentations by her cousin, who was the founder and president of the local literary group "Ωι Φίλοι των Γραμμάτων" (Friends of Letters). Upon her
return to the United States in 1946, Eléni attended the University of Kansas City from where she graduated with a B.A in Sociology and Foreign Languages, with a minor in music. After marrying and raising her children she has now returned to academic life, currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Byzantine studies. Since her move to Columbus in the 1950s she is associated with the Columbus Greek Orthodox community and is the founding member of its cultural organization, the Hellenic Heritage Foundation (HHF). The HHF was established in 1987, in memory of Élôni's late husband Dr. Chris Theodotou as a non-profit organization and for a number of years (1987-1994) she has served as its president. As part of educational and cultural programs sponsored by the foundation she has curated, along with her daughter Pamela, the "Treasures and Icons of our Church" (1990) and "Coinage of the Byzantine Empire: An Historic, Religious and Economic Perspective" (1992) exhibits. Funded by the Ohio Humanities Council, the latter exhibit featured coins from the personal collection of the late Dr. Theodotou, representing coinage issued by seventeen emperors from the fifth through the fifteenth centuries.

Ron (Renaissance/Ancient Greek culture): I believe that it will not be an overstatement to describe Ron as a Renaissance man. Both metaphorically, in his wide ranging, multistranded vocations, and literally, in his professed connection with the cultural spirit of Renaissance. A professor at the Ohio State University medical school, Ron has published extensively on his professional field; in collaboration with his son, he has developed a software program that integrates sounds, images and texts; their latest creation, a CD-ROM interactive presentation of Greek culture and the Greek community was on sale during the 1997 Greek festival, its proceeds benefiting the church. The
"resume" of Ron's community service includes his position as an elected member of the Parish Council official, the church's administrative body, and membership in several of the community's social organizations. In his spare time, when he does not read ancient Greek and Roman history, he composes his own music; he enjoys sports, being an avid supporter of the local college football team, the "Buckeyes," and regularly playing tennis matches with his wife in courts near his residence in an affluent Columbus suburb.

Identity and Cultural Pluralism

I have already discussed in the introduction the contextual nature of identity articulation. Claims to a particular ethnic identity emerge in concrete social relationships; they also acquire their meaning within the context of social and state attitudes towards ethnicity. I would like to begin my analysis then by exploring how Ron (Renaissance/Ancient Greece), an individual of Greek and Italian ancestry, situates his ethnic identity in relation to multiculturalism:

Actually I view myself as an American, I am an American citizen, da da da, all that kind of stuff; but to a certain extent I have to admit I still have almost the feeling like I am a Greek immigrant in part because I think I got this from my father; my father grew up during the depression, he grew up in this tight Greek community which was always working together so I got the sensation that you are kind of under stress; everybody was almost starving to death, there was fighting to survive and the family and the community kind of hung together to support each other and everything; I just got that mentality. .... But I view myself as an American, but I don't really view it as, how can I describe it, as a conflict that I have a real connection with Greece and in part with Italy, I am proud of my heritage from both sides so actually I think that one of the real strengths of the U.S. is that you should be able to carry this ethnic baggage with you as long as it is not tainted with xenophobia or hatred you know what I am saying, there are cultural things where group X hates group Y and they carry that baggage I think if you have ethnic or historical twist that doesn't interfere with the rest of your life in a destructive form I think it's
very good you know; so the Germans want to have October-fest, great let them do it, the blacks want to have black culture week, they want to have blues festival, great, do it. I mean that's what actually makes the U.S. interesting. It's all these kinds of mixture of things and I think the Greek community to a certain extent gives people that kind of the extra little flavor in their lives which otherwise is blunt or is missing but it is not something that is so rigid in its destructive form.

Ron's rhetorical gloss over issues of citizenship and national identity ("I am an American citizen, da, da, da"), followed by a recognition of the operation of an immigrant identity constitutes a gesture against any reduction of identity into a single, monolithic entity. At the same time, as it is evident throughout the excerpt I quoted, there is a concern to establish a differentiation between a civic and ethnic identity. Embodying the liberal position of cultural pluralism, Ron's narrative conveys the position that to be an American is to respect cultural differences, and to recognize the expression of an ethnic cultural affiliation, the "ethnic baggage" carried by the immigrants and their offsprings. Yet Ron makes a distinction between American ethnic pluralism and Old World expressions of ethnicity. In his perception, ethnic affiliation inherently embodies Old World antagonisms, conflicts and fault lines which have to be disposed of at the borders, so to speak, and not interfere with the operation of a civil society.

Ron's view of cultural diversity in terms of an emphasis on aesthetics (ethnicity as a "flavor") on the one hand, and as a potential source of ethnic antagonism on the other hand, resonates with theorizations on the operation of two modes of ethnicity in the United States. Gregory Jusdanis (1996) distinguishes two forms of multiculturalism: The first, liberal multiculturalism, is celebratory in orientation with emphasis on the variety of ethnic life. It takes its model from the aestheticization of European-American ethnicity as a life style of choice. It is integrationist, based on the belief that
ethnic groups will accommodate themselves in a society respecting their traditions. "It aestheticizes identity as lifestyle, terrified by the possibility of struggle, competition, or discord among groups" (109). The second, radical multiculturalism, involves the formation of groups which on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation challenge existing hierarchies and seek greater cultural autonomy. As we saw earlier in my discussion of white ethnicity, these groups mobilize around a history of discrimination and they often engage in identity politics to negotiate the allocation of economic and political resources. Radical multiculturalism has the potential to fragment national culture, as groups demand greater jurisdiction over education, justice affairs, family and cultural issues and language. Yet, Ron's view of cultural pluralism conflates ethnic and racial categories under the rubric of cultural diversity reaffirmed in public celebrations; in this manner an ideology of multiculturalism projects an egalitarian understanding of ethnicity and race in the United States (Waters, 1990; San Juan, 1991).

Ron's assertive qualification of the compatibility between a civic American identity and an ethnic cultural affiliation intervenes in an issue which has a long history in the imagination of the American national identity. While the notion of an immigrant's dual loyalties are now taking roots in public consciousness (see for example a 1998 New York Times special feature issue on the transnational connections of recent immigrants), in the peak of the assimilationist movement of the 1920s and 1930s, hyphenated identities were thought as posing a challenge to American patriotism. Loyalty to America and its democratic traditions has been often activated to dismiss charges of anti-Americanism and rationalize the tepid Greek American response to the Greek dictatorship (1967-1974). The issue of loyalty has also
been activated in positioning Greek Americans as an ethnic, rather than a diaspora group. In the Moskos (1989) - Jusdanis (1991a) debate, the former argued that loyalty to America should taken into consideration in the understanding of Greek Americans as an indigenous, ethnic rather than a diasporic group. Ron's comments, concerned with dimensions of immigrant as well as transnational connections underline the artificiality inherent in any attempt to impose a rigid analytical distinction between an ethnic and a diasporic formation (see also Konstantellou, 1994).

How is culture understood in Ron's narrative? On the one hand his reading of American multiculturalism adopts a postmodern perspective, viewing cultural diversity as an aesthetic celebration of difference. Viewed independently, this assessment may not differ from the observations of any outsider observer of ethnic celebrations in American society. In ethnic festivals and parades, symbols of identity such as foods, and costumes are activated in an ephemeral, spectacle-like celebration of difference within the context of cultural commodification. Yet the theorization of the Greek community as adding to the "flavor" or "taste" in Columbus, a view that widely circulates in the community discourse about its annual festival, constitutes but one of the perspectives on ethnicity adopted by Ron. In the course of my discussion I will discuss how Ron, a third generation insider, has theorized on the unexpected "twists" and unconscious ways ethnicity infiltrates and affects individual behaviors. In this respect, the self cannot fully adopt the position of a postmodern subject which selectively "chooses" or discards ethnic markers of identification. Rather, the self is subjected and partially constituted by ethnicity. Operating at the individual level, this element of subjection confines and startles the postmodern subject. Consequently, Ron's
commentary on the operation of ethnicity in a communal level seeks to liberate the individual from constraints associated with ethnic group affiliation, while endorsing ethnicity's celebratory aspect. For Ron, like the champions of symbolic ethnicity in the United States (see introduction), ethnicity carries a coercive potential through the social sanctioning of behavior. As a set of traditions and shared cultural codes ethnicity embodies a set of behavioral obligations, always threatening to "interfere" with the lives of the individuals, always in a position to subject individuals to conformity and suppress individuality in favor of collective expectations and norms. This is how Ron's narrative on his wife's incorporation in the Columbus Greek Orthodox community illustrates the point.

To tell you the truth, there is something romantic about it, its something like a cult. People like to have something that they think is somehow special, unique about things. Like for example with my wife, she is not Greek, her family is not Greek, she had no Greek connection but I think she really enjoys all the Greek connection. She likes it and again it is not smothering, like people insisting that she speak Greek, or insisting that she join the Philoptochos [a national philanthropic Greek-American organization with local chapters; literally "friends of the poor]. It's not like that. I think part of it is that the Greek culture is very vibrant and it's a lot of fun and I think that's part of the reason people like it. But you know there are some Greeks and that happens in all cultures who basically don't care about this stuff and lose connection, it doesn't mean anything to them. That's their business, their life, I understand that.

I interpret this passage as a Parsonian understanding of the function of ethnicity in a highly differentiated social world cast in terms of the relationship between the individual and the community. Countering modern alienation, the need to belong in highly industrialized societies is expressed through ethnic affiliation, thus attaching a cult-like aura to ethnicity (ethnicity becomes timeless in a sense that its primordial, "tribal," pre-state operation resurfaces in modernity). Parsons (1975) has suggested the term
"de-differentiation" to explain this need for ethnic collectivities. He explains the revival of ethnicity in complex societies as a mechanism providing a meaningful source of identity at a time when plurality of roles and highly differentiated social relations destabilize identity.

Yet, the individual seeks to liberate herself from the collective cultural demands of a community, situating herself in a position to fashion a postmodern identity on the basis of consciously selected cultural elements ("connections"). There is neither a natural connection between ethnic descent and cultural identification nor a sense of commitment to reproduce a cultural heritage because of an ethnic affiliation. Rather, "cultures" become available constructed resources from which the individual assesses a potential connection based on a meaningful contract. It is at this juncture that Ron transcends the language on ethnic identity to emphasize patterns of connection with a cultural heritage. The "non-Greek" wife becomes a trope that enables the thinking of a non-ethnic association with a cultural tradition. One connects with a cultural tradition because it "is very vibrant and it's a lot of fun," because "it speaks" to individual predispositions and tastes.

Claims to a Greek cultural identity in the American multicultural context are becoming self-consciously reflexive once an individual situates herself in relationship to the Greek immigrant culture and identity. Eléni's (Greek Theater) dense and interwoven narrative illuminates the subtle complexities of the relationship between identity and culture as she compares her own cultural position with that of her extended immigrant family:

My generation did not carry on like our parents did, because we are not Greek enough, our Greekness has been diluted. We were born in this country, we didn't grow up with the language either; even though I connected with my ancestry and love being Greek the way I am but we
are not Greek in terms of the community thing because where I grew up there was no [Greek Orthodox] church.

I don't usually feel American, I always feel a mixture in terms of who I am. But I think I am Greek American. I cannot really call myself a Greek because of the language. I remember I used to scratch the word Caucasian in the census because it is wrong, so wrong [laugh] I mean what is this category that lumps everybody together? I used to write Greek in the "Other" category; I guess I feel that way but I do not feel that I don't know whether I am entitled to say I am Greek when I am with other Greeks, isn't it weird, because of the language. And I was used to hearing that from family members, now that I think about it. They would say why didn't you learn the language, as if it was my fault; that used to bother me, I used to get mad at my dad for not insisting that I learn the language.

There seems to be an unease with ascriptive categories in Eléni's narratives on identity. The census, as a social and political technology of counting and categorizing looms as a homogenizing device for Eléni, which she seeks to subverts by ethnicizing its racial categories. At the same time, the census offers itself as a context inviting reflection on enabling the articulation, or more precisely the "choosing" of an identity. Unlike her immediate family environment, it exerts no social pressure on the content of that identity. Eléni "loves being Greek the way [she is]" but, constrained by the isomorphism between language and identity imposed by her extended family, she projects a Greek American social identity. Identity formation involves social parties mutually concurring on its "proper" articulation. Moreover, Eléni adopts a linear model of ethnic devolution which a priori renders as self defeating any claims to a non-hyphenated Greek identity ("My generation did not carry on like our parents did, because we are not Greek enough, our Greekness has been diluted"). The metaphor of dissolution poses an original, pure immigrant culture which withers through generations. Consequently, the hyphenated identity which Eléni claims implies
degeneration, a lesser identity ("we are not Greek enough") compared to the "authenticity" of immigrant culture.

**Ethos and Identity**

To clarify the circumstances framing Éléni's claim to a Greek American identity it is important to turn our attention to the reproduction of a set of behavioral norms among Greek families. This is necessary because of the constitutive power of the ethos in culturally locating an individual in terms of a set of emotional and behavioral predispositions. This point is illustrated in the words of Éléni (Greek Theater) who is a baptized, but a non-practicing Greek Orthodox:

I went to a Greek Orthodox service once last year. I went for the same reason I always go, there is something about the smell of it and the sound of it and that is what I knew as a child and that's where I related it when I think of my mom and dad as a child. .... There was something about connecting to them, that when I sit in the church is soothing and I find it comforting but I don't know what is going on [in the liturgy].

The capacity of the Greek Orthodoxy liturgy to reproduce social memory in Greek society has been noted by anthropologists working in Greece (Hirschon, 1989). In the above excerpt, however, it is not the commemorative aspect of the liturgy that produces social memory, but its power as an emotionally-charged sense of place which activates collective memories and a sense of belonging. The capacity of habitus to manifest itself as a natural condition is illustrated in the description of the setting's effect as "soothing" and "comforting."

Éléni's (Greek Theater) non-Greek Orthodox identity is juxtaposed with the emotions that her participation in the Greek Orthodox liturgy can generate. This suggests that identity, in contrast to ethos, is a much more
malleable process. While identity can be situationally evoked and even denied, habitus constitutes a deeply rooted aspect of a person's self. This insight was repeatedly brought up during my interviews with Eléni (Byzantine Studies) and Ron (Rennaissance/Ancient Greece).

Ron: Most of the time it is something they [children of Greek immigrants] end up of not having control over it; what I mean by that is, you know, they are born into a Greek household, actually lot's of times it ends up being subliminal; what I mean is that these cultural things are very hard to extinguish even though you are for zillion years, these things still hung on a little twist of some sort or another. I think most of the time you end up having kind of key people, a great mother, a great father to whom you may have connections.

In the above excerpts, ethnicity for the post-immigrant generations is a psycho-social force that one has to reckon with. Ron explains that its manifestations are unpredictable. Predispositions acquired in childhood can unexpectedly confront the individual self at any stage of the life cycle. In Ron's words, the "mentality" of "being under stress," the experience of continuous striving and the ethos of inter-community support still follows him today. In addition, he traces a certain thriftiness, the fact that he is "tight with [his] money" to the influence of his father. Of course one could claim that these are characteristics of immigrant life in general rather than of a particular ethnic culture. Yet they underline the manner by which early formed predispositions keep confronting the self. Ron's views on immigrant culture as a force transcending individual control recalls post-modern theorizations of ethnicity as "often something quite puzzling to the individual, something over which he or she lacks control" (Fischer, 1986:195). It is possible that Ron, a native theoretician (see Ardener in Macdonald 1992), would consent with Fischer that "ethnicity is a deeply rooted emotional component of identity, [which] is often transmitted less through cognitive
language or learning (to which sociology has almost entirely restricted itself) than through processes analogous to the dreaming and transference of psychoanalytic encounters" (Fischer, 1986:195-96).

The comments I recorded during an interview with Eléni (Byzantine Studies), an individual who has left her stamp in the Columbus Greek community's cultural life as a president of its cultural organization and curator of two widely attended exhibits in the Cathedral, amplify this process.

Yiorgos: What makes a person Greek?

Eléni: Many factors. Number one, I don't care how much one denies that he is Greek, but I think there are certain traits that were instilled in you when you were very young - because you have not made up your mind not to be a Greek at age five - so I think by the age of five you have certain amount of values there, no matter how much you have changed, those traits stay with you.

Q: What are those traits?

Depends on what your parents gave you; it could be Greek food, it could be Greek dances, it could be the Greek church .... but I believe what makes you Greek is your own beliefs in your self of what you are; and how much can you get rid of them? (laugh)

It is noteworthy that Eléni (b.1923) (Byzantine Studies) initiates her response by raising the issue of the possibility of negation of a Greek identity. The notion that identity could be discarded emphasizes the element of choice in selecting ethnic identification among the descendants of European immigrants. At the same time, the denial of an ethnic identity may allude to social and historical circumstances sanctioning cultural assimilation. I have already mentioned in my introduction that the category Greek can presently serve as a deterrent in an individual's aspirations for inclusion in certain socioeconomic strata of the American society. And as I have extensively discussed in the previous chapter, the denial of national self-identification
among Greek immigrants and their offsprings in pre-World-War II America was an effort of disassociation from the stigma of the hyphenated ethnic.

Eléni's (Byzantine Studies) responses to my questions illustrate the importance she ascribes to an individual's habituation to Greek practices. In her comments, to be Greek is associated with a socialization process, a habituation in social practices which are culturally expressed as eating behavior, dance, and participation in church activities. Her comments nicely illustrate the tension between fashioning a self through the conscious invention of ethnicity and the limitations that objective conditions impose upon this process. On the one hand, her statement "what makes you Greek is your own beliefs in your self of what you are" points to the central role of subjectivity on the formation of ethnic identity. One the other hand, she suggests that self-identification cannot be a purely subjective process; that is to say an individual cannot freely choose the cultural expressions associated with a particular identity. The objective conditions prevalent at any historical moment of what is "Greek" are prone to mediate categories of identification. This is an important insight which is further amplified by the fact that identity can be contested or negotiated. Claims on identity always operate within a set of objective social significations (thus supported by some kind of content, or cultural or historical evidence).

I discussed earlier that for Ron (Renaissance/Ancient Greece), performances such as festivals and other cultural events legitimize a sense of egalitarian multiculturalism. Yet, as the following discussion illustrates, the cultural expression of habitus in cross-cultural encounters test the limits of this multicultural model. This point is conveyed through the dimension of a contextual understanding of the expression of identity in Eléni's (Greek
Theater) account. Here, participation in activities sustaining particular kinds of cultural behaviors are attached with a capacity to meaningfully connect the individual with cultural traditions and collectivities. Ethnic events serve as social forum where she activates a culturally-specific mode of socio-linguistic communication:

I value the touchiness of the Greeks; there is something about it that helps you connect with another human being, it takes away a kind of invisible wall, I mean when I would get together with my siblings we sit on the couch and before we know it we are lounging on one another; there is something comforting to that rather than all being lined up....If I were in a Greek function I would think nothing of playing with someone else's child, laughing with it, picking it up if the child wanted it, I mean I wouldn't feel that way in other climates, people are too watchful, too cautious, in an environment like that I would feel constrained. I learned in this world that I had to stop doing it. Everybody used to say you hug everybody, you touch everybody, you are always touching people, you are loud. I slowly stopped doing it, something that came naturally to me, something I grew up with.

Even the way the food is eaten [among Greeks], with the hands, you know, I often use my hands to take something out of a plate and I have been in places where, oh! you hear [pause] 'absolutely do not touch' and that's okay, and I respect that, but I immediately feel that somebody has tied my hands.

Eléni juxtapose two kinds of social contexts in which differing assumptions on the nature of sociability and cultural expectations of behavior are enacted. The immediate family and ethnic social event are contrasted with "other," presumably non-Greek social environments. We observe that the cultural elements creating meaningful social contexts in Eléni's social life involve a "kinesthetic" form of social interaction. Touching, social proximity, animated talk and "loud" sociolinguistic behavior loom large in Eléni's account connecting her with human beings and cultural traditions. Yet participation in multiple social networks is connected with processes of inclusion and exclusion. Cultural differences in eating habits, and proxemics seem to be the major boundary signaling process of marking otherness. Culturally
constituted etiquettes of proper eating behavior are described through images of restraint and bodily incarceration. The suspicion and legalistic fear surrounding touching in dominant U.S. society builds the "invisible wall" Eléni wants to challenge by connecting through touching. Everyday mechanisms of sanctioning behavior embodied in conversation ("you touch too much," you hug all the time") are described as a process resulting in gradual cultural loss. The power enacted through common place comments frames a process of cultural reterritorialization which is consistent with Eléni's understanding of ethnic devolution. And there seems to be a sharp boundary between Eléni's social world and what she characterizes as "conservative America." Moving between the world of the theater and "middle-class social expectations of propriety" is not an easy task for Eléni. "[A]greeing not to disagree" generates social invisibility, muting her. On the one hand, the ethnic culture is a resource providing for personal meaning; on the other, mainstream expectations become a prison incarcerating the individual in the demands of social conformity.

Eléni's habitus then, the set of sociolinguistic expressions which come "naturally to [her], something [she] grew up with" is subjected to social pressures for assimilation or contextual accommodation to dominant cultural practices. In this sense, her narrative points to the limitations in the expression of multiculturalism in everyday life. The metaphors of incarceration in Eléni's description illustrate the power dynamic when a different Other is subjected in the process of cultural conformity.

Eléni's (Greek Theater) comments carry yet another insight on the operation of habitus. In cross-cultural situations habitus, "history made into nature" (Bourdieu, 1977), can become an object of self-reflexive awareness. In
the process of marking difference, these situations denaturalize cultural assumptions which often operate in a sub-conscious level, pointing to their cultural specificity. Habitus then can be brought to consciousness, as Eléni's awareness of the context-specific, thus contingent understanding of her body and sosiolinguistic behavior of the self testifies. This observation then challenges Bourdieu's (1977:94) assertion that habitus operates "beyond the grasp of consciousness and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit" (see also Cowan, 1990:23-24).16

The transition from an implicit operation of cultural assumptions to an awareness of the relationship between their articulation within social fields points to the importance of specific contexts where habitus is socially enacted. I will return to this point as it relates to Eléni's narratives on the self in the course of this section. Here, I would like to turn my attention to the manner by which habitus is evoked as a factor in the invention of ethnic selves.

Neohellenic Éthos, Hellenism and Cultural Identities

As I mentioned in the opening of this chapter, my interlocutors draw links between modern Greek culture and layers of ancient Greek culture, including the Byzantium. This is an issue that deserves close attention, since the relationship between Greek antiquity and Neohellenism has been a contentious, and at times, highly politicized issue. In our knowledge of the issues surrounding the discourse on Greek cultural continuity I referred to in the introduction of this chapter, I would like to add here an ethnographic piece of information I collected during my fieldwork. In the words of Zoé, an individual of Greek descent with a Ph.D. in Classical studies and a Masters degree in Byzantine studies:
I disconnected the two [ancient from modern Greece] for reasons that I was told to disconnect the two; by professors. I think they did that because studying classics as a Greek person, as somebody of Greek descent, you must have to prove that you are not doing it because you feel a connection; you have to prove that you can read the literature and be objective just like anyone else. So you don't want to push the fact that you are Greek which is almost suppressing the Greek. But then I think when you get more into Byzantine studies then it becomes more acceptable to be Greek studying Byzantine literature and history; but I don't know why. I think classicists in general tend to think that, you know, the ancient world ends at a certain point in time and everything after that, no matter how the language is so similar, the literature, it still that's the end. They don't go pass that line.

In certain circles of Classical studies in the United States then, a clear-cut distinction is made between ancient Greece, on the one hand, and the Byzantium, and modern Greek culture on the other hand. The pursuit of classical knowledge is disassociated from a search for ethnic roots. Those who define the discipline are unwilling to ethnicize it. Consequently, the discipline constitutes a domain on its own right, laying a claim as a universal, objective domain of knowledge. Yet this construction of rigid boundaries did not apply to many individuals I interviewed. Interlocutors crossed the line between ancient Greek, Byzantine and modern Greek culture to draw meaningful connections.

As I pointed in my discussion of Eléni's (Greek Theater) narrative, cultural enactment of habitus, connects Eléni with some collectivities, distancing herself from others. Yet negotiation is an inherent component in cross-cultural encounters. Degrees of inclusivity and exclusivity position an individual in a negotiating process with cultural expectations; individual expression cannot be enacted freely, in total disregard with the surrounding social environment except momentarily, as Victor Turner suggests, when the individual steps out of social conventions, in liminoid situations such as

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modern theater. If we attend to Eléni's narratives on her changing relationship with classical Greek theater we may have a better understanding of how an institutional site, the theater, provides a forum enabling a social articulation of aspects of Greek culture unencumbered by social norms and expectations for conformity.

Eléni: In college I found ancient Greek theater more boring than I thought it should be, you know because they would have us stand still, and here I am a Greek American and I am going 'you are making me stand still!' Greeks are passionate for one thing I mean, and they are directed me as if I were an Englishman or something. I don't think they understood the Greek spirit, or the Greek soul, these were not Greek people either, it felt more scholarly and it turned me off to it and I said to myself well, I will never act in a Greek play again. And then I go to New York and I go to some auditions and the first thing I am cast is a Greek play and I am going oh! no, I do not want to do a Greek play. It was like, it wasn't interesting, I used to love these stories when I heard them and then I thought well they are good stories, but I am not going to act on them because they are too boring.

Yiorgos: How do you understand the Greek spirit?

