The fostering and inheritance of gardening principles, sustainability and knowledge of herbs, foods and their properties, being handed down from generation to generation in Greek and Greek Australian people of Ikaria
(1st and 2nd generation)

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Contents

Thesis Summary

This paper focuses on the gardening, food and traditional practices of the Greek Ikarian community as a basis of study, broadly exploring the centrality of food and gardening practices in family and community life, both in Australia and in Greece. It explores how the possibility of practices is being passed down from generation to generation.

The aim of this thesis is to discuss and identify the core variable revealed by the data which emerges, and to form the theory via this approach.

I have interviewed members of the Ikarian community who live in Greece and those of Greek origin who live in Australia, and observed differences and commonalities in their practices and knowledge inheritance. A desired outcome of this paper is also to discuss and identify emerging differences or similarities between those living in Ikaria and those living in Australia, and establish what factors underpin common practices.

Substantial evidence revealed a deep immersion in value inheritance in both cultures, and cultural origin provided a defining variable. The importance of tradition as a core value was expressed through many scenarios. The oral tradition persists and is evolving to embrace new expressions of culture, while the fostering of rituals, and knowledge transfer are evident in all segments of the market.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis is my own work and does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Barbara Doherty

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Introduction

Background

This is a study on the gardening and food practices of people of Ikaria, a small island of 99 square miles in the eastern Aegean, belonging to the cluster of islands called the "Sporades", with a population of approximately 8,300.

I chose this area of research because Ikarians having been subjects of numerous studies regarding good health, and longevity, are a robust example of a culture whose traditional food practices have been developed and tested over time. Ikaria has a wealth of traditional practices, and there are many questions about this island that need to be investigated. Ikarians are also known for their pride, emotional and physical resilience and quest for freedom throughout the ages. Ikaria has been referred to as the "Red Rock" due to its communist sympathies, and 13,000 refugees were exiled to Ikaria during the upheaval of World War II. The islanders have a depth of feeling for their home, its produce, its culture and connection with family. Whilst research has been undertaken to determine the effect of diet and lifestyle on health, there is no specific study which examines how and if the wisdom is being handed down from generation to generation, taking into consideration the different settings of Ikaria and Australia.[1]

The physical and emotional landscape of Ikaria raises certain challenges and creates some boundaries within which the community operates. Physically the island is mountainous, crops must be grown on terraces and quite often stone must be broken down in order to till and make a garden.

The isolation from the mainland limits travel, and access to services and facilities. The essentially peasant life for many islanders has elements of the modern urban lifestyle, set in a rural village. There seems to be a subtle shift from production to recreation over the years and the gradual development of infrastructure over the past 40 years has changed everyone's life. Until 1972, there was no electricity on the island. Generators were used. One participant remembers the commercial installation of a tomato crushing plant, which provided impetus for a community co-op. Electricity facilitated a new system for watering, as water was no longer hand pumped from the river and pipelines could be installed. Community gardens now serviced with running water became abundant, whilst freezers provided storage capacity, long life and food availability year round. Since 2010, most of the island is now serviced by road. Remote parts of the island still show clear evidence of a traditional lifestyle, uninterrupted by infrastructure and feel "frozen in time".

[1] Several sources and studies will be referred to in this paper which examine the Mediterranean diet, lifestyle and health. One such study was the 1950, "Seven Countries Study" conducted in Greece, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Japan , the United States and Finland.
www.todaysdietician.com/neewarchives/tdaug2007pg34.html.

Studies have shown, according to Beuttner, that "People in Ikaria live longer than in just about any place in the world".[2] This review of studies into lifestyle, longevity and diet shows the people of Ikaria to be one of 13 communities in the world who are known for their longevity. In exploring how these findings relate to gardening and growing, sustainability and a self-sufficient lifestyle, I am aiming to explore connections between cultural origin, lifestyle, diet and continuation of these cultural practices from generation to generation.[3]

Clyne's study in 1991 (Holeva 2004)[4] states that "each succeeding generation evaluates various aspects of its heritage in a new way [...] some aspects cease to be of interest, while others become important in terms of sentiment or aspiration". The extent to which this may be true is unknown and will be discussed in this paper.

Another CNN Health Commentary called "Ikaria, Greece could be the fountain of youth", tells the story of an American Ikarian who, diagnosed with cancer was given a few months to live and went back to Ikaria where he went on to live for an additional 40 years (Dpandip, 2011). The commentary points out that Ikarians are avoiding chronic diseases such as diabetes, heart attacks, and cancer, and have almost no cases of dementia. Many residents take advantage of the natural hot springs which are located over the island. These radio-energised springs, identified as amongst the best in the world, were known to the ancient Greeks and Romans since at least the sixth century B.C., as a health destination. High levels of radon in these baths is believed to help protect DNA against aging, and the "Blue Zone" team suggested that chronic exposure to low levels of radiation may help to protect against the ravages of aging. During an interview with one of the research participants, (personal interview 19/07/11, it was suggested that anecdotal evidence points to the high levels of radon in the soil being responsible for healthy and especially tasty crops and produce.[5]

The Greek National Research Foundation, a reputable body made reference to the Ikarian people in regards to good health and longevity. (Pakpahan, 2011).[6] It was concluded in this study that there are several contributing factors, which achieve a balance between rest and activity in everyday life. They include findings that community kinship, the right outlook, and the right food, is the key to longevity. Furthermore, it showed that Ikarians living in Ikaria drink goats milk regularly, maintain physical activity by walking to neighbouring villages, eating vegetables and grains, consuming olive oil. Ikarians consume more than

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[2] Beuttner Dann, cited in Circle of 13, 2009

[3] Dann Beuttner led " The Blue Zones"
Expedition, an AARP and National Geographic sponsored team of the best demographers, physicians, medical researchers and media specialists, to explore Ikarian Longevity. He is the best-selling author of The Blue Zones Lessons for living longer from the people who've lived the longest.

[4] As Holeva says in her article citing Clyne, "each succeeding generation evaluates various aspects of its heritage in a new way. Some aspects of ones heritage cease to be of interest, while others become important in terms of sentiment or aspiration. Clyne (1991) also argues that one has to view cultural values according to terms of sentiment or aspiration".

[5] "The Blue Zones" team reviewed reports which are exploring this theory.

[6] They are also not worried about time, making their own schedule to create balance between fun, work and friends. Pakpahan makes reference to the celebration of local traditions, and during summer the *Paniyiria* (name day celebration) a community based festival held in individual villages where people come together to sing dance and play music, as being the glue for family and community relations.

other societies in the world, drinking herbal teas daily (wild chamomile and mint) and sleeping in the afternoon four times a week for 30 minutes.

The study claimed, fostering strong social relationships and family connections, is beneficial to health, prolongs life and actually reduces heart disease, depression and other health problems.

According to the 1981 mortality rates, Greek Australians are the second longest living population in the world, so as a point of analysis this research takes into consideration the longevity differences that may emerge between Greek Australians and those living in Ikaria. (Wahlqvist et al 1991).

We have to point out that another area of Greece which attracted international interest was Crete. The Cretan diet provides a comparator, because it is also touted as an example of a Mediterranean diet promoting health and longevity. These Mediterranean cultural studies of Ikaria and Crete reveal substantial similarities in positive health outcomes.[7]

Although it is outside the parameters of this paper, research about other cultures (Italian, Polish, British, Vietnamese) who have migrated to Australia, transplanted traditions and passed them down to the next generation, reveal that there are universal similarities, that foster a way of creating an environment similar to the country of emigration, which provides an ongoing connection to the past. Traditions are brought with the migrant from a previous homeland. This was supported in the opening address of Tony Cocchiaro "Home is where the Heart is", where Cocchiaro stated "*Family customs have persisted in children of these pioneers" [even though the produce is now readily available].* (Cocchiaro 2010).

Overarching Questions

This study is guided by several fundamental overarching questions. It explores core values and their impact on maintenance and evolution of practices, asking, "Is this part of a broader agenda, and what is the nature of the association between the maintenance and evolution of gardening practises and lifestyle choices"? Questions I will address include: Does a family history of self-sufficiency generate more chance of continuity in future generations? Does family tradition and family legacy create an overt or covert need to conform and participate in such practices from generation to generation? Is the wisdom of properties of foods for healing and or longevity being passed down from generation to generation, and is it inherently sustainable or a measure of sustainability? Is cultural origin or the culture of where participants live a defining variable in determining gardening

[7] This study conducted in 1950 (Ktimatoemporiki, 2000) called 'The Seven Country Study', examined links between lifestyle, diet and longevity. Crete had the lowest rate of cardio vascular diseases amongst the seven countries studied. In 1991, 30 years after the study, the sample group were revisited. The Cretans revealed the greatest longevity. Five hundred and five participants were still alive and of the other six participating countries there was not one survivor. The study focused in great detail on the produce that was eaten and analysis of ingredients. These practices include the use of monosaturated fats from olive oil and polyunsaturated fats from fish, grains, vegetables and legumes, especially *horta* (wild greens), free range meats and chicken that were never fed grain, but lived on grasses, insects and worms, [...] these practices attributed to the low incidence of heart disease..." (Carey, 2007).

practices? Finally, how has this knowledge and practice impacted health and longevity and views on healthy lifestyle? These would warrant further research outside of the scope of this paper.

The following thesis is divided in three chapters. In chapter one, I will conduct a literary review referencing migration, and the persistence of traditional knowledge. I will then describe the methodology and approach taken in this paper. Chapter two will describe the interviews and discuss practices which were revealed by the research participants. Chapter three will identify and analyse the patterns and themes that emerged.

Chapter 1 – Literary Review and Methodology

1.1 Literary Review

Some research has been done which examines the activities and traditions brought to Australia from previous homelands, and their connection with history and cultural heritage.

A small body of research literature has explored Greek migration history and gardening practices, relationships of migrants to their gardens and people of Greek origin living in Australia, and their intention and/or natural instincts to maintain their ancestral culture within the context of Australian social values.

Previous studies by Holeva about Current trends of the linguistic and cultural values of the South Australian Greek community, and Wahlqvist about the wisdom of the Greek cuisine, hint at the relationship between parents, children and sustainable practices, finding that customs passed down through the pioneers have persisted in children. The foci is on the creation of backyard gardens as a source of sustenance, producing what the family needed to eat, and also as a substitute for the suburban farms that had been left behind.[8] The reason for the continuation of these practices as stated by Head *et al. 2004* (cited in Graham & Connell 2006), is that Greeks grew vegetables as a reminder of their past life, more than through necessity.[9]

The backyard garden in these studies is viewed as a microcosm representing connecting to the past, engagement with place, and a substitute for and reinforcement of cultural ties to the motherland. The literature research reveals that the garden is a product and expression of the migrant experience across a range of ethnicities, and serves to maintain "a place of roots, connection, continuity, stability and familiarity" (Radock cited by Finnamore 2010).

Graham and Connell's Study examines the garden of Greek migrants in Marrickville Sydney (Graham & Connell 2006), and compares the practices to Vietnamese migrants in the same area. They highlight the active maintenance of food preferences and gardening practice, and its adaptation to the urban environment. The research concludes that 1st generation Greek migrants place significant emphasis on passing traditions to their children and the 2nd generation had adapted these practices to suit themselves.

Another study by Holeva, found that perceptions of 'Greekness' identified through language, customs and food, was seen to be weaker (in more educated Greeks) than

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[8] The aim of this study by Graham and Connell "is to determine whether migrants' relationship with their country of origin influences the type of gardens they develop and how their gardening practices are linked to broader gardening trends across the world, involving a subtle shift from production to recreation".

[9] In Graham and Connells paper citing Morgan, the garden further acted as conduit for knowledge transfer: "The garden environment acting as a place for transferring cultural values, by reconnecting with the homeland through taste, sight and smell", (Morgan et al cited in Graham & Connell 2006).

the part that character, mentality and temperament play in continuing to keep traditions undiluted through the next generation (Holeva 2003, p. 220).[10]

Regarding longevity, the health and nutritional status of elderly Greek migrants to Melbourne, Australia, study undertaken by Kouris-Blazos et al, deemed Greeks in Australia the second longest living population in the world, after the Japanese in Hawaii, followed by the Greeks in Greece. (Kouris et al, p2).

My research into Grounded Theory by Glaser, Cultural Theory models by Hofstede, Hall and Gudykunst, and personal accounts about the culture and origins of Greek cooking by Germanos, have also helped to understand the implications of the data emerging from the interviews.

1.2 Research Methodology and Techniques

A qualitative approach to research has been taken, interview administered, to provide the depth required to establish the factors underpinning the transferring of wisdom. I endeavored to utilise grounded theory principles as a framework in order to minimise preconceptions about my Thesis statement. The Grounded Theory methodology generates the theory from the data while in the process of conducting research, rather than research where a theoretical framework is chosen and then applied to the studies undertaken. According to Glaser and Anseim (1999) "the theory is therefore emergent and discovered in the data. It does not test a hypothesis to discover the theory in the data". All data is fundamental including interviews, observation, informal interviews, and conversations with friends, self- reflection, and then comparing all of this to other data.

For my research's needs an open-ended questionnaire was produced (Appendix 1). All participants addressed the questionnaire, and were required to give ratings on some questions. The interviews were conducted face-to-face or via Skype and email. Where possible, the interviews took place in the participants' gardens, which provided additional information as all the senses added to the velocity of the interviews.

The interviews were mainly conducted in English combined with some Greek Creole language.

There are two target groups of respondents: Firstly those living in Ikaria, and secondly, those living in Australia. The criteria established for the study was that the interviews would be conducted with a parent and child who formed *'a pair'*. (Table 1). Pairs were interviewed separately in most cases. Although the study is a random sampling, all participants had experience (ranging from little to considerable), in gardening practices and awareness of traditional knowledge and wisdom. There is divergence in the following variables;

[10] Holeva's findings documented the responses of university graduates in South Australia's Greek community. Those who were less educated placed more weight on cultural expression through dance and song, whereas the educated, felt their identity was shaped more by social status and career.

- Age
- Location
- Generational variance
- Familial lineage e.g. father/daughter, mother/daughter, mother/son, father/son
- Size of families

For example, I interviewed parents who were born between 1927 – 1945, the so called "Silent Generation" the children of The Great Depression, and their children known as the "Baby Boomers", 1946 – 1964. I also interviewed pairs of baby boomers and their children known as "Gen X", born between the 1960s and the mid-1980s One interview was between a "Baby Boomer" and her so called "Gen Y" child.[11]

The findings represent the knowledge of parent and child, are not gender specific. Interviews were recorded with permission. I also took notes during the interview and then transcribed relevant data after listening to the recordings. In summary, the people interviewed for this thesis are of different generations. In future, there may be a case for a more specific generational/ locational study, however, this is not the purpose of this paper.

The interviews took place over a period of two months. A total of 19 interviews were conducted, and using grounded theory as a model, all data collected from the sample group, and other sources, created a perspective on this topic which will add to the understanding of cultural inheritance specifically through gardening and sustainability habits across three generations.

[11] Of additional significance at the time of writing is the impact of political, social and economic upheaval in Greece, on the individual. Subsequently, several participants pondered on their future and considered the role of sustainable practices and their relevance to survival. During my interviews, they discussed the timely relevance of traditional knowledge and its compatibility with survival. Some reflected on the need to upgrade their skills and draw on ancient wisdom as times are tough.

CHAPTER 2 – The Interviews

2.1 Description of the Interviews

A number of interviews were conducted for the needs of my research. Participants were asked to talk about their life, how their garden features in their life now, in the past, and reflect on how they acquired their skills. They were encouraged and given the opportunity to add further insights, reflections, and share opinions and perceptions in the context of the study, both during and after the interview was complete. I noted my observations after each interview, as per the grounded theory approach.

I have grouped the practices that emerged during interviews on the basis of volume and importance: All participants recognised, collected and cooked *horta* (wild greens).[12] Ten respondents pursued growing herbs, using herbal remedies and also primarily cooking traditional Ikarian dishes, from their garden produce. Sustainable practices informed by growing from seed stock, seed swapping, avoiding hybrids and passing knowledge back to the community were highly regarded by all interviewed, and received high priority by respondents. Pruning and grafting was a common factor amongst 10 respondents. Olive oil and wine making was practiced with 10 participants and six male respondents were recreational fishermen.[13]

On three occasions during the interviews, other family members were present, and I refer to these as secondary sources as they contributed to the conversations either through opinion, fact filtering, debate, or additional comments. Those interviewed for this study ranged in age between 17 and 86 years old.

The face-to-face interviews often included being shown evidence of traditional practices, and in some cases sampling produce such as Ouzo, wine, cheese, olives and preserves. By sampling pairs, parent and child, life experience and the gravitas of each interview varied. Some were single, some had a young family, others grown children, and several have grandchildren and great grandchildren. I have chosen not to explore in detail the relationship between the waxing and waning of gardening practices, during the career, and family raising phases of life. This occurred to varying extents with all candidates interviewed. I, therefore, focused my research on the knowledge, description of practices and passing it on with the clear understanding that each stage of life is underscored by a range of external factors that influence the level of participation. I also invite the reader to adopt this stance.[14]

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[12] "*Horta*" means wild greens or wild grasses, which are considered a staple dietary inclusion in Ikaria. They are picked from creeks, and around the countryside. From now on this will be referred to as *horta* in this document. The preparation of *horta* involves salting boiling water, and plunging in the freshly picked wild greens, then removing when tender. It is served with lemon, olive oil and salt. Sometimes the broth is consumed as a tea, for its valuable mineral content.

[13] According to Germanos, "Fishing is a traditional male trade. Seafood and fish have pre-occupied Greeks for thousands of years, as Greece is surrounded by so much sea".

[14] A summarised list of practices and traditions is captured in Table 2 and Table 3.

2.2 Description of Practices

Interviews with people living in Adelaide

Pair 1 - Penelope and Electra

Penelope
Penelope is a 52 year old post graduate woman, who was born in Ikaria, but has lived in Adelaide since she was four years old. She has been periodically involved in gardening over 30 years, and this interview focused largely on cooking and usage of produce and knowledge gained through the matriarchal line. Both Penelope's parents however, spent time cooking and creating exceptionally tasty, high quality, and nutritionally driven meals, made with home grown produce. Food was, and still is, a regular conversation topic in the family and social network, fueled further by her brother and sister engaged professionally in cooking.

Herbs have always been grown in her house for three purposes; medicinal, flavoring and beauty.[15] She grows rosemary, basil, sage, garlic, mint, dill and bay and eucalyptus trees, marigolds and roses, at present. She remembers, for example, how marigolds are planted around the rose bushes to deter aphids. She recalls that plants attracting bugs get washed with *OMO* (clothes washing powder) so uses this method to deter bugs. Fertilisers are not used in her garden, as her mother modeled a fertiliser free garden. She knows that basil is good for memory, garlic for high and low blood pressure, chamomile is a relaxant, steeped bay leaf relieves congestion, and brown onion skin cooked with cinnamon relieves menstrual pain. She has been taught that fresh herbs contain high levels of vitamins and minerals and should be used liberally when cooking.

She states that her recently deceased mother who lived nearby, had a highly significant influence on all her practices and decisions about food. In addition to the herbs grown by Penelope, she would pick marshmallow, *vlitta,* pigweed and seaweed from her mother's garden. She also gained some knowledge from reading gardening books, visiting nurseries, research, watching and taking photos of plants for identification purposes. She follows recipes in her mother's traditions, often referring to the cookbook authored by her mother, "*A taste of Greek life and Cooking, An Odyssey with Irini* (1992).

Growing, cooking and eating is experienced as an art form in Penelope's family life. Commencing 25 years ago, a Monday night tradition initiated by her mother involved having friends and family to dinner to eat a meal cooked mostly from fresh garden produce. A salad to feed 10 people was regularly produced by her mother exclusively from herbs and *horta* grown in her garden.

[15] "As a child drinking tea meant drinking herbs, sage and mountain tea [...] camomile, rosemary, peppermint *tilio* and mint. During World War II, weeds and herbs were the only medicines available and provided us with the necessary vitamins and minerals we needed" (Germanos, *A taste of Greek life and cooking*, 1992). This is a statement from Penelope's cookbook authored by her mother.

Often a guest would bring homemade wine or freshly slaughtered meat. Social networks were forged, and it became a sought after event, consisting of "good food, homemade wine, conversation and lots of belly laughs. Food was always a big topic of conversation and still is in my social network". This weekly tradition is no longer carried on.

Penelope considers herself an active learner and says her children aged 14 to 26, expect and value nutritious food, are involved in preparing it, but aren't involved in gardening or preparing the garden.

Electra

Electra, 26 years old, is Penelope's daughter, was born and grew up in Adelaide, and both her parents descend from Ikaria. She has visited Ikaria on numerous occasions. She gained most of her knowledge about gardening and food from her *yia yia* (grandmother). She practices very little, but has knowledge through family association. Her awareness of gardening practices and herbal remedies was generated by watching her yia yia in the kitchen and garden, through involvement in the traditional Monday night dinner rituals, and by reading her grandmother's published recipe book. Her yia yia told her she should learn a skill-set and "drilled" some practices and recipes into her saying, "if you don't know *that* you shouldn't be cooking". Specifically she taught her a range of techniques and tips including: to cut meat very thinly to enjoy the full flavor, to *Blind Bake* pastry by placing rice or beans on top of damp baking paper placed on the first layer of filo pastry, then baking it for five minutes. Spice ratios are to be measured by smell not volume, and depending on what flavor is required, will inform strength. For example, she was trained to put a spice in at the beginning of a dish to create a strong flavor and at the end should you desire a mild flavour. She also realised that recipes given to her by her grandmother always had something missing or a wrong ingredient.[16] She remembers a scene in a contemporary Greek movie, *A Taste of Spice* (Politiki Kouzina, Boulmetis 2003), which explores this habit, and matches her experience when she was learning from her grandmother, "Never give the complete recipe because someone will make it better than you".

She rates her knowledge of plants seen in her mothers or grandmothers garden as 4/10, and says she may know what to do with them. She does not document knowledge and took it for granted that anything she wanted to know she would ask yia yia. Her knowledge of food properties include; aloe vera or yoghurt for sunburn treatment, salt water and sage for sore throats, chamomile as a remedy for stress relief and sleeplessness, oats help skin disorders and exfoliation, garlic, chilies, and lemon are treatments for common cold, nasturtiums can have the honey sucked from the stamen, and in salads, add a desirable bitter taste.

[16] We are advised to trust our taste and allow a certain freedom in preparation of dishes in Claudia Roden's cook book Arabesque. "This is the spirit of these [Mediterranean] cuisines, which, although faithful to tradition, have no absolute rules and are rich in variations and poor in precision. You are told to 'weigh' with the eye and to taste as you go along".

She has a strong interest in nutrition supported by her family, and gained through her grandmother. Both Penelope and Electra have overlaps of knowledge and values shared. These include eating organic where possible, the art of cooking and good conversations that ensue from food and food preparation and value placed on home-cooked meals.

Pair 2 - Pericles, Aphrodite and Kalliope (secondary interview)

Pericles

Pericles is 84 years old, was born in Ikaria and migrated to Australia when he was 17. He lived in a mountain village in Ikaria, and in Australia, has lived in rural, urban and coastal environments. Having lived as a villager until he was 17, and originating from his self-proclaimed peasant stock, Pericles has a growing philosophy which is: "the reason I grow is to be sustainable, we've been doing it for thousands of years, its part of human nature", he says that he'd "be miserable without a garden, it's the pleasure of growing your own vegetables, which is sustaining". The first thing he did whenever he moved house was to plant a garden.

Throughout his life he has always grown vegetables, herbs, olives and planted fruit trees in Australia. He also picks *horta* growing locally along the river or in his garden. Additionally, when living in Mildura as a young man, vineyards and fruit trees were planted by him and his family for commercial purposes.

He learnt from what he saw, no-one showed him how to garden; he mimicked the practices of the village people around him. He listened, saw community spirit in abundance, and seeds and produce swapped. He still learns new techniques from his daughters (recalls his daughter adopting new techniques to space her seedlings in furrows.) He too modified his technique; it produced better results than traditional Ikarian method.

Pericles discussed his beliefs and philosophy, and said that knowledge of herbs is automatic. He does not believe it is important to know the names because you know them from having used them and therefore recognise them. Some wisdom and observations included: The morning herbal drink *Fliskona* (sage and other herbs steeped in boiling water), is good for the constitution; bore water used in Australia killed his fruit trees, but in his opinion is safe for growing olives; a plant growing in Australia and Ikaria called *Pentagramo*, is a remedy often mixed with olive oil to draw out splinters and heal cuts. Five leaf Basil is placed at the entrance to the home, and the pleasant smell is welcoming and wards off insects; worn behind the ear it acts as a fragrance replacing cologne; Cows Tongue and various mushrooms are poisonous to eat, and specific mushrooms such as *pefkithes* (πεφκιθες) found under the pine trees, *koumarites* (κουμαριτες) red in colour found near the Koumara tree, and *soumelites* (σουμελητες) a tasty strong mushroom, are valued and hard to find. He learnt about how to identify mushrooms when living in Ikaria, which is world-renowned for its extensive variety.

He continues to grow tomatoes, broccoli, lettuce, cucumber, spinach, and lemons in his backyard garden, and gives away excess produce to family and friends, as was the Ikarian tradition. *Horta,* such as *vlitta,* chicory, thistle and radicchio, are grown for winter and spring, and he refers to them as his "daily medicine".

Pericles saves seed stock yearly and avoids hybrid. He opposes hybrid plants for political reasons. He believes that if one buys hybrids it is supporting multinationals, which is against his philosophy. He observes that his garden does not grow as well or easily as it did 20 years ago, and suggests that living over the flight path, contributes to the toxins and fumes and damage to the ecosystem. He knows how to make cheese, and how to keep goats and cows as he did in Ikaria. He fishes from his boat, an Ikarian pastime, and supplies family and friends regularly with fresh calamari and fish. He has passed this tradition onto his grandson.

He notes that his wife's gardening practices differed from his. Whilst sometimes a source of conflict, they maintained their differences throughout their married life. They did not necessarily share the same practices, or beliefs or approaches. He has passed on knowledge most significantly to his middle daughter Aphrodite, because she had a natural affinity with gardening. He sometimes shares time in the garden with her, and they adapt practices to reflect new knowledge. Pericles maintains that:

> *"We came from a peasant family, digging is automatic, it is part of my psyche, I love my hands in the garden".*

Aphrodite

Aphrodite is a 54 year old school teacher who has lived in a rural Australian environment for 17 years. She has lived in both rural and urban environments, and travels back to Ikaria regularly, where the original family home is maintained by Australian family members travelling back and forth. She has acquired knowledge and skillsets from both parents, and actively sought information about gardening and cooking. She considers herself a practicing, organic, sustainable gardener, and rates her knowledge of herbs as 8/10, and as a teenager keenly sought traditional wisdom and recorded it in the form of notes and recipe books and also became interested in alternative medicine, which fostered her research, whilst specifically expanding her knowledge of plants and herbs, already passed down from family. Her great grandmother was a travelling herbalist who learnt her craft in Egypt and administered herbal remedies wherever she went. Aphrodite's interest in *Live Food* led her to create a business from growing and selling sprouted seeds during the 1980s.[17]

She eats substantially from her garden (where she spends time daily) which includes summer and winter vegetables, a shared community orchard of stone fruit, avocados, and papaya, and she prepares sauces and preserves. She makes organic wine sourced from local grapes, taking her inspiration from Ikarian methodology,

[17] The terms "Live Food" or "Raw Food" refer to food that has not been heated to the point at which the enzymes are destroyed.

and influence from a local winemaker; He has, for example, taught her to add egg white during the fermentation stage; a form of albion which aids in eating the protein, formed during the early stage of wine making. Her method is included in the appendices (Appendix 2).