Eléni: The way I understand the spirit is that there is just a love of life, the life force is very invigorating. It's like they are making things not considered important into something of importance. Everything is turned into something important. I always liked to use the character of Zorbas as an example. I mean, he is probably the kind of character that symbolizes the Greek spirit. He is very compassionate, he lives life to its fullest, when he argues he argues with passion, and when he loves he loves with passion; and also the way I understand the spirit, I think is something ancient that it calls for it. I think that when I was doing Greek theater in the "Greek company" I felt that I was in touch not just with my ancestry but with something that was ancient and classical, something that was not just old but something that was reverberating throughout time that opened me up deep inside. I didn't feel closed up. I felt expanded, and I felt powerful in ways that had nothing to do with manipulation, had nothing to do with greed, it had everything to do with feeling whole. And that spirit, I don't know it may exist in every culture, but what I know is that there is something about the Greek culture that opens it up for me that other cultures don't. I mean Germans may feel that way about their culture for all I know, but the German expression is not something that opens me up or I relate to, or I connect to. I realize when I was doing Greek theater even when I was bored with it, the reason I was so angry and bored with it is because I connected to it, I connected to it, I didn't like the way it was being done you know. I really did connect, I just didn't feel it was done in a way that it was exciting.
Greek theater presents a link connecting Eléni's habitual understanding of what it means to be Greek with a performative expression of classical tragedies. The plays become meaningful in terms of their style, not the kind of stories they tell. Yet, Eléni's approach to theater is not purely aesthetic; it rather entails an etho-kinetic stance defined by the passionate involvement of the self. Her association between body movement and cultural identity points out to Bourdieu's (1977) theory of embodiment. His notion that the manner by which the body is conceived and used reflects the symbolic and practical structures of the outside world, can be fruitfully applied to Eléni, who as we recall, she has been habituated in a family environment where body expressiveness and movement constitute the "natural" environment of her socialization. It is in this juncture that the connectivity Eléni articulates to ancient Greek theater is mediated by her habitus in modern Greek culture. If Eléni's social enactment of habitual behaviors in mainstream society is fraught with restraints and self-control, the theatrical stage offers itself as a context where Eléni's "Greek spirit," articulated through the Zorba imagery, embodies a passionate immersion in one's own pursuits, an ability to activate feelings unencumbered by social demands and obligations. This performative articulation is attached with a cathartic effect, cleansing the individual from social calculations and bringing about a sense of fulfilling wholeness. This stance does not come without social commitment and emotional expenditure. Rather, it involves a particular étos which Eléni amply articulates in her admiring description of Georgia, the Irish-Italian director who "opened [Eléni's] heart again to the theater of the Greeks":

One of my best friends in New York who is of Irish-Italian ancestry, I used to say to her, you are more Greek than me. She has a passion for Greek theater, all the playwrights, Sophocles, Euripides, all of them.
She has a passion for it and a love of it that, I mean, it transcends, it surpasses almost anybody else's I ever met including any professors, including anybody I worked with in the Greek theater; her passion is as great as a couple of people I know. It is astounding and the research that she has done it's what makes her happiest. She says, I am happiest doing Greek theater, that's it, I am happiest doing Greek theater. She is brilliant at it. She has a passion, something that speaks to her soul that comes out and you are just overwhelmed by it because it is so powerful; I did a lot of Greek theater with her and it absolutely was the most satisfying theater I ever did; with her, not with the Greek theater; with her because her point of view came from the love of it. She didn't have any judgment about it, she came from the love of it and she embraced it, just embraced and it embraced it so you couldn't wait to go to rehearsals, because the process and everything was so, was so ...

There seems to be an eloquent assertiveness in Eléni's narrative, a tone of liberating exaltation as if it springs from the disassociation of identity from cultural demands. Here, identity is neither a set of obligations, a script imposed by an individual's ethnic heritage and descent, nor a matter of socially cumbersome and strategically evoked situational negotiations. Rather, identity is expressed socially through an individual's commitment to aspects of a cultural tradition. It is demarcated by a relationship which is cast in terms of love, dedication and passion rather than analytical skepticism. It is cast as a "genuine" identity since an individual's "true" immersion in it dispenses with social roles, strategies, and cultural manipulations. It is an identity "unmasked" so to speak, paradoxically activated in a discourse which centers to a genre where "mask" and "role" constitute the centerpieces of its professional identity.

In a single sentence (one of my best friends ...who is of Irish-Italian ancestry, I used to say to her you are more Greek than me") Eléni seem to radically reconstruct her conceptualization of identity as a gradually diluted process representing cultural degeneration from an originary cultural
position which serves as its measure. And she subverts an earlier statement posing Greek ethnicity as a necessary requirement to comprehend the "Greek spirit." In the case of Georgia, Éléní identifies an instance where identity is no more scripted by ethnic or biological association. It is coded neither in genes nor ethnic culture. It is neither the product of cultural burden nor social (ethnic) obligation. Rather it takes shape in the interface of an individual's contract with a particular cultural tradition, irrespective of her ethnic ancestry. In many ways this conceptualization of identity construction grants the individual a particular locus in social life. Éléní's friend, constrained neither by genes nor ethnicity, surveys a pool of cultural resources available to her and underwrites a social contract on the basis of individual inclination and preference. This conceptualization reverses traditional anthropological conceptualizations of culture as a superorganic entity constituting social identity. It removes the individual from the determining web of culture, to grant her the privileged position of "choosing" particular cultural affiliations. Éléní's comments identify a theoretical stance which liberates the individual from the process of cultural negotiation inherent in cross-cultural encounters. The individual becomes someone who surveys and assesses the terrain of cultural diversity, someone who consciously isolates clusters of cultural tradition as personally meaningful, and therefore worth of intellectual and emotional investment.

If the view of the individual as a passive recipient of an all-constituting culture is an underestimation of individual agency, the reverse conceptualization of the individual as a free-floating subject investing meaning to freely selected cultural products risks methodological individualism. This approach is distinctly non-sociological, as it approaches
individual behavior independently of sociocultural constraints and self-
constituting ideology. Yet I would like to suggest that it is Eléni's exaltation of
the "naturalness" of Georgia's identity where she conveys the constitutive
effect of culture, understood as habitus on identity.

Eléni's narrative is a productive site to conceptualize identity in terms
of cultural, rather than ethnic association. Yet, assigning a Greek identity to
Georgia is not simply the result of her engagement with an aspect of Greek
culture. Rather, it is Georgia's particular mode of understanding and
performing Greek theater that informs Eléni's comments. The fact that it is
Georgia's way of directing theater that opened Eléni's heart to the theater of
the Greeks suggests that there is a resonance in the manner by which two
individuals of different ancestries interpret the theater of the Greeks. It is not
simply knowledge or interest to a common cultural tradition that brings the
two individuals under the rubric "Greek," but a "deep" resemblance in
embodying and practicing an aspect of this tradition.

As the above remarks illustrate, habitus mediates ascriptions of identity.
A complex substratum of culturally-constituting predispositions enter as
factors in Eléni's sense of connectivity with a particular interpretation of
Greek theater. In fact, the latter presents itself as a site where a set of cultural
expressions, neutralized in everyday life by the dominant culture, are
institutionalized in an artistic genre, the theater. Cultural modes of behavior
as proxemics, body language, and communicative modes, produced and
reproduced in ethnic settings such as the immigrant family or kinship
networks find expression in a particular understanding of Greek theater.

My discussion has pointed out to the operation of a certain degree of
rationalization on the role of habitus to mediate self-identification and to
justify a cultural connection with an ancient Greek genre. An additional interview I recorded amplifies this process. Eléni's (Byzantine Studies) description of social life in the Greek immigrant community in Kansas City where she grew up in the early 1930s can serve as a starting point of my analysis:

I take the values of our community in Kansas City as an example. Our parents passed to us something positive, they intended to preserve what they knew (from the old country) and particularly family values, they developed this thing. My parents held on basic family values; of course they exhibited the austerity all mothers had, but they passed on to us some moral value, as we say they taught us an appreciation of things to do. It was very important to be on guard, what to do, how to talk.

Before visiting [other families] my father would tell us: now, in the homes we are visiting there will be both boys and girls; I don't want to see you running up and down the stairs and create trouble, I would be very angry if you do so. So we visited homes and there were pianos there; the piano seat those years could sit, say, three little girls. He would tell us: the piano seat is where you will seat, across [from parents]. One year I was sitting at the piano seat, and I don't know how it happened, but my underskirt showed; and I was swinging my feet, I
should had been very little to remember it. My father came to me and said: Eléni! Cover yourself, your underskirt shows [laughs]. I was about five or six years old, but I should had been behaving like a lady since then; it was very important to him to be careful how to behave, how to talk. Discipline. [My translation]

Eléni's emphasis on the value of family within the Greek immigrant community points to a cultural continuity (what the immigrants "intended to preserve") between rural Greek and immigrant families. It involves the operation of the moral system of honor and shame which persists as a defining cultural orientation even among Greek-American families and communities (Kunkelman, 1990). The description of the embodiment of gendered socialization, intimately associated with the discipline of the body, is an example of this system which has been extensively addressed by anthropologists working in rural Greece. The vignette illustrates the interweaving of a number of themes: the cultural conditioning of gendered behavior, expressed in the discipline of the body, enforced by parental supervision. The cultivation of a sense of modesty, central to the moral system of dropi (shame, often sexual shame) (Campbell 1964; du Boulay 1974; Dubisch 1986), is expressed through parental authority in dictating proper appearance and decorum.

The term "discipline," which expletively concludes Eléni's description, is employed to describe the control the self should exercise in public conduct. It involves the disciplining of the body as well as conformity to a moral script. Discipline was of central importance to her father as Eleni points out, referring to an incident which took place during his temporary repatriation to Greece:

It was the issue of discipline in Greece that bothered [my father]. He would go to the bank for example and he would stand in line respecting those who were there before him. He was waiting in line one day and
someone comes and pushes him away telling him: "You are an American; we do not keep lines here." As a result he ended up being served last.

Here, discipline involves orderly conduct applying in everyday social behavior. The meaning of the term is extended from its initial moral implications to encompass routine public interactions. It is at this particular point, as I will shortly elaborate, that Eléni evokes discipline as a trope to make connections between a particular aspect of Hellenism, Byzantium, the "Greekness" associated with traditional Greek family values and the "Americaness" linked with order in public transactions.

As we recall, in commenting on her participation in two worlds, the Greek and the American, Eléni's (Byzantine Studies) drew interconnections, rather than emphasize differences. To be more precise, she pointed out to the conflation of the two cultures ("I want to say they are one beautiful culture"), and later on to the accommodation American society provides to immigrant groups ("This is what makes America go around so well because we have learned to live with ourselves and others that feel what I do"). I asked Eléni to elaborate on this relationship. In what way, I asked using her words, Hellenism and Americanism are intertwined? Eléni's response was as follows:

When you get into Saint Louis to turn to go towards Kansas City .... you used to have to go downtown; .... so downtown Saint Louis Missouri is this tall skyscraper; and low and behold on top of this skyscraper is a building that looks like the Parthenon; it looks like if somebody pasted it on there. Okay! Here we are talking about American architecture, cement straight up and down, and perched on the top is this Ionian colonnaded building. Now if you don't call that intertwined! You know! If you really want to analyze that building and say was he [the architect] Greek American, or say was he a Grecophile or a Hellenophile, a friend of the Hellenes? It is intertwined, how can you distinguish it? I don't thing it was a pretty building [laugh] because I thought both parts were displaced but here, you know, the influence! So how can you distinguish? I look at the good things in both areas, and I sort of smile at the bad things.
The image of a Parthenon replica perched on top of a St. Louis skyscraper conveys a sense of a symbolic superimposition, a fusion so to speak between the American and the Greek civilizations: On the one hand, the American symbol of engineering know-how and corporate power coexists with Acropolis, the originary symbol of Western civilization. The juxtaposition of the two iconically functions as a sign conveying inherent similarities between Hellenism and Americanism. The two are indistinguishable, as they are structurally interdependent. Yet, although Eléni employs this imagery to underline influences between the two cultures, at the end she expresses her aesthetic displeasure towards the building. The postmodern aesthetic of eclecticism, cultural quotation and pastiche de-contextualizes cultural forms. Furthermore, the building may invite a synecdochic reading of a total relationship between the cultures, which Eleni rejects. A synecdochic reading of the building would have the Parthenon and the skyscraper each stand for the whole of Greek and American cultures respectively. Eléni, however, emphasizes selectivity. By adopting "the best of the two worlds" approach which is a position prevalent among many immigrants she emphasizes her selective affinity between the two cultures.

The relationship between Hellenism and Americanism then is a partial one. How can we understand this relationship in Eléni’s narrative? I suggest that by closely attending to her uses of the word "discipline" can provide us with an interpretive framework to address this question. Eléni explicitly refers to discipline as a value that connects her with Byzantine society:

Ελένη θυμάμαι τον πατέρα μου ο οποίος θαύμαζε πάντα τον θεμιστοκλή και την Δημοκρατία ....αλλά υπάρχει μια πειθαρχία στο Βυζάντιο...ίσως είναι πιο κοντά στην ζωή μου οι Βυζαντινοί και τους καταλαβαίνω
περισσότερο αλλά κατά κάποιο τρόπο με ενθουσιάζουν περισσότερο οι
Βυζαντινοί [από τους αρχαίους].

Γιώργος Τι σας ελκύει στο Βυζάντιο;

Ελένη Υπάρχει μια πειθαρχεία στο Βυζάντιο την οποία δεν βρίσκει κανείς
στην αρχαία Ελλάδα. Μου φαντάζεις οι αρχαίοι ολίγο τι πολύ πιο
φιλελεύθεροι; αν και οι Βυζαντινοί και εκείνοι κρύβονται κάπως πίσω
από την θρησκεία.

Πού εκφράζεται αυτή η πειθαρχεία των Βυζαντινών;

Πάρε τον Φωκά, τον 7ο αιώνα, ο οποίος ήταν ένας αμόρφωτος
οργανισμός· έγινε αυτοκράτορας, ε; Είχε μια πειθαρχεία η οποία
κατέληξε να είναι πολύ άγρια· αλλά από την άλλη πλευρά η σωστή
πειθαρχεία φαινόταν στον Ηράκλειο ο οποίος στην πραγματικότητα
με την δική του πειθαρχεία έσωσε το Βυζάντιο. Ας πάρουμε το
οικονομικό· είχανε το χρυσό, τι κάνανε; καλά ο χρυσός είναι χρυσός
μπορεί να σωθεί αλλά αυτοί είχαν τους τρόπους που μπορούσαν να
κοντρολάρουν και να σώσουν το Βυζάντιο.

Ελένη I remember my father who used to always admire Themistocles and
the [Athenian] democracy .... but there is a discipline in Byzantium
[pause]; perhaps the Byzantines are closer to my life, for some reason
the Byzantines enthuse me more [than the ancient Greeks].
There is a discipline in Byzantium which one does not find in ancient
Greece. The ancients [Greeks] seem to me much more liberal; although
the Byzantines, they too were hiding some, behind religion.

Yiorgos Where do you see the Byzantine's discipline [expressed]?

Ελένη Consider Focas, in the seventh century, who was an illiterate soldier; he
became emperor, didn't he? He exhibited a discipline which ended up
being a harsh one; but on the other hand, one can find a correct
[measured] disciplined in Heraclius who through his own discipline
saved Byzantium; take the economic aspect: they had gold, what did they
do? Gold is gold and it can be preserved but they had their own way to
control it and save Byzantium.

This dialogue demonstrates how a habitual predisposition, discipline,
can inform an individual's pursuit of a particular body of learning. Ελένη
qualifies her attraction to Byzantium. She makes a point to distance herself
from the ancient Greek culture which, as I have shown in the previous
chapter, has been a common place reference for Greek-Americans. Byzantium is described as "closer to [Eléni's] life" and once again, discipline emerges as the organizing trope of her attraction to Byzantine society.

There are at least two ways through which we draw a parallel between the description of discipline in Byzantium and the American society. A first reading of emperor Focas' (reign from 602-610AD) transformation from an "illiterate soldier" to an emperor resonates with the importance assigned to the potential of an individual's socioeconomic mobility exemplified in the "rags to riches" ideology. Discipline here refers to Focas' ability to ascend the military ranks of Byzantium and become an emperor.

Eléni's narrative on the importance of Byzantine discipline invites yet another reading. The example Eléni gave of Heraclius (610AD-641), one of the "greatest rulers in Byzantine history" (Ostrogorski, 1957:83), who revolted against Phocas' tyrannical regime highlights an understanding of discipline as an ability for effective management of the affairs of the state. Heraclius' historical legacy is precisely to transform an "economically and financially exhausted" country whose "worn-out administrative machinery had come to a standstill" (83) through a series of far reaching and radical administrative, economic and military reforms. These reorganizations brought "fresh strength to Byzantium" (86) and it is believed by historians that they saved the empire from destruction (84). As Ostrogorski, (1957:95) observes "It was on the foundation laid by Heraclius that Byzantine power in the following centuries was built up, and it was only with the collapse of this system that the Byzantine polity began to disintegrate."

Discipline here is associated with the administrative ability that ensures the orderly functioning of the polity. It is significant that Eléni's
identification of a business ethos operating in American society resonates with her comments on Byzantine discipline:

because we have a standard in the U.S; you live by a standard. If your house catches fire and you call your insurance company there is a certain standard; you know that he [the insurance agent] will perform such and such; it's a matter of contract ... There is a security in this country .... there is something stabilizing that you can go by.

The contractual relationship between a citizen and a company here creates a standard of conduct. The contract operates within a context of well defined expectation resulting in order and stability in socio-economic transactions. At this point I suggest that the previously stated conflation between Americanism and Hellenism is now expressed through the trope of discipline understood in its widest sense as social conduct whose end-result is social order. This is not to mean that "discipline" in Eléni's narrative stands for an identical code similarly expressed in Byzantium, traditional modern Greek culture and American society. Rather, "discipline" stands for a set of behaviors and practices that bear what the Austrian-born British philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) called "family resemblances."8 The discipline of the body, enforced through the cultural system of dropi regulates individual behavior and brings about a moral order. Eléni's father sense of order highlights the importance of orderly social conduct. Byzantine discipline is understood as the effective management of public affairs while social stability comes about in American society through the disciplined fulfillment of contracts underwriting social transactions.

**Greek-American Classical**

In an essay which is as much poetic as it is analytical, Pico Iyer (1997) brings to our attention the operation of an "unrecognized" revolution taking
place amidst literary culture. He discusses Derek Walcott's poetry, Michael
Ondaatje's fiction, and Richard's Rodriguez essays as texts superimposing
layers of classical culture with local cultural expressions. What is special
about these works is

the ability to season high classical forms with lyrical beauty drawing
from the streets and beaches of their homes. To learn from the tradition
of Homer and Herodotus and Augustine, respectively, and yet to enliven
and elevate those dusty forms with the rhythms of Saint Lucia, the
colors of Sri Lanka, the love song of the Latin South. To put sparkling
new wine into cobbwebbed old bottles, and shake the whole thing up to
make it fizz. (1997:124)

These writers, Iyer attests, assume a task like no other migrant or
diasporic writer. They "do not merely bring two worlds together .... [but] are
trying to put the realities of our multinational present into the established
structures of the past; to link the tradition of our textbooks with the changing
societies around us" (124). Moreover, their writings show us "a new way of
forging identities. Rather than simply rejecting the worlds into which they
were born (or exalting them for their own sake), they are trying to find ways
of having it both ways .... Their most liberating assumption, in fact, is that
identity is assumed and the self is what we make of it." Cultural synthesis is
the primary end-result of the process of superimposition. Particularly
applicable to diasporic selves, to individuals who have experienced two or
more cultures, this essay invites us to pay close attention how readings on the
classical past, are imbued with meaning through one's experience of cultures.
In other words, it invite us to examine the intersection between "low" and
"high" culture.

Through an analysis of Eléni's (Byzantine Studies) narrative I have
already discussed the construction of the self through superimposition of
cultural layers specific to distinct sociohistorical periods. A product of
transnational migration, and having been exposed to both Greek and American cultures, Élini makes sense of her dual cultural affiliation through superimposing layers of both. A fascination with Byzantium as understood by Élini results in a series of practices: transnational travel for ethnohistoric fieldwork; a scholarly commitment to Byzantine studies; the painstaking cataloguing of documents and their presentation to the public. Through high quality presentations Élini shares her findings and observation to interested community members. She intervenes in the cultural life of Greek-American communities by sharing her knowledge, the product resulting through hard work, or if you will, discipline.

I should note that Élini's construction of a resemblance between Byzantium, Neohellenism and American culture challenges a grand narrative of a transcendental continuity between the past and the present. Continuity is drawn not on the basis of an abstract principle or transhistorical values, but rather on a set of contextually grounded sociohistorical expressions. Rather than projecting the continuity of a transcendental universal value (i.e. discipline), Élini draws relationships between discipline contextually expressed through modes of behavior exhibiting, as I will explain later, "family resemblances." The accomplishments of a Byzantine Emperor with a great historical legacy is put forward as a standard to which the self expresses an affinity which informs current practices. Élini, now in her late seventies, still finds the energy to undertake meticulously planned trips to Greece, where her fascination with Byzantium is expressed through her documentation of Byzantine art, visits to monasteries, museums and historical sites. Her visits to Greece, her "laboratory" as she calls the country, result in hundreds of photographs and pages of notes which she catalogues, organizes and presents
in lectures accompanied with slide shows, to members of the Columbus community.

I have attended several of Eléni's presentations. Her attention to detail was painstakingly ethnohistoric and I would add scholarly disciplined. Her enormous knowledge of Byzantine art matched the eloquence of her presentation. And her narrative power to convey historical and cultural information combined with an all-encompassing enthusiasm in the presentation of the material have repeatedly delighted the audiences. It is in these events, where a "Greek-American classical" to paraphrase Iyer (124), is publicly expressed:

'the ability to season' Byzantine administrative policies with the discipline of the scholar and the enthusiasm and excitement of the neophyte, 'drawing from' scholarship, the historical sites and Byzantine monasteries of Greece. 'To learn from the tradition' of Heraclius 'and yet to enliven and elevate those dusty forms with' the colors of Byzantine icons illuminated by candlelights, the creative spirit and ripples of excitement associated with a scholar's sailing around the Peloponnese to view Byzantine structures as they can only be seen by the sea, the loving act of putting material together for creating stimulating educational forums that entice the mind and stir the soul.

The classical past becomes meaningful in Eléni's (Byzantine Studies) narrative through references to Byzantine history she now studies. Yet, the classical past can be the subject of interpretation by social actors who translate past practices on the basis of their background and social concerns. As we saw, Eléni's (Greek Theater) emphasis on a particular performative style of Greek theater is informed by an etho-kinetic stance which has been part of her habitus while growing up in a Greek immigrant family. Prompting further into her relationship with this type of theater, her narrative enables us to explore the role of religious syncretism in attaching meaning to a classical genre:
You know, we carried soil from Greece. It was part of the rehearsal process; we held our ritual, said our prayers to Apollo; She [the director] got it from Delphi, she said 'I could have been probably arrested for it.' We had to bring our containers, we carried our soil for protection during and after the rehearsal, no matter where we went, and if we were to die we would die with our homeland on us ....

[In ancient Greece] church and theater was one. That tells us that our spiritual life will be one with the theater; that makes it for me....

When I was doing Greek theater in the "Greek company" I felt that I was in touch not just with my ancestry but with something that was ancient and classical something that was not just old but something that was reverberating throughout time that opened me up deep inside....

Probably some of those people I studied Greek theater with I think that they are copying from the Greeks thinking that they are doing theater the way the Greeks were doing it, trying to copy something and not getting translated .... I have seen Greek plays staged more excitingly by non-Greeks, Georgia for one; Andre Sourban for another... what they do is first they have broken down the barrier that is ancient; they just don't try to be ancient about it, they don't try to fit some kind of an ancient image...they make it come alive through physical action, that is not just demonstrating it but coming from a gut feeling up...The ancient Greek plays speak a lot to us about power, politics and the state. These issues exist today, so if I take up these issues through and I allow myself to express them now, instead of going back, well you know, some will say, 'the Greek actors did not move around much.' Well, some of them didn't, that's true; because some of them had on huge masks that weighted fifty pounds, you know? They couldn't move; let's get serious here; and they were in an amphitheater. You are in a New York theater that sits two hundred people, why are you acting that way?

Eléni's approach to Greek theater in terms of a context-specific interpretive performance, enables her to view theater not in terms of a static authenticity, but as an evolving genre incorporating diverse translations. In this respect, her formulation of a Greek cultural identity on the basis of an individual's uncompromised commitment to an aspect of the Greek world, inextricably involves a view of tradition as a proliferating phenomenon embodying a never-ceasing process of social construction. The passages above instruct us that Eléni attaches a bifocal perspective to Greek theater. In one level, theater is a dynamic, historically constituted genre, subject to multiple
interpretations. Thus Eléni challenges claims of authenticity, shifting her emphasis on surveying different ways of making theater relevant to diverse spectators and performers. Interpretive relativism leads to multiplicity and different ways of doing theater - opening up meaningful worlds for various actors and audiences. It is the existence of multiplicity of genres after all that finally enabled Eléni to connect with a particular interpretation of Greek theater.