She keeps her seed stock wherever possible, and her best crops are grown from it. Plants in her garden are grown from stock 40 years old, brought from Ikaria by family and friends. She buys seeds only if necessary, but swaps seed via an organisation called *" Seed Savers "* in her local community, which exchanges stock between its member base.

Her knowledge of herbs and remedies is extensive and she believes that peasants had their own sense of healing. Some knowledge includes: sage for lungs, marshmallow for throat disorders, iron and lemons for the bioflavonoids, thyme as antiseptic, mint for digestion, plantain as a compression, garlic for infection; raw onion in muslin cloth applied on the ear for infection. Chickweed has protein good for styes and herpes, dandelion is a liver tonic, and corn silk is a cure for cystitis. She sources herbs locally.

Additional skills include pruning and trellising using traditional and local methods; Planting flowers around vegetables to attract birds and bees, to assist pollination and add to the beauty of the garden. Self-fertilising and mulching practices through formal learning have replaced Ikarian *digging* methods, which, in turn, have been readily adopted by her father. Clipping beans and pruning the leaves to maximise produce, and getting up early (as this is the best time to dust the bean, zucchini and tomato flowers to assist pollination and maximum fruit) are regular habits. She also bakes traditional sweets especially p*aximathies and finiki* (Greek shortbreads), but with a twist; replacing sugar with orange juice, a recipe passed down from her diabetic mother.

She has strong childhood memories of regularly walking around the block with her mother to pick *horta,* and playing in the family gardens and orchards. Digging for potatoes was presented as a treasure hunt, and eating the crisp core of cauliflower and broccoli harvested from the garden and prepared by her mother signified abundance, prosperity and nurturing. He mother educated her about food properties as they ate, played and gardened. For example, as they gathered marshmallow and nettle, or put parsley stems into soup, she would say "έχεις *σιδερο* "; (have you got iron?).

Kalliope (secondary interview)

Kalliope is the youngest daughter of Pericles and younger sister of Aphrodite. I conducted a secondary interview with her. She provides additional perspective on how family knowledge has been passed down.

Kalliope states that she has the knowledge, but unlike her sister, does not practice it. Although she states this, she does however, have an abiding interest in providing the best food for her family and sources seed stock from her father. Her knowledge includes use of herbs as remedies, and she readily shared the following family

folklore: pennyroyal for upset stomach, fig milk for warts, hair rinse using bay leaf, chamomile and rosemary for shiny hair, *avgolemono soup* (egg, rice, lemon and chicken stock) to relieve acid stomach.[18]

She raised the issue that when she rejected her "Greekness" as a teenager, and became "rebellious", she moved away from family traditions and activities to explore "Australian" options. However, when she became a mother, she began to draw on the values and traditions that she had absorbed, and started applying various practices. As it became relevant, she sought out answers and realised she had stored knowledge.

She observed that even though she does not engage in extensive gardening practices, her values, passed on from family, embrace the notion that food and gardening is integral to life.

Pair 3 – Athena, Ares & Thalia

Athena & Ares

Athena and Ares were born in two different villages in Ikaria. They are 78 and 84 years of age, respectively. They migrated to Australia in their 20s and have lived in rural South Australia before relocating to suburban Adelaide some 35 years ago.

They have established and maintained an abundant traditional rural style backyard garden in suburban Adelaide, which appears to have been transported from Ikaria. They are known as "a model" amongst the Ikarian community for their uncompromised traditional gardening practices. Their values and lifestyle, closely model that of a peasant living in Ikaria. They have maintained a high level of sustainability and made few changes to their gardening and life skill practices. Until recently, they kept a goat to make cheese from the milk, and to slaughter for meat. They now buy the milk and continue making cheese. Daily life revolves around the garden and kitchen, using traditional practices to remain self-sufficient.

The interview started with Athena, in the backyard. Hens wandered freely; we were surrounded by beautiful flowers, shrubs, bushes and hanging baskets. Athena grows flowers for beauty, which she believes is paramount in a garden. The garden had the feeling of a retreat haven from the rest of the busy world. When Ares returned from fishing on the day of the interview, carrying octopus, shark and garfish, he joined us. Roles are clearly defined: generally Ares plants and maintains the garden, and Athena turns the garden produce into meals, preserves, sauces, stocks, dried herbs, sweets and remedies. If Athena plants a vegetable or herb in the garden there is a good chance that it will be removed, by her husband as it is *"his"* garden. The preparation of wine, ouzo, raki, olive oil and olives is shared by the children and grandchildren. For example, the nominated day to pick grapes or olives signals

[18] A traditional egg lemon rice and chicken broth, considered a nourishing staple, and eaten when recovering from illness.

everyone coming together to share and learn. A prized family meal is traditional fish soup, when everyone gets together to enjoy φιλοζενία (hospitality) and good company. Resources, crops and plantations are shared amongst the family, located far and wide. For example, beehives are kept at Thalia's house, which is nearby, and their son grows the olives in his orchard to make the seasonal oil.

The value of no wastage is upheld uncompromisingly; composting of all food and garden scraps is an essential sustainable practice. Fish scraps go to the cats or are buried to add to compost. Ouzo is distilled in the way Ares' father taught him, using masticha, onion, apples, ashes and other secret ingredients. Wine and "Tsipouro" (a potent spirit) are made from traditional recipes.

The range of fruit grown include: tamarirllo, fejoa, persimmon, avocado, pear, apple, peacherine, quince, orange, lemon, tamarind, lime and grapes. A large variety of seasonal vegetables are cultivated. Herbs are grown, dried, packed and stored for year-round use. Athena preserves fish, fruit, makes jam, smokes honey and fish, and plaits the garlic to keep in the kitchen dried and safe, dries peppers, and celery leaves. She makes traditional glyka, grape concentrate, and tomato sauces. Discussions during the interview also included how to prevent insects violating the fruit, by painting the buds of fruit trees with a mixture of olive oil, garlic, eucalyptus oil, and water and velvet soap.

Traditional food and gardening are central and integral to life and social activities in this household. Meals and celebrations are enjoyed by family, extended family and friends, and the practices of conservation and frugality are preserved, even though no longer essential in their life of today. Maintaining a garden is a lifestyle choice. It is more costly because of water usage and time spent, but this lifestyle is not based on being cost effective, it is about self-sufficiency and maintaining a tradition.

Thalia

Thalia, 53, university educated, is the daughter of Ares and Athena. She was born in Ikaria and came to Australia when her parents migrated when she was four years old. She has lived in rural South Australia as a child, and then moved to the City of Adelaide where she has raised a family of children and grandchildren. She lives in a suburb close to her parents.

She has been practicing a blend of traditional and modern methods of gardening since she established her own home in her early 20s. A single parent, part-time employed, she spends available time with her grandchildren, children and parents. The reason she initially set up a garden for her young family was to save money. Now she gardens for pleasure. Her gardening practices have fluctuated over the stages of her life, however, currently she grows citrus trees, locuts, spinach, herbs, and garlic, and has planted a jacaranda and citrus orchard at her brothers property. She makes preserves and sauces, and freezes the juice of lemons from her garden produce. She does not consider herself an active gardener; however, it became clear during our interview that she has ample knowledge based on experience over several decades. She describes gardening with her family as an opportunity to

experience the values which they foster, and as a vehicle to connect with relations and friends.

She says she readily learns new skills, demanded by each environment where she lives, and as a young girl was taught how to slaughter a sheep, then how to clean the intestines, turn the viscera inside out, wash it, and prepare the kidneys and liver. The viscera were used to wrap around a roast to keep flavor in, as it cooks. She calls herself a "tomboy", and accompanied her father and his friends, shooting for wild goat, when as a 6-9 year old she lived in the Flinders Ranges and worked on weekends on her father's employers' commercial property. She learnt to tie the tomatoes which was "her job" and retains this approach today.

Like her parents, she has knowledge and sensitivity to the philosophy of *Amartia* (Αμαρτία), meaning it is sinful to waste anything. This ethos was passed down to her. She said that the generation which lived through the depression found relevance in this expression and although less relevant now, she notices that it lives with her as a value and influences her decisions: "My father passed on skills and values that have created a lifelong habit for me".

She also set up a garden for her "time poor" oldest daughter, but has passed the maintenance skills onto her grandchildren who demonstrate interest. They prepare the garden beds, plant and weed. Thalia observes that several years ago she picked pumpkins (gourds) from her garden and left them to dry in a shed. Her goal is to paint them and play as percussive musical instruments, however, she also points out that the gourds remain hanging in the shed!

With the help of her father, she has grafted trees in her garden using the traditional "mud method" as the grafting agent. She has tried modern methods, but has been more successful with traditional models. Grape picking is a yearly family affair. Grapes are chosen from vines in McLaren Vale. She assists her family in wine making, but it is her father's job. She stresses that her role is to assist. She does not document any practices such as wine or olive oil making, but may write down a recipe for a dish she likes. Her belief is that these practices have an oral tradition, so it is therefore not customary or necessary to write it down.

Debating recipes can be considered a practice in the context of this paper, as knowledge is challenged and discussed around the table, or in the garden. Also vigorous debate about techniques and methods are enjoyed by her and her family and she has adapted her methods depending on time availability at different stages of her life.

Her father however, has modified his practices on her territory, when he visits to help in the garden. She describes his practices as follows, "he used to come in and help me in the garden and *attack* it". She has guided him to prune less vigorously now! Her parents play an important role in her day-to-day life; food and growing is a part of this. She says her parents supply her with produce and a sense of connection:

"The sustainability mum and dad taught us sustains us on all levels, it's not just about food. I connect on many levels through the garden; it gives me a sense of belonging"

Pair 4 - Yianni and Spyro

Yianni

Yianni is a 71 year old Ikarian born man who migrated to Adelaide when he was 13. I interviewed him and his son Spyro. He maintains an extensive backyard garden. and learnt to garden from his parents in their small, but abundant backyard garden in the City of Adelaide.

Yianni places great value on his garden, his produce, his methodology, and his healthy lifestyle, generated through outdoor activity, exercise and eating healthy fresh food. During his adult life, he became an Art Teacher, and now retired, is a Practicing Artist. He referred to this stage of life as "enabling him to go back to his garden and put all he has learnt over the years into practice again".

Yianni also learnt from his father-in-law, his parents and from reading books. He has adjusted practices and enjoys discussing techniques with like-minded gardeners. He has experimented with using chemicals and fertilisers and now grows exclusively organic. After several years of fertilising, he concludes that fertilisers make the soil hard and will not support healthy plants. He has also rejected seed stock because he finds they carry disease more readily. His worm farm is a significant part of preparing his soil, and his compost system takes one year to mature before it can be dug back into his garden. He saves some stock and grows *horta* including *vlitta,* dandelion, and thistle.

We toured his garden of lettuce, broccoli, tomatoes, peppers, endive, and capsicum during the interview, and he especially pointed out his winter tomatoes. Kumara trees (Irish Strawberry) in his front garden are grown for beauty and to make his ouzo from the Kumara fruit. Bamboo is planted for screening and for staking his vegetables. Olive and fig trees are grown to make table olives, and fresh or dried figs are a staple in his household.

Grafting of olive trees and grape vines using traditional methods is a practice he maintains, producing his desired outcome; the perfect shape and taste. As Yianni evolves his recipes for preparing table olives, the oral tradition also evolves. During our interview, several hessian bags with salted olives swung on the hills hoist clothes line, a large bowl in the laundry contained olives tossed in vinegar and salt, and others were prepared in a coke bottle with only salt.

He goes fishing from his boat regularly, eating and sharing the catch with family and friends.

His diet has not altered and he claims is not influenced by other cultures or diets. His regular intake of legumes such as chick peas and lentils, fresh caught fish,

soups, is part of his routine and he continues to enjoy it. He does not eat out at restaurants, eats at the same times each day, and has an orderly routine and disciplined lifestyle. His routine is as follows: 7.30am fruit, work in the garden until 11am then breakfast of oat bran, sunflower seeds, 10 almonds, 10 walnuts, honey and whey; a traditional meal is eaten about 3pm followed by rest then rice soup αβγολέμονο[19] or something simple is a staple meal and eaten late evening. Yianni confines his work to the outside and his wife prepares meals and manages inside. Roles are clearly defined to support their routine.

Spyro

Spyro is Yianni's 42 year old son who was born in Adelaide. Spyro is a business owner and his work is seasonal.

He started gardening as a young boy, learning from his uncle and father. He purchased his first house on a large block in his early 20s when he established a substantial garden with a focus on citrus trees. His garden is now relatively small after subdividing.

His current practice is simple; keeping hens for eggs. He cultivated a special interest in grafting of citrus fruit trees which was a skill he learnt from *Fred's Nursery* and inspired by his uncle. Pruning is a valuable skill, learnt from his uncle. The pruning effort should result in the tree having the appearance of an upside down umbrella, he said. His sound nutritional knowledge is supported by his interest in health and his hobby as a body builder. When he travels back to Ikaria in summer, every two years, the first thing he does is put in a garden.

He recognises sage and chamomile and knows they increase blood flow and facilitate sleep. He rates his recognition of herbs as 2/10. The bitter (πικρες) *horta* with long slim leaves is the only wild green he knows. He says he does not practice his traditional knowledge.

He was told from a young age that a garden was about survival and says this is embedded in his thinking. He knows how to till the soil, plant and water, as this was his job as a child. He is aware that the knowledge that was passed onto him, was fuelled by the survival mentality of his relatives following the depression. He is conscious of carrying this mentality today and questions its relevance in abundant Australia.

Winemaking was part of his upbringing and he said that meticulous attention to removing any remaining grape stems produces the best wine.

He believes the soil in Australia is lacking in minerals, for example chromium, and therefore, food does not taste as flavoursome or wholesome as in Ikaria. Soil composition is critical to flavour, he says.

[19] A traditional egg lemon rice and chicken broth, considered a nourishing staple, and eaten when recovering from illness.

Spyro believes that he is strongly influenced by the values of the homeland and Ikarian emigrants. He says "by understanding them (Ikarians) I understand myself". He purports that if hard times came he knows that he has the knowledge base to till the land and become self-sufficient.

He claims his interest in gardening is increasing again and he is showing his 17 year old son how to prune and graft. He wants to actively pass this knowledge on. "One day when I work less I will have more garden" says Spyro. He expresses some regret about subdividing his home to sell the block, as it put an end to his orchard of stone fruit.

I observed from our interview and his comments that traditional values are embedded in his thinking and practices. He believes that he will return to a peasant life in his dotage. He commented that he has a deep commitment to the land as a source of sustenance and its origin, his motherland, 'Ikaria'.

Pair 5 - Manoli & Katerina and Lemonia

Manoli & Katerina

Manoli and Katerina aged mid-70s and late 60s respectively, migrated to Australia in the early 1950s. They lived in neighbouring villages in Ikaria, and like others brought their local customs to Australia. Prior to building a small house at the back of their house for their second daughter, they had an extensive vegetable patch where, now, minimal planting is available. Olives and flowers are currently grown in the front yard, and vegetables and flowers in the back.

They discussed how they were challenged by their new neighbours and fellow Ikarians to adjust their habits to Australian conditions. Much of what they practice now is a blend of both cultures. They learnt and adapted, asked friends, educated themselves in the Australian way of growing and planting, however, their cooking remains traditional peasant style.

Current practices include: keeping chickens for fresh eggs, making organic wine yearly, (labelled by their daughter who scans an old family photo from archives to make a different commemorative label each year), honouring the origins of wine and family. This year (2011) the photo captured a wistful Katerina as a young girl standing on a cliff in her village, looking out to sea. To solve the problem of lack of space in his garden, Manoli plants a seasonal garden in his daughter's house nearby. He grafts, to refine the quality of his eggplant bushes. He says that, "one must pick the first tomato of every crop, then cut horizontally and collect the top seeds for stock next year". He avoids purchasing from the nursery, and prefers to grow from old seed stock. Home-processed olive oil is purchased from friends. Adapting to the small backyard, apples, mandarins, locuts, and grapes are espaled.

Rather than use the automatic watering system, they like to hand water their garden even though it takes three hours to do so. Manoli and Katerina collect wild mushrooms, and Manoli fishes locally. When asked about eating habits, they

pointed out they now eat less olive oil and fry food less (for health reasons). Katerina has learnt from her daughter, Lemonia, the art of growing English flowers and also grows gardenias, dahlias, "English boxes", and propagates and standardises the stems. She said that, she has never documented any recipes; she does, however, write down and refer to recipes for *glyka* (sweets) because the amount of sugar used must be exact.

Although Manoli does not observe old customs today, he remembers how to salt a pig, care for goats, slaughter a lamb or goat, and make charcoal (a practice he learnt with his brother to make money during the depression).

Lemonia[20]

Lemonia, 35 years of age, was born and raised in Adelaide. She is employed in Greek aged care. She has elementary understandings of traditions and practices passed down by her parents, however, notices that now she is taking an interest because she has a four month old baby. She returns to Ikaria approximately every two years and feels deeply connected to her origins.

Lemonia is closely in touch with her parents lifestyle, supported by living nearby. She acquires recipes and learns, on a "need to know" basis, by looking at what is growing in her garden, and then asking her mother during a phone call; "what shall I make with this? I have zucchini, peppers and wild grass in the garden". Her mother then tells her a recipe. One example is *"mayiro"* (slow baked mixed vegetables cooked with herbs), which was documented during a telephone conversation. She finds herself asking more questions about how to cook, and taking more responsibility for her garden and its produce, (which is planted and tended by her parents), she is finding a new source of inspiration. She cannot identify *horta,* and still relies on her parent's expertise. She reflected on her garden apprenticeship as a young girl, when she would prepare the garden, water the plants. She introduced an automatic watering system to the family, however, notes that her parents have not embraced the new technology. Until she moved out of the family home, she maintained her own section of garden.

According to her father, Manoli, Lemonia is more interested in traditions than her siblings, manifested in her reliance on cooking traditional recipes, with little evidence of adaptation to *fusion* style Australian cuisine.

Her gardening practices are both divergent and narrow, which set her apart from the other respondents interviewed. She specialised in learning how to Bonsai, Topiary, and propagate trees, including olives. Azaleas are also a favourite which she maintains in her parents garden. Of interest in this pair of interviews, is that both maintains a garden in each other's premises, and does less on their individual properties.

[20] This interview was simultaneously conducted with Manoli, Katerina and Lemonia.

Interviews with people living in Ikaria

Pair 6 - Kassandra and Adonis

Kassandra

Kassandra is 54, born in Australia of Greek parents, moved to Athens when she was 20, then moved to Ikaria to live at 24, where she has lived for the past 30 years. She made a conscious choice to move with her husband from an apartment in Athens to Ikaria, to get away from pollution and "to have land around them". She had never gardened in her life prior to this. She moved to a self-subsistent community and worked full-time as a public servant.

Upon arriving back on her island of origin, she began to learn the following: tilling and preparing land, ploughing, planting vineyards, making wine, picking and identifying wild herbs, drying and storing for culinary and remedy applications (she considers that oregano, parsley, sage, mint, fennel and pennyroyal are very important in Ikarian kitchens). She learnt everything by watching and asking. For example, when a seedling came up she asked what it was. "I asked what to plant, when to plant, where to plant, and when seedlings came up I had to ask what is weed, and what is not. I was ignorant". She now collects *horta* and wild carrots, p*etroukia, lapatho*, *melissavozano, melissa and pentagromo*, wild leeks, asparagus and blackberries.

She has learnt new techniques and skills from her community including: the first fruit or vegetable that grows to fruition on the bush or vine must be kept for seed stock as it is the most resilient, therefore, unsusceptible to infection and insects. The wild olive is the strongest stock and Kassandra is collecting information to plant her olive grove with wild olives. She now identifies where a wild olive tree shoots up, for future reference when she plants her orchard. Whilst she has planted from packet seeds, she learnt that because they are hybrid, they cannot be used again and are not as strong as seed stock.

In her first years of returning to live in Ikaria, she tilled the neighbours spare space to plant a flower bed. She learnt that the free range chickens ate her flowers, and then abandoned planting flowers.

She preserves mushrooms, figs, freezes corn, beans, peppers and tomatoes. Home made salsa is frozen as is lemon juice in ice trays for non-seasonal use. Homemade "*visinatha*" syrup, sour cherries, ketchup, and lemonade, are prepared yearly. Her family press olives for oil and preserve for the table. Kassandra plants a summer garden around her home, but may not have a Winter garden, depending upon her work commitments.

She is involved in oral translation during tours, which are organised by a local villager who has comprehensive knowledge of locally grown wild foods. These tours are designed to educate visitors to Ikaria on how to identify and gather wild foods. She is a member of the local seed bank co-operative who collect local stock at the end of each season. She sites her active involvement in the W*omen's Co–op*

in her village, which organise forums and opportunities to formally share information about traditional practices, such as; cooking, preserving, and other cottage industry skill sets. The Co-op upholds a commitment to finding ways to go back to using old skills and recipes, and asking for information which will fill the knowledge gaps.

Kassandra considers her involvement in the Co-op represents a way of critically engaging with the maintenance of tradition. Currently, the Co-op is actively involved in seeking solutions to overgrazing and the consequential erosion of soil.[21] The W*omen's Co-op* is also engaged in documenting recipes and selling homemade preserves, cheese, free range eggs and other home grown produce. There is an emerging political awareness on an increasingly wider local level across the island, about the seed companies, opening stores in Ikaria to sell hybrid stock. The Co-op plays an educative role within the community, addressing issues of sustainability. Raising awareness of the risk factors is also seen as a practice.

She notes the practice of sharing excess produce with neighbours has declined since the economic crisis in Greece. Kassandra is now vigilant about preserving and freezing for economic reasons, more so than before the 2011 re-financing of Greek public debt crisis.[22] She has received pay cuts and needs to be as self-sufficient as possible for survival reasons.

Adonis

Adonis is 17 years old, a school student, the son of Kassandra, Greek born, and has lived in Ikaria all his life. Adonis believed that he did not have experience or knowledge of traditional wisdom, however, as we talked further, he and his mother realised he has absorbed information from village life; it had never been articulated. This was a pleasant surprise to Kassandra and Adonis.

Adonis stated that he helps with cooking meals by shredding and cutting vegetables and knows how to make a few dishes of his own, such as spaghetti carbonara, pizza and hamburgers, none of which are traditional, but have been introduced in the larger towns. He was raised to assist around the house, carrying out chores such as labouring and preparing garden beds, picking fruit and vegetables, watering plants, carrying rocks when a wall was being built, and tilling soil. He says he has watched a lot of gardening. As a family, they do not eat together often. He describes the food at home as *fusion* rather than traditional, and has learnt these recipes from his mother.[23]

His knowledge is limited and comes from personal experience. For example, "*Yialloplitti"* is a wild grass which, if eaten by rabbits, kills them. He learnt this first- hand when his pet rabbit died from consuming *Yalloplitti.* He recognises

[21] The Co-op is taking action to get unmonitored goats off the land.
[22] *Wikipedia.org/wiki/European sovereign debt. crisis, cited August 12th 2011*
[23] His mother was in the minority who were interviewed, and prepares fusion cuisine, and is influenced by other cultural culinary tastes.

common herbs such as mint, basil, and penny royal, which are grown around his house.

He has a strong belief that vegetables grown from seed stock look and taste better, and taste even better if eaten in season. He is mistrustful of vegetables grown with chemicals and believes if it is not organic, it makes him feel sick. He says that he often asks "Who grew this?" as it is common knowledge around the village to be mindful of who is using chemicals on gardens and who isn't, and to avoid chemicals. He is engaged in a community that has an awareness of environmental issues so this influences his stance. The following points evidence this: he can identify plants grown with chemicals because they "last long, but lack flavour", and also knows of those referred to as *"anepsisma,"* (force grown out of season) which he prefers not to eat; he appreciates the concept of non-wastage and leftovers are given to the animals, or recycled.

He reported that as a young boy, the availability of variety year round was extremely limited, therefore, one ate only what was in season. He is now aware that variety is available all year (via imported goods, improved transportation and a global economy), and is making conscious choices about eating habits which are backed by his personal and political philosophy. He firmly believes that he has to learn traditional life skills because he will have his own garden and house in the future, and, "no matter where you live you must have a garden to support you in financial hardship and to be sustainable".

Pair 7 - Antigone and Harmonia

Antigone

Antigone 62 was born in Australia of Greek parents, moved back to live in Ikaria when she was 18, and has lived most of her life on the island. She lives in a small coastal village in a community of approximately 40 people. She also attends to her properties which are dedicated to growing olives and grapes. She says she takes great pride in her garden, and knowledge she has learnt and applied to living a simple self-sufficient village life. When she got married at 23, she learnt a range of skills from her mentors: her husband, parents-in-law, and local villagers. She does not recall having expertise prior to marriage, so acquired this *"know how"* and was expected to prepare, plant and eat from the garden in addition to immersion in village lifestyle, which at the time was totally self-sustaining.

Historically, she planted from seed stock, and when her mother-in-law died, much of the stock was lost. She has since accumulated seeds and cuttings, for future planting.

When her father-in-law died some 20 years ago, some of the skills went with him. He had passed his knowledge onto her and family on a "need to know" basis, however, Antigone sought out other reliable sources after his death. She observes that local villagers have held onto their accumulated knowledge, and are increasingly becoming more socially aware; the quality of foods, the use of

pesticides, poisons, hybrids and imported genetically modified foods, are of local concern. The local anti-hybrid activists oppose the nurseries that are springing up in Ikaria. She agrees and supports the environmentalists to build up seed banks of original stock, (led by the *Women's Co-op* in a nearby mountain village), and raising consciousness to return to sustainable practices.

Antigone has an abundant garden in which she spends time daily, and her routine revolves around the home, the seasonal rhythms and their requirements. I observed that she is totally immersed in the peasant lifestyle of Ikaria. Sometimes she does not get home before dark, tending her goats on the mountainside, feeding the rabbits, chickens, pig, or collecting *horta* to feed the family or animals. Milking and grazing her herd of five goats is a daily ritual, and making cheese from the goats milk in a timely manner is a necessity.

After her husband prepares the garden, she plants beans, eggplant, pumpkin, potatoes, onions, broccoli, wild cabbage, and carrots in winter. The summer garden includes peppers, tomatoes, zucchini, lettuce, plum tomatoes native to her village, fruit trees and herbs. She said she attended a school in Athens where she learnt gardening techniques. Her all-round knowledge is extensive, and self-rated at 9/10. She shared many insights with me during the interview and some are: use of fertiliser mixed with animal manure compost is her preferred mix for garden compost, collecting of *horta* including dandelion greens used as a diuretic, and liver flush, milk thistle (γαλακζίδα) for heart and bladder problems, fennel boiled and drank as tea for kidney problems, lambs quarters (βλήττα) for mineral content, purslain an aphrodisiac and metabolic rate stabiliser, wild goose grass or cliver is excellent for the lymphatic system, the milk of dandelion stems removes warts, and leaf imbibed as a drink, St Johns Wort, to be avoided by goats and considered a pest by herdsmen is a treatment for arthritis, rheumatism, sunburn, neuralgia, burns, or cuts. After researching botanical traditions, she made an infusion of St Johns Wart for family and community, first aid. Antigone has a native interest and curiosity towards medicinal herbs and natural remedies, and uses these whenever possible in lieu of allopathic medicine. She says that Greeks know that a bag of mixed *horta* is good for you, without having specific knowledge of why.

A myriad of traditions inform her life, comprising: grape picking, grape treading, preparing vats, caskets, and most importantly, scrupulous cleaning of all vessels. Pruning trees and picking olives are seasonal activities and are part of the enduring yearly cycle.

Drying sultanas and figs is a part of her sustainable living philosophy, enabling the produce to be enjoyed all year round, not only *in-season*. She asked her father-in-law to show her the following method: Make a liquid from wood ash, boil it in a cauldron, strain the liquid off, add olive oil, then dip the bunches of grapes into the liquid and spread on the ground to dry. Regarding fresh figs, they are placed in a sack, washed in the ocean, then dried on the roof until ready to be packed with oregano and stuffed with a single almond. Olives are also washed in the ocean then dried. These are ancient methods practiced by Antigone today. Garden vegetables such as potato, zucchini and eggplant, are also dried for off-seasonal culinary use.