On the other hand, Eléni attaches a layer of constancy to Greek theater by locating it as an institution emerging at a particular historical moment: its institutional genesis in Greece as an expression of the congruence of the religious and the social. The present approach to theater as a ritual embodiment of "secular spirituality" enables Eléni to draw a timeless association between the theater's origin and present reenactments. It is this understanding of time that underlies Eléni's connection with the classical. In this respect, it is useful to situate this understanding of time within the framework proposed by Gurvitch in 1964 (in Harvey, 1990:223-225). In the proposition that social relations contain their own sense of time, we can recognize that the magical rituals dedicated to the worship of Apollo as described by Eléni, frame the life of the theater's participants as well as Eléni's expressed connectivity with the classical. This connection is expressed as an embodiment of "cyclical time" where "past, present and future [are] projected into each other, accentuating continuity within change" (224) It is this mythological understanding of time that enables Eléni's perception of being "in touch" with the classical, and collapses the distinction between the sacred and the secular. Actual soil, which in nationalist discourse come to symbolize a people's rootedness to a national territory (Malkii, 1997), becomes in Eléni's
narrative the link connecting the ritual participants with a cultural center, Delphi. This analysis allows me then to suggest, that we can characterize Eléni's understanding of the Greek theater as an instance of cultural hybridity: a simultaneous understanding of Greek theater as a forum enabling the social expression of culturally-constituted emotions (what makes the theater Greek) and a ritual resonating with new age spirituality, situating the individual in a timeless temporal continuum. Theater is a historical construction, unfolding and changing over time, but also ahistorical, in its timeless conflation of the religious and the social.

In this chapter I have placed major emphasis in the manner by which cultural predispositions play a role in an individual's connection with genres such as theater and domains such as academic learning. The following excerpts and ensuing discussion further elaborate on the circumstances by which individuals connect with a particular culture:

Ron: Now, to a certain extent I love Italian Renaissance art. But I think the reason of my fascination with Renaissance art is essentially, it's nothing more than a fifteen-twenty hundred year take-off of exactly where the Greeks stopped....

Just to give you an example: it was more important for me to go to Athens and visit the Parthenon, or go to Delphi and Epidauros, and the Mystra, it was more important for me to go there than any place in the United States. Yeah, it will be nice to go to Washington D.C., it will be nice to go to Gettysburg, but to tell you the truth I have more connection with those ancient things, to me it was more powerful to go to Sounio than go, let's say, to San Francisco. I don't know why, perhaps, maybe is a little romantic, but I just think that I have a closer connection with those ancient things as part of my own culture and things I really love; maybe people want to go to New York and want to go to the top of the empire state building because that's kind of a unique place and a some kind of special thing but it's much more powerful personally to go let's say, to the grave site of Marathon; it's kind of odd but I do have this connection. One of my hobbies has always been Greek history and I have read a lot of Greek history; I do not study it as a scholar, but I know a lot about it...

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The Renaissance is of particular personal significance to Ron. On the one hand, it is part of his ethnic heritage, "the ethnic baggage" Ron traces through his American-born mother of Italian descent. On the other hand, it stands for a particular way of understanding the world, a cultural approach to art for which Ron articulates, as we will see, an intellectual affinity. The Renaissance as a cultural heritage does not stand in isolation in Ron's world view. He intimately connects it with ancient Greece, viewing this cultural link as a historical fact which accounts for the appeal the latter exercises upon him: "Now to a certain extent I love Italian Renaissance art. But I think the reason of my fascination with it is essentially, it's nothing more than a fifteen-twenty hundred year take-off from exactly where the Greeks stopped."

The perceived cultural affinity between ancient Greece and the Renaissance, a connection framing Ron's intellectual fascination with a "non-romantic, non-ornamental" approach to social history and art, corresponds with Ron's Greek and Italian ethnic backgrounds. As a son of an American-born father of Greek descent, Ron recalls his childhood marked by an oscillation between the Greek and Italian ethnic worlds: his attendance of the Columbus Greek Orthodox church as well as Catholic mass. Very early on in his life he helped out in his father's and uncles' restaurant businesses. He mingled with children of various backgrounds, including Italian and Greek, in elementary school and neighborhood playgrounds. But it is an early exposure to ancient Greek culture that indelibly marked Ron's continuing intellectual fascination with the ancient Greeks.

I think it's kind of interesting, but I don't understand it to tell you the truth, but ever since I was a kid, three years old, I still remember, this is odd, but I can still remember opening up the encyclopedia and going to the information about Greece and seeing the photographs of the Parthenon, the sculptures and Delphi, all these places, for some reason
or the other I always loved it. I have to admit I am much more attracted to the ancient Greek art and sculpture than I am to the Byzantine. The Byzantine is interesting, but to me, I have a kind of a logic thing, I have a logicomania...

Ron expresses puzzlement as to his early attraction to ancient Greece.

The self wonders about the reasons of its connection with a particular strand of a cultural heritage. Ethnicity, as a constellation of behaviors, feelings and cultural connections exerts a force upon which Ron perceives himself to have no absolute, conscious control. In its grips he feels confronted with aspects of the self that transcend individual determination or choice. Fischer's assertion that "ethnicity is something reinvented and reinterpreted in each generation by each individual" (195) can be productively frame Ron's "discovery" of ancient Greece in the encyclopedia as a moment marking an invention of a cultural link between the individual and his ethnic heritage. Yet it seems that Ron and Fischer would diverge in the emphasis they place on the nature of an individual's connection with a cultural heritage. While Fischer as well as Ron emphasize the role of the unconscious in mobilizing the role of ethnicity in an individual's biography, Ron turns his attention to the conscious process of learning as a socially available resource grounding his engagement with constructions of a particular cultural heritage.

Reflecting on his connection with aspects of his Greek heritage biographically, Ron, consistent with his professed "logicomania," rationalizes his attachment by identifying a resonance between a particular form of cultural and artistic expression and a specific individual mental process:

The Byzantine is interesting, but to me I have a kind of a logic thing, I have a logicomania and to me it seems like that's what the Greeks did; and the reason why they have such a powerful influence is they essentially kind of defined art and philosophy in totally contemporary terms because it was the logical basis of what you do under any circumstances, but they were really the first ones to do it, what I mean
by that it seems like to me that Greeks were the first culture that actually represented things as they really were; if you look at other cultures, like let's say the Egyptians, the Assyrians, any ancient culture, the Chinese, they didn't reflect reality, it was a kind of fantasy, it was like a perversion, the Greeks somehow cut through that, they drew a picture or made a sculpture that just looked like reality. That's what I think is so powerful to me about ancient Greek culture. That magic of being timeless it's totally contemporary and totally ancient without any lines in between; the same thing is true I think in terms of philosophy; you read Aristotle, Plato, it doesn't make any difference if it is today or 1000 years ago, essentially as a logic thing they are going at the true, basic, critical issues of let's say ethics you know with Aristotle; they are discussing these issues without embellishments I have always been fascinated let's say, the first book I read was Iliad, what I thought it was more powerful about it was the lack of, I guess I use the term histrionics, and what I mean by that is instead of portraying a story that is more like Odyssey which is kind of fantasy, these are the good guys and these are the bad guys and these are evil people we will actually exterminate them, they are actually portrayed extremely flat in a very historical pattern when both sides were heroic, neither side was pure, both sides had their own flaws, and I thought it was an extremely contemporary way of looking at things in a non-romantic fashion and so in architecture, in art in history, I have just been in love with them.

The transmission of ethnicity may involve an unconscious process inherently tied with the process of identity construction, but it also involves the circulation of knowledge which the individual consciously draws upon in the building a link with a cultural heritage. Through a barrage of references to art and literature, Ron establishes an intellectual connection with what he describes as a realistic, non-romantic representation of social reality and history. He expresses a particular attraction to the universality of Greek philosophy and literature which makes it relevant to contemporary audiences. Considering ethical issues and contemplating how the ancients negotiated dilemmas takes precedence over attentiveness to the manner of telling the story:

I mean, I always argue with my wife about the Greek tragedies; the stories are told from the beginning, basically the chorus comes in and tells you what is going to happen but that's a dramatic vehicle, that's exactly what Shakespeare did you start out with Macbeth and it tells you what is going to happen in the beginning and then he tells you the
story, but to me the beauty of what the Greeks did, they took very complicated ethical issues that again are timeless, it could be today, it could be a thousand years ago and they are very complicated ethical issues and what they explore which I still think is very fascinating, instead of making into a soap opera - which is Martha had the baby of Frank and something terrible happened - the story is not that important, the plot is not that important, the issue is why people did what they did and what was their ethical assessment of the situation which I think again is extremely sophisticated, I mean that is more sophisticated, you didn't see that in the Titanic [laughs] right, these issues are not discussed at all in Titanic and these are to me, from a logical standpoint the critical issues that the Greeks addressed that are totally timeless.

It may be possible to read Ron's narrative as a discourse which downplays the issue of identity by casting a relationship of connectivity with a cultural heritage. In this framework the individual humanity's cultural and intellectual terrain, selecting elements through a process of personal taste and intellectual proclivity. Thus in this interpretation the transnational connection Ron articulates with landmarks of the classical antiquity transcend affiliation with a nation (ethnos) and thus descent, to articulate a connection with a cultural civilization. This is how Ron describes his reaction to his encounter with aspects of ancient Greek culture:

I think I would go back to the basic premise; it's like an equation e=mc2, an essentially logical fashion; there is an inherent beauty to that absolute simplicity; it implies tremendous understanding of many other things so when you look at a piece of Greek sculpture, the discus thrower, you look at the Parthenon, you go to some of the sites you see how they are organized there is an element of just absolute simplicity and beauty in there that is the pure element, that's the basic element, that is the genius element; .... that's what I am attracted to, I am not attracted to rococo, I am not attracted to all these other embellishments; and that was the most powerful things I experienced when I visited Greece; when you go to the Parthenon, or the Sounion for example; it was not just an issue of the building, it was the bigger issue, they choose the ideal cite to put this building to make it more impressive, it was very sophisticated, they took all the stuff into consideration; it was an issue of judgment that again it was not just we are going to build a building because it is comfortable to build this building in this site and it was easy for us to get the marble there, we are going to put it in this site because it's going to have a greater impact and the whole picture, the whole thing is going to be one big unit; and what I find frustrating
about contemporary culture is that we have computers we have all kinds of things that you can theoretically do fantastic things but we don't have that sense of judgment to really do something really fabulous with it.

The discourse employed to articulate the connection demarcates difference in terms of a connection to culturally-significant places. Sites imbued with sentiments of national affiliation like Washington and Gettysberg and invested with tourist value are juxtaposed with landmark sites attached to the ancient Greek civilization. In Ron's narrative the attraction to a heritage is seen in terms of aesthetics, intellectual appeal and functionality. It is important to note, however, that he first attaches a degree of authenticity in ancient Greek culture by endowing it with the originary production of representational art and subsequently describes this art's intellectual appeal to him.

Ron's rationalization of his meaningful engagement with a body of Greek culture is not cast on the basis of ethnicity (because he is ethnically Greek), but because of a certain intellectual affinity and taste. Yet, in this case we cannot speak of a cultural as opposed to an ethnic identity. It may appear that Ron locates himself in a vantage point from which he surveys aspects of the Western World, connecting with particular aesthetic and intellectual aspects. Yet it is important to note here that Ron does not solely express a fascination with a set of Western cultural practices and knowledge. He ultimately claims Greek heritage as his "own culture," his Greek descent legitimizing the appropriation of the Greek heritage as his own. The past to which he meaningfully connects to is his past; thus his discourse on culture is not entirely disengaged from that on ethnicity, and therefore, descent and race.
Discussion

The narratives I discussed point to the complex process of identity construction. Individuals draw from their ethnic experiences, predispositions, and cultural heritage to construct multidimensional selves. Ethnicity enters as a partial factor in the constitution of the self. It generates meaning in the manner by which individuals connect with the social world and becomes the source of cultural and educational commitments. Throughout this discussion I attempted to show how culture enters into the discourses on identity construction. It is this approach that aligns me with cultural analysts who analyze identity construction through discourse to launch a critique of the paradigm of symbolic ethnicity (Chock, 1986a; Chock, 1989). While these analysts problematize the category "person," exploring how symbols of cultural domains operate in identity-constituting discourses, proponents of "symbolic ethnicity" do not problematize identity construction, treating ethnic identity as role behavior, as a personal life style activated either for nostalgic or sociopsychological purposes. Moreover, noting the absence of social referents associated with "white ethnicity," proponents of the paradigm explain the operation of symbolic ethnicity as an articulation of empty, devoid of social content, symbols. In doing so, they ignore the manner by which ethnicity is articulated in discourse, the way by which ethnic operators create meaning - and constitute social worlds - in everyday talk.

The construction of cultural identity has been commonly viewed as an essentially homogenizing enterprise. Within the context of nationalism in particular it has been criticized as an imposition of a uniform collectivity through the assigning of an eternal, pure and organic understanding of national identity to diverse classes of people. Yet, recent developments in the
understanding of cultural identity recognize that besides the similarities evoked by a cultural identity "there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - what we have become" (Hall, 1990:225, author's emphasis). My discussion points to differences in the construction of Greek cultural identity in the United States. Historical products of the Greek diaspora, the individuals I interviewed construct a sense of self by variously drawing from at least two cultural traditions, the Greek and the American. They are located differentially in the network of Greek America in terms of the degree of their community affiliation, frequency of travels to Greece, temporal distance from the immigrant generation, class and educational background. Their different locations diversify their sense of being Greek. Two generations removed from the immigrant experience, Ron still acknowledges its constitutive effect as he cultivates through readings and travel a highly intellectual affinity with ancient Greek culture. Eléni (Greek Theater) draws from the habitus of the Greek immigrant culture as well as New Age spirituality to construct a sense of being Greek based on a socio-kinetic aesthetic. Her narrative emphasizes difference between the cultural expectations framing the performance of the self in Greek and mainstream contexts. In contrast, Eléni emphasizes similarities. Selectively aligning the "Greek" and the "American" as isomorphic cultural entities, she constructs the axis where one, in her own words, does not have "to go back and forth" between the cultures. Furthermore, while Eléni (Greek Theater) evokes the imagery of Zorba to convey a sense of self based on "its passionate involvement" with life, Eléni (Byzantine Studies) suggests a different model of
being Greek: Here rigor in life is centered around the discipline of the self and order in public conduct.

The construction of a cultural identity requires a process of differentiation. It entails the positing of the Other as a necessary condition to define the self. However, this logic could entail an absolute dichotomy between "us" and "them." It could involve the quest for an-often-radical other homogenized to a set of stereotypical attributes in order to define the self (Said, 1978). And it could preclude a dialectical synthesis between the two as the self and other are set against each other as incompatible opposites (Lambropoulos, 1987).

I suggest that this impasse can be negotiated by the examination of how individuals mobilize cultural practices for the construction of their identity. This approach pays close attention on cultural content rather than contrastive difference. Furthermore, by acknowledging that there might be a number of significations to a particular identity, it focuses on differences within a cultural identity. In addition, by acknowledging that multiple traditions could factor-in in the construction of the self, this approach does not preclude a synthesis between the self and the other as Eléni's (Greek Theater) fusion of popular Greek and New Age spirituality and Elenis's (Byzantine Studies) synthesis of modern Greek, Byzantine and American cultures illustrate.

It is this process through which individuals construct multidimensional, pluralistic selves through attachment to cultural traditions that I call "cultural connectivity." In this chapter I have suggested that this process can be productively explored through an analysis of the relationship between éthos and identity. It is also related, as my discussion of Ron's narratives illustrates, to individual tastes, aesthetic and intellectual
proclivities. I have also pointed out that the complexities associated with the construction of self and identity are missing in theorizations on postmodern identities as celebratory-centered and easily disposable. I propose that "cultural connectivity" can be approached as another topos (Leontis, 1997b) in thinking about Greek America in particular and cultural life in general. The notion carries the advantage of embodying several advancements in our conceptualization on culture. While taking into account the social contexts in which culture, understood as habitus, is reproduced, it also acknowledges the selectively conscious process of an individual's interaction with a body of beliefs, knowledge, meanings, and values (i.e. culture), taking into consideration the conditions and objective relations that make this connectivity thinkable in the first place. Recognizing that "connectivity" can simultaneously and meaningfully operate towards multiple traditions or "family resemblances" of a body of cultural tradition, it avoids the homogenizing tendencies of the concept of culture, deconstructing the rooting of a cultural identity in a place (Malkki, 1997). Openly theorizing the process by which traditions are reworked and reinterpreted as they interact with individuals and institutions, "connectivity" transcends notions of purity and statist understandings of tradition and culture, to embrace "historical constructivism" (Faubion, 1995). Acknowledging the possibility that it can operate independently of ethnic/racial backgrounds, it breaks free of viewing "culture" as a property of a group, a minority, a nation, to envision interactions of interested individuals in creative pursuits. Incorporating the diasporic element it challenges the construction of culturally homogeneous national space (Tölölyan, 1996), as it subverts the isomorphism between territory and culture (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997).
The notion of "cultural connectivity" lead us to reflect on the process of production and reproduction of cultural resources within a pluralistic, democratic society. If individuals establish multidimensional relationships with cultural traditions, it is imperative to understand the processes by which individuals attach meaning to these traditions. I have addressed the role of a cultural sub-stratum in Eléni's disposition towards Greek theater. There is more to be said about a) the impact carried by the positive social evaluation/reinforcement of a culture and the relationship of this process with identity. For example: Ron very early on turned to an encyclopedia entry on Greece not solely in response to the valence of Hellenism in Western thought, but because of his cultural identification with this heritage, a process involving as I have shown, cultural struggles of legitimization. Identity then is one, but not the sole trope mobilizing "cultural connectivity." Without being exclusive to individuals of other ethnic backgrounds, as we have seen in Eléni's assessment of identity, the positive association between identity and culture establishes cultural reservoirs enlarging the potential for (re)activation of cultural resources. b) The effect of travel in reorienting individuals, etc. c) The effect of the discourse on heritage. d) The effect of institutional (re)production of culture in sites such as museums, universities, and arts.

The narratives I discussed constitute commentaries on the relationship between individuals and cultural traditions. While they engage with issues of identity, often succumbing to its logic, they also transcend it to articulate sophisticated accounts on how the individual ought to engage with the social world. It is in this respect that these narratives can serve as orientation maps in engaging with social and cultural worlds individuals deeply care about. In
many respects, Eléni's (Greek Theater) narrative highlights the process of redirecting marginal immigrant practices towards creative projects. Rather than resorting to instances of her cultural subordination to project a narrative of victimization, Eléni orients her spirit to contexts and institutions where she is able to activate it within different criteria and norms of judgment. In doing so she reminds us of the importance of the existence of diverse institutions; she also highlights the significance of high art to embody and ultimately reproduce otherwise non-hegemonic cultural expressions.

Eléni's (Byzantine Studies) commentary provides us with yet another perspective on identity construction. Through a creative interpretation of diachronic as well as spatial cultural connections she draws from a pool of cultural resources and principles to construct what I earlier called a "Greek-American" classical. Eléni juxtaposes the present with the past, one might be tempted to say that she builds her self on the foundations of the past. There is an interdependence between past and present which acquires its relevance through the translation of cultural connections to social action. Her narratives point to the uses of cultural continuity as a resource to locate connections among cultures. Eléni's insistence on identifying resemblances rather than dwelling on cultural differences matches current anthropological interests on highlighting cultural similarities (Abu-Lughod, 1991).

Eléni's (Greek theater) attention to the manner an individual acts towards the social world resonates with Ron's, albeit more cerebral, narrative on the significance of the built environment. Architectural complexity for Ron does not involve the ad hoc postmodern emphasis on quotation, pastiche and interreferentiality. Neither is his narrative patient with modernist functionality. Rather, his call for complexity on the basis of simplicity entails
deep understanding, wide range knowledge and reflexivity. The postmodern play and emphasis on the aesthetic juxtaposition of surfaces is challenged by an aesthetic which takes into considerations notions of balance, skill and an interactive dialogue between the built form and the surrounding environment. In its emphasis on local and the indigenous it constitutes then a form of classicism which experiences a revival in contemporary culture. Similarly, both Eléni's (Greek theater) and Ron's narratives are concerned to some extent with the content of plays and stories. To them, what makes Greek theater and the Iliad relevant today involves their presentation of timeless ethical dilemmas which can still challenge and educate a contemporary audience. While Eléni emphasizes the performative aspect of the plays, Ron juxtaposes popular culture with the classical to underline the universality of the latter. Positioning himself against postmodern sentimentality, he calls for an ethos among planners, designers, story-tellers, and audiences in which knowledge and active involvement converge to instruct and educate, to create admirable public works.

In many ways then, the understandings of identity articulated by Eléni's (Greek Theater) and Ron's narratives is not followed by a wholesale postmodern sensibility. Their reaction against free-play, ephemerality, ever-changing transformations, pastiche, surface aesthetics should caution us not to attribute the affinities they articulate with postmodernism as a total way of life. Neither can we afford to see their narratives simply as sentimental connections with tradition and ethnic background. As I have tried to show, their complexities, contradictions, commitments, energies, social relevance and creativity are stronger and much richer than a postmodern reading of white identities would have us to believe.

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chapter 4

"american" narratives on neohellenism

Galena, a small town located in Ohio's heartland, is only a twenty minute drive north of Columbus. The town is connected to a number of urban as well country attractions in the area through a dense system of interconnected interstates and highways. Minutes away, to the south, its rural farmland expanses are disrupted by the rapidly expanding Columbus suburbs dotted by new malls and entertainment centers. Sitting in the northern tip of the Hoover reservoir and surrounded by sparsely populated farmlands, the town is conveniently located near recreational facilities featuring yachting, and water skiing.

I visited Galena, on Saturday evening, February 28, 1998, to attend the wedding of Barbara and Matt, a couple I met in 1996 while teaching in the adult Greek language class of the Annunciation Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Columbus. Locating the town posed no particular problem. I took I-270, the beltway that circles the Columbus metropolitan area, and exiting on highway 3, I drove through the town of Westerville and its surrounding corn farmlands to find myself, an hour ahead of schedule, on Galena's main street. This is where my orientation problems began. I had anticipated that the place, in which the wedding was about to take place, "The Royal American Links Golf
Club," would be a recognized landmark in the area by the locals. Yet, when I pulled over in front of "Donovan's Pub," in the town's main street, the men I inquired for directions showed no signs of recognition when I mentioned the name of the place. With no detailed map of the area, no orientation map was included in my wedding invitation, I kept accosting men in farmer's clothes I took as locals while growing increasingly uneasy at the prospect of missing the wedding. Finally, two men showed familiarity with the address, but not the club itself. "Miller Paul, Road, yeah! I know it," one man exclaimed, giving me detailed and, as it turned out, correct instructions. "You take this road right here," he said pointing to a winding road to the north, "drive for about four or five miles, and then turn left, it will be the second road you will see to your left. It is when the road veers to the right that you turn left," he emphasized; "take it, drive for about two or three miles, and you will come across it. Yeah, second road to the left, that's right." I thanked the two men profusely, and with their directions imprinted in my mind I drove pass the town's corporate limit through a countryside alternatively featuring barns and sub-urban style homes to finally reach my destination.

"The Royal American Links Golf Club" was not hard to locate. The public club stands by its reputation, as described in its promotional pamphlets, as a bastion of European (i.e. Anglo-Saxon) heritage. "Gracing the Galena countryside" and "reminiscent of a Scottish hunting lodge," it towers over the farms it faces to the north. To the south it overviews an eighteen hole "golf course accentuated by English gardens, mature trees, bird, lakes and lovely stone bridges." The place features a royal American Links Banquet Hall in which the wedding ceremony took place, a private dining Room and an Old English Grill Room. The structure's "tasteful European decor compliments the
many special architectural details such as hammered wood beams and massive stone fireplaces," and "the warmth of each area makes one feel far removed from life's fast moving pace." The evocation of traces of English aristocracy in the middle of rural Ohio attaches the Club with an aura of a different order. It features a golf course in the midst of crop-producing farmland and it presents itself as European in the midst of America's rural heartland. It is a place, where its visitors remove themselves from "life's fast moving pace" to engage in leisure social interaction, relaxation, play and entertainment. It is a place whose identity is constructed in the intersection of class and ethnicity to project a northern European cultural affiliation attached to vestiges of an aristocratic lifestyle.

A Wedding and Cosmopolitan Perspective

I had a particular ethnographic interest in the wedding of Matt and Barbara. A month prior to the wedding, Barbara had asked me to translate the vows, which she had written herself, to Greek, as she was planning a bilingual wedding ceremony. The wedding vows, which underlined eternal love and commitment, underscored a twelve year relationship between Matt and Barbara. A display located to the left of the wedding altar featured photographic vignettes, capturing biographical highlights of their interwoven lives: Barbara, who was born in Cleveland and grew up in Melbourne, Ohio, was featured in newspaper clippings as a homecoming queen. Matt, a son of a Greek immigrant and an American mother who grew up in Canton, Ohio, working as a manager in McDonalds. Barbara playing the clarinet in her high school band during a tour she met and fell in love with Matt. I saw pictures of Matt and Barbara in their senior prom. A photograph
of Matt and Barbara white-water rafting in West Virginia, reflecting their passion for outdoor activities. A photograph of Matt posing during a hiking trip to Mount Olympus in Greece was featured, and another one of Matt and Barbara posing underneath the Acropolis.

Matt's and Barbara's exposure to the Greek world followed related, yet distinct, trajectories. Matt's socialization as a Greek-Orthodox was disrupted early on in his life. "At one point my mother decided to break her commitment to raise her kids as Greek Orthodox," Matt told me in an interview. Her relationship with the Greek community "was growing increasingly strained" and "at one point she decided that she would not raise her children as Greek Orthodox." "My mother still thinks that the word American is an insult (η λέξη Αμερικανίδα είναι βρισιά)," Matt added, referring to the dismissive and scornful use of the ascription "American" attached by many early Greek immigrants to "non-Greeks" who married into their communities.

Matt's father's relationship with the Canton Greek Orthodox community for which he worked as janitor and bus driver between 1960 until he quit in 1963, did not fare any better, however. I met Matt's father at the wedding when Barbara seated me next to him. He introduced himself using the Americanized version of his name first, "I am Gus, Konstantinos," adding a few moments later: "από εκκλησία ξενοδοχείο έγινε" (it turned from its church-function to a hotel), a cultural comment referring to the conversion of the main hall to a dancing stage. I had the chance to carry on a long conversation with Gus during the dinner since he rarely left his seat to work the room. Gus danced only when the parents of the bride and groom were called to the dance floor and never again joined the tuxedo and evening-gown wearing guests who were swarming the dance floor in their enthusiastic response to all-
American favorites such as "YMCA," and "Hanky-Panky." Gus expressed a sense of being "out of place," confiding to me his discomfort with the tuxedo he was wearing and the prospect of being called to join in yet another dance. I shared his feelings throughout the dinner. The conversations around me, which I could not help but overhear sitting at a table next to Barbara's parents and their friends, revolved around business and society, stock options and real estate opportunities. Our conversation was of a different order, heteroglossic in its mixing of English and Greek, polyphonic in its incommensurability with the surrounding social environment. I meaningfully connected with Gus through our talking about Greek social life and history as well as Greek immigrant life in America. Our conversation revolved around Gus' growing up in a village which he proudly identified as the birth place of Kolokotronis, a central figure in the Greek war of independence against the Ottomans, his work experience during the German occupation of Greece during World War II, and his immigrant life in Canton.

Gus was born in Canton, Ohio but early on moved to Greece as his father repatriated after losing his confectioner business during the depression. Gus returned to Canton in 1947 where he has ever resided since then. His professional life has been punctuated with a series of jobs. After attending the Theological School in Kimi, he worked as a truck driver in Greece, and held "various jobs" in Canton before taking up janitorial duties for the community. He worked for Hoover, Inc. as a laborer, and after retiring he took jobs as a tinsman, repair worker and painter in the Mac Donald's branch where his eldest son is currently a manager. Gus told me that he had "had it" with those community elders whom he drove every Sunday to the Greek Orthodox church. In my recollection of his story, he mixes Greek and English to express his
exasperation as a bus driver. "Ε, δεν είδα άσπρη μέρα, όλο παράπονα ήταν όλοι (Uh, I didn't have a single good day, they were all complaints). I would pick up some at the bus stop and they would tell me I was late; then I would pick up others in the next stop and they would tell me I was early. Πως μπορεί να ήμουν και αργά και νωρίς, πες μου (How could I be late and early at the same time, you tell me).

"But that's the way it goes," Gus continued, "they make some quick money, πως τους λες αυτούς ... [I interject: "Νεόπλουτοι?" (nouveau rich)] ... "ναι νεόπλουτοι, λοιπόν και μετά δεν σε λογαριάζουν, σε φέρονται σαν σκουπίδι" (yes nouveau-rich, well and then they don't respect you, they treat you like trash). "So ta παράτησα κι εγώ και πήγα να δουλέψω για την Χούβερ" (I quit and went to work for Hoover).

Gus' evocation of class as a boundary within the Greek American community surfaced elsewhere in my fieldwork. A Cleveland-based Greek American businessman who requested anonymity confided to me that in the 1940s his immigrant grandfather, who held a janitorial job in a small industrial community in northeastern Ohio, "was too ashamed to attend Greek Orthodox liturgy" in a nearby community because he "never made it" compared to his kin and other Greek immigrants who ran their own businesses. In these narratives, success, measured in terms of socioeconomic mobility, functions as a process of social and ethnic marginality and exclusion within particular Greek American communities.¹

In her narrative, Barbara also addressed the class position of her father-in-law. Praising Gus as a "very hardworking" person, Barbara expresses her admiring incredibility that he would defer buying a home until he had the cash to pay for it.

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I thought it was neat; my father is the king of credit [laugh] and the concept that somebody would not want to advance - just this is what I do and it's fine - and the concept that I will wait until I have the cash to buy it, is a cultural shock to me, that more than anything else.

Here, Barbara juxtaposes the value system of hard work and socioeconomic mobility as well as the use of credit as the backbone of American economy to immigrant practices. The immigrant Gus adheres to the principle of hard work but subverts two "sacred" ideals in American society, mobility and borrowing. Gus is presented as someone content with a certain socioeconomic position ("[he] would not want to advance") and not prone to contact business through credit. These normative deviations constitute for Barbara a "neat," yet culturally shocking set of practices which highlight the otherness of these practices. In the context of the "Greek" evaluation of success I discussed earlier, Barbara's narrative constitutes an implicit critique of both an American and a Greek-American fetishization of socioeconomic mobility. Yet this critique bypasses the opportunity to challenge the ideology of success in American society. In other words, absent in the narrative is a commentary on the processual circumstances that may disable an individual's access to credit and mobility. An immigrant's economic position may limit the potential of mobility. There is the potential of failure an immigrant or, for that matter a poor individual without assets might face in obtaining a bank mortgage. Or there is the potential that buying in cash is an immigrant money-saving strategy.

Barbara, who majored in music, studied pre-law at Oxford University, OH and now works as an attorney in Columbus, also situates herself in relation to Matt's ethnic background:
Barbara: When Matt is asked where he is from, his story always is my father was from Greece, that's what comes to his head first, and even me you know, when I was sixteen years old I thought it was cool that his father was Greek. I thought that it was so cool that his father spoke English with an accent and he could speak Greek.

Yiorgos: Why did you think it was cool?

Barbara: Two reasons, I don't have any biases like for someone who is different, and the other thing, growing up with my dear friend from childhood who is actually the maid of honor we used to pretend, I mean there were you know ten years old kids saying phrases like someday we gonna meet some Greek god or something like that and to meet Matt and think of him and I did think of him in these terms, and having him being Greek, it was just really cool the dream I had for years. You know we would dress up and would throw our hair up and would say that's the Greek hair style, and I think it was in a Harlequin romance that Greek caught our imagination, I don't know why. I mean they have the same plot, young pretty woman, naive and older rich handsome guy who never said a word, get together in the Greek islands, one big love scene, bitter fight, I mean it does not take much to capture the imagination of a twelve year old girl, now it will make you puke-silly Harlequin.

In Barbara's narrative "bias" carries the negative connotation of non-acceptance of difference. Consequently, immigrant difference, as manifested in accented English, is accepted as "cool," a characterization that applies, through contextual association, to Matt's ethnic background. Lack of bias, on the other hand, does not guarantee an egalitarian inclusiveness. The "Greek" is discussed as a marked category "capturing the imagination" of the young girls. For Barbara and her friend, who in their performative play come to embody the classical style, the "Greek" unexplainably stands out through a classical association and the romantic sexualization of the Greeks isles. These constructions of the classical and the neoheUenic inform Barbara's dream of falling in love with a Greek. By virtue of patrilineal descent, Matt is Greek, not Greek-American, and a Greek God, not a historically situated subject.

These representations of the "Greek," now dismissed as "silly," have been over-layered with another set of understandings of Greek culture.
Barbara, who is one of my most dedicated students in the language class, locates her current interest in Greek culture in relation to Matt's repositioning vis-à-vis Greek culture. Following Matt's withdrawal from the circles of Canton's Greek Orthodox community, he recently renewed his ties with Greek culture through a trip he undertook to Greece with his father. During the trip which involved extensive visits to places connected with his father's life, Matt felt a sense of continuity and connection with the people and the place and expresses a strong attraction to the idea of returning and learning more about the country. Barbara projects a future in which Greek culture will be an element of joint exploration between Matt and her. She expresses her wish to visit Greece, which she describes as "beautiful," as often as possible, to be able to communicate with the people and "who knows," perhaps create a second home there. At the same time their current interest in the Greek language constitutes an anchoring point amidst "very busy" professional lives.

I wanted to incorporate the Greek [in the vows] because it is something that means a lot to us, something that we have done together...and this is a special thing that we have done together based on something that means a lot to him and not that it doesn't mean a lot to me because of my background but I don't know..... it's just a special thing, something that we have worked together for two and a half years

For Barbara, togetherness is an integral aspect of marriage. The theme of the fusion of the partners became the centerpiece of her wedding through the reading of "The Marriage Vessel and the Rose," an adaptation from an ancient fable stressing the inseparability and mutual interconnectedness of the newly married couple. While learning the Greek language constitutes a thread of connectivity, the incorporation of Greek in the wedding vow is given by Barbara a whole new set of meanings. On one level, the vows in
Greek constitute a communicative vehicle embodying private feelings between the newlyweds:

he [Matt] is laconic, he [pause], we don't express to each other words very often about deep meaning and all that stuff, to do that in public it will never happen, to do it where most of the people can't tell what you are saying is the only way, so that's why [pause] and the other [pause] I mean it's sort of corny what, what I wrote in Greek, but that's all I know that relates to this, but, but it does express the deep love that there is but most people don't know, and that's cool.

Greek in this instance becomes a cryptic language embodying the transcendental sentiments of love. This private language of love complements another symbolic element in the wedding ceremony which employs a romantic understanding of language. It was visible in an embroidered display with the title "The Marriage of Barbara and Matthew in the Language of Flowers" which drew associations between particular flowers and a set of cultural ideals. I scribbled in my notebook some of the associations: "Apple Blossom-Preference/Bridal Rose - Grace/Tulip - Daring/Violet - Devotion/Water Lily - spirituality/Geranium - Forget me not - heritage." Yet for Barbara, Greek is not solely a medium of communicating private feelings. It constitutes a heritage which was "shunned from Matt's early life," and which Barbara is committed to reclaim. Thus, Barbara attaches another significance to the incorporation of a Greek vow in her wedding. It involves a symbolic gesture to publicly proclaim her commitment to explore the Greek world along with Matt, and eventually "pass the Greek heritage to her children."

**Greek Culture vs. Whiteness: Research Questions**

The symbolic incorporation of "Greek" in a wedding emphasizing its Anglo-American heritage and high-class affiliation is not an isolated
phenomenon. Rather, it is indicative of a wider social process which entails the repositioning of the descendants of early Greek immigrants vis-à-vis the dominant culture. While Greek immigrants were historically treated, along with other southeastern European immigrant groups as racially different from "white" Americans (Bendersky, 1995), their descendants to a large extent have incorporated themselves in American society. This is how Stephanie Kasselakis, a first generation Greek American now residing in Greece, described the process of transformation of the Greek ethnic to "white" American in her native New York (Tatakis, 1997):

I'm an American lawyer, and there aren't any American firms here [in Greece]. ... I was the first generation to be really 'white,' to go to law school; everybody else always went into the family business, which was pretty much a Greek environment.

The discourse of "whiteness" which has been popularized through extensive media coverage - the subject of "white studies" was featured in a segment in the CBS Evening News and a New York Times Magazine feature story (Talbot, 1997) - has entered Greek American self-ascriptions. Long described under the rubric of assimilation, the ethnic's unmarked participation in mainstream institutions is now cast in terms of "whiteness," a discourse shift which highlights the academic emphasis on deconstructing the economic and social privileges associated with the racial and class classification "white."3 Yet during my fieldwork I have discovered the operation of a cultural process which complicates the one-directional tendency of Greek-American cultural "whitening." Rather than Greek-Americans abandoning their culture, non-ethnically Greeks are embracing it. Barbara's inclusion of Greek vows in her wedding is indicative of this process in which aspects of Greek culture such as food, dance, and language are
incorporated in several aspects of the social lives of individuals who invariably identify themselves as "white American," "Anglo-Saxon" or "WASP." This finding prompts me to address the following questions: How, in what way, and in what form, do these individuals come to "know" the "Greek?" How does the difference between American and Greek culture get constructed in their discourse? And under what social circumstances do their understandings of the "Greek" inform their participation in cultural productions involving Greek culture?

To this effect I interviewed a total of six "non-Greek" individuals. These interlocutors referred to a number of social contexts - the Greek Orthodox liturgy, the Greek festival, the foreign student's association, the Greek-American dance-event, travels to Greece, the community's Greek language class, social relations with Greek people, university courses on ancient and modern Greece, social science and literary readings - to narrate the circumstances that led them to their encounter with the Greek and Greek American cultures. In the context of the interview, they reflect on the past to interpret early encounters with Greek culture; they engage with present situations to reflect on their position in the Greek American world; they rationalize their classifications drawing from discourses on ethnicity and culture; at times they adopt emphatic and authoritative positions, while at other times they seem uncertain and ambivalent; sometimes they catch themselves in contradictions which they seek to rationalize. As they narrate a social geography of locations where Greek culture is embraced, contested, interpreted, and negotiated, a complex process of the narrative construction of cultural difference emerges.
Whiteness and Ethnicity

"Are Yankees Ethnic?" Werner Sollors (1986) asks in his influential "Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture," addressing a historical tension in the classification of Anglo-Saxon Protestants in American culture. The question exposes two fundamentally different understandings of ethnicity in the United States. On the one hand, it points to an inclusive definition of ethnicity where all groups share the designation "ethnic." On the other hand, it exposes the tendency to conceptualize the ethnic as the Other, always in contrast with a dominant category. While Sollor's ultimate aim is to shift the focus from ethnicity to issues concerning the construction of a civic society, the question of the meaning of ethnicity is still a central concern in American culture. Thus, the central question I ask in this section is as follows: What is the meaning of "the ethnic" in individuals who identify themselves as American? And what understandings of ethnicity inform my interlocutors' attachment of significance to Greek cultural expressions?

The individuals I interviewed draw from diverse, often contrasting discourses to variously define themselves as American, Anglo-American or WASP. A recurrent response to my question concerning their cultural identification involved a reflection on their families' ancestries and the degree of their meaningful attachment to particular ethnic backgrounds.

Kelly: I really didn't [identify] myself other than American. Now that I have, you know, something to compare my upbringing to, comparing it to Greek, growing up Greek, being in the Greek community, I sort of now refer to myself as macaroni and cheese heritage. I mean, you know, my father is of Irish descent of several generations back, but there is no strong Irish identification; my mother identified as Pennsylvania Dutch, whatever that means and there was no real strong identification either. She grew up in a farm, all I can say, American.

Jan: I suppose I am a WASP, I got these four northern European backgrounds [her father has Scottish and Danish origins, and her mother of a
Belgian and German origins, I grew up in a middle class background, when most people meet me they experience me as probably a very conservative person, sometimes when they hear me swear for the first time they are shocked; I must give this impression that I am clean-cut.

Diana: I am very Anglo-Saxon, I grew up in a community that didn't have people of foreign extraction. It was a homogeneous Methodist, very conservative, farming community [in northern Kentucky,] where all the neighbors had lived in the area for so long that two or three generations were living on the same soil; my own family had lived on the same soil for five generations, therefore we had nobody who remembered Europe or spoke another language.

Kelly and Diana situate their identities by evoking tenuous links with their western European ancestry. Kelly frames her American identity in terms of this ancestry (see Lieberson, 1985), and Diana brings it to a central stage to project a "very Anglo-Saxon" identity.4 Jan situates herself within the cultural category WASP which she has heard and "from hearing it sounds that's [her]," to only, however, distance herself from a certain Protestant bend. Diana, an Orthodox convert, views a modest dress code and abstinence from cursing, smoking, and drinking as the fundamental values of her "very conservative" Methodist upbringing. In contrast Jan, having grown-up in the liberal traditions of the Unitarian church and currently a practicing Episcopalian, feels that she fits the clean-cut image of Protestantism but disassociates herself from its "conservative" values, defined earlier by Diana.

Jan's position as a white Anglo-Saxon is framed in terms of class and race. She refers to her material and social comfort that make her "feel privileged as a white female in this country," a position which comes with "a lot of white liberal guilt" and affects her decision on "the profession [she] went in, the people [she] associates with and how [she] spends her money. Early on as a child I had "lot's of savior fantasies .... doing the Peace Corps, going to Africa, rescuing children, that's why I probably became a therapist,
to help people," she tells me. And when "Yiorgo [her husband] bought me this diamond ring, I loved it, I really loved it, but for no logical reason I felt embarrassed by it." In this narrative, whiteness intersects with class to shape Jan's predispositions and social life towards the self and other.

Yet to a certain extent, Jan who "does not feel related to any culture" expresses a bafflement concerning the cultural overtones of the WASP category; as her following statement indicates, this category is devoid of any attachment to a cultural content and does not signify loyalty to a single definition of a national community. Jan "[does] not feel especially patriotic, like [she] cannot relate to people who say, you know, America love it or leave; [she does] not know why they feel that way." Self-ascriptions of white identity are articulated in relation to an absence of an identifiable "ethnic" culture. This becomes evident in Susan's and Jackie's narratives. I asked Susan, who identifies as "white American with capital W," what does it mean to be an American?

Yiorgos: I would like to ask you about your background; would you please tell me where did you grow up?

Susan: I was born in a little town of 1400 people in Wisconsin, it was a little farming town and a lot of my extended family lived in that area and the rest of them lived down in Illinois, so we had a large extended family and we were very white with capital W, there was nothing ethnic in our family so [pause]

Yiorgos: Why white with capital W?

Susan: We just [pause], there wasn't like any kind of [pause] I don't know [pause], there is no [pause], we just went to Protestant churches and did the regular thing, there was no cultural outlet in my family.

If Suzan faces difficulties in defining her identity as "White" in cultural terms, Jackie, an Orthodox convert and an active member in the religious and social life of the Columbus Greek-Orthodox community, offers historical
reasons for her feelings that she "ha[s] no culture." Jackie, who grew up in an extended, close-knit family of "fanatical, born-again-Christians," including a grandfather, a German immigrant who established his own church, speaks of a double loss of culture:

American culture is falling apart since the 1960's; since the 1960's we have no culture, very little we find family closeness, family bonds, close ties; what I like about the Greek is their closeness to their friends, they don't watch TV, they are out visiting all the time, they have their culture and traditions, you see it in their nicks-nacks, their rugs on the floor, their black and white pictures, their cooking, there is always a spanakopita [spinach-pie] in their refrigerator and ouzo to drink, their music, I love their music; when Greek people come to America, culturally they keep things alive. I have seen fourth generation Greek Americans who keep the culture alive; the language has been lost, but they all go back to Greece; all my grandparents came from Germany when German was a dirty word and we lost our culture, we have no culture, I don't know what my culture is.

Jackie's narrative identifies two historical moments that punctuated the process of ethnic identity construction in the country. Her commentary on the cultural expressions present among Greek immigrants is contrasted by her reference to anti-German feelings that swept the country during the World War I, resulting in the demise of German-American institutions in the United States. The suppression of ethnic German culture is unequivocally linked in her narrative with negative mainstream attitudes (''German was a dirty word'') towards German Americans. Jackie's reference of the 1960's as another turning point in the articulation of ethnic identities in the United States, carries a double connotation of moral and cultural loss. The sixties stands as the beginning of cultural loss perceived in a moral sense as lack of "family closeness and family bonds." The "falling apart" of American culture in the sixties resulting in a "no culture" invites yet another reading. It may be interpreted against the background of the cultural fragmentation associated with identity politics which problematizes the definition of American society.
in terms of a single culture. If this interpretation is viable, one may point here to an ironic reversal in Jackie's narrative. For, the second "loss" of an American culture in the sixties results in the cultural revival of German ethnicity, constituting a reclamation of the first "loss" which is not included as a resource in Jackie's commentary.

Ethnic roots is a concept which features prominently in the individuals' narratives about identity. Ethnicity is valued as an anchoring point, meaningfully connecting individuals with other people and cultural traditions. For Jan this connectivity and its emotional bearings is brought forward while describing a trip she undertook to Scotland to explore her Scottish background. "I went there and felt like I was home. It had to do because a lot of the people looked like my relatives from my Scottish side...it felt I was related to these people, a weird feeling coming from America." It was not only a phenotypic affinity that underlined Jan's link with the people and place. In an inexplicable way, her encounter with Scottish culture becomes an emotionally fulfilling experience. This is how Jan describes her feelings while attending a ghost walk sponsored by a local Scottish heritage society: "I was so excited, I cried, I could not explain why, it was so powerful, I don't really know why." At this point, we can gain an understanding of Jan's attachment to Scottish culture by focusing on the discourse that framed Jan's journey to Scotland.5

Jan's quest to connect to her ethnic roots, exemplifies a particular turning point in American social history. It involves the elevation of "ethnic roots" as a central component of individual identity. Initiated by the highly acclaimed book and popular TV series "Roots," this movement defines a juncture in the thinking about what it means to be American. Jan's
reminiscence of her parents' attitude towards ethnicity exemplifies this emphasis on one's ethnic background:

I am sad that my parents had no recognition or carried a conversation about their ethnic background because they were so interested in being American.

Since early in the 20th century, the definition of an American was mediated by an assimilationist ideology which treated ethnic identification antagonistically as running counter to the formation of an American national community. Hyphenated identification was stigmatized through its association with un-Americanism, cultural fragmentation and dissolution. The 1960's marked a paradigm shift from assimilation to cultural pluralism which took place in the aftermath of the civil rights movement. With ethnic identification becoming not only an expression of group pride but also a strategic concept offering access to resources from the welfare state, a hyphenated self-ascription became the dominant thinking of an individual's social existence.

The element of choice enters the discourse of ethnicity as individuals of multiple ancestries select to pursue meaningful lines of connection with particular ethnic cultures (see Waters, 1990). Jan evokes her family name as an element influencing her decision to pursue the Scottish side of her ethnic background. And Barbara offers a biological understanding of her distant North American ancestry to rationalize her "love of open spaces and riding horses." Yet the individuals' connection with ethnicity becomes, to say the least, tenuous. Identification with a particular ethnic background is but one aspect of their lives and can be discarded depending on social contingencies. Barbara says that she "feels no particular attachment to an American Indian identity," particularly now that she "can no longer go horseback riding" due
to her horses' lameness. Jan's connection with her Scottish side is symbolic (see Gans, 1979) articulated in her interest in occasionally watching Scottish related programs on TV and learning more about Scottish culture. Kelly and Jackie outright express no meaningful ties with their ethnic heritage.

In the set of available ethnic identifications these individuals choose to pursue, Greek culture becomes, through marriage, yet another candidate for exploration. Interestingly, Kelly, Barbara, Diana, Jan and Jackie situate their connection to their ancestral ethnicities in relation to their affinal Greek heritage. In their evaluative comparison, Greek culture is described as "strong" (Barbara), "alive" (Jackie), "rich" (Kelly) and "surviving" (Diana). In comparison to the Greek culture which "offers so much to grab on," tracing one's background to multiple European ancestries is seen by Kelly as being "cultureless," associated with a generic "macaroni and cheese heritage." Despite her interest in learning more about things Scotch, Jan describes herself as someone "who has nothing ethnic to offer her children." In this statement, ethnicity is associated with a cultural behaviors that can be passed to future generations. In this instance, knowledge about the culture does not qualify as part of an individual's ethnic repertoire.

Jan feels that her Scotch background "cannot compete with the Greek [culture]." She rationalizes this statement by juxtaposing the absence of Scottish cultural organizations in Columbus with the operation of institutions within the Greek Orthodox church which reproduce a sense of ethnic identity. Similarly, Barbara points to a communal involvement in reproducing culture within the Greek community that she has come across during her Saturday attendance of adult Greek language classes:
I am fascinated, I guess, with all the people who come to the Greek church [bringing their children to Greek school on Saturday] and how involved they seem to be with more to just - you show up you pay your thing and you get out. It doesn't seem to be like that; everybody comes and participates and learns about the culture and they come to church on Sundays I guess [to the liturgy]. I mean this is a big part of the weekend, I am fascinated that families week after week give up, not give up, but they spend that much time, invest that much time in their culture. I didn't have anything like that in my childhood so I am fascinated that there is something out there that means that much too them. Does this make sense?

In the above excerpt, culture is thick with meaning, not a dry business transaction. It is imagined to require commitments and sacrifice, the willingness to forfeit a central American institution, a leisurely-spent weekend. It is operative and visible to the casual observer like Barbara who visits the church every Saturday morning for the Greek language class. Ultimately, it is endowed with a larger-than-life quality which draws participants in its vortex of meaning. Lack of exposure to it during childhood only accentuates appreciative feelings of admiration. Narratives on identity then point to the centrality of ethnic culture as a key concept around which individuals organize their sense of social identities. Culture becomes a thickly textured web of significance, more so in the operation of its "strong" variants. The community, trips to Greece, Greek social networks of kinship and friendship expose the individuals to a variety of social contexts in which culture is endowed with "living" qualities. In what contexts do these individuals acquire their knowledge of Greek culture? How is this culture understood, and how are cultural differences negotiated? I address these questions in the following section.
NeoHellenism in America

Representations of foreign nationals and ethnic groups have been instrumental in shaping U.S. immigration policies, education curricula, allocation of resources and public opinions. It is indicative of popular recognition of the power of representation to mediate reception of ethnic, racial and national Others in American society that university scholars seek to intervene in the process of knowledge in the current culture wars and its mode of circulation in American institutions. Ethnic watch groups are alert in battling discriminating representation, university professors are active agents of the dissemination of knowledge about previously excluded groups, and social scientists legitimize methodologies that undertake representations that humanize the other. In this context, representations of the NeoheUenic in American every-day social discourse can shed light to the more general phenomenon on the construction of difference in American society; this project is of increasing interest if we take into consideration that the efforts to legitimate Greek-Americans as a socially acceptable constituency in American society is countered by the publication of a number of books which bear negative representations of Greeks in Greece.