The advent of electricity and refrigeration radically affected both lifestyle and availability of produce throughout the year. Surplus home grown vegetables are preserved or frozen, rather than given away. The concept of sharing produce with community is still alive, and swapping is common practice, however, when there is a glut and every villager, relative or visitor has sufficient, the food can be frozen.

Alongside her husband, she has been involved in the slaughter and subsequent preparation of goats meat and making sausages from intestinal membrane, however, when they raise a pig, they engage a professional for the slaughter. Aphrodite knows how to *cure* a ham. In keeping with sustainable practice, all parts of the animal are cleaned and used. She told me how a *filaki* [24] is made, although she has never made one herself (Appendix 3). Several such tasks have been taken over by one of her sons who lives at home, continuing family tradition.

Harmonia

Harmonia, 34, is Antigone's daughter, was born in Greece and has lived in Ikaria all her life. She studied graphic design, then worked in Athens for five years and considers Ikaria home. Motivated by the need for greenery and beauty, she grew plants in pots on a small balcony, flowers, lettuce and herbs. She returned to the family home, and feeling the need to "connect with the soil" she planted a vegetable garden of her own and asked her father to buy her a pig! She believes that her knowledge is "inside," to be activated when necessary. She planted her garden with old seed stock and tells how in 2009, she heard of "the 3rd leaf syndrome" This refers to picking the 3rd leaf from the first lettuce, as seed stock for the next planting.

On reflecting on her knowledge source, she reveals her primary teacher was her grandfather. She followed him on his daily errands learning from him, the traditional Ikarian ways. Additionally, she did the daily "rounds" with a neighbour from a young age, and learnt about goat management. By eight years old, she had her own small plot of garden, and raised her own goat. She learnt to recognise *horta* and specific *horta* to feed goats.

She did her apprenticeship by weeding, preparing soil, watering, clearing the area under the tree for olive picking, then picking the olives. She felt a strong connection to the seasonal rhythms from an early age; planning for fallow times by picking dropped figs for goat food, protecting grains in storage from rat attacks, planning storage availability should the boat not come in with supplies.[25] She was raised with a self-reliant ethos which now informs her approach to living on, and from, the land. Her self-rating for knowledge of herbs and *horta* is 7/10.

She says she is influenced by the growing awareness of going local, and opposes the "Genetically Modified" foods making their way to Ikaria, including meat from France. Although she is engaged part-time in the garden, she confidently envisages a time in the future where she can draw on her experience to manage a family of her

[24] A *filaki* is a back pack made from a small goat. A detailed description of the process is found in Appendix 3
[25] Boats transported food and supplies to Ikaria.

own, and healthy lifestyle. Her drive for self-sufficiency and sustainability is convincing. She points out that there is always someone in the village who you can ask to "fill-in the knowledge gaps" when necessary.

The following two interviews with Cratos and Ouranos are single interviews, not presented as parent child pair.

Cratos

Cratos, a 43 year old single man lives in a remote coastal village of Ikaria, runs a business providing bed and breakfast for international travellers in "rooms" which he built for tourist accommodation. His work is essentially seasonal, relying on the summer tourist market, so he dedicates more time to tending the land between the months of September and May. He has lived in various locations around Ikaria most of his life and spent a short time in Australia as a young boy. I interviewed Cratos by email.

He claims to be largely self-sufficient and gardens every second day, including hand watering fruit trees, flowers and vegetables. He seeks knowledge from other villagers if crops are diseased. He collects wild oregano, thyme and mountain herbs, discusses menus and ancient wisdom with friends and community, and rates his knowledge of herbs as 6/10. His practical and herbal knowledge was also learnt from the "oldies" in the community, and he laments the decline of the tradition of swapping seed stock, "it is not done now like it was in the old days". Swapping produce with his 84 year old neighbour is a boon as is the old seed stock, which she gives him. He also buys packet seeds from the nursery.

His grandmother taught him how to make a healing balm called "valsamolado" from herbs which is applied to burns and wounds. He prepares tomato sauce from his garden tomatoes, makes jams, and an alcoholic fruit drink from his fruit trees.

The skills passed onto him from his father include, building, roofing, plumbing, and electrical skills. He credits his parents and grandparents as custodians of the knowledge. Whenever he is ill he tells: "I remember something told to me by my grandmother or father, some tradition" which allows him to treat himself. Traditional remedies are a first choice. He claims he has passed his knowledge on to *youngsters* in the community if they want to learn.

Ouranos

Ouranos, 43, is married with one child and comes from a community in
Ikaria situated between the coast and the mountains. He lived in Ikaria until he was 28 years old and now travels between Ikaria and Australia. He is a professional musician and a tradesperson. Like many Ikarian men, he considers himself a "traditional" man. He learnt a trade in Athens followed by ship work for several years before settling back on his island. The oldest of six children, he followed his father's profession (a leading violinist) and plays "παραδοσιακή μουσική" (the traditional folk music of Asia Minor, Thrace Crete).

He grows an organic garden from seed stock including herbs, beans, tomatoes, lettuce, rocket and potatoes. Although he claims everybody knows how to use herbs, and *horta,* he recalls that camomile is for constipation, horta is a special pie filling, and *valsamohorta* is a tonic for the system and intestinal cleanser.[26] He described his simple method for saving seed stock: "dry the seeds in the sun for a week or two, and when completely dry, store in a jar for next season". He makes ouzo from seasonal fruit. He stresses eating only what is *in season*. His culinary knowledge was passed onto him through the maternal line. As a young boy, he was involved in preparing garden beds, collecting olives, herding goats, managing chickens, the family donkey and horse. He highly values seasonal produce.

> *"It doesn't matter if you have to wait another year for an apple, when you taste it again fresh off the tree it is exceptional".*

He is quick to point out that those islanders who grow for commercial use, administer fertilisers and chemicals. The most important insight he wished to share with me, was that Ikaria has a secret, which is: "People live longer on his island because they recognise the value of herbs and *horta*, and include them as a staple in their diet".[27] "They exploit the beauty of the sun and grow tasty crops". He also maintains that by having a simple, non-materialistic, easy going, traditional life where traditions and festivals are observed, longevity is assured.[28]

He commented on the importance of soil quality in Ikaria, rich in minerals, water and sand content, stating that each location has different soil. Some areas are suited to crops, others orchards, others olives. History has played a role, he points out, and over the last 100 years, as the threat of piracy diminished, villages were established near and on the coast, so a cottage fishing industry grew. Prior to this, Ikarians were mountain dwellers. New locations required new knowledge and oral traditions were re-shaped. He maintains that these days, one is more likely to encounter traditional customs in the mountain villages.

2.3 Short Evaluation of the Practices given in the interviews

For Australian Ikarians, the knowledge shared in the charts does not show weight given by individual participants. Some participants had deep, extensive knowledge, and others had minimal. The *"Gen X"* had more garden experience than *"Gen Y"*, however, it was noted that this generation is living in a multicultural society which is easier to embrace than in it was in the 1960s. "They are proud of their *Greekness.* The cycle of knowledge is coming back to life", considers Thalia as she reflects on her grandchildren's' values compared to her own childhood, when she felt that she was considered an "outsider".

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[26] A similar recipe is given by Cratos, Penelope and Antigone

[27] Ouranos in this statement, echoes the findings of Beuttner and the longevity studies carried out by the AARP national Geographic team.

[28] This view is certainly supported by longevity research (Dpandip 2009) which cites "unique diet ... relentless optimism and three-day parties ..." as factors contributing to health.

The purpose of the tables is therefore, to show practices arising through the interviews, and to overview the variety and depth of knowledge demonstrated. Two in-depth detailed practices; *How to make a filaki* (Appendix 3), *and How to make Wine* (Appendix 2), record a step-by-step approach, written down for this paper, to illustrate the detailed knowledge that has been passed on, through word-of-mouth.

Table one captures the collective knowledge base specific to herbs, plants and recipes. Table two captures other traditional practices identified by participants during the interviews.

CHAPTER 3

Patterns, Themes and Analysis

Several important patterns and themes began to emerge from the interviews, which significantly correlate with and deviate from current data on this topic. Combining these findings with information available on longevity, lifestyle and traditional cultural values, provides a fuller appreciation of what underpins the passing down of knowledge from generation to generation. The findings are:

1. Saving and swapping of seeds. Avoiding hybrid plants. Giving away excess garden produce.
2. Acquisition of produce from parents' gardens.
3. The generational apprenticeship.
4. The oral transmission of practices.
5. Cultural Heritage shapes learning and maintaining of practices.

We will now proceed into the analysis of these patterns.

Pattern 1

3.1 Saving and swapping seeds, avoiding hybrid plants and stock, and giving away excess produce

3.1.1 Saving and swapping seeds

One of the most important patterns that I encountered in discussions with participants is the saving and swapping of seeds. The findings from all the interviews revealed that the older generation "Silent and Boomers", saved and sought seed stock from a community seedbank, friends, or old family stock, brought to Australia from Ikaria. (Old stock brought to Australia in the 1940s and 50s is still used today).

Mostly participants prized old seed stock and were convinced of its superior crops. As Aphrodite declared "my best crops are from seed stock". Nearly everybody swapped and saved seeds. Several participants discussed the methodology by which they save the best seeds yearly. For example, Manoli horizontally cuts the first tomato of the season, and scoops out the top seeds to save. Harmonia saves the third leaf of the first lettuce: There were two exceptions, who lived in Adelaide. Firstly, Penelope. Penelope has a history of buying seedlings and seeds from Bunnings[29] to plant seasonally. She also relied heavily on her mother's garden produce. She has since discovered in her mother's shed, seed stock labeled in jars, and wrapped in serviettes. She now understands in retrospect the value and history of saving seed stock and makes further sense of the swapping of seeds, which she was only vaguely aware of while her mother was alive. The second exception to this trend

[29] A large gardening store chain.

was Yianni who claimed: "I like hybrids, they are disease resistant". Most of his crops come from packet seeds.

3.1.2 Avoiding hybrids plants and seed stock

This pattern of avoiding hybrids emerged in the interviews regardless of generation or place of residence. The idea of collecting seeds because it's a cultural tradition is "drilled" into those interviewed, and they follow suit from the generation that precedes them. With only one exception, the older generation was opposed to hybrids. Half of the younger generation interviewed, held the same opinion as the older generation, and those who did not hold this opinion, were either inexperienced gardeners, or had no exposure to the practice.

This of course has been observed by Finnimore (2010), who discusses this habit in her opening address, Backyard Frontiers at the Adelaide Migration Museum. "... friends help with seeds, advice and those with a history of backyard gardening, are inventive and deeply attuned to the land and the seasons." It can be argued that attunement to the land, naturally lends itself to collecting seed stock and strong opinion about its importance.

Attunement to the land and seasons is aligned to this practice, as the avoidance of hybrids was associated with a larger agenda: an essential part of being sustainable is knowing the origins of what you are consuming. Also a robust, healthy organic plant, food that is full of taste and flavor, is eaten in season, because it is good for health. The younger generation discussed the link between growing from seed stock, and avoiding hybrids. They claimed it contributed to their well-being, their future health, and their desire and capacity to be self-sufficient, should they need to be. For example, Adonis 17, told us: "I don't trust the stuff grown with chemicals, I've heard stories, I don't feel good. I have to learn it [gardening], I will have my own house, own garden. If we don't have much money, you need a garden". Harmonia and others of similar persuasion, said seed stock is linked to self-sufficiency and attunement to the land and seasons;

> *"I have the knowledge and skills to be self-sufficient if needed ... we use old stock; knowledge is important. I know what activities go with the seasons".*

Of those who live in Ikaria, an additional agenda was observed. The younger generation connected the relationship between using hybrids verses old seed stock, to a greater political, economic and social agenda. Their concerns for their future family's health and quality of life include: Genetically Modified (GM) foods, meat imported from France and pesticide threats to the ecosystem. Paramount is the fear that if they can't grow crops and build capacity to sustain themselves, by utilising old wisdom in all its expressions, then the Greek economic collapse of 2011,[30] will affect their lives dramatically.

[30] The critical economic climate in Greece at the time of writing this thesis underpinned provocative discussions and observations from both young and older generation Ikarians.

In Australia, both the younger and older generation, avoided hybrid planting. The older generation mostly demonstrated that this pattern was a "way of life", informed by habits which were never questioned and have been maintained over their lives. The emotional satisfaction derived from gardening, maintaining traditions, and the need to be sustainable, is a driving force habituated by growing up during a period when resources were scarce. Thalia, for example, expressed this, when speaking of her parents gardening practices says: *It's not cost effective but an important part of their life".*

The young generation in Australia also picked up this habit to some degree. For both generations, necessity is not a regulator.

3.1.3 Giving away excess produce

The tradition of giving away excess produce is evident with all gardeners in the interview. They like to give it away.[31] However, both Ikarians and Australians have the habit of making preserves and glyka (sweets) with excess produce, and when freezers were introduced to village communities, the pattern of giving away excess was weakened, as less was given away.

Kassandra tells us that when she and her family were impacted by wage cuts in Greece, (2011), she minimised giving away excess, instead she processed and froze produce and prepared meals packs in advance, exclusively for her family.

Pattern 2

3.2 The second pattern emerging is acquisition of produce from parents' gardens. (The parents are supplying and the children are receiving).

From the interviews, we find that in Australia the parents plant and produce supplies for the whole family. This is regulated by three factors: Regulators: **Proximity, Time,** and **Convenience and Knowledge.**

1) **"Proximity"**: The result we have seen is that proximity between the house of the parent and the child plays a big part in creation of a garden. For example, Lemonia, from the younger generation, identified, "I don't need a garden, my parents grow it for me"!

2) **"Time":** Several participants are busy building a career, and/or raising children. These participants were time poor and relied on parents produce.

3) **"Convenience and knowledge":** Convenience made it less likely that the children would grow a garden themselves and/or actively source skills and information.