Cultural studies primarily address difference within, to use Cornel West's (1993) evocative title, "the new cultural politics of difference." Advocating heterogeneity, and context-specific diversity and plurality, this politics largely seeks to "empower" and socially mobilize previously or presently oppressed, stigmatized, and powerless groups. The politics of difference aims to give "voice," to enable the subaltern to speak by intervening in educational settings and sites of cultural production such as publishing houses and classrooms; to support multicultural curricula and the
dissemination of points of view of women, postcolonial, racial and sexual minorities. My aim in this discussion is not to present the "Greek" as subaltern, but examine how it is constructed as different in the discourse of "non-Greeks." Given that the construction of difference is a product of historical moments and particular cultural contexts, I propose that the examination of how the "difference" between the "Greek" and the "American" is understood constitutes a productive site to explore the ideological assumptions individuals draw upon their descriptions of a cultural Other and address their social consequences.

Neohellenism has been historically constructed by western scholars looking through the lenses of classical Hellenism. The European acceptance of a modern Greek nation-state, the nineteenth century philehellenic mobilization for the Greek cause of national independence and the struggles of the Greek immigrants to establish themselves as American citizens, all involved rhetorical strategies working with an idealized image of ancient Hellas as a prototype endowing legitimacy to the social, political and cultural causes of Neohellenism. Moreover, in the more "mundane" encounters between nineteenth century travelers and early twentieth century ethnographers with the Greek landscape and people, it was the ancient that figured in the foreground, serving as a standard of evaluation for the Neohellenic. As these travelers contemplated ancient ruins and collected their fragments, modern Greeks served as a backdrop of a cultural degeneration. And as I have discussed in an earlier chapter, when western social scientists encountered Greek immigrants, they often adopted the view of modern Greeks as the physical degenerates of the ancients. During the second half of the 20th century the ancients were evoked when the exoticization of the Greek
landscape and the life-style of its people rendered modern Greece a prime tourist destination to "fire" the western literary imagination vis-à-vis modern Greeks (King, 1997). The rhetorical or emotional power of these representations is undeniable in the face of the material investments for Greek causes they garnered. philhellenes traveled, fought and died for during the Greek war of independence. The great European powers, with an eye for their own political and material gains supported this war. And the city of Cincinnati, to mention just one example, invested considerable material and cultural capital to construct itself as an exemplar of Athens, Greece (Tucker, 1966). And, as my discussion of the power over Barbara's social imagination of the romanticized image of Hellas and the sexualized exoticization of its landscape testifies, the legacy of these representations continues to mediate the action of social actors.

Yet, as western understandings of Hellenism, the significance of culture in American society, and the patterns of encounters with the Other are transformed, a new set of prospects in the encounter and interpretation of the Neohellenic emerges. If for no other reasons than its sheer physical presence, modern Greek culture increasingly confronts the present day traveler to Greece. As Artemis Leontis (1995b:225) observes in her open-ended conclusion of her "Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland":

The physical necessity of traveling through modern Thessaloniki or Athens when revisiting Hellas merely underscores the fact that Neohellenism is a cardinal point of Hellenism. In searching the ruins of Hellas, in drafting new topographies of Hellenism, we may find Neohellenism unexpectedly crossing our path."

In the "changing topographies" of Hellenic which in the diaspora become visible through public celebrations, material culture and architecture, exhibits and texts, and the physical presence of Greek diasporic communities,
the urbanite westerner may as well "unexpectedly" cross paths with Neohellenism's diasporic dimension. No other ethnographic instance appropriately captures the fortuitous discovery of the Neohellenic through its physical existence better than Diana's comments about her meeting a middle school teacher at the Columbus, Greek festival.

An interesting thing, I was discovered by a woman who is a middle school teacher, she is a retired black woman; she held a fascination for the ancient culture and she discovered that there were living Greeks walking around and she came to the festival and she was so taken by what she saw and heard, she came to one of my exhibits and she told me I love what you are doing here, and she said do you have people who visit classrooms and give talks and I said yes I do it all the time. We made an appointment and I spoke to her class about life in a Greek village and I took a video from Stemnitsa [a Greek village], and I showed it to her class; this woman gave half of a school day for my presentation and she had me come back every year for six or seven years to that school.

In this narrative the Greek festival constitutes a zone of contact between the Greek community and the wider American culture. It is an institution announcing the literal existence of Neohellenism in the United States and provides the forum for subsequent dissemination of knowledge about modern Greek culture in mainstream American institutions. Diana, whose active role in cultural production in the community I will address in detail later in the section, is "discovered" as a mediator between the Greek and the American worlds. Her role as curator of cultural exhibits allows for her "discovery" by a visitor which in turn is translated to her becoming a spokesperson of Greek culture in Columbus. How then is Neohellenism understood by Diana and the other individuals I interviewed, and how is their understanding of the "Greek" translated into social action?
Locating the NeoHellenic, Negotiating Difference

The power of the ancients' legacy to overshadow interest in and knowledge of the NeoheUenic is evident in Jan's narrative. Jan, an administrator and practicing psychologist in a social work agency, draws a sharp line between ancient and modern Greek.

Jan: It [the category "Greek"] didn't even come up. I mean other than the plays and choruses. I am not sure that the name Drakopoulos, or Lalopoulos meant that they were Greek. I knew it was ethnic. I knew it was like somewhere near Yugoslavia, but I couldn't visualize what it meant [pause] Oh, oh! one year while going to the Unitarian church [as a high school student in the late 1960's], every Sunday we went to visit a different church and one Sunday we went to visit a Greek church and that felt bizarre, very bizarre.

Yiorgos: Why?

Jan: It's hard for you to imagine my perspective, but walking to a room where they are putting smoke out which was strong and it wasn't pleasant, and all the women were covering their head with some kind of cloth and everybody was kissing pictures and I remember thinking that was so gross, that you put your lips in place where sixty people put their lips and I didn't know why they were kissing them. It felt like being in a foreign country. It was strange, very strange, though I didn't connect going to that place until years later, I didn't think that it was Greek Orthodox then, I mean at the time we were told that we were doing a different church every Sunday, synagogues, mosques, we did the whole thing.

Jan recognizes the "Greek plays and choruses" that are components of the curriculum in western civilization courses, but NeoHellenism "was not part" of Jan's "mental repertoire." Greece is registered as a meaninglessness category, lacking geographic, as well as historic and cultural specificity. Greek diasporic expressions also lack specificity. Greek last names which can serve as markers of ethnicity and the Orthodox liturgy are marked as foreign yet lumped in the undifferentiated category "ethnic." The world of the immigrant church is but one cultural domain of otherness among others.
which is classified in relation to the dominant culture, rather than its ethnic counterparts. It is only retrospectively, through Jan's marriage to Yiorgo, a first generation Greek American, and her exposure to Greek and Greek American cultures that Jan recognizes the specificity of the ethnic.

Jan's discomfort with Greek Orthodox rituals such as icon kissing and incense burning, typifies a reaction shared by middle class Protestants whose religious upbringing did not include emphasis on such practices (Dubisch, 1995). Yet Jan's overwhelmed reaction should not stand as a negative measure of her attitude towards cultural difference. Rather, in view of the complex role cultural difference played in Jan's biography, it is indicative of a tendency to attach "difference" with degrees of "foreignness" which consequently determine its cultural acceptability. Jan recalls growing up in an "open-minded, politically liberal" home environment which afforded her the chances to make cultural difference an integral aspect of her everyday life. "My parents were involved at the university and the majority of their friends and the people they socialized with were from outside the United States," she reminisces. There were "all kind of Europeans, a lot of Japanese, Africans, you name it; they came, they stayed, they visited;" "they were a comforting background of foreign accents before going to sleep." Jan's early socialization in a cosmopolitan, academic setting was supplemented during her college years, first at the State University of New York from which she holds two bachelor's degrees, one in public justice and one in psychology and later on, during her graduate studies at the University of Chicago from which she holds a masters in social service administration. Yet, as we have seen, her exposure "to a wide variety of cultures" does not correlate with an uncritical evaluation of foreign practices. Jan rationalizes difference at many levels, drawing from
her cultural background to undertake positive and negative valuations. Jan reflects on her mother's friendship with Anastasia, a Greek immigrant in Buffalo, New York. She contrasts her mother, a soft-spoken individual "too much into image," adhering to a decorum of politeness, "never bringing up her dirty laundry," to Anastasia whom she describes as someone who "dressed sort of grumpy," was "loud and outgoing," and lived in a household in which "there was always a lot of yelling among the spouses and between the parents and the kids," creating an atmosphere "full of energy" which Jan "absolutely loved." "There must have been something freeing [in the friendship] for my mother too," Jan comments, contrasting two different constructions of self through social interaction. Jan describes her mother's self as reserved, controlled, and adhering to a decorum of politeness which she ultimately labels confining. She presents a Greek self relationally, in terms of family behavior, describing it as expressive and argumentative, holding in contrast a liberating potential.

If for Jan Greece cannot be specified with any accuracy in the political map, Kelly who grew up in Columbus and was cognizant of classmates with Greek surnames, claims an unawareness of the existence of the Greek Orthodox church in the city's social geography. Knowledge about the Greek comes relationally, triggered by her relationships with Greek people. Participation in the ritual and social practices surrounding Greek Orthodox Easter with her future husband's family was Kelly's first exposure to Greek culture. And Jan relates how a former friend of hers reacted to her dating Yiorgo:

The first time I heard something about Greeks was when a friend of mine told me that Greek men always cheat, "watch out" she told me, "they always cheat," I said I never heard that "oh! yeah," she said, "they
are very sleazy" ... and later she made a comment of how she was working for an Armenian boss who apparently was very unethical and sleazy and she said "I got to get some advice from George [Yiorgo] some time on how to deal with my boss." I said, "why?" she said "you know Armenian, Greeks they are all alike, he may give me some insight." I made a conscious choice to distance myself from her.

In the above excerpt, the ethnic specificity of immigrants is blurred to create an undifferentiated category of "all alike," unfaithful immigrants. Here, the evocation of the stereotype of immigrant men as unfaithful casts the foreign Other as sexually threatening and therefore polluting of a social ideal. Yet, Jan disrupts her friends' categories by drawing a line on the credibility of her friend's equation of the "Greek" and the "Armenian;" the description of the Armenian as someone "who apparently was very unethical and sleazy" is accepted at face value as an experience-based testimony, while the stereotype of the "Greek" as unfaithful is contested by Jan's decision to cut off her friend. Thus, it is not an experience-based assessment of a person (who happens to be an Armenian) that is contested here, but the empty claim, since it lacks solid experiential and discursive evidence ("I never heard that"), that all Greeks are unfaithful. Here, we can relate Jan's rejection of a stereotypical representation of Greeks to the process of humanizing the other through social participation in ethnic networks.

Jan: When I went to the Greek festival this year I was really excited to be there, yeah!

Yiorgos: Why?

Jan: I knew the food, I had eaten it, I knew the music, I was willing to do a little dancing, people didn't look foreign, you know, the first several times I went to the Greek church, everyone looked so dark and with dark hair and different, and for some reason I don't feel as different anymore, they don't look Greek, they just look like people. It's a visual thing now.
Married to Yiorgo since 1991, Jan has had a prolonged exposure to Greek culture through trips to Greece and her social circles which includes Yiorgos' kin and "numerous Greek and Greek-American" friends. Jan's close association with Greek people and her familiarity with Greek cultural aspects, which makes her "feel part of the Greek community," point to a process of de-ethnicizing and subsequent humanizing the Other. Jan draws her observations from two social contexts in which "Americans" come in some kind of sustained contact with a collective of Greek-Orthodox people. Americans attend the Greek Orthodox liturgy, usually accompanied by a Greek spouse or friend, and visit the church's annual Greek festival. Jan contrasts her initial phenotypic impression of the Greek community as a defining attribute of Greek ethnicity and a boundary signaling difference, with the later almost entire collapse of the sign. The context of Jan's statement transcends an understanding of festivals as social events designed to foster mutual understanding and appreciation of cultural differences. Rather, the narrative's emphasis on cultural (food and dancing) and social (familiarity with the Greek people) participation points out to processes of inclusion which in turn may lead the pondering self ("for some reason") to cancel phenotypic (i.e. racial) difference. Jan's participation in the social life of Greek America enables her to relate with Greek people as humans rather than "Greek." This de-ethnicization process occurs in two levels: the realm of human recognition ("they just look like people") and familiarity with Greek cultural expressions ("I knew the music, I was willing to do a little dancing"). "Feeling part of the community" entails the dual association of sharing a common humanity and expressing it through a specific cultural mode.
Jan's comments subvert the tendency prevalent in many societies to ascribe ethnicity on the basis of phenotypes. Her friend's conflation of Greek and Armenian points, however, to a particular discourse on the foreigner which attributes a cluster of traits, be it cultural or phenotypic, to a particular geographic region. The creation of taxonomic categories, as a device to label and render the foreign "knowable" has long been part of the American immigrant discourse. In the first two decades of the century, Armenians, Greeks, but also Romanians, Yugoslavs and Syrians were routinely lumped together into the category of southeastern European immigrants and treated as inferior to the northern Europeans. If in the past these classifications served as ideological ammunition for the formulation of anti-immigration policies, they can presently serve as an interpretive framework labeling and assessing the cultural acceptability of a foreigner. As a recent widely publicized case indicates, profiling (i.e. the use of phenotypes as classificatory device), is routinely employed by U.S. embassies granting entrance visas to the U.S. It can also be used by airport and other agencies security personnel. In the middle of the war with Iraq I was stopped outside the Baton Rouge airport as I was heading home by security and without any explanation I was subjected to a thorough search. Would I had been searched had I been of a fair complexion and blond rather than dark and "foreign" looking? I wonder. I cannot resist the temptation to interpret this episode as a discriminative practice which equates a particular phenotype with a particular type of threatening "foreignness."

Jan has expressed a strong interest in learning about and understand Greek culture. She reads social science articles related to the structure and form of Greek families and she planned and organized a coffee-hour in her
house in which she invited me as an anthropologist to discuss issues concerning Greek and Greek American culture. Yet she assigns primary role to social experience as the means of knowing Greek culture. Her interpretations consistently draw from her trips to Greece and her exposure to the Greek American culture.

Jan: I met this woman in Greece who is telling me in broken English that she had a double mastectomy and she pulled up her dress to show me that her breasts were gone, I was like oh!, okay, I thought that will never happen in America .... and this happens among Greek families here [in Columbus]: the way they pour their soul, the way they open up their feelings all the time, the way they talk about their physical, body symptoms, body pain, and the way they reveal how their children treat them! And the way they speak about cancer and death and illness, loss of limbs, and oh, something that I associate with the stereotype of the Jewish culture. They immediately open up talking about these issues, here is no warm-up time. I am just so grateful that I am used in learning things like that but in a therapy context; but even in therapy patients take three to four sessions and slowly reveal things.

Yiorgos: Pain and death are not appropriate topics for conversation?

Jan: No, you can talk about it, but you talk about it with people you are very close to, and you don't talk about it the first time you get together, you wait for a private time.

Jan draws from her experiences in Greece and her exposure to immigrant and first generation Greek families in the American context to underline the powerful effect on her of the social sharing of intimacies. Drawing from her professional experience as a psychotherapist, she renders this mode of social relating acceptable only among close friends or within the regulated environment of an institutionalized American practice, the therapy session. What is appropriate is filtered through cultural understandings of the relationship between a certain mode of sociolinguistic behavior and social context. Yet, Jan's narrative does not constitute a categorical rejection of a cultural practice. Having an "enthusiastic and emotional" husband "who is aware of his feelings" and a "great talker" capable of expressing them
constitutes an "exciting feature" in their relationship. As in many other instances that I will address later, Jan situates herself in the Greek cultural context and adopts a mediating position between American and Greek cultural understandings. She interprets the willingness to "share secrets" as "an unspoken expectation" demonstrating loyalty among members of an extended family; but "she is not willing to go there [conform] fully; she is "negotiating with them right now how much [she] wants to reveal to them to be close and demonstrate loyalty."

At stake here, in this self-conscious mediating strategy, is Jan's inclusion in the network of her husband's family. Jan is aware that non-conformity to cultural expectation is something that marks difference: "And I hear many families describing people like me as cold and that really hurts me because I am not cold, I am different and I am sure at times they see me as cold because I am not getting together sobbing and opening up my feelings all the time." Reaffirming her difference, Jan's complaint embodies an implicit criticism: Her efforts to incorporate culture into interpretations of behavior are not reciprocated by her Greek kin. For her, expressions of warmth are culturally mediated categories; for her kin the cultural specificity of an expression like "coldness" is stripped away, and in doing so becomes a universal category.

Jan's interpretation of Greek family ties is indicative of her tendency to resort to culture as her explanatory framework. Responding to an earlier question regarding differences and similarities between Yiorgos' family and her own she interjects:

Oh! here is a big thing, I will not necessarily call it negative, this is something I can generalize to all his family; in my mind when you become an adult you grow up and go away, and you phone once a week
or you write once a week, you visit on holidays and call yourselves close. But his whole family and many Greek families are very enmeshed and I am using the word enmeshed as a pathological word based on my background, in its context is not pathological it is very cultural, they are always, these are my words, butting into each other's business, giving each other advice that was never asked for, they are always pulling other people into the argument to bolster their opinion, there is no clear boundaries; at its worst it feels manipulative.

On the one hand, Jan's clear delineation of an American and Greek cultural context are evoked to make sense of a particular mode of family relations. These relations are simultaneously "pathological" and "Greek" depending on the cultural positioning of the social actor. Yet, there is an ambivalence in Jan's narrative. She hesitates to attach an uncompromising "negative" quality to family closeness. To some degree, she feels drawn to the social intensity she witnesses in "Greek" family relations; it contrasts with what she calls the "introverted, academic-type" of social interaction and the concomitant "suppression of emotions" present within her own family, from which Jan early on felt compelled to distance herself. Yet, the demarcation of clear-cut boundaries among members of an extended family seems to be an imperative for Jan. It safeguards privacy, a theme central to American culture. Ultimately, she once again resorts to the psychiatric label of "non-health" in human dynamics to differentiate herself from cultural expectations of family loyalty. Jan is not alone in her strong reaction concerning the drawing of clear boundaries among family members. Ross, a first generation Greek American, related the incredulity his "American" colleagues expressed when he mentioned to them that his sister-in-law had resided with him and his wife for an extended period of time.

There is an inherent contradiction in Jan's narration of her negotiations with Greek and Greek American culture. The mediated themes of
privacy and emotional expressiveness constitute a resource from which Jan draws to negotiate and attach meaning to her position vis-à-vis Greek cultural expressions. On the other hand, these themes do not signify for her a sense of belonging. As I have discussed, for Jan "American" culture does not ground individuals to a particular heritage and does not connect people in any significant manner. For Jan "difference" is not a categorical entity which she automatically rejects or accepts. Rather, she engages with it in a number of contexts and with various strategies. At times, her sense of shock gives way to a disposition to understand Greek culture on its own terms. She overlays her own interpretive frameworks but is also aware of the cultural construction of social life. Jan often sheds away the premises of cultural relativism. Practices are attached with varying degrees of acceptance and relevance to her life and she positions herself accordingly. In her participation in two worlds, mainstream American and Greek American networks, she constantly moves between the two, always trying to understand and know more, always inquisitive and critical.

Locating the Neohellenic, Preserving Difference

The placement of the "Greek" within a broader geographical region appears in Diana's narrative about her meeting her future husband, a Greek immigrant from the Peloponnese. "When I met Miki [in 1961] I was kind of drawn about all the differences that we had and a sort of mystique that surrounded being with someone who came from what is considered to be the Middle East, the Mediterranean basin, right? And I was fascinated by his accent." The juxtaposition of two geographical areas, the Mediterranean basin of which Greece is geographically a part, and the Middle East of which Greece
is not a part, attaches two layers of otherness to the Greek immigrant. Seeking to validate the geographical categories from the (Greek) interviewer ("Right?"), Diana locates Miki within southern Europe as well the Middle East. Miki's "difference" is accentuated by being located in an ambiguous position, on the fringes of Europe, yet at the same time outside of it. Yet, Greece cannot simultaneously be a Mediterranean-European and a Middle eastern nation-state. Read literally, Diana's statement cancels the actuality of Greece as an entity in the geopolitical atlas. Read in terms of Greece's social history, however, it underlines two cultural legacies, the western and the eastern, which have been often antagonistically evoked in the construction of modern Greek identity. The double location of the "Greek" constructs Greece as the Orient of Europe and in the context of Diana's statement, this can be seen as a rhetorical strategy of creating otherness. The "mystique" of the Greek lies in its being part non-Western European, and part "oriental." The orientalization of the Greek furthers the exoticism of its difference.

During her early years, cultural difference was not part of Diana's social environment. She says: "My own family had lived on the same soil for five generations, therefore we had nobody who remembered Europe or spoke another language so the differences that Miki and I had was a strong fascination for me." The first foreign people Diana "ever met" in her community were two Italian masons who spoke "only broken English" and helped build her grandparents' house. Opportunities for exposure to foreign people opened up only after Diana became a "city girl" by moving to Cincinnati in the late 1950's to pursue employment in the clerical sector. Her sister's close affiliation with the Ohio State University international students association in Columbus, provided Diana with the opportunity during her
weekend visits with her sister for a sustained exposure to foreign nationals. Diana met Miki in Cincinnati, during "a good opportunity to meet single men;" it was a social gathering sponsored by her women-only dormitory staff whose guests consisted of bachelors living in a corresponding men-only facility. Miki was among the guests. Since they started dating, "almost from the get-go," Miki "started taking" Diana to the Greek Orthodox liturgy in Cincinnati "to show [her] how Greek people look like and how they worship."

I have already located Diana's fascination with the "difference and mystique" of the Greek within a discourse which exoticized Greek people. Here, I would like to point out that Diana's othering of the Greek evokes a similar anthropological enterprise. Creating the Other as a subject of study has been central in the formation of the identity of the discipline of anthropology. Ethnography has traditionally acquired substance and academic legitimacy by focusing on people unlike "us" (i.e. westerners), by turning its lenses to the culturally different. The study of "people without culture," as Rosaldo (1988) referred to non-exotic others, can be an illegitimate, "dangerous" anthropological subject which risks a novice's anthropological career. Drawing from the Greek case, Michael Herzfeld (1987) has addressed the discipline's aporia towards people who are located in the margins, who are westernized, yet not western.

Diana's early association with the Greek immigrant community involved the encounter with a "foreign" cultural system which she sought to decode and decipher.

One thing that fascinated me about foreign people is that they had a code between them that we could not break into; and that was their language; if they wanted to drop a sort of a curtain they would turn to each other and begin to speak in a foreign language and we were in the outside, we didn't have any idea of what they were saying and I use to

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think how neat it must be to speak another language, it must be so convenient and to me it was a sort of a thrilling thing to be able to have a grasp of a second way of presenting yourself.

Learning the Greek language was an imperative in Diana's early attempts to break into the Greek cultural code. She is self-taught, and attributes her "imperfect grammar" to the lack of formal schooling. Yet, her painstaking immersion into the Greek language, aided by long stays in Greece have paid off. Μιλάει ωραίοτα τα Ελληνικά, καλύτερα και από τους δικούς μας. Εμείς τα μπερδεύουμε, Ελληνικά, Αγγλικά, αυτή όμως, τα μιλάει ωραίότατα" (she speaks very good Greek, better than many of us; we mix Greek, English, she speaks them beautifully) a Greek immigrant once told me, referring to Diana's impressive command of the language. Juxtaposing the self and the "American" other, this statement identifies the tendency of a number of Greek Americans to employ in their talk, depending on linguistic convenience, both Greek and English idioms. In her "better" command of Greek cultural codes and traditions, the American wife becomes, as Phyllis Chock (1986) has observed, more "Greek" than her "Greek" counterpart.

Diana's active involvement in the cultural life of the Greek community in Columbus is informed by her folkloric appreciation of the past. The loss of the past "saddens" Diana, who makes an effort to retrieve, reconstruct, preserve and display it. During her trips to Greece she visits exhibits of traditional cultures and collects material culture from relatives and friends in her husband's village. She also owns a great number of books published by the Greek ministry of culture and the Peloponnesian Folklore society from which she frequently draws her inspiration in designing Greek folk costumes. Yet, in her early visits to Greece, Diana searched in vain for printed material.
with photographs or drawings of costumes to use them as models and
reconstruct Greek costumes.

In 1974 the government did come out with a series of postage stamps and
each postage stamp showed a girl in an original costume and I collected
these stamps, those were my first models by which I made my first
costumes I sat with my φακό (magnifying glass) and I would sketch and
look at these designs; then little by little they started publishing books
on regional and wedding traditional costumes and they were beautiful
and they were dying out and I guess I remember feeling a sadness about
that because when my grandma passed away we went through her
ing things and I found the dress she had worn when she graduated from
High school in 1910 and it was a dreamy old fashion dress and I thought
gee it's too bad we go around today in blue jeans and T-shirts and the
young women of an earlier era dressed in such lady-like beautiful
dresses and she was a farm girl but the old pictures I have of her were
very Victorian and beautiful, the hair swept in a big bow and so forth
and I thought I wanted to preserve what little I could of my mother's
generation the few things that had been left the beautiful
μαξιλαροθήκες (pillow cases) you know, with κεντήματα επάνω, τέτοια
πράγματα (embroidered pillow cases, these kinds of things)

Diana juxtaposes her emotional and aesthetic relationship with her
family's material heritage and Greek traditional culture. Modernity,
represents in the icon of T-shirts and blue jeans, represents a degeneration of
Victorian ideals of womanhood and aesthetic standards. The loss of "Anglo-
Saxon" traditions frames a nostalgic sadness which prompts Diana's
preservationist orientation. Yet, as Diana points out, these traditions cannot
handily be recovered in the "industrialized and westernized" Europe. Greece,
on the other hand, having "come a little slower coming out of the war years"
offers an opportunity for Diana "to inhale and listen to and study the old
culture." In Greece, unlike northern countries where you "have to go deeper
to find a quaint little village," Diana was "able to reach further back in a
country that had not caught up" with modernization. Here, the relationship
between tradition and modernity is cast in terms of a linear evolution from the
old to the new. National traditions (the Victorian, the Greek), distinct on their
own right, all participate in the universal process of Enlightenment, albeit unevenly. Diana's evocation of the [Second World] war and [civil] war that ramshackled the country between 1940 and 1949, as the historical causes of Greece's belatedness, precludes any interpretation of an "inherent" superiority of the western European versus its southern counterpart. Yet, in Diana's narrative Greece is not contemporaneous with the West, its present being Europe's past. In a classical anthropological move Diana denies Greece what Fabian calls "coevalness" with the West.