[31] We would encounter this same pattern in other areas around the world. It is not only relevant to Ikarians.

3.2.1 The proximity principle

Several participants, who lived in Australia, declared that the 'proximity" principle (living close to a parent), acted as a deterrent to growing and taking responsibility for their own garden. Those interviewed either supplied their children with, or were in receipt of, fresh garden produce: "I am a city slicker, I always leave my parents place with a bag of vegies", Spyro tells us.

The proximity factor works against those living in Australia, i.e. they are less likely to garden. There is an exception to this tendency which occurred for the younger participants when visiting Ikaria. They said that they get a sense of connection which then acts as a motivator to till the land, pick *horta* and become involved in cottage and community industries, such as picking in the olive groves and fruit orchards, and distilling *raki*[32] to name a few. Even though in Australia vigilance is weaker, the legacy of family life is living on in the next generation, through foods and recipes, which get activated when visiting their parent's birthplace. It inhabits and further inspires them upon returning to Australia.

In Ikaria, the pattern was different. Children assume they will put the relevant skills and knowledge into practice when they set up house or take charge of a plot of family land. They take greater responsibility than Australian Greeks as custodians of both the knowledge and practice. It could be argued, therefore, that they are creating a greater opportunity for potential knowledge transfer.

3.2.2 Time

Availability of gardening time is limited for those raising families and working. The theme of "not enough time" was common in this market segment, particularly those living in Australia. Therefore, the proximity principle interacts with and solves this dilemma. Participants can eat seasonal local produce by "raiding" their parent's gardens! As Kalliope who has a young child says: "I get given food from dad's garden, gardening goes to the bottom of my list". She does, however, maintain a herb garden.

It is of interest that the growing of herbs for culinary use, however, was considered mandatory regardless of family commitments and stage of life. Everyone grew or gathered herbs as a basic practice, perhaps as minimal time was required. Of note is the reference to "*rubber time*"[33] by those Greek Australians visiting the homeland. Perhaps this also explains why it is easier to grow a garden and get more involved when visiting the homeland; Greek time sits within a cultural context unlike white Australia. "We have no sense of time, [....] plans are demoted to dreams", says Spyro who visits Ikaria yearly.

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[32] Raki is made in autumn after the grape harvest from the remains of crushed grape skins and seeds which are distilled to produce Raki. Often the community share a distillery. Throughout the middle east the same process using different names is a tradition. For example; Araki, Ariki or Araka www.completely-crete.com/raki.html.

[33] An ultra-flexible approach to time. People with this approach are seldom punctual.

Time availability was not raised as a regulator by the Ikarian gardeners. This reinforces regulator two as an Australian cultural variable.

3.2.3 Convenience and Knowledge

The interplay between **"Proximity"** and **"Time"**, with **"Convenience and Knowledge"**, is noteworthy. The proximity principle and lack of time expressed as a theme reduce the drive to gain knowledge from the parent. This renders it convenient to be supplied effortlessly by the parents' garden. In summary, it is therefore evident that proximity is the primary regulator and regulators two and three are secondary patterns.

From my interviews for pattern two, I have concluded that the younger generation in Australia experience a diluted drive to create a garden for themselves. The younger generation in Ikaria are also custodians of produce from the parents garden, however, due to living with the family, or on family land and social expectation, their hands-on involvement is higher.

Pattern 3

3.3 The generational apprenticeship

Every generation has undertaken a gardening apprenticeship of sorts. Passing on information is a strong pattern. We see it consciously and unconsciously. An apprentice is essentially the student/helper of a master, and an apprentice needs to be young. For example, if one wanted to become a blacksmith one would seek out a blacksmith, to learn all about the craft. The blacksmith teaches the apprentice all he knows, and in return, the apprentice assists doing all the menial and trivial tasks that the master is too busy to do. In the opening lines of Paul Dukas' (1897) symphonic piece *"The Sorcerer's Apprentice"* the lyrics help us gain an appreciation of this role:

> *"A young boy from the village was apprenticed to a sorcerer. The young boy wanted to learn how to create magic, but all that he was allowed to do were chores: carrying water, picking up, and cleaning around the sorcerer's castle".*

Every generation in this study has undertaken a gardening apprenticeship of sorts. Passing of information from one generation to the next is very potent. We see it being passed consciously and unconsciously.

We will firstly examine the apprenticeship pattern for those living in Ikaria. Like the quote above from "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" poem, the apprenticeship involved performing menial tasks for the father, mother, grandfather, or older sibling. Some examples of these tasks include: carrying wood, breaking up the land and rocks, preparing a garden for planting, weeding, watering, collecting manure, rowing the boat while grandfather fished, clearing the area under the trees for picking olives, milking the goats, feeding the animals and collecting *horta* for the goats to eat.

Harmonia explains in the following quotes, her role as assistant:

> *"I learnt the process of making wine and helped out, but the boys did the stomping ... learning was mainly from my grandfather, I followed him everywhere, I was very close to my grandfather, and [my father worked in the (marble) factory so was only available on weekends]. I also did the daily rounds with my neighbor; she was my starting point with goats. I learnt to milk them, but not how to make the cheese .... I had my own garden from eight years old and planted eggplant, watermelon, tomatoes and lettuce, some flowers and trees".*

We see from this quote that grasping the menial chores during her childhood, Harmonia graduated to having her own garden and responsibility, albeit at a young age. Adonis also assisted saying:

> *"I've watched a lot of gardening, but haven't done all parts of it"*

In the research, it emerged that the childhood apprenticeships, forged during the formative years, were instrumental in creating values and norms shaped by the mentor/master relationship, and accordingly formed an emergent identity.

However, the apprenticeship pattern is harnessed by the subliminal transfer of cultural values. This necessitates a discussion about cultural theory models in relation to the theme under discussion. Hofstede (1997) who developed "the five dimensions of culture" model, argues that, "these mental programs which are learnt in childhood are stable and once internalised become a central component of one's identity".

Using Harmonia as an example, we identify how her learning process occurred through observation, mimicking, and simply, by being in her village and participating in the life of her family and community. It was an unconscious process. Consequently, she acquired certain intrinsic values that were culture specific. This is highly significant in this study, as the pattern of unconscious learning created a blueprint for behavior, which we see expressed as a theme during the interviews. Cultural theory models refer to this universal unconscious process as *enculturation.* Ikas, Karin and Wagner (2009) in reporting Halls study (1990), stress that "it is impossible [for man] to divest himself of his own culture, it has penetrated to the roots of his nervous system [....] most culture is hidden and is outside voluntary control."[34] Many stories emerging in the interviews point to this unconscious aspect of learning, for example, when asked how he has acquired his knowledge, Spyro said, "It is in the subconscious." So it seems that Halls theory of "outside voluntary control" is embedded in Spyro's response.

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[34] The *Iceberg analogy of culture* is a model or analogy of culture that most trainers and theorists agree sums up the concept best; it likens the external and internal cultural values to an iceberg. The tip of the iceberg is the external culture, and visible. It consists of language, customs, food, dress; it is acquired through observation, education and training, easily learned and can be changed. The underwater is the internal or invisible culture and includes ways of thinking and perceiving non-verbal communication, overtly learned or implicitly learned socialisation. This model is represented by Weaver, Gary R. in *Understanding and coping with cross-cultural adjustment and stress,* Simon & Schuster.

Both conscious and unconscious values were inculcated during the apprenticeship. The Ikarian habit of self-sufficiency is therefore *acculturated*; informed by the seasonal rhythms, planning and preparing is a way of life that results in a sustainable lifestyle. Gundykunst and Kim (2003, p 19) in reporting Ferarro's study of 2002 state this succinctly: "values permeate everything that we have, say, do and think". Another example is the knowledge of herbs, and secrets derived from herbs. Apparently, universally embraced by all participants; many did not know how; it seemed to be learned through socialisation (invisible learning).

Other skills, however, appeared to be learnt and pursued consciously. For example, Harmonia, learnt certain skills such as, tethering techniques: how to figure the distance between the goats so they don't get tangled together, learning to gauge the habits of goats and how to manage them, as a necessity, in response to her thirst for knowledge and curiosity. Unsurprisingly, when the garden apprenticeships were complete, focus shifted elsewhere and interest continued to ebb and flow at different stages of life. So when Harmonia and others in this report left to study in Athens, they did not maintain or adapt practices. However, they reported a spiritual connection with the land remained and anticipation of the greenery, goodness, health and memories of their childhood, warmed their return and a yearning for the values and life they had grown up with. When they returned, competencies were triggered and patterns resumed.

The apprenticeship pattern in Australia has similarities though; we found it to be diluted in the second generation and strong in the first generation. Second generation Australians, garden more as a relaxing and leisurely activity, which tends to be informed by the transplantation of ideas, recipes, plant varieties, and also availability of time. However, despite this, the apprenticeship pattern is apparent. The stories of apprenticeships in Australia were similar to those in Ikaria. Spyro, as a child, was required to clean up leaves and dropped fruit; also during wine season he had to take the stems from the grapes so his father could make the wine.

Aptitude proved to be a regulator, for this segment of second generation Greeks. The child who took a natural interest, or had a special affinity with the parent. Some daughters mentioned it was a way of seeking approval from the parent, especially the father, however, this is a point of interest and outside the scope of this Thesis. Another point of interest is that the middle daughter emerged as the independent tomboy who had a natural affinity with the outdoors gained the most knowledge.

The parents "invested" time in these children, which yielded a good "return". The return is illustrated in the case of Aphrodite, who said that she has learnt from her father and now teaches him new techniques. She also modified traditional recipes like adding orange juice to paximathes (shortbreads), adapting to fit with available fresh produce or dietary constraints, and passed it onto her family and back to the older generation.

It is clear that enculturation, and unconscious learning, the need to know basis, plus the master/mentor relationship, influenced knowledge transfer and patterns in the Australian segment. Importance is ascribed to food, medicines, and recipes being traditional or informed by tradition. As Electra muses:

"My first response to illness is to go for the natural remedies passed down from my grandmother; modern medicine is not my choice I have been conditioned subconsciously ... (laughingly). I did not know there was any other oil except olive oil until in my teens!"

The persistence of customs in the older generation Australians was formed and reflected in three values - 1) non-wastage, 2) dietary values, and 3) necessity to improvise.

1) **"Non-wastage"[35]:** An example of non-wastage is provided by Athena and Ares. Food is never thrown away; it must be composted or given to the cats or chickens. Fish gizzards are buried in the garden, to improve the soil. The backyard garden is planted to capacity, so that all available area is utilised. The household is totally sustainable. This is a legacy from the values they inherited, during times of hardship. Their life has changed but the values have not.

   Thalia reflects this value as she comments on her parents values:

   "We were told to be careful of wastage of olives or grapes when picking. I have inherited this value ... they got through a war, the depression, and it created a habit. 'It is a sin to waste food', (Αμαρτία - Amartia) we heard this a lot"

   This pattern of non-wastage is found in other cultures that migrated to Australia in search of a better life, and is further referenced by Finnimore (2010) who claims that "self-sufficiency was essential for the post war generation and waste was incomprehensible".

2) **"Dietary values":** Pericles believes his diet is good, he has not changed it, since arriving in Australia in the mid-1950s "a peasant lifestyle is part of who we are, the Greek diet is healthier than any other [...] the variety". Pericles reinforces his dietary principles are the same even though when he moved to Australia, family life had a different meaning, the hardship of living under a dictatorship was removed, and life featured abundance and more variety. Radock (2000) exemplifies Pericles notion of "a peasant life", as she states that traditions are formed from "need, poverty and habituation". Although life feels abundant, food choice remains the same: simple, home grown and organic.

   Yianni too, champions the benefits of traditional diet and cites two examples of why it should be upheld: "my diet has never changed, it is a peasant diet, I have the same breakfast every day. Why would I change it? My father in law is living in Ikaria, he is 102, and his friend is 103 and still working in his garden in Adelaide".

[35] Although non-wastage emerged as a theme in this analysis, it is vital to clarify that non-wastage is not a new concept associated with recycling and becoming 'greener'". Although the terms sustainable and self-sufficient form an overarching principle under which non-wastage sits, we must remember that sustainability is a new term for an old practice.

It can be concluded that these values are inherent, persist, and were adopted both consciously and unconsciously during early life.

The apprenticeship theme was recalled by this segment when they reflected back on their early years in Ikaria. Yianni recalls, "I carried the manure and the firewood." Cratos remembers learning to cut trees, and then smoke the wood, and built an oven in order to make charcoal to sell. He picked *horta,* identified mushrooms, and collected twigs to feed the goats. Pericles asserts "I watched the village and the vineyards as a child. When my mother was in gaol, I had to go too because I was only a boy. She sent me back to Ikaria to take care of the garden, she trusted I knew how to", all knowledge was handed and involved an apprenticeship of sorts.

In summary, the apprenticeship pattern of performing menial tasks, watching and mimicking, coupled with conscious and unconscious learning, supported by cultural values, pervades all segments discussed in this pattern: Young Ikarians, young Australians and older generation Ikarians and Australians.

Pattern 4

3.4 The oral transmission of practices

The oral transmission of recipes or practices is another important pattern that emerged from the interviews. It was revealed that recipes were not recorded. Knowledge and recipes are passed on through 'word-of-mouth.' This practice was similar in Greece and Australia. The research indicates that the oral tradition is so strongly anchored in cultural roots, tradition and way of life that it is unlikely to change. Generation after generation continues to discuss and implement planting problems and solutions, and share recipes and techniques with family and friends. The data also suggests socialisation and community mindedness which features in Greek society (in Ikaria and Australia), is a vehicle for ensuring the continuation of the oral tradition.

Although the younger generation is beginning to move towards documentation, there is strong reliance on the oral tradition. This reliance was confirmed by Cratos who observed that most of the young ones who are interested "know recipes and traditions by heart", therefore, there is no need to document. He raised the question "should we document knowledge"? He is indecisive. (He also reflected tongue in check that he is still young enough to remember them). This concern was also raised by Thalia who firmly believes it is not appropriate to document age old oral family traditions such as wine making procedures.