As evidence of Greece's "belatedness," Diana cites the existence of unpaved roads and the presence of goats and sheep herded in the outskirts of Stemnitsa, a mountainous village in central Peloponnese in which she spends most of her time during her visits in Greece. At the time of her early visits, folk culture was active, visible in the traditional occupations of "φουρνάρη, χαοσάπη, μπαλωματή και τσομπάνη" (baker, butcher, cobbler, and shepherd). Yet, Stemnitsa is not a living museum of traditional culture. Diana comments on the westernizing clothing, and material culture that since the 1960s have been increasingly gaining inroads in village culture. I point out to Diana, that the village ties with modernity go farther back. Many mountainous village in the Peloponnese connected with "Europe," through complex diasporic networks linking the villages with the eastern Balkans throughout the 19th century and, since the 1890s with the United States. "Western" material culture objects were prestige items, much valued in the villages (Tsoukalas, 1992). The villages might not have been "fully modern" but they were certainly cosmopolitan places negotiating issues of tradition and modernity on their own terms.
As I have pointed out, Diana's "sadness" at the disappearance of Greek as well as western traditions guides her preservationist stance. Early on in her trips to Greece, she adopted this stance, dismayed by the village's abandonment of their traditional ways.

and then I would go to Greece and see that they were abandoning quickly any vestige of the old costumes, they wanted to get rid of the wooden spoons and the χάλκινα πράγματα που είχαν στην κουζίνα (copper kitchen utensils) you know, they wanted to get rid of those things because I suppose they represented hard times for them, cold, cold houses, poor lighting and utensils which were not efficient. I wanted to say to them, do not throw this stuff away, some day you are going to miss it. Hold on to it. These are beautiful patterns and the stitching is so lovely and nobody is doing it anymore.

Here, the price villagers pay for the comforts of modernity involves the loss of "beautiful" traditional culture. Diana's personal sense of deprivation regarding her family traditions is extrapolated to embrace the entirety of Greek folkways. Yet Diana's presentation of herself as a pioneering preservationist has still another dimension. It resonates with a discourse embraced among certain Greek-American circles that poses Greek Americans as par excellence bearers of Greek traditions.

Our nieces who are now in their twenties, none of them can do a καλαματιανό (traditional circle dance) and they have never been out of Greece, and when we go and our boys are going into the town square and they do all these various folk dances that they have learned here θαυμάζον όλοι (everybody marvels) the villagers just go crazy they applaud and cheer and they say νάτα, νάτα τα παιδιά κοίτα πως χορεούν τόσο ωραία (here they are, here they are look at the children how beautifully they dance) and they just get so excited about it because we try so hard to hold on to a pattern or something that goes back to what the forebears used to do, and we have abandoned that today; it kills me to go to Greece today and see the kids walking with juke boxes and listen to Michael Jackson and I know it is the εξουσια (xenomania) the desire to imitate what they think is a more slick and ahead of them and you want to yank these away and say no you got it so wrong. I guess we are never interested in our background as much we are in what is going on over there ....
Modernity's encroachment on Greece exasperates Diana. Here, she evokes the popularity and widespread practice of folk dances among Greek Americans to comment on the Americanization of the Greek youth. She juxtaposes her Greek American children's knowledge of dance and performative skills - her eldest son is an accomplished dancer performing during the Columbus Greek festival - with her Greek nieces' abandonment of it, to underline a recurrent theme in the Greek American discourse. Greek Americans have preserved the traditions of the forebears while Greeks have not. Absent in Diana's statement is the "return" of folk dancing as an integral part of the entertainment repertoire of young Greeks. In a tendency that observers of Greek society interpret as a counter reaction to Greece's Europeanization which comes with "a vague sense of things Greek slipping away" (Bogdanos, 1998:14), Greek discos routinely alternate between western and Greek folk music in their programs with the young crowds responding enthusiastically to both. Yet the absence reinforces Diana's claim that, within the discourse of measuring "Greekness" on the basis of adherence to tradition, evokes the sentiments I have heard expressed by many Greek Americans. After all, and despite years of living abroad, some Greek Americans claim that they have managed to "remain" more Greek than the Greeks themselves.14

Diana's explanation for the Greeks' adoption of foreign manners incorporates a rationale consistent with what mobilized her interest in Greek culture. Diana identifies a human condition that underlies the cultural phenomenon of xenomania, the tendency to adopt the ways of the Other: "I guess we are never interested in our background." Diana has certainly shared this interest. Yet in situating this human condition within the power dynamics of the West vs the other, Diana undertakes a reversal in the
relationship between American and traditional culture, to ultimately subvert the superiority of "American" culture and validate her own interest in things Greek. It is wrong for the Greek youth to think that American culture is sleek and "ahead of them." It is the Greek past that the youth should value and which Diana is committed to conserve.

**Ethnically non-Greek Others and Greek Cultural Production**

Cultural conservation entails a conscious intervention in the process of cultural production. It takes place in an institutional level such as museums and preservation societies and has been adopted as a national policy aiming to sustain and promote cultural diversity. Legislative Acts such as the "National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities Act (1965), National Historic Preservation (1966) and the "American Folklife Preservation Act" (1976) stressed the need to conserve the nations' local cultural and natural resources. Yet in the last two decades these acts have been criticized that they exclusively rely on elite definition of what constitutes a "preservable" resource. Amendments incorporated in the "National Historic Preservation Act" (1980) sought to correct this bias by making local concerns their overarching criterion of conservation. According to Mary Hufford (1994:3), the new legislation moved "from a fragmented approach to heritage protection dominated by elite and professional constituencies to an integrated approach based on grass-roots cultural concerns and guided by ethnographic perspectives."

The above quote suggests that research on conservation should focus on the significance social actors attach to cultural resources they seek to conserve. My aim in this section is to ethnographically document the manner
by which three individuals (Diana, Kelly and Suzan) position themselves vis-à-vis Neohellenism. My discussion addresses the circumstances under which they encountered Greek culture, the meaning they attach to it and the contexts in which they seek to articulate their relationship with the culture.

Diana arguably has had the most lasting impact in the cultural life of the Columbus community. She has strategically and painstakingly gone to great lengths to make herself part of the Greek American social universe. Her observations about the elderly immigrant women who watched her behavior "like hawks" in her early venture into the Greek immigrant community in Cincinnati is a case in point:

I came to realize that if I was going to gain acceptance, I had to go through all the motions that they felt are important; I never passed an icon without making the sign of the cross or without bowing to reverence it. I never entered the church without lighting a candle. They were all watching me if I was a proper imitation of a Greek girl. I eventually found out that these things are important to them. I realized that they measure your worth based on the observance of these small gestures.

Diana's narratives testify to her heightened consciousness of cultural expectations and the evaluating processes operated within the Greek American immigrant community. A "people watcher," as she describes herself, Diana adheres to cultural norms of propriety, "playing the role" as she puts it, to simulate the behavior of a "good Greek girl" as the means of learning, in a Goffman-like fashion to ethnically present herself. Not unlike participant-observation fieldwork, the anthropologists' obligatory rite of passage, Diana, an "observer observed," to use Stockings (1983) phrase in another context, makes her way into the culture. This process has been long in the making, but has resulted in a span of thirty years participation in the life of the Greek Orthodox church in Columbus.

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Diana's central role in the religious and cultural life of the community cannot be overstated. In the past, she has taken editing responsibilities in the community's publication, the *Charioteer*, to which she presently contributes photographs and articles; she acts as the spokesperson on the cultural and historical aspects of the Greek community and is routinely featured in the Columbus media during the Greek festival; she gives lectures on Greek culture and the Orthodox faith to middle school students in Columbus; conducts church tours for groups visiting the Cathedral, and works in close contact with the folk dance instructor of the church, designing and sewing the costumes worn by performers during the Greek festival. Furthermore, since 1987 she holds the official position of the church historian, a title granted to her by the church's administrative body, the Parish Council. Diana is actively engaged in interpreting both the community and the wider social world and by presenting the former to the latter assumes yet another anthropological position. Diana's narrative of the reluctance of the community's old-timers to the idea of a Greek festival testifies to her position as an intense observer of Greek-American culture:

When they first talked about having a Greek festival, the idea was a good idea, I knew it will be difficult to pull it together because I was not persuaded we had that many people even in the Greek community who were excited about their Greekness among the older members of the community, the elders were very reluctant and they had a hard time gaining acceptance and they never learned English very well and they felt closed out and pushed aside and they had difficult years to make their business work and raise their children and they could not imagine the American public will be at least interested or curious of what they stood for; then your second generation I was never sure what their definition was of what it means to be Greek; because many of the second generation also went through a period of some rejection if they were out in public with their parents and their parents were talking to them in Greek they will tell their parents to hush up, because they didn't want to hazard the possibility that they might have a classmate that would walk up in the drugstore and overhear them speaking with these foreign parents so they were embarrassed by the foreignness and they
thought it was backward of their parents so I was never sure of what sort of pride was of being Greek, because they tried to Americanize so much and push away the old world ways like I said they thought it was backward then you have the third generation who is all excited of what it means to be Greek but what did it mean to them? Most of them had never been to Greece, didn't speak the language and they were attracted to it may be because it was far enough removed from them and because at the time when this generation was growing up it started becoming trendy in college campuses to wear some little embroidered hat, all of a sudden it was trendy to identify with some foreign culture and people were not necessarily identifying with the culture they derived because I saw a lots of Anglo-Saxon kids because I worked in campus at the administration building for several years and kids will come to our office ..... and you would have these white kids wearing African patterned shirts or Hawaiian shirts or something, and somehow they were fascinated by that culture so then it became kind of okay and trendy to become a Greek, so the climate was right when we did the first festival and the timing was very good because we generated some interest the first couple of festivals

I quote this lengthy passage because it demonstrates Diana's position as an interpreter of Greek American culture and the American world in which she finds herself. Diana's linear account of Greek attitudes towards ethnicity resonates with Hansen's (1938) popular theory of "third generation return." According to this paradigm, the first generation is rejected by mainstream culture, and in turn, the second generation rejects the old world culture; the third generation, far removed from the old world culture, and fully assimilated, returns to its roots. Diana adds a particular sociological twist to this ahistorical, generalized scheme. She identifies the importance of the socio-historical context in enabling the third generation's return to the old culture. Diana draws from her insights on the changing American attitudes of ethnicity ultimately adopting the role of mediator between the American and the Greek worlds. Her following passage, published in the community's anniversary album for which Diana collected interviews, compiled photographs and edits, testifies to the role of Diana as a legitimator of a
particular understanding of ethnicity and the ethnic presentation of the self
(The Annunciation, 1987).

We have observed that one of the reasons our festivals have such huge attendance is because we somehow represent that sense of cohesiveness that other groups have lost, and they flock to our doors to see how we think and behave. For example, the wearing of regional costumes has pretty much died out in Greece. A showing of Greek wedding costumes in this country is an enormous success among the American population. They have great curiosity and interest in whatever is different. We must not conceal or hide behind those traditions and practices which set us apart, but rather delight in them.

Diana's conservationist efforts concurred with a second golden era enjoyed by folklore in Greece. While in the 19th and the early 20th century "folklore" of a certain type was used as a tool to support an ideology of unbroken continuity between ancient and modern Greece (Herzfeld, 1982), the rediscovery of certain kinds of "folklore" that might have been termed "survivals" in an earlier time, in the 1960's were connected with the invention of a particular "tradition" as a central component of Greek identity and the construction of Greece as an exotic tourist destination. Folk dancing and folk spectacles disseminated in the media and public cultural life through folk spectacles and dance troops were instrumental in this process. This "discovery" of folklore is intimately linked with the introduction and the dissemination of the folkloric construction of Greek in the United States by American folk dance teachers. Pizanias (1996:34) describes this process:

it was American folklorists such as Ted Petrides and Rickey Holden during the 1960s who legitimized the new professional category of 'teacher of Greek folk dances'; it was they who first brought the fad and its legitimators to American campuses. And it was there that Greek male University students learned the syrtaki; later they danced it in Greek restaurants, and by late 1970s they took over the legitimators' function as the carriers of the 'authentic' folkloric tradition back to the Greek communities.
The masculine image of male syrtaki dancing, internationally recognized through the Kakoyiannis' film "Zorba the Greek," became the icon of the first Greek festival in Columbus. It has also been adopted by first and second generation Greek-American women who dance it in community social functions and Greek American dances. It was not only men, however, who assisted in the introduction of folk dancing in the Greek American communities. Women were also active in the process. Diana's role in this transnational process of cultural diffusion of the folk culture of Greece in diaspora communities has been crucial. The festival offered Diana an ideal social context to realize her passion for tradition and apply her skills.

The first festival was in 1973 and I just jumped right in for I thought that it was a neat idea and I had been to Greece a few times and from my experience as a good seamstress I had grown very interested in Greek costumes that was one of the things that fascinated me when I would go to Greece. We had not huge crowds but those who came enjoyed themselves and each year the numbers got greater and greater and returning brought friends and I felt my role was to promote the costumes or do the reproduction of a village home, and I did the χωριάτικο σπίτι (village home) because no-one else in the Greek community had any Greek costumes or had books about it or saw it, I was the only one who was doing that, so it was kind of natural if anyone had to get these κούκλες the mannequins you put the στολές (costumes) on them it will be me, nobody else had them, and I could tell among the Greek planners of the festival they tolerated me with some amusement, ἄς τὴν νὰ κάνει ὅτι θέλει εντάξει νὰ βάλει τὶς στολὲς εντάξει, εντάξει (let her do whatever she wants, alright let her be in charge of the costumes, all right, all right) this is her thing let her do it, but they were interested in making money and what I did, did not generate money so they were much more interested how many pastitsio we will make because we have to push the bar, and we need to get whiskey and κρασί (wine) because we gonna get money and what I had was more like a little museum exhibit and they would appropriate a little room for me and let me have that room, so if I didn't do the χωριάτικο σπίτι (Village Home) I would do a group of κούκλες (mannequins) and put costumes on them and then I will have πινακίδες, little placards, defining this is a wedding costume which was customarily worn, and I would have a theme each year, another year ὃλα ἀπὸ τὰ νησία (all island costumes) and next year I may have live girls walking
around in costumes to mingle so the public would see them on it, the public loved it.

Here, Diana evokes her pioneering interest in Greek folklore to naturalize her position as the community's unofficial folklorist. At the same time she draws a boundary between her folklorist interests and the orientation of the festivals' organizers. Diana is initially faced with amused tolerance, and is resignedly handed on the position of the community's unofficial folklorist, her authority stemming from her detailed knowledge and access to resources associated with Greek folklore. Diana evokes her position as a guardian of culture to become more Greek than the Greeks themselves who in business-like attitude are pre-occupied with money-making operations. Undertaking the folkloric representation of Greece becomes the domain of the other, who becomes an active agent of cultural representation of Greekness. This position is closely connected with Diana's understanding of the value of ethnicity in American society which offers her a vantage position vis-à-vis the organizers. While Greek wine and pastitsio generate immediate profit, cultural representation is an attraction, a long term investment - that will bring back the visitors, ensuring the festival a success. In a Greek festival which incorporates continuous formal and informal assessment of its events and holds exhibits and events on a trial basis, the popularity of her exhibits among festival visitors legitimizes her project and her cultural position in the community.

Authenticity and attention to social contexts is a main concern in Diana's cultural productions. In the costume and the "Village Home" exhibits she undertakes a contextual documentation of culture. Placards identify the exhibited items, their regional origins, and their functional use. Diana draws
from her large collection of illustrated books on Greek Folklore as a source to faithfully reconstruct traditional costumes. Attention to ethnographic accuracy and incorporation of cultural change (the addition of the phone in the island home) are additional elements attaching an authentic realism to her exhibits. Diana's concern involves the presentation to the visitor of a Greece the tourist has no opportunity to witness in his travels to the country.

I wanted to give an accurate description of what you might expect to see if you are an American traveler and go into the interior - not many people go to the villages - so I created a little village home in which I put these things I remember seeing in village houses I have been to; and I have to say I have been blessed in the sense that when we go back we stay in the village. There I mingle with the villagers and I use the facilities of the village... Most of the recent generations of the Greeks who come to America are city-bred and they come here for ανώτερες σπουδές (university studies); most of them have not been in village homes. When the villagers find out that I am interested in these things, πηγαίνουν στα μπαόλα και βγαίνουν άλα τα πράγματα, κουβέρτες, τα πάντα και τα στρώνουν κάτω στο πάτωμα και εγώ τα μελετάω (they go the trunks and all the things are taken out, blankets, everything, and they spread them on the floor and I study them), many are precious handiworks and are sold to foreigners.

Diana evokes yet another anthropological strategy, the authority of "being there"(Marcus and Cushman, 1982), to legitimize her central position in representing the Greek Other. Unlike Greek students, she "was blessed" with a first-hand experience of a house's interior folk culture. Diana's evocation of memory allows room for a partiality in the accuracy of her representations. Yet, the "Village House" purports to present the "inside" aspect of Greek tradition to the "foreign" traveler, and subsequently the festival visitor. Despite the claims of a "textbook" realism, the purported "authenticity" is an invented tradition. The exhibits are creative reconstructions of what village interiors might had looked like in the past. In the villages Diana visits, folk culture is displayed for the benefit of an interested outsider. It is not part of a
"natural" interior house decoration. Diana studies and collects the material, to subsequently rearrange them in a public display in the festival context. She actively constructs the "village home." In Diana's rhetoric, there are no criteria to measure authenticity. Festival visitors and American tourists have simply not been exposed to it. And urbanite natives are so far removed from tradition, that it is the festival context that reacquaints them with their culture. Once again, Diana adopts the position of the preservationist, guardian and promoter of Greek folk culture.

Presenting one's self as ethnic in the festival context involves the construction of difference. Costumes as a symbolic articulation of identity and signifiers of difference have become a medium of expressing ethnicity. Diana's earlier observation that even "Anglo-kids" wear ethnic costumes opens up another possibility for the relationship between descent and ethnicity. Cultural expression needs not to be confined to individuals of ethnic background. Diana, who during the interview made a point to identify herself as a person "with no Greek blood," capitalizes on this the break of isomorphism between genes and culture. This disassociation legitimizes her presenting herself in classical gowns and Greek traditional costumes, something that she regularly undertakes during the festival as well as during her presentations in American middle schools. Moreover, a number of "Greek" and "non-Greek" individuals have responded to Diana's invitation to dress in traditional garments during the festival. Their designated title as "festival Greeters" assigns them a role, informing and orienting the public of the festivals' features. This strategy, is not a product of the ethnic revival of the 1960's alone. Early on in her life, Diana had been exposed to representations of otherness through native costumes when attending missionary presentations.
During their furlough, missionaries used to dress in traditional costumes when describing their evangelical activities among non-western people. For Diana, traditional costumes are an ideal strategy to evoke difference:

Diana: I made the costumes and it lends a note of color if you see a girl coming down from the διαδρόμο (corridor) at the Greek festival dressed in these costumes, the visitors like that and they will often ask for a picture. I like that; I went to other festivals and the only people with costumes will be the dancers in the dance group, but no-one else, .... I like to see women in costumes moving around in the crowd. We seem to be the only festival that does that.

Yiorgos: Why is this significant?

Diana: Because it is eye catching, it catches the eye of the visitors; they are all used in seeing everybody walking in their blue jeans and their cotton shirts and of all sudden they see this lady walking in this beautiful outfit and they stop to admire it. We have a lot of people who ask us for pictures and I think it's a nice touch.

Diana goes on to comment about the process of costume selection for the Hellenic singers, a group which performs folk and liturgical songs during the festival:

Diana: Well I had to sit down with a committee and discussed ideas so I sat with my book and then we eliminated, you know this is too heavy, this I don't like the color, this is going to make us look fat, they wanted something that will make us, you know κομψό (elegant), so we looked for something to their liking.

Ethnic costumes then, appeal to the sensibilities of the visitors as well as the participants. The selection of costumes, which involves the active involvement of all participants becomes a matter of choice concerning questions of functional utility, beauty and elegance. It involves concerns of aesthetics rather than expression of particular regional identities. Tuleja (1997:8) calls this approach to symbols the "socio-aesthetic insight." This means that identity markers are commonly chosen not for any motivated (political, social, religious) reason, but for their more arbitrary feature of mere visibility. For symbols to serve simultaneously as community glue and
boundary markers, they must be at once expressive, publicly expressible, and mnemonically markable.

In a synecdochic fashion, regional costumes come to stand for expressions of Greek identity, thus canceling the potential of regional cultures to challenge the homogeneity of a national culture. This was evident in a meeting I participated in-between the costume selection committee, Diana and Vicky, the dance instructor, presided. The festival dancers and their parents were also present. Diana presented her audience with a selection of costumes from her book and took the time to explain to her audience the criteria she employed to come up with three final selections. In a measured and emphatic manner, Diana went into great detail about the costs involved, the degree of difficulty in making them, their appropriateness for a late summer performance and asked them to choose from a pool of selections. Clustered around the table were about twelve parents, who were involved in the selection of the costumes, often talking to each other, asking questions about why the costumes had to be replaced and leafing through Diana's book. Some commented on pictures of the dancers from last year's festival. One parent praised Diana's attention to detail and concern, saying how much she reminds her of Martha Steward, actually calling her a "Greek Martha Steward." Another parent asked her daughter whether she liked the pattern of a proposed costume. Yet another parent, addressing no one in particular, uttered that she is from Athens, and she would have liked the Amalia look. Vicky opted for an "island look," since islands costumes have not been "in the dancer's repertoire for a long time." When the consensus seemed to tilt towards a Cypriot design, the selected costumes were shown to the children, who, in the words of Diana, "did not run away screaming," and that sealed the
decision. In the resolve to wear a Cypriot costume in a festival which is presented as "touch of Greece in Columbus," the aesthetic considerations seem to override any other cultural or political concerns. There was an absence of commentary about Cyprus being a political entity distinct from that of Greece; and there was no concern that Greek-Cypriot culture, besides its cultural affinity with Greek culture, constitutes a regional manifestation of culture, quite distinct from Greek national culture. Regional variation thus is subsumed under a panhellenic construction of Greekness, measured by its aesthetic qualities.

Since her initial association with the Greek community, Diana has been involved in a number of activities concerning Greek cultural representation in Columbus. In the extensive media coverage of the festival she acts as the contact person, and is regularly featured in radio and television programs. She is in charge of church tours to interested groups. And since 1987 she has been appointed the community's historian, a title which gave Diana "sort of an official stamp" enabling her to "approach people and ask for things that we would like to compile, make archives in a depository located in the church building so that future generations that would like to know about immigrants who first established our community, we will have a place where they can look these things up." Diana's involvement in Greek cultural production is linked then with her social position within the Greek community and her role as a key gatekeeper in cultural representations in the festival and as a spokesperson on matters of Greek culture. In the cultural politics of the community, where talent and positioning within the community function strategically as resources for cultural and social production, Diana's undertaking of popular projects, and their successful delivery have endowed
her with legitimacy within the Columbus Greek American community. In her words:

I thought I was finally gaining an acceptance where people knew me by name and they would approach me and discuss things with me and they would invite me to be part of a committee or invite me to chair a committee because they felt I had the capabilities.

My discussion on Diana's involvement with the Greek Orthodox community addressed her concern over employing tradition as a tool for preserving difference and legitimizing ethnic identity. Yet the evocation of tradition in constructing the "Greek" is but one avenue of Greek cultural articulation. Knowledge about Greek culture circulated through readings of literary texts constitutes another component implicated in the construction and dissemination of Greek culture. Here I address this process in two such social contexts, a fund-raiser and the academic classroom as they have been addressed in the narratives of Kelly and Susan.

Kelly, who is an accomplished professional singer, has also been active in the cultural life of the church. She holds cooking demonstrations and dresses in traditional attire, she performs Greek songs during the Greek festival; her talents, widely appreciated by American and Greek audiences, have provided her the opportunity to adopt "a liaison position between the Greek and the American worlds." Kelly was recently invited to represent Greek culture in a fundraising event for the Columbus Ballet Met. The event, which was part of a series of dinners each having its own cultural theme, was "a Greek Isles evening" featuring catered Greek food and spirits, Greek music and the reading of literary travelogues related to Greece. This is how Kelly describes the process of her participation in the event: "The family hosting the dinner had been in the GALA dinner party [a kick-off dinner dance for
the festival] as our guests and knew about my singing Greek, so they invited me to participate; their connection with Greece was through us." In this $150-200 per couple event (Kelly could not remember the exact cover-charge) Kelly sang with another community member, Sotire, on the accordion and read passages from this "fabulous book," Patricia Storace's *Dinner with Persephone*. Kelly believes this book can "evocatively capture" the culture and history of Greece and she has given me a copy as a gift. She relates how her reading of passages related to *Retsina* (Greek resinated wine) and Dionysus, fit the theme and spirit of the evening.