Documentation within the younger folk appears to be regulated by two factors. Firstly, the need to document in order to remember a recipe, and secondly, as a hobby or special interest. However, as Ouranos strongly maintains: "some people will never write it down, only if there is an interest or reason".

There were some exceptions to this oral transmission trend, in the use of recipes;

1) **Documenting the amount of sugar called for in a recipe**

In the interview with Katerina, she said that only when making sweets does she rely on a recipe. She measures the amount of sugar required, as proportions significantly affects the outcome. She documents these recipes in a scrap book. This practice is also referred to by Aphrodite and Kalliope, who continue the tradition of making sweets from recipes given by their mother. Upon deeper questioning, their mothers told them a specific quantity, which they then documented.

2) **Referring to traditional recipe books just for inspiration and instruction**

Penelope and Electra discussed examples of how they combined the oral tradition with referencing written instructions. They both refer to Penelope's mothers' published cookbook, when preparing a meal.

Although Penelope had the book in front of her, she would telephone her mother to discuss exactly how to approach a recipe. From this conversation, and by deduction, she learnt that tasting and smelling the food, getting the combinations, consistency, proportions, colour and timing right, was an intuitive process and couldn't be taught. She could only reach this level of expertise through experience, and trial and error. A Greek idiom explains this, ειναι στο χερι ας "it is in the hands". Her daughter, Electra similarly noted that she was told by her yia yia:

> *"It takes a lot of tender loving care (TLC), to cook a meal, you can't rush, and you have to stay in the kitchen, to attend to it. Yia Yia taught me to taste the food and guess what was in it, she would say "you tell me", she wouldn't tell us the ingredients."*

It was also noted by some of the younger generation cooks that should it not taste as delicious as the family recipe, upon investigation it was because some ingredient was left out of the recipe. The additional challenge when working with either the oral tradition or a recipe is that the *exact* recipe is never given, so that secret ingredients are protected. If the exact recipe is given, one runs the risk of someone being able to make it better than you. This superstition is not limited to Greek tradition; it can be seen, for example, in Italian and Middle Eastern cultures; that if you give the exact recipe, the luck will be broken.

3) **Formal instruction interferes with the oral tradition, resulting in documentation and adaptation for personal and community use**

To illustrate this point, I draw on Aphrodite's story, who as a teenager became very interested in alternative medicine, which led her to consult her

mother and family members about properties of herbs; these were then recorded. Her natural affinity with gardening also led her to undertake a formal gardening course, which led to more discussion with her father about gardening practices.

Another example is Kassandra's, who demonstrated how the oral tradition was blended in a structured learning environment. Kassandra wanted to increase her ability to identify herbs and wild grasses, so by assisting her Ikarian neighbour to conduct study tours, acting as translator, story teller and tour guide, she increased her knowledge base. By picking samples of the herbs, taking notes, she was soon able to recognize and pick them herself. She described this as "conscious learning", and supported it by aggressively scouting for ancient herbal remedies, which had been handed down "word-of-mouth". Her great grandmother perceived as a botanist, herbalist or witch had passed secrets down through the family.

We see from these examples that the oral tradition remains strong, and even in its deviation, is incorporated. In cases of active pursuit of knowledge, it is often combined with structured or formal learning. Reliance on the oral tradition is robust, and there is little evidence that knowledge will be lost. Participants believed that if there is a knowledge gap it can always be filled by someone in the village or community. Antigone said with confidence:

> *"There will always be someone who remembers".*

Kassandra has this conviction. She moved to Ikaria to "have land around". She explains that she had no gardening knowledge or experience prior to this: *"I asked about everything; what is this seed, what is this plant, what is food and what is weed, I knew nothing".*

Finally, it must be noted that when discussing oral traditions with both generations, there was disparity in perceptions about if knowledge is being passed on from one generation to another. Several older generation participants believed that their children do not have the old knowledge, because they have not expressed or demonstrated interest. Regulators such as age, stage of career, and family commitments were acknowledged as playing a role, however, Yianni shows this concern through the following:

> *"Our children don't have the knowledge, maybe it's because we always gave them fresh food from our garden to take home to their families, and they don't have to have their own garden".*

Antigone shares Yiannis' concern. She believes her daughter, who works in Athens, knows very little of traditions. Conversely, during the interviews with the children of Yianni and Antigone respectively, and other participants from this segment, this claim was refuted. Knowledge may currently be dormant; it is, however, embedded. In reality, they said, if needed, knowledge can always be sourced from somewhere, and secondly,

that because of their "Greekness", it is within. This may explain the divergence in perception between the two generations. Spyro's simple appraisal is:

> *"It's in the DNA, you can't stop genetics" Kalliope tells us, "It's a cellular wiring - ingrained".*

In conclusion, there are distinct exceptions to the norm of recipes and practices not being recorded; however, reliance on the oral tradition is potent. This may be seen as part of a broader context in which culture is a design for living within a society, and values are formulated through example, and transmitted from generation to generation. Walvquist argues that "through the influence of culture an individual learns how people "should" behave in various situations [....] culture influences what is considered to be acceptable attitudes about relationships of food and health." Through the attitudes expressed in this chapter, we can see this to be accurate and the oral transmission of culture from generation to generation to be an expression of this. (Walvquist 1991 pg. 165).

Pattern 5

3.5 Cultural heritage shapes the learning and maintenance of practices

Cultural heritage is the force behind people learning and maintaining practices, and therefore, connecting to their origins. Connecting to heritage, albeit connecting to origins occurred in a number of ways. Through music and political activism, food, gardening and cooking, travelling back to Ikaria, observing traditional rituals, and socialising and networking with family and community. Participants were drawn to their cultural origins for inspiration, knowledge and lessons, which in turn enhanced their sense of place. As it was explained by Finnimore, in the opening address of the exhibition, "home is a physical place and space and also a state of mind" (Home is where the heart is 2010). It also appeared that because they have an innate sense of belonging and connection with their origins, they naturally express it through traditional values and practices. This suggests that it is not possible to say which leads, but it is evident that they are inextricably interconnected and both inform each other. Cultural heritage is the force behind learning and maintaining practices and connecting to origins.

Murcott's study in 1988 (cited in Wahlqvist 1991), expresses this abiding interconnectedness: "Cultural practices such as traditional food, behaviors, promote a sense of stability, security, and belongingness. These feelings provide motivation for maintaining traditional ways".

It has been revealed in this study that traditions which have evolved over thousands of years are hard to break and easy to reinforce, generation after generation. The findings of Kouris, Wahlqvist, Trichopoulos and Polychronopoulos (1900), purport that: "traditional food cultures have been

developed over thousands of years and have been tested, refined and distilled, producing repertories of foods and processes [...] that have been capable of sustaining human life in specific environments." Kalliope further reflects on this aspect of sustenance: "The goodness in food will sustain you for life; there is a lot of love sown up in food". We have already identified in the emergent patterns, traditions, maintained because they were beneficial, expedient or habitual. Subjective evidence highlighted by participants in this study, has indicated that these traditions are life sustaining, create *social capitol* (close ties between family and friends), and therefore, remain significant. Further reinforced as *the wisdom* of the Ikarian and Greek culture, (Pakpahan, 2011) specifically in relation to dietary habits, and the benefits of herbs and wild grasses.

The experience of being drawn back, over and over again, to the place of origin, was a strong pattern in both generations. The sense of inspiration which is felt by the 2nd generation is also highlighted by Elspeth Grant, curator of the exhibition (Home is where the Heart is 2010): "The legacy of family life lives on in the next generations through foods and recipes. By visiting the homeland, next generations have found further inspiration *there* for cultural expression *here*".

This is a common sentiment expressed by many cultures during relocation. A sense of renewed inspiration, deep connection with heritage was experienced by Australian Ikarians who take pilgrimage back to Ikaria. A primary connection is through food:

> *"Food is about connecting with my roots; I still consider Ikaria my home ... the smell of figs reminds me of Ikaria. It is transcendental! Travelling back connected me to their habits, practices, goals and values. My grandmother still picks and dries figs – there is no need for her to do this anymore. It gave me a context."*

Another 2nd generation Australian said: *"... I start a garden as soon as I go back [to Ikaria]... if I don't go back I have withdrawal symptoms, it's like a drug."*

The process of evaluating aspects of heritage in a new way from generation to generation, and viewing the values according to what is meaningful to the group concerned, is examined by Holeva. Most subjects in the study did not view the values they have inherited in a new way. They did, however, check their values for relevance to their current life and adapted where necessary. Evaluating for relevance was more common in the second generation Australians and almost non-existent in the older generation who carried on tradition because it was ingrained (Clyne 1991 cited in Holeva 2004).

Old traditions are observed and valued in the villages in Ikaria where connecting to origins is covert, fostered, and supported by cultural heritage, rituals and traditions. The traditions reveal the values that are upheld, which in turn, informs a way of life. Social interaction, seasonally informed by some of

these traditions provides a platform to share secrets, compare results and celebrate.

The three examples given below, demonstrate learning and maintaining as per cultural etiquette. These, in particular, highlight the value of celebration fostered by Ikarians:

1) **Mushroom tasting**: Ikaria has a worldwide reputation for its wide variety of mushrooms, (μαβιτες) they are identified, gathered seasonally, and prepared fresh. Community is then invited to come to the home to share, taste and celebrate.[36]

2) **Wine**: The first bottle of wine for the season is an opportunity to taste talk and give feedback. The village communities come to the home of the "winemaker".

3) **"Χοιροσφάι":** ("The Pig Slaughter") it is accompanied by a ceremony where all parts of the pig are used to make a stew, including liver and stomach lining, which is considered a delicacy. Community is then invited to partake.

During rituals, discussion and networking deepen the bond of community. Gossip is a source of knowledge and neighbours reveal their secrets. These events stimulate the maintenance of tradition, and support enculturation as an organic intergenerational process.

[36] Many mushrooms are poisonous. It was easy to identify some varieties; πεφκηθες is a beautiful mushroom that grows under the pine tree, κουμαρητας is red and grows under the Koumara tree because the name reflects the place they grow. The sought after "σουμελητες" mushroom is recognised because of its strong characteristic smell. "As kids we would go looking for this mushroom, in winter-it was a way of life", says Manoli.

CONCLUSION.

The aim of this research has been to establish if knowledge and expertise continues to be passed down from generation to generation. Through my interviews I have concluded that: The cultural blueprint is almost indestructible; it is being passed down, shaped by core values, lifestyle choice and the adaptive process.

The difference between Ikarians and Australian/Ikarians proved to be significantly less than anticipated. The diasporic outcome of Ikarians in Adelaide and the generational transfer of knowledge, have not diluted traditional ways; it has preserved and embellished them. The rural environment in Ikaria enabled a deep involvement in the legacy of transfer, and the Australian environment facilitated greater capacity to adapt traditions. However, in both cultures there is substantial evidence of deep immersion in inherent values.

Family traditions, customs, core values, habits, rituals and a history of self-sufficiency created a belief system which influenced choices made. These choices led to the transfer of information to each generation, and an inherently sustainable personal culture, which was expressed individually through each family. Cultural origin, therefore, proved a defining variable, and whether born in Ikaria or Australia, rural or urban, it was apparent that the participants had the same cultural "lens"[37], or as crudely expressed by one participant, "the brain doesn't change". My findings showed that it was impossible to divest oneself of one's culture, and that culture was manifested as a "collective" programming of the mind, resulting in values that are sustaining. Hoofsted's study in 2001 (cited in Dwyer 2005 p.21) about what constitutes culture states that, "culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another ... culture is transmitted and maintained solely through learning, enculturation and group interaction" (Dwyer 2005, p.33). We saw examples of learning and enculturation on both conscious and unconscious levels in the analysis.

One of the many dimensions of culture revealed, was, knowledge handed down.[38] We explored in the analysis how the transmission and maintenance of cultural expression occurred through interaction and enculturation. The *enculturation* process underpinned my findings, observing that Ikarian values and norms have been passed on or acquired by the next generation. The theoretical understanding of culture (Hofstede 2001) states that culture is learned, shared, and changes continuously. In this study, personal history, character and personality, proved to be a regulator of cultural transfer.

Core values certainly underpinned the conventions, discussed during the interviews. Core values such as: an emphasis on healthy living, practicing traditions based on old wisdom, plant from seed stock, grow and eat locally, recycle waste, passing on skills to those who are interested, give your kids a good education, are a significant part of the Ikarian culture.

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[37] Cultural "lens" refers to the lens through which we view our world and the events around us, acknowledging the role of perception in judgement and evaluation. It forms part of the language used by intercultural communication theorists.

[38] This is a global, cultural phenomenon.

The study of current trends of "linguistic and cultural values", showed the role of customs and food was weaker than the role of character, mentality and temperament. Holeva found that the second generation are moving away from Greek culture and creating a blended Australian - Greek culture (Holeva 2004). The attitudes and practices noted in my Thesis by the second generation are within Holeva's framework, however, although having adapted to Australian culture, traditional practices continue to be adopted and fostered. Values, in fact, transcend the role of character, mentality and temperament. Perhaps the cultural theory notion of "collectivism verses individualism", more accurately informs Holeva's findings.[39]

The very nature of Greek culture features on the "collectivist" end of the continuum, (importance of family and extended family) rather than the "individualistic" (importance of self) end, and therefore strongly contributes to the creation of social capital and community mindedness. This becomes a conduit for knowledge transfer and fostering of rituals and customs, evident in all segments that were interviewed. As Connell concludes "The relationships produce the gardens and the gardens nurture the relationships" (Graham & Connell, 2006, p 391).

The evolution of practices was fostered primarily through the oral tradition. The oral tradition persists, and is a powerful vehicle defining the ongoing knowledge transfer through the generations.[40]

It is not only techniques, recipes, secrets and life skills that are passed on through the oral tradition; an entire philosophy of life is passed down. Greek pioneer Pericles repeatedly referred to habits during his interview, as, *a whole philosophy on life.* The nature of the oral tradition is however evolving. The practices and their meaning are changing. They are revisited by each generation; something is added or adjusted making it a little different.