Kelly: Another thing, I was telling the story of Dionysus, isn't Dionysus the God of wine, yeah, and we were drinking a lot of wine at the table and some were getting very loud and obnoxious ... anyway and I read the story of Dionysus, the story has some sort of moral connotation.

In Storace's (1996:153-154) book, the tale of Dionysus is one among many stories told to her by Greeks during her travels in the country. Storace quotes it as it was told by a Greek man:

> the god made the first wine and gave it to the people to drink. And the miracle of the drink came from the way the god had brought it to Naxos [a Greek island]. Because when people drink wine, at first they sing and rejoice like birds. And when they drink more they become as strong as lions, and as ready to fight, and when they drink still more, they act exactly like asses.

Storace, rather unreflectively, dismisses the story as an example of folk transfiguration of an ancient myth to a "moralizing Christian story":

> Basil [the narrator] hits the table with his fist, loving his punch line. I think it is funny too, but more because it seems comic to hear such a moralizing Christian story about that outstandingly amoral god, Dionysus. The god of frenzied inspiration is here used to convey the village equivalent of a message against drunk driving.

Storace's anthropological bend is illustrated in this passage, as she assumes the role of the cultural interpreter, translating a Greek system of signification to an "American" prescription against drunk driving. Yet, her
interpretation neglects to consider the Greek theme of proportion exemplified by the tension between denial and excess operating in the tale. According to Stapleton (1978:69), Euripides' "The Bacchae" places Dionysus in center stage to convey the Greek awareness that the "dangers of denial" of the instincts "were equaled by the danger of excess." The moral connotation then brought forward by Kelly to comment on the rowdy behavior in the fundraising could be seen as an evocation of the Greek theme of proportion as much as Christian morality tale.

The event's theme testifies to the popularity of the Greek Islands as a favorite tourist destination and High Society's acceptance of it. Moreover, the representation of Greece through literature and travelogues constitutes part of a tradition in which Greece becomes a literary topos of the traveler's imagination. The writings of Henry Miller and Lawrence Durrell inspired travelers to visit Greece and shaped their paths in the discovery of the country. As Leontis (1997:vii) points in her introduction to the anthology of Greek literary writings on Greek places and people, "Greece is a country thoroughly labeled by foreign travelers' accounts."

Kelly's reading from Storace's book testify to the popularity of western travelogues as commonplace references to Greek culture. Yet drawing a moral from the story constitutes an interesting intervention in the largely tourist orientation of the fund-raiser. Kelly's evocation of Dionysus interjects a moral lesson of conduct drawing from a body of popular wisdom grounded in the Greek tradition.

Moreover, the event provides a context in which Kelly repositions herself vis-à-vis her social identity. The following exchange is a telling case in point.
Kelly: and we were drinking a lot of wine at the table and some were getting very loud and obnoxious...

Yiorgos (interrupts): Was it an American audience?

Kelly: Oh! yeah! we were the only Greeks there, my husband and I [hesitation, laugh] I am saying I am Greek (laugh)

Yiorgos: Do you feel Greek?

Kelly: I feel like a liaison more than anything because I am one of everybody else but I also feel Greek; you know it's good to spread the knowledge .... anyway and I read the story of Dionysus ....

How to interpret Kelly's incredulity of her self-ascription as Greek? Is it that Kelly "catches" herself contradicting her earlier identification as a "macaroni and cheese" American? Is it that her hesitation in designating herself as "Greek" is due to the "presumed" identity of her interlocutor as a "Greek-Greek?" There have been instances during my fieldwork that point to the latter possibility. In Greek American discourse on identity, the self-ascription as a Greek is a matter of selective, contextual construction of identity. In a session in an adult Greek language class I taught, a Greek American related to the class that in Greece he avoids identifying himself as Greek, a self-ascription he commonly assumes in the American context. Identifying as a Greek without speaking the language and understanding the culture, he reasoned, would not make him pass as a Greek in Greece. And in literary explorations on the meaning of "being Greek," even speaking Greek with an accent does not make a diaspora Greek, "hundred percent Greek" (Kallifatides, 1997:78). Self-identification then is contextual and depends on the interpretive frameworks in which it is formulated.

Yet, Kelly builds on my question to elaborate on her position vis-à-vis her Greek identity. Kelly's adoption of multiple identities positions should be understood within the context of postmodern articulation of ethnic identity in
the United States. In the ascriptive racial economy of the U.S., Kelly can "choose" to identify as a Greek. Not only her contextual adoption of a [white] ethnic identity carries no social cost, as Mary Waters has pointed out, but it carries the prestige of assuming a central role in a high society celebration. Kelly's narrative points to an emerging understanding of Greekness. Becoming Greek is not a matter of descent, or traditional practices. It becomes a matter of "spreading the knowledge" about things Greek which can be achieved by one's positioning between the two worlds. This positioning, which Kelly undertakes as a liaison, does not simply involve the performative presentation of Greek culture. It entails, as Kelly's evocation of the moral ramifications of the story of Dionysus indicates, a particular interpretation of a body of knowledge drawn from the Greek literary tradition.

Kelly's multiple positions include the projection of a Greek identity which she situationally evokes for particular audiences. Susan's relationship with the Greek culture also involves multiple, yet different, associations with the Greek world. Susan's academic training in classics and modern Greek studies exemplifies her unwillingness to draw a sharp line between the ancient and the modern. Classical studies, which Susan pursued in undergraduate and graduate studies at the University of Madison and the Ohio State University respectively, and Neohellenism which Susan explored through literature and culture courses and her internship during a college semester in Greece constitute the axis of her learning about the Greek world. It was at the time of her residency in the college program in Greece that Susan locates her bifocal position, making her understand that "Greece is everything, both ancient and modern, little and big." Susan, who speaks ancient Greek and is fluent in modern Greek, associates herself with both
cultures. The former was pursued in a "tough academic environment," where she was trained to "think critically and in abstract terms." Susan was exposed to the "little traditions" of modern Greek culture through her immersion in the everyday life of a Greek village where she learned traditional crafts and observed the social lives of the villagers through the ethnographic method of participant observation. Traditional life is "a source that enriched" Susan's life, adding a layer of meaning absent in her upbringing in a Wisconsin farming town:

I grew up in a little white family and a little Lutheran church, there was not much of a tradition behind everything we did - what we did, we did - and we never talked about what grandpa and grandma did, and there was no history behind what we did.

Upon her return to the United States, Susan sought to integrate modern Greek culture in her academic as well as social life. She started taking courses in modern Greek language and literature and she associated herself with the Greek community in Madison by working as a waitress in a Greek restaurant and regularly attending the religious and social functions of the community. The search for continuity was extended upon her move to Columbus where she pursued a Masters in Classics while continuing to take Greek literature courses in the modern Greek studies program at the Ohio State University. Furthermore, in search of ways to connect with Greek culture she sought to associate with the Greek community in Columbus and contemplated studying anthropology to be able to undertake ethnographic work in Greece. However, she abandoned her anthropological aspirations citing the strong ethical problems she was confronted with while witnessing anthropological practice in a Greek village: "You know, I felt that it was like an exploitation; the anthropologist was invited to a dinner and the people thought that they had
conversations, and then the anthropologist would take notes back at home. I would have a hard time coping with that." Susan has also discontinued her effort to join the Columbus Greek community. She compares her reception in the close-knit Greek community in Madison with that in Columbus: "When I went to church [in Madison] people asked me who are you and we would love to have you more often while in Columbus they just looked at me, it was not worth the energy to get these people to accept me." Susan, who describes herself as someone who "needs to feel welcomed," projects a particular mode of conduct as a determining factor in her decision to join professional and social circles. Scribbling ethnographic notes behind the 'natives' backs'' and being treated as a stranger in a Greek community constitute ethical and social boundaries precluding further social involvement.

Susan's current professional training as a teacher is yet another avenue with the potential to make her knowledge of Greek culture "a viable part of [her] life." She considers the incorporation of her training in Greek literature into her teaching as a vital intellectual project. Her exasperation with particular educational approaches which propose an experience-centered learning as the core of multicultural education in the country leads Susan to launch a trenchant critique:

A professor who teaches urban and gifted education stresses multicultural education which involves teaching the kids about things that are familiar to them but also have an added layer of abstract thinking on top of it; but I think that the people in my classes don't understand that, they don't have any concept of that and they really think that multicultural education means you got so many Hispanic kids you teach this much Hispanic history and then you got so many black kids and you teach this much black history and blah blah blah, and it is like if you just give these little facts and this is like giving them a little pat on the head and saying that's okay. We have made everybody happy; but they don't understand that even high school kids need more than that; and it's not about the student being able to talk only about his or her experience; it's about the person being able to understand beyond
personal experience; and a kid from the inner city isn't going to be able to read the Odyssey and necessarily be able to understand it in terms of his life, but it is the teacher's job to make it multicultural, to make all the things that you teach relevant to the kids; but then this process is really hard, and it's not just say oh' doesn't this make you feel good now that you got to think about yourself and talk about yourself today. You definitely need more.

For Susan, the broadening of the educational canon to incorporate narratives of particular ethnic and racial groups provides the means to enhance the children's identity. While the inclusion of other voices results in a "feel good" attitude about one's own identity, Susan locates the shortcomings of this approach on its inability to reflect on the intellectual ramifications of multicultural education. She tells me: "I ask why do they teach Martin Luther King, and they tell me it's because it is Martin Luther King, and why do you teach Jane Eyre, because it is Jane Eyre." For Susan the question that multicultural education should face lies not solely on the content of the teaching but more importantly on the method of teaching it. She tells me that the "emphasis on experience-centered" personal narratives as the core of multicultural education lacks intellectual rigor, resulting in "non-sophisticated" descriptions and "the loss of the ability for abstract thinking."

Susan strongly feels that she can contribute by "adding a layer of abstract thinking by exploring larger social issues through literature," an ability she attributes to her training. "We can draw from Odyssey to explore the meaning of "home" or "Antigone to explore the issue of 'justice,'" the way we did it in our seminar, Susan said referring to a graduate level course we took together which drew from the Greek literary tradition to address "Justice and authority in Greek Thought." "I can take this into my classroom and teach kids to think critically about the world," she continues "because the stories are more universal and you can draw parallels, teaching in isolation will not work; the
kids could see something of another culture in that and incorporate it into their lives."

Susan's narrative testifies to her emergent position on the relationship between social action and Greek culture. Her narrative explorations go beyond identity and performative articulations of ethnicity, pointing instead towards the professional dissemination of knowledge of Greek letters which she views as an intervention in current social and educational debates. Greek culture becomes a resource in which Susan has invested personal and professional interest. It is one among many conduits that enrich her life and connect her with particular social worlds. As Susan's aborted efforts for multiple engagements with Greek culture indicate, however, the intersection of private and public is contingent upon the availability of the appropriate social context. While Susan refuses to draw a dividing line between the classical and the Neohellenic, social circumstances have largely relegated the latter to a private domain. As she tells me cooking Greek food, listening to music and reading Greek novels are activities increasingly attached with a nostalgic evocation of emotions she connects with her association with Greek culture. On the other hand, her academic training and professional qualifications enable her to pursue the former and activate it in a public forum through teaching.

**Discussion**

My aim in this discussion has been to maintain a tension between particular understandings of Greek culture and Greece and their translation into social action. I pointed out the importance of social context in shaping how particular individuals come to understand and engage with Greek culture.
and, whenever applicable, I discussed the discourses which enable this knowledge. The knowledge of the "Greek" these individuals activate with various degrees of commitment, does not take place, however, in a social vacuum. The actors situate themselves socially and materially in various ways vis-à-vis the Greek world, negotiating, accepting or selectively rejecting some of its aspects. This led me to take into account the contexts enabling their differing activation of their particular kinds of knowledge about the "Greek" and commented on their role in Greek social and cultural production.

Barbara's valuation of ethnic heritage, coupled with Matt's cultural attachment and her philosophy of "being together" constitute the axis of Barbara's commitment to engage with Greek culture. Kelly's attachment to the religious and cultural life of the Greek Orthodox community complement her class and social position which enable her to adopt a liaison role between Greek and American cultures. Jackie's material and social position within the networks of the Ikarian diaspora have led her to take an active role in the formation of gender and regional identities. Jan's professional training and her involvement in Greek social networks have informed her position as an interpreter of Greek culture which she activates in inter-personal contacts. Diana's extensive engagement with Greek cultural production has afforded her a position of authority and power within the community.

The social actors whose narratives I have discussed are operating in locations enabled by the discourse of multiculturalism. The festival, the ethnic fund-raiser and the classroom setting all capitalize on the currency of ethnicity in the American society. And for all of these actors culture constitutes a domain encapsulating the creation and dissemination of both personal and public meanings. Yet the knowledge they activate through the
pursuit of Greek culture is of different order. Jan sees cultural difference as a
dynamic construct subject to negotiation. Diana projects tradition as an
embodiment of Greekness and a marker of absolute cultural difference. While
disrupting the isomorphism between descent and culture, she constructs the
"Greek" as an absolute Other. While Kelly participates in the construction of
difference in the context of the festival and the fund-raiser, she also draws
from literary traditions to disseminate Greek culture as a body of knowledge
that can be shared and activated as social action within an American social
setting. Susan adds two additional layers to this position. First she brings
forward her professional training in matters of Greek literature in the
dissemination of Greek-related knowledge, and second she is active in the
circulation of this knowledge to a much more inclusive social audience than
that of Kelly's.

The discourse of culture in these narratives intersects with discourses
on heritage, class and ethnicity to complicate our understandings of culture.
On the one hand, culture is seen by these individuals as an integral part of a
wider historical and material process. Culture in Jackie's narrative is
contingent on the construction of ethnicity in society, while for Diana it is
inseparable from traditions and the past. In view of the consequences enjoyed
through Diana's involvement with culture, culture emerges as a set of
practices intimately interwoven with issues of ethnicity and social capital.
And in Kelly's case, social class and ethnicity work together to enable
articulations of Greek culture. Yet, on the other hand, culture seems to be
understood as an autonomous, distinct domain. Although Jan draws from
American culture to frame her interpretations of the "Greek," she ultimately
declares herself a person without cultural ties. "Whiteness" is perceived as an
"empty" category devoid of cultural content while one finds culture within the domain of the ethnic. Yet, the ethnic as ancestral heritage is a resource upon which one draws (Jan) or has "lost" through the passing of generations. Greek heritage is often presented as a "living," and "continuing" culture and tradition operating in a variety of social contexts. Greek culture is understood on its own terms or more often through individual understandings of the geopolitical map, modernity and appropriate social conduct. Moreover, we witness an emerging divide in the understanding of Greek culture. To be sure, as Diana's case indicates, culture as a tradition and set of practices is located at the intersection of the private and the public. Yet in Susan's narrative we witness a subtle separation between culture as a set of traditions meaningful to individual lives and culture as learning articulated in a social context. The former is attached with personal significance centering the individual, while the latter becomes a resource to fuel wider intellectual and social projects of central importance in the individual's public life.
CONCLUSION

The social and political implications of studies on the social construction of whiteness are far-reaching. The examination of the social basis of race-based inequalities can combat racism. The exposure of legal and discriminatory social practices leading to "white privileges" can be employed to justify programs such as affirmative action, and the critique of the rigidity of racial classifications can open the conceptual site for imagining the abolition of race as the basis of social organization. I situate my study within the field of "white studies" in two respects. First, the discussion on the inclusion of the Greek immigrants in the white American community adds to the growing number of studies addressing the "whitening" of particular groups. Second, my emphasis on the meaning attached to Hellenism by Greek Americans and "non-Greek" social actors seeks to intervene to a tendency to think "whiteness" as a homogeneous cultural space.

Chapter Two addresses the processes by which racial classifications are activated in the encounter between the dominant culture and immigrants from the margins of Europe, illustrating that the construction of identity takes place within a complex configuration of power. In the Greek case, becoming white not only necessitated the activation of a discourse which sought to
contest representations of Greek immigrants as members of an inferior race, it also required the presentation of discursive as well as material evidence of the right to claim a white status. Whiteness, as "the ultimate symbol of superiority and as the legitimizing authority and mobilizing ideology for national imperial and colonial enterprises," imposes a demand upon those who wish to claim part of it (Bonnett, 1998:1044).

I argued that two historical contingencies enabled early Greek immigrants to present themselves as legitimate members of the white American community. First, the claim of a biological continuity between ancient and modern Greeks served as a rhetorical strategy to differentiate Greek immigrants from their southeastern European counterparts and consequently to contest their representation as a degenerate race. In addition to national exceptionalism, the claims to biological continuity served yet another function. It enabled the immigrants to transcend their ethnic identification by making available to them a legitimate claim to the universal ideals of Hellenism. The argument that Greek immigrants were Hellenes, and therefore the cultural predecessors of American ideals, was ultimately supported by the quick ascent of the Greek immigrants from laborers to small business owners. This economic reality served as a catalyst to the social Darwinism of American assimilationism. The icon of the immigrant as a successful members of middle class served as the ultimate evidence that the immigrants were Hellenes because they were able to fulfill their cultural and economic contract with America.

I would like to further comment on what I perceive as two additional implications associated with "whiteness studies." First, any work, including my own, which addresses the discrimination experienced by Euroethnic
groups in the past may be used as an ideological strategy racializing the relative success of previously maligned ethnic groups. Such a use could posit a common history of victimization to all groups, to subsequently confer honors to socio-economically successful groups and stigmatize others. I would like to strongly caution against such an interpretation. As I pointed out in my discussion, we should remember that southeastern European immigrants negotiated their place in a racial order which was already hierarchical at the turn of the 20th century. Although they were initially classified as non-white, they did not experience the systematic institutionalized racism reserved for American Indian and black people.

Second, the category "white" carries a homogenizing function. It could serve to cancel cultural differences and disguise hierarchies that might be embedded within "white" populations. My work in Chapter Three seeks to disrupt such a monolithic view. Through an in-depth analysis of the world view of three individuals I have argued that cultural particularities criss-cross the space of whiteness. I have shown that Hellenism and Neohellenism offer themselves as meaningful cultural resources from which individuals draw to attach meaning to their lives. My discussion on the construction of Greek cultural identities suggests that "white" ethnic identities, as a constellation of values and beliefs, can inform the social imagination and permeate their practices and life choices. While I recognize the contextual, shifting, and conscious aspects operating in the articulation of "white" identities, I would like to caution against any view that relegates "white ethnicity" as role playing and as a personally-meaningful but socially inconsequential adherence to a set of traditional customs.
In comparing the findings of the Second and Third Chapters we can identify two diverse uses of Hellenism. While the affiliation of Greek immigrants with Hellenism largely served as a rhetorical strategy to accommodate the immigrants in the racial space of whiteness, contemporary social actors emphasize the social meanings they personally attach to Hellenism. While in the former case Hellenism was evoked to transcend ethnic affiliation, the latter case embodies an ironic reversal: Hellenism is evoked to stress the cultural particularity of the Greeks within the category "whiteness."

The analysis of the narrative excerpts I recorded offer an opening for an incipient conceptualization of identity beyond ethnic (i.e. racial) affiliation. Here, an individual's identity is assigned on the basis of her positioning within a cultural world view rather than a biologically ascribed category. This finding carries important implications since it breaks away from an ascriptive construction of social identity. It helps us imagine a social world where identity is a matter of cultural affiliation and not a fixed entity ascribed at birth on the basis of phenotypical criteria.

The findings of this chapter also point to a multivocality in the operation of cultural identities. Rather than being determined by a particular culture, social actors draw complex connections from diverse cultural traditions. Therefore, the notion of "cultural connectivity" enables us to understand the creative fusion, juxtaposition or negotiations individuals could undertake with available and diverse cultural resources.

The notion of "cultural connectivity" intervenes in our conceptualization of what is normally described as "white Americans." In Chapter Four I have shown that "ethnic cultures" offer themselves as a
meaning-making resource for the "non-Greek" individuals I interviewed. Here, the definition of "ethnic" is understood in contrast to the dominant Anglo-American or northern European cultures. This finding points to a process of ethnicization in American culture where ethnic cultures become the primary sources of self-identification. My analysis collaborates Yanow's (1998:117) insight that "[t]he once-demeaning hyphen has become almost a mark of status. As essayist Ehrenreich (1992) recently noted, 'it [has] begun to seem almost un-American not to have some sort of hyphen at hand, linking one to more venerable times and locales.'" My contribution to these discussions lies to the recognition that ethnic descent is not necessarily a factor determining an individual's cultural affiliation. The notion of "cultural connectivity" can be fruitfully employed in this respect to underline the notion that individuals can develop multiple links with cultures irrespective of their ethnic descent.

Chapter Four identifies the institutional sites where "cultural connectivity" is produced. Intermarriage and transnational travel are such sites. Locations enabled by the discourse of multiculturalism such as the ethnic festival and the classroom offer themselves as yet other such sites. My findings in this chapter show that the translation of "cultural connectivity" into social practices can have significant impact on the cultural and educational constitution of American society. In their divergent understanding of the other, in this case Greek culture, the social actors I interviewed contribute to the construction of a diverse public life. Through the curating of exhibits, the articulation of moral lessons, and the teaching of culture through texts they actively contribute to the making of a pluralistic society.
Chapter 1. Towards an Ethnography of Greek America: Methodological Concerns and Research Questions

1 Here I follow Agnew's and Duncan's (1989:2) definition of locale as "the most central element of place sociologically," that is "settings for everyday routine social interaction provided in a place." In this sense, settings such as the coffeehouse, the ethnic neighborhood or the anthropological unit par excellence, the village, qualify as locales. Agnew's and Duncan's call to social geographers and sociologists to examine the interrelationship between the three dimensions of place, location ("the spatial distribution of social and economic activities"), locale and sense of place (meanings attached to lived-in places) is relevant to anthropologists as well. Their observation that "Local social worlds (locale) cannot be completely understood apart from the macro-order of location and the territorial identity of sense of place" resonates with anthropological concerns with documenting the interworkings between the micro-process of local meanings and the macro-processes of history and the world political and economic systems (Marcus and Fischer, 1986).

2 The rethinking of ethnographic methodologies is intimately connected with conceptual reformulations of anthropology's central analytical unit, culture. Challenges to the notion of a holistic, intersubjectively shared culture (see Ulf Hannerz, 1989, "Notes on the Global Ecumene." Public Culture 1(2):66-75 and R. Thornton, 1988, "The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism." Cultural Anthropology 3(3):285-303) have been followed by efforts to reformulate the focus of anthropological inquiry. As the isomorphism between space, place and culture has been challenged, so that the concept of culture has been viewed as a device for creating otherness. Thinking "beyond culture" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997. "Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology," Duke University Press) and "writing against culture" (Abu-Lughod, 1991) have respectively become the metaphors capturing an anthropology coming to terms with cultural complexity, fragmentation, deterritorialization, and the changing nature of cultural reproduction.

3 The total ethnic population in a given locality comprises a παροικία (settlement) (Hasiotis, 1993). Those settlers and their descendants who become members of a Greek Orthodox parish comprise the community (κοινότητα), which is the most prominent organizational form of Greeks in the country. Group membership in the community is structured around various degrees of
inclusion. Social boundaries are context specific and may form hierarchical zones of group inclusion. While criteria for group membership include Greek descent and community participation, "church [membership] is the single most defining [attribute] of the ethnic group's social boundaries" (Collins, 1976:344).

4 Attention to texts produced by natives is gaining momentum. An interest in autobiography has led anthropologists to view diaries as ethnographic testimonies against state repression (Kideckel, 1997) and life stories as commentaries on the gendered position of diasporic cultural identities (Driessen, 1997). Yet Clifford's suggestion has received only scant attention in Greek and Greek American ethnography. Although the reasons for this neglect are beyond the scope of this work, one can only wonder how the incorporation of the knowledge circulated through native texts would have affected the ethnographic representation of Greek social life. A recent notable exception incorporates ethnographic with literary analysis of native texts (Hertzfeld, 1997) thus exposing the potential of texts to complicate anthropological constructions of neat cognitive taxonomies, challenge anthropological assumptions of villagers as shielded by historical events, and national or transnational ideologies, protest the analysis of villages as passive, unconscious carriers of traditional practices as well as direct our attention to multilocality, and the relationship between ideology and conscious social agency.

5 There is a whole range of self-ascriptions activated within Greek-America. For consistency I employ the strategy adopted by Chock (1986a:201): "Terms for 'American of Greek descent,' the expression preferred by some American-born Greek Americans, also include 'Greek American,' Hellenic American,' and 'Greek.' 'Greek' is also used for 'Greeks from Greece.' In the interest of economy I use 'Greek American' for the first category and 'Greek' for the second..." I have also come across terms of self-ascription such as "American-Greek" and "Greek-Greek" to denote American-born and Greek-born individuals. Differences or similarities in the meanings attached to these identities will appear in my presentation of individual narratives on identity and culture.

6 I have come across the Historical Albums in the Ohio Historical Society, the Columbus Public Library, and the Immigration Research Center in Minnesota.

7 That is competition in legitimizing disciplines and effecting the circulation of knowledge in the public sphere. In respect to contributions to public debates, for example, journalists and writers with strong anthropological interests addressing "those social and cultural issues that fall squarely within the anthropological domain" have "edged out the arguably more authoritative voice of anthropologists" (Ahmed and Shore, 1995:21-23).

8 According to Nash (1989:10), "index features such as dress and language, "must be easily seen, grasped, understood, and reacted to in social situations. The index features implicate or summarize less visible, less socially apparent aspects of the group."

10 The festival is regularly advertised in tourist brochures as a Columbus multicultural attraction. It generates profits between $100,000 and 150,000 annually.