The significance of this research is far reaching, as a generational study, because by understanding how or why cultural traditions are being passed on, each generation can redefine or re-evaluate such practices in their lives, family and community, within a context of making meaning and bringing consciousness to what is unconscious.

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[39] Hofstede's individualism/collectivism dimension refers to the extent to which individual goals take precedence over groups goals (Hofstede & Bond 1984, p.419). Individualistic cultures tend to focus on individuals' aspirations, whereas in collectivistic cultures, emphasis is placed on belonging and accommodating to the needs and views of in-groups rather than individual needs (Gundykunst & Kim 2003, p.56).

[40] By definition, the oral tradition belongs to the "anonymous mass". It is of the people and personal in nature, yet part of a bigger picture. This topic requires further investigation, which, because of the word restrictions, does not allow me to elaborate. It could be part of another project that allows other researchers to investigate this further.

Table 1 – Interviewee Information

Interviewees	Age	Age	Age
Pair 1 (Penelope & Electra)	Penelope 52 years 2nd Generation Greek	Electra 26 years 2nd Generation Greek	
Pair 2 (Pericles, Aphrodite & Kalliope) *Secondary Interview*	Pericles 84 years (1st Generation Greek)	Aphrodite 51 years (2nd Generation Greek)	Kalliope 49 years (2nd Generation Greek)
Pair 3 (Athena & Ares)	Athena Mid 70s (1st Generation Greek)	Ares Mid 80s (1st Generation Greek)	
Pair 4 (Yianni & Spyro)	Yianni 71 years (1st Generation Greek)	Spyro 42 years (2nd Generation)	
Pair 5 (Manoli & Katerina) Lemonia	Manoli & Katerina Mid 70s (1st Generation Greek)	Lemonia Late 30s 2nd generation	
Pair 6 (Kassandra & Andonis)	Kassandra 50 years (1st Generation)	Andonis 17 years (1st Generation)	
Pair 7 (Antigone & Harmonia)	Antigone 61 years (1st Generation)	Harmonia 34 years (1st Generation)	
Single Interview (Cratos)	Cratos 43 years (1st Generation)		
Single Interview Ouranos	Ouranos 43 years (1st Generation)		

Table 2 – Summary of popular herbs, fruits, and their properties, known by Thesis participants (some herbs are only known by the Greek name)

"Everybody knows the herbs, it's not important the names! You just know them by practice!" Pericles 85 years

HERB / FOOD	KNOWLEDGE / USES
Garlic	Antibacterial Infection Lowers blood pressure & metabolic rate Prevents a cold Bend the leaves back when growing so the bulbs get bigger
Wild Horta Dandelion Chicory Bitter Greens – Lupin Chickweed Wild leeks, wild asparagus Αγριοκαροτο Πετρουκια Λαπαθα Μελισσοβοξανο Μαραθον/fennel Μελισσα Wild Lavender Πεντραυγπαμο Wild blackberries Wild mint Yailoplitis St Johns Wort Thistle/artichoke γαλακθισα Vlitta (lambs quarters) Purslain Cleaver (goosegrass) Nettle and marshmallow Plantain Calendula San agathi	Stems with milky sap good for warts, liver tonic Drink the water as a tea. Diuretic/liver flusher Kidneys, blood purifier, and lowers blood pressure and cholesterol. A poultice for styes Grow by the sea Wild carrots find in unpolluted areas in winter Grows in the stone wall seat when young and tender , salads Winter green in river beds broad lea Lemon tangy smell, herb for teas Wild fennel in pitta and cooked dishes. Drink as a tea for Kidney problems Hang under the hot water tap- running a bath, calming Grown on side of paths and all over village, draws out splinters Run under a hot bath to sooth nerves Draws out splinters To make jam Kills rabbits if eaten A pest herb for animals. Causes sickness if eaten by goats. Throat swells. Used as a tincture for all skin disorders/rashes, arthritis, rheumatism, sunburn neuralgia, cleaning wounds Drink the milk of for Heart and bladder problems Rich in minerals drink as a tea Aphrodisiac and increases metabolic rate Clears lymphatic system Iron content Blanch and apply leaf for drawing out splinters Infused in olive oil heals scarring from inside out A green grass good for goats to produce milk Good for milk production if eaten by goats
Lemons	Bioflavins (dipped in sugar)
Teas Rosemary Sage – Mountain Tea Basilicum Chamomile Peppermint Aniseed Calendula Fliscoune	 Hair mites Blood, kidneys – morning herbs, antiseptic, anti-bacterial Improves memory. Aromatic appeal for young lovers Calming nerves and upset stomach, hair rinse Thinning blood and good health for colds Infused in olive oil – heals scarring heals from the inside to the outside Morning herbs

HERB / FOOD	KNOWLEDGE / USES
Aloe Vera Sage Oats & Yoghurt Seaweed (grown in garden) Chili Yoghurt Cucumber Eucalyptus Oil H2O and Velvet Soap	Sunburn Coughing, lungs, anti-bacterial A mask for the skin In Salads Add at the end of a dish for less heat Sunburn Sunburn Spray on budding fruit to stop insects
Marshmallow Grass Fig milk	Throat, good for Orators. Warts
Vinegar, bay leaf, chamomile & rosemary Penny Royal	Hair rinse Upset tummy

Table 3 – Traditional Wisdom and skills

TRADITIONAL WISDOM	KNOWLEDGE / USES
Corn Silk	Cystitis, Prostate
Parsley Stems	In soup
Lemons	Bioflavonoids
Core of broccoli, cauliflower & cabbage	Eat raw as mother is preparing soup
Raw Onion	On ear for ear ache
Oats	Make a skin mask
Grafting trees	Using mud
Wine making	Organic methods unless producing large volumes, scrubbing the vats and everything spotlessly clean is the secret to making good wine
Olive Picking	Olive oil
Pumpkin	Dry & paint for decoration or percussive musical instrument
Mushrooms	Globally, Ikaria known for huge variety mushroom tastings/socializing. Preserve by slicing, scalding, draining then in freezer.
Drying figs	Wash in ocean to preserve and stuff with crushed almonds and dried herbs
Beans	Prune the leaves to reduce the energy to the fruit.
Tomatoes	At dawn, pinch the buds to thin out and increase the crop.
Zucchinis	Dust the female flowers with the male to increase fruiting.
Killing goat or sheep	Use the Viscera to wrap around the roast – to keep moisture in when cooking. Use every part of goat. Skinning the anima. Intact carcass of goat used as a knap sack for carrying goods
Jacaranda Orchid	
Olives	A wild olive tree is the strongest. Preserve olives by washing in the sea
Flowers and vegetables	The first flower, fruit, vegetable- must keep for the seed because it is the strongest .
Blind Baking	Bake pastry in pan put dried beans on top to stop it rising- remove the beans
Grape stems	Remove all small stems from individual grape to make wine, fine quality and better taste
Pruning	Prune in the shape of an inverted umbrella for maximum regrowth and fruit.
Manure	Chicken poo best for organic gardens
Radium	Is in the soil in Ikaria, and makes better tasting food

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Appendix 1

Hypothesis: *Is the fostering and inheritance of gardening principles, sustainability and knowledge of foods, herbs and their properties being handed down generation to generation in Greek, and Greek/ Australian families? If so, how is this happening?*

Questionnaire for 1st & 2nd Generation Greek Australians

1.	**What is your age, gender and how long have you lived in Australia/Greece?**
2.	**Do you live in an urban or rural environment? Tell me about your life.**
3.	**Tell me about your garden. (Do you grow vegetables, fruit or other foods in your garden?)**
4.	**Do you collect wild herbs or foods? What type?**
5.	**Do you share a garden with community, or swap produce within the community?**
6.	**Do you save seed stock and plant seasonally? Or, where do you get your seeds from?**
7.	**Do you eat mostly from what is grown in your garden?**
8.	**Why do you grow plants mainly for eating (rather than beauty)?**
9.	**How have you gained your knowledge? Passed on amongst your family and community? By "word of mouth"? How did your parents gain their knowledge?**
12.	**Have you passed on your knowledge to anyone else, and if so, how?**
13.	**Do you document recipes and remedies for your own, and future generations reference?**
14.	**How have traditions and practices used to treat or prevent illness been passed onto you?**
15.	**Do you grow any plants for medicinal purposes? If yes, what are they?**
16.	**How highly do you rate your recognition of and medicinal knowledge of wild herbs on a scale of 1-10? (10 = good, 1 = low)**

17.	**Is your gardening practice informed by your interest in sustainability?**
18.	**Do you think people with their own gardens and traditions eat and benefit from healthy foods?**
19.	**How does your 'social network' (community and family activities) contribute to your recipes, food and health?**
20.	**Do you spend time discussing menus, ingredients, preparation, planting techniques and properties of food and herbs within your family?**
21.	**How does the family lifestyle (social and work commitments) effect your eating habits and times and gardening approach?**
22.	**How have your gardening practices and diet changed over the last 20 years?**
23.	**Do you think the knowledge is as relevant today as it was in the past?**

Additional Questions for first generation Greeks living in Greece

*** Where do you live in Greece?**

24.	*** Do you live in a rural environment? Describe your house and garden.**
25.	*** Do you collect horta (yello plitti, vlitta) or other produce (wild mushrooms, olives, fishing, farming animals) from the area surrounding your home/village? Name what is collected.**

Appendix 2 – How to make wine

Appendix 2 and 3 describe in written form two oral traditions.

The first is given to us by 53 year old, second generation Greek, Aphrodite who makes her wine in Australia using a blend of traditional and modern methodology. She received the knowledge from oral tradition.

Firstly, to wine. According to Germanos (1992), mythology has it that Ikaria is the birthplace of Dionysus, the God of wine. He brought the vines to Ikaria from Asia Minor and planted them in Ikaria where the first wine producing area was born. After many name changes for the island, it was when Icaros fell from the sky, landing on the shores of the island the most recent name of "Ikaria" was born. Apparently, after Ikaria, the Romans, Egyptians, French and Spaniards took to growing vines. So Greeks believe they were the first to savour wine, transported from Asia Minor by the Pheonicians.

Aphrodite tells us how she makes her wine;

"step by step ... it's a chaotic process really, a lot of hard work. Pick grapes, squash them with feet, leave in covered bins to ferment for 40 days with skin seed and all, add small amount of egg white (protein for sugar to eat) and oak shavings (to draw out the tannins) into each bin; during this time the first stage of fermentation happens, you must now pray to Dionysus that nothing infects it like vinegar fly or other air born micro nasties. After 40 days (note this 40 day thing is important timing after deaths and births), we put the *musta* through a press to separate the juice from skin, at this point the juice can be poured into sterilised bottles to ferment for another six months, or into an oak barrel for six months for more blessings.

[1] It has been noted that picking grapes on an autumn full moon and using three virgin youths or maidens to begin the squashing with feet ... invokes auspicious energies.

Appendix 3 – How to make a Filaki

The instructions on "How to make a Filaki (back pack made of a goat)", was provided to us in written form by Antigone, who lives in Ikaria.

It is significant that when I asked Antigone what this process involved, she wrote it down for the first time. She also wrote it from observing, and being partially involved in the process, so perhaps this process has never been documented, however, when asked to document, the knowledge easily transferred onto the page.

A Filaki is a back pack made by extracting the intact viscera, organs, muscle and bone of a goat, and without cutting the hide making it into a carry bag to be worn on the back. Here we lay out the steps that are taken from selecting a goat, to turning it into a back pack, which is used for carrying miscellaneous food, tools or anything needed to go about ones day to day business of village or agrarian life.

Creating the *Filaki* is a tradition which has been adapted to embrace new technology (blowing air into the skin using a bike pump rather than by mouth, as was the traditional method).

Antigone tells us; "The *Filaki* is a goat skin bag. The two legs are sewn together, and used as handles over the arms, then it can be worn on the back as a backpack. It is made of a young animal, goat, about 10 kilos, or more if you want a bigger *filaki*. We slaughter it by cutting its throat. The next step is to skin it which can be done two ways. The first way is the way my father-in-law did it, and hence we followed on. With a slim pencil-like piece of wood, about 15 inches long for sure, we make an incision at the bottom of one of the back legs, at the ankle shall we call it, where the hide starts, an incision upwards towards the body; but the trick is to make the incision between the hide and the skin, moving the length of the wood up and around the leg bone. When you do that successfully, then you can insert the end of the tube of a manual pump like a bike pump or something bigger, (otherwise it will take you ages) and start pumping diligently, and hopefully you will see the hide gradually start swelling and coming away from the skin, of the whole body of the animal in the old days, you would have to place your mouth over the incision and start puffing air into the body, yourself) that's how my father-in-law always did it. Cratos though, could never get himself to do that, too disgusting, and used a manual pump and we used to take it in turns, but in the end, it was always me who ended up doing that whilst he held the body, pressing and turning it this way and that to enable the air to spread better to all parts of the body.

So once that is done, then you tie a noose knot rope around the goats neck, or horns, if it has horns, and string it up from a tree bough. Then, making careful small cuts between the hide and the skin, you start to cut/peel the hide away from the skin of the body, round and round and gradually getting lower, until you have peeled all the hide off. It's important that at the end of each foot you cut the hide below the "knobbles" of the foot, they then work as a kind of knot. So, hopefully the hide has come away from the skin in one tubular piece.

You turn it inside out and liberally cover the surface of the skin with coarse salt, turn it the right way out again, and leave it to sit, to dry, maybe adding more salt if needed. I don't know how long one may leave it for. Until the skin dries sounds logical. Keep an eye on it so that blow flies don't get to it. Now, the hides are liberally coated with wood ash, in their treatment, so I don't see why some wood ash would hurt the Filaki. When it's dry, my father-in-law used to stuff the Filaki really

firmly with dry grass, as in hay, or dry chaff to give it its shape, leave it like that for a while before using it. The last step is to tie with strong slim rope, first one front leg to its back leg and then the same for the other front and back leg, tying the rope above the "knobble" so that the rope won't slip/slide off the end. As in all leather, you have to use it frequently to soften it up and to keep the skin in good shape, get it out into the air. The other way is simply to start cutting and peeling off the hide from the skin. Some guys do this very quickly, almost like peeling a jumper off your body.