11 "In the 1988 election, supporters of Republican candidate George Bush, an English American, poked fun at the Greek ancestry and name of Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis" (in Feagin, 1997: 27).

12 Festivals and parades (Coggeshall, 1993; Schulyz, 1994; Sinke, 1992) have become the primary means where ethnic identity among the descendants of European immigrants is publicly marked (Fandetti and Gelfand, 1983; Kivisto, 1989; Scourby, 1989).

13 While I agree that ethnic celebrations operate within a racialized framework, a number of cultural trends such as ecotourism among Native Americans and cultural tourism in "Old Harlem," the "Black Quarters in New Orleans" and "Little Puerto Rico" problematize the duality of Urcioh's model.

14 There is an effort within the discourse of ethnic and racial studies towards bringing back "race" as a central analytical category. This project critically targets to undermine the analytical priority of the "ethnicity paradigm," that is the positing of ethnicity as the focus to theorize diversity. Yet this critique rejects any socially meaningful relevance of "white" ethnic diversity. Cultural pluralism is solely seen as the hegemonic rhetorical strategy "articulating the myth of oneness via precisely the empty-all purpose signifiers of diversity, pluralism, etc." (San Juan, 1991:222).

15 The view of a social entity as a network approximates Appadurai's (1988) notion of ethnoscape. He proposes five neologisms to theorize the interrelationships between configurations constituted by the flow of people ("ethnoscapes"), technology ("technoscapes"), capital ("financscapes"), information, ideas and images ("mediascapes"), political ideologies ("ideoscapes"). Here, I employ his concept of network/ethnoscape in its widest possible meaning for the work it does to "substitute for earlier 'wholes' such as villages, communities, and localities" (Appadurai, 1991:209). The notion of perspectivism accommodated by these concepts informs my own analytical emphasis: "these terms with the common suffix -scape also indicate that these are not objectively given relations which look the same from every angle of vision, but rather that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities as well as ... the individual actor is the last locus of this perspectival set of landscapes by agents who both experience and constitute larger formations, in part by their own sense of what these landscapes offer" (Appadurai, 1988:23-24).
Chapter 2. From Greek Immigrants to American Hellenes: Cultural Politics and Immigrant Legitimation

1 Robert Eisner (1991:6), who himself was married in Greece asks: "[what is it that] makes a couple go to so much trouble to get married in Greece, on the road instead of home?" As my ethnographic vignette illustrates, Greek diaspora communities seem to offer themselves as alternative places hosting weddings in a classical setting.

2 In the 1820s, philhellenic sentiments swept American Romantic Hellenism during "Greek fever" - the enthusiastic support of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire (Larrabee, 1957:65). In the eyes of the philhellenes, some of whom fought in the war, the Greek cause was seen as an effort to regenerate ancient Hellas in the "holy soil" of Greece; the support to the Greek efforts to create a nation-state was displayed through pro-Greek editorials in American papers, literary support through romantic poetry, volunteers who fought in the war, town meetings on behalf of the Greeks (the Greek cause was likened to the American revolution), public benefit concerts, and the formation of committees which played a central role in the war relief effort. American philhellenes financed the transportation and the subsequent education of a number of Greeks children (some of them were orphans of the war) in America. Under the tutelage and financial assistance of their hosts, these children assimilated in American culture and religion; many of them returned to Greece to join American colleges and Protestant mission centers.

3 The Hull House Theater played a central role in supporting Greek culture in Chicago. Operated by Jane Adams, who "gave special attention" to the immigrants and espoused Greek culture, the Theater staged Greek classical productions and "did much to buttress the ethnic pride of the sorely tried Greek immigrants of Chicago" (Moskos, 1989:21).

4 This description is attributed to the sculptor Lorado Taft (in Kopan, 1990:120-21). In his exaltation of Greek continuity, Taft has a very specific audience in his mind, namely those who challenged the continuity between ancient and modern Greeks, and classified Greek immigrants as an inferior and debased race. I further address the debates on the status of the modern Greek immigrants in relation to the ancient Greeks in the course of this chapter.

5 The 1920s witnessed a wide spread popularity of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization which "stressed the supremacy of the white 'Nordic' and the Protestant; it was opposed to the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic" (Gossett, 1963:371). By 1923 the membership of the Klan was estimated at between three and six million persons. Among academic circles in the period, the intelligence test was the most powerful academic tool validating the racist view that "all the non-Nordic races were inferior" (374).

6 Behdad (1997) argues that the cultural discourse on immigration in America serves a dual function. On the one hand, the figure of the immigrant "alien" provides the "differential signifier" by which the nation defines itself...
and around which a particular American national identity is constructed. On the other hand, the issue of immigration activates regulatory practices which legitimize the disciplinary power of the state. In this manner, identification and regulation serve to link the "split between the nation and the state with its cyclical history of tolerance and exclusion" (156).

7 The tactics and strategies of nativist racism, its violence against southeastern European immigrants and its eventual institutional domination over the assimilationists have become the object of considerable scholarly attention, particularly since the latest resurgent nativist incidents in the country (Bendersky, 1995; Perea, 1997).

8 It was only after World War II economic and social restructuring of American society, that the category of "whiteness" and its associated social and economic privileges were extended to include even the most assiduously discriminated against group of the immigrants, the Jews (Sacks, 1994). An earlier (mid-19th century) case study involving the social construction of whiteness among European immigrant groups is that of the Irish. Ignatiev (1995) addresses the racial classification of mid 19th century Irish immigrants by emphasizing the relationship between constructions of racial status and the labor market. He argues that the process of the "whitening" of the Irish should be seen contrastively, in terms of what constituted "non-blackness." While the Irish enjoyed the rights to citizenship, to vote, to run for a political office and owe businesses, processes from which African-Americans were legally excluded, it was their place within the labor market that carried significant implications for their "white" status. Since "The distinction between those who did and those who did not have access to the most dynamic area of the economy became a principal element defining 'race' in the North" the Irish, through their participation and influence in labor unions, sought to occupy a distinct place in the labor force that was marked as a "white man's work" (115-6). As Ignatiev puts it, "To be acknowledged as white, it was not enough for the Irish to have a competitive advantage over Afro-Americans in the labor market; in order for them to avoid the taint of blackness it was necessary that no Negro be allowed to work in occupations where Irish were to be found. Still better was to erase the memory that Afro-Americans had ever done those jobs" (112).

9 A total of about 400,000 overwhelmingly male Greek nationals migrated to the U.S.A between 1890 and 1920. During this period, a considerable number of Greeks originating outside of what was then the Greek Kingdom immigrated to the United States, but their numbers cannot be estimated with any accuracy because immigration census classified immigrants according to their nationality. A number of these immigrants were Ottoman subjects who fled Asia Minor to escape the 1908 decree that Greeks must serve the Turkish army. Charles Moskos (1989:13) identifies three major immigration routes and patterns of employment among these early Greek immigrants:

- a) Greeks going to the Western states to work on railroad gangs and in mines;
- b) Greeks going to New England mill towns to work in the textile and shoe factories;
- c) Greeks who went to the large Northern cities, principally New
York and Chicago, and worked in factories, or found employment as busboys, dishwashers, bootblacks, and peddlers."

10 As Almaguer (1994) reminds us, it will be a serious limitation to view the American social construction of races solely in terms of a "white-black" duality. Internal conquest, colonization and immigration from Asia and Europe constituted the wider historical forces framing the incorporation of the Native American Indians, Spanish-speaking populations and immigrants from Asia within a hierarchical system of racial classification. In California's racial system, for example, the differential position of immigrants and local populations along "racial fault lines" was determined by their culture's and religion's respective proximity to the dominant group of white settlers. Almaguer's notion of "racial fault lines," is particularly useful in explaining the remarkable rate of socioeconomic mobility observed among Greek immigrants in the South (Odzak, 1994). In the presence of a large and heavily discriminated African-American population, immigrants from Southeastern Europe were situated in the fault line between the "white-black" continuum. Within this system they were to exploit wider economic niches than African-Americans, catering their business in both white and the "colored district" (16).

11 Omi and Winant (1987:64) introduce the term "racialization" to denote "the extension of racial meanings to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group."

12 By the term Western Hellenism I refer to a discourse which posits ancient Greece as the foundational precursor of the West's political, cultural and philosophical heritage.

13 Aryanism is a racist ideology which was popularized in Europe by the French writer Gobineau (1816-1882) and the English-born political philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927). Aryanism posited the existence of a superior Aryan (Sanskrit for "noble people") race which found contemporary representation in Northern European people. Aryanism was adopted as the foundational ideology of the Nazi movement.

14 The centrality of ancient Hellas in the process of nation-state building among 19th century Greek diaspora intellectuals is discussed by Jusdanis (1991b). The hegemonic role of Europe on the Hellenic identity of the modern Greeks and the latter's response to the European project is discussed by Herzfeld (1987).

15 Claims of Greek cultural continuity were central in the process of the Greek nation-state formation as a modern European country. Since the Hellenic civilization was central to European identity, the legitimation of the modern Greek nation-station necessitated a great deal of investment in proving that modern Greeks were the direct, pure descendants of the ancient Hellenes. The ideological uses of folklore to foster a Greek cultural continuity have been addressed by Herzfeld (1982) and Danforth (1984). Margaret Alexiou (1974) has produced a meticulous ethnohistoric documentation of diachronic continuities in Greek cultural practices.
In its racialization of the "new immigrants," Aryanism proved to be particularly resilient in its ability to appropriate anthropological typologies of European morphological variations and turn them into racial hierarchies. Thus, the strict morphological classification of the European people in three European races (The Teutonic or Nordic Race of northern Europe, the Alpine race included southern Germans, Celts, and Slavs and the Mediterranean race), produced by the "scientific gospel" of the era, Ripley's "The Races of Europe" (1915), was appropriated by racist thinkers to reflect inherent racial inequalities (Bendersky, 1995:137). Thus, in the terminology of the era, the Nordic "long headed dolicocephalic races from the zoological zone of Northern Europe" were posited as the superior type of all European races (Bendersky, 1995:137).

As Alastair Bonnett (1998:1040) points out, the racial science developed around the notion of Aryanism "contradicted Europeans' attempt to claim an exclusive stake in whiteness." This understanding of whiteness as an attribute of a wider racial group was undermined by a popular discourse "affirming European racial supremacy and by its own proponents' tendency to find Europeans to be the most authentic and best exemplars of the white race." We should understand Bonnett's concern with non-European whiteness within the framework of his project to document historical articulations of non-European white identities.

The wide ranging impact of Arthur de Gobineau's (1816-1882) ideas in European and American nationalist and racist thought has earned him the reputation as "the spiritual father of the most diverse forms of racism" (Gossett, 1963:352). In his "Essay on the Inequality of Races" (1853-55) Gobineau posited a hierarchical racial typology which consisted of the white (understood as the superior Aryan), the black and the yellow races. Although he advocated Aryan supremacy, he maintained that "All three races must be mixed ... if a truly great civilization is to be created" (343). According to Gobineau, the key factor responsible for the creation and maintenance of a superior civilization is the "precise degree of [racial] intermixture" (343). The decline of great civilizations was seen, however, as inevitable due to an eventual unbalance in racial intermixing. Gobineau, along with Chamberlain, whose "Essay on the Inequality of Human Races" was published in this country in 1911, became the primary sources inspiring American racism. An abbreviated translation of his "Essay on the Inequality of Races" was published in the United States in 1856 as part of the southern campaign to defend slavery, and again in 1912 as a part of the ascendance of anti-immigrant racist nativism (for a discussion on the particular adaptation of Gobineau's thinking in America racist thought see Gossett, 1963, especially chapters XIV and XV). Insofar as the 1924 restrictive immigration law sought to restore the racial balance of the nation by restricting the number of "new immigrants" to a pre-1880 level (Feagin, 1997:24), it implicitly followed the logic of Gobineau's notion of interracial balance.

The wide circulation of the idea of a superior "real whites" animated the newly revived Klan and fueled post-World-War nativism.
20 The analytical focus on the nationality of the immigrant was consistent with immigration procedures which classified the incoming immigrants on the basis of their nationality rather than linguistic or religious affiliation. Furthermore, it constituted a classificatory device which was employed as an index to measure, evaluate and compare the degrees of fitness and the assimilation potential of the immigrants: "every race [nationality] in the new immigration is put to the test in our social and industrial life: if they manifest qualities that build up and strengthen society, they enrich the nation; if degenerating qualities predominate, they become a curse" (Roberts, 1912:92). The attachment of a set of traits to each nationality played a pivotal role on the manner by which the public came to stereotype the immigrants.

21 It is unfortunate that Fairchild's orientalism prevents him from addressing the historical reasons responsible for his essentially correct observation on the range, scope and mercantilist orientation of 19th century Greek diaspora.

22 Fairchild's comments have a long cultural history. Epithets such as "ignorant, superstitious, factious, venal, obsequious, lazy and dirty and ungrateful" were commonly employed "by the travelers from the west to the decadent peasantry who presumed to live in the lands of classical history. What exasperated the milords most about these semi-literate serfs was that they expected undying gratitude for the greatness of their ancestors; and the proofs of that gratitude were to be addressed to themselves" (Woodhouse, 1969 in Green, 1994:3).

23 The view of Greeks as non-analytical has found its way in the debates over the function of the "native" anthropologist in the American academy and her contribution to anthropological knowledge. Neni Panourgia's (1995:10) experimental and densely theoretical ethnography can be viewed as the best self-explanatory answer to her graduate school professor's charge that "she would never be able to produce anything theoretically sound, since 'it is known that Greeks don't possess abstract thought'".

24 Helen Papanikolas (1987) reports an incident where a Greek immigrant in Utah was able to demonstrate his patriotism to a hostile mob by displaying his war bonds.

25 The term "melting pot" is often used interchangeably with cultural assimilation.

26 This transformation was captured symbolically in graduation ceremonies of the Ford English school: "On the stage was represented an immigrant ship. In front of it was a huge melting pot. Down the gang plank came the members of the class dressed in their national garbs and carrying luggage such as they carried when they landed in this country. Down they poured into the Ford melting pot and disappeared. Then the teachers began to stir the contents of the pot with long ladles. Presently the pot began to boil over and out came the men dressed in their best American clothes and waving American flags" [Schwartz in Zunz, 1985:55].
27 Ethnic identity, as, Woodrow Wilson in 1915 stressed, was "not compatible with being a 'thorough American.' 'America does not consist of groups .... A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American" (Wilson, in Gordon, 1964:101).

28 "Americanism is the result not of utter forgetfulness, but of vivid memories. We have become the fortunate heirs of the good things of all ages. The men and women who left their native lands preserved and brought with them only those things worth preserving. And of those things Americanism was born" (AHEPAN president Kitsos in his "Americanism and Ahepanism," in Leber, 1972:194). The claim of AHEPANS as the direct descendants of the ancient Greeks automatically qualified them as prototypical American citizens. If America was founded on the ideals and values of ancient Hellas (democracy, respect for the law), to claim a direct link with the ancient Greeks legitimized the role of AHEPANS as the guardian of American political principles.

29 Freemasonry has historically played a role in the process of Greek westernization. In the mid-eighteenth century for example, the participation of "Greek Orthodox and Western merchants" in Masonic lodges "accelerated the process of acquainting the new Greek Orthodox aristocracy with Western liberalism" (Roudometof, 1998:36).
Chapter 3. Hellenism Through Contemporary Lenses: Identity, Ethos, and "Cultural Connectivity"

1 Jacob Pandian (1985:28-32) discusses the history of the concept of culture in the Western tradition.

2 The most vocal concern regarding the potential of national divisiveness and disharmony due to the post-Civil Rights ethnic mobilization has been expressed by Harold Isaacs in his "The Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change" (New York: Harper & Row, 1975). In response to this position, Lawrence H. Fuch's "The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture" (Wesleyan University Press, 1990:xviii) proposes that a civic culture serves a unifying function, paradoxically "mak[ing] ethnic diversity a source of unity" instead of divisiveness.

3 In fear that any reaction against the junta might involve charges of communist sympathies (P. Kozyris, Interview notes).

4 A distinction between traditional, modern and postmodern identities is in order here. Traditional identity has been described as is ascribed at birth, non-reflexive and not radically modified in the course of an individual's life time. In the words of Douglas Kellner (1992:141), "one was born and died a member of one's clan, a member of a fixed kinship system, and a member of one's tribe or group....One was a hunter and a member of the tribe and that was that." Unlike traditional identities, both modern and postmodern identities are perceived as self-consciously constructed, self-reflexive, subject to change and situated. There are important differences, however, between modern and postmodern identities and selves. Modern subjects seek self-understanding contrasting with de-centered postmodern subjects who emphasize self-creation (Betz, 1992:110, in Jusdanis, 1995:54). The modern self experiences anxiety over the choice of an identity while the postmodern self accepts, affirms, and celebrates multiple and shifting identities. Modern identities were a "serious affair involving fundamental choices that defined who one was" and consequently performed specific functions in the public sphere. Postmodern identities on the other hand, are functions of leisure, being playful, conforming to fashion, focused on image and easily disposable (Kellner, 1992:153).

5 Peter Martin (1988:17) uses the metaphoric image of "ghost-value" to reflect on the generational persistence of ethnic values: "The fact is that the values and traditions fed to the furnace of American life never disappears altogether - at least not quite. There remains always, in every ethnic tradition, in the generational legacy of every individual family, a certain residue, a kind of ash, what I would call 'ghost-values': the tag-ends and shreds and echoes of the past calling to us generations after their real force has been spent, tantalizing us with idealized visions of a stability or order or certainty of meaning that we seem never to have known, and that we imagine somehow be restored."

6 In her analysis of gendered dance practices in Greece, Cowan (1990:24) agrees with Bourdieu that "individuals cannot become fully aware of
the social and historical contingency of their bodies and selves;" she argues, however, that "there are certain contexts in which individuals may become more reflexive than usual of their bodies." Cowan sees "the stereotypical, and often self-consciously and playfully exaggerated, postures of power, submission, and pleasure that celebrants assume in dance-events [as] evidence of this kind of reflexivity."

7 Greek immigrants for the most part have enmeshed themselves in the narrative of America as an ideal embodiment of liberty and progress. The publication on the Twenty-third Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America entitled "How Greek Americans help keep it burning" (1976), in reference to the Statue of Liberty featured in the cover page, addresses this process: "The torch of liberty is kept burning by Americans from all walks of life. Over the years the contributions of Greek-Americans have added to the depth and advancement of America, and no portrayal of one group of them would ever hope to justify the deeds and examples of all. On the following pages we show these outstanding citizens as a cross-sections of our Greek-American tradition to reflect our devotion to America on the occasion of the 200th anniversary. It is a way of saying "thank you America" for what you have meant to our people and our sacred traditions. Our gratitude is best reflected in what we have done, are doing, and will continue to do to 'help keep it burning.'" While seeing themselves as an inherent part of America, the Greek immigrants for the most part insisted also on maintaining their own cultural identity. The article "Enrichment Through Diversity: The Greek Immigrant and the American Ideal" featured in the same volume makes this point: "While offering sincere allegiance to America and to the process of Americanization they saw no inconsistency in simultaneously preserving their own basic cultural and religious values and patterns" (Geankopoulos, 1976).

8 According to Wittgenstein (1953:31-32) concept words do not denote sharply circumscribed concepts, but are meant to mark family resemblances between the things labeled with the concept. The word "games" for example does not refer to activities sharing exact commonalties, but rather "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail." He characterizes these similarities as "family resemblances."

9 It was in the post-World War period and in the face of atrocities committed on the basis of racial doctrines, that the concept of ethnicity was popularized and replaced the usage of "race." While ethnicity sought to transcend the biologism inherently embodied in understandings of race [often understood as isomorphic with "nation" (Just,1989)] its adherence to "descent" and "kinship" foresees "the biological implications always tending to creep back in" (Tonkin, et. al., 1989).

10 Vassilis Lambropoulos (1987) identifies the relationship between aesthetic theory and nationalist thought. Addressing the ideology of Greek nationalism in particular, he suggests that it borrows from aesthetic theory to speak about the Greek nation through formalist and idealist assumptions (the nation as an organic, self-instituted, self-regulated, independent, unique,
pure, eternal entity). These assumptions lead to a number of contradictions (the idea of Greece as unique and universal for example) that cannot be resolved dialectically. The logic of self-identity necessitates a quest of the Other he observes, noting the futility of a dialectical synthesis between the Self and the Other.

11 Artemis Leontis (1997) discusses literary appropriations of Hellenism in defining nationhood. She urges us to imagine alternative interpretations of Hellenism that will go beyond its limited association with a territory and a people.
Chapter 4. "American" Narratives on Neohellenism

1 Socio-economic success stands as an index of "Americaness" in certain sections of Greek America. Phyllis Chock (1995:252) cogently exposes the gender hierarchies embedded in Greek-American stories on success. She views storytelling as a gender-related discourse which may naturalize or challenge gender inequalities. Storytelling then becomes a site where the relations between gender and citizenship are "reproduced, contested and sometimes transformed." She points out that success stories told by males depict women as less successful in economic life, and as a result, less American. Often releasing feelings of anger and resentment, the telling of the stories by women, on the other hand, points toward another success model, the understanding of women's work in terms of good citizenship. Here women's narratives disrupt one may even say invert, the (male) naturalization of the gender-citizenship relationship.

2 The fable was read during the wedding ceremony: "One day a wanderer found a vessel of clay/so enveloped with perfume/its fragrance scented all the room./'What art thou?' was the quick demand./'Some magical vessel of ancient sand,'/a gemstone rare in rich disguise/or other costly merchandise?'/"Nay, I am but a piece of clay.'/Then whence this wondrous sweetness, say?'/"Friend, if my secret were disclosed,/I have been dwelling with the rose.'"

3 Alastair Bonnett (1996:146) identifies three factors stimulating the emergence of "whiteness" as "the object of historical and critical scrutiny within 'race' scholarship:" a) The political and intellectual climate of antiracism which has shifted the emphasis away from the non-white Other towards White racism (thus making "whiteness" the object of concern); b) The impact of deconstruction in its interrogation of centered identities such as masculinity and whiteness; and c) The essentialist response of "white" academics who adopted the position of "speaking as a 'White person'" about, or even for "White People" in reaction to the similarly essentialist subaltern claims that whites, because of their privileged racial status, are in no position to contribute to research on "non-white" people.

4 As I discussed in chapter II, Lieberson (1985:171) has identified the emergence of this new "white" ethnic group whose members declared an "American" ethnic ancestry both in the 1980 U.S. census and, since the 1972, the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. This population largely consists of fourth generation descendants of northern European immigrants.

5 The immense popularity of the "heritage industry" in Britain is discussed in Fowler (1992:111). He attributes this popular "interest in pastness" to nostalgia for an idealized past and the creation of alternative cultural needs associated with leisure and affluence: "the impulse [for pastness] may be no more than a curiosity, no more cerebral than a need to fill in time with the trimmings of an 'experience' equivalent to a wander along the covered ways of some huge shopping mall."
6 Heritage here is conflated with what some folklorists have traditionally understood in the past as ethnic traditions, that is static cultural practices which are transmitted from generation to generation. For a discussion on the various meanings of the concept of tradition employed by folklorists see Ben-Amos, 1984. Within the context of academic politics, the concept of heritage has been proposed as an alternative to "tradition" as folklore's disciplinary subject matter. The shift in the thinking of folklore from the "science of tradition," to the interpretive exploration of "heritage" has been proposed as the paramount reimagining that needs to take place for the sake of the discipline's survival (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995:369). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett defines heritage as "the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct. Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display). Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life" (369).

7 Abu-Lughod (1991:159) coins the term "tactical humanism" to describe a mode of ethnographic representation that counteracts common place representations of heavily stereotyped people by conveying their "common everyday humanity."


9 The "changing topographies" of Hellenism refers to the ever-changing process of attaching cultural significance to places or sites in relation to Greek culture. It may involve significations imbued to a large unit such as the nation-state or localized events such as a Greek festival or a museum exhibit on Greek culture. Emergence of new significations and the reconfiguration of habitual understandings regarding the relationship between place and culture is central in this formulation: "Old sites may lose their importance, even as new sites come to our attention or familiar sites become subject to new battles. ... We are continuously redesigning, rebuilding, renovating, restoring, reinterpreting, the sites we administer. Even as we do this, we are periodically restructuring our knowledge about places and redefining the place of knowledge" (Leontis, 1995b:218).

10 In Chapter II I referred to Behdad's (1997) observation on the function of the immigrant as the contrastive signifier of social and cultural norms.

11 The understanding of modern Greek identity in terms of disemia (west-east) has been forwarded by Patrick Leigh Fermor [1983 (1966)] and later Michael Herzfeld (1982). For a post-colonial critique of this model see Tziovas (1994).

12 An extreme case in this linguistic behavior is "GreekEnglish," the tendency to render English words in Greek transliteration.

13 For a discussion of Greece's particular engagement with modernity see Jusdanis (1991b).
14 To defend this position they point out to regular church attendance, preservation of Greek folk dances and the centrality of family ties in Greek-American society.

15 The quest for the experience of the authentic "real life" life is at the heart of the modern tourist desire (MacCannell, 1976:91-105). For a cultural history of the search for authenticity in Folklore studies see Bendix (1997).

16 "Amalia" refers to an ensemble of women's folk regional cloths adopted by Greece's Queen Amalia in the late 1830s and came to stand for the "national" dress of Greece. Her husband, the Bavarian-born king of Greece Otto, adopted the pleated kilt foustanella and made it the official court and national dress for men (Welters, 1995).

17 American Express regularly features Greek Islands as a background for its ads.
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