Catherine Tsacalos

James Cook University

Switching channels between the old and new mentalities: exploring inter-generational changing expectations faced by Greek Orthodox clergy in their ministry in the Australian context

Abstract

This article draws from a larger phenomenological study exploring the roles of married Greek Orthodox clergy in the Australian context. It expands upon one of the findings from the study, that the Greek Orthodox clergy experience problems arising from changing expectations on the roles of the priest and presbytera, influenced by trans-culturality across life spans and generations of Greek Orthodox parishioners, the Church hierarchy and the clergy themselves. It considers this problem in the light of attitudes or 'mentalities', from the new migrants through to today's generations of Australian-Greeks raised in the Orthodox tradition. It draws on insights, perceptions, interpretations and experiences of the priests and presbyteras. Orthodox clergy talk of having to switch channels between the old and the new mentalities within their ministry to address parishioners' needs despite barriers such as language and cultural identity, and assess the impact these mentalities have on their roles. From the viewpoint of the priest and presbytera within the Australian context, it is possible to see the ways in which Hellenism has been retained, maintained, transformed or lost through Greek Orthodox religion.

Introduction

This article expands on one aspect of a larger phenomenological study. It is an exploration of the experiences of the roles of married Greek Orthodox

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clergy, priests and presbyteras under the wing of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. The phenomena of angst, stress, frustration and confusion experienced by the priest and (by extension) the presbytera within their ministry was the focal point of this study, particularly where identified roles of married clergy are ambiguous and not clearly defined. In the light of these lived realities, role ambiguity is perceived and experienced as a discrepancy between the information available and the information required to perform their roles adequately.

In the course of the larger study the role of priest and presbytera has been established as multi-faceted (Tsacalos 2007). This article goes beyond the intricacies of how the relationship of the marriage is affected by the conflicting expectations of these roles. The article begins to define these complex expectations of parishioners from different generations and cultural contexts and discuss their foundations.

Aim

This article offers insight on how trans-culturality has affected and influenced the roles of priests and presbyteras through interactions across life spans and generations of Greek Orthodox parishioners, the Church hierarchy and the clergy themselves. It is not a discourse on assimilation or the migration history of Greeks to Australia, but rather it embraces the opportunity to present a unique view of the Greek Orthodox religion and Hellenism² through the eyes of the married Greek Orthodox clergy in the Australian context. In drawing from the priests' and presbyteras' realties, their impressions, reflections on experiences and issues faced, we capture a glimpse, through the work of clergy, of how Hellenism has been retained, transformed or lost within the Greek Orthodox religion. Moreover, identified are some impacts of this trans-culturality on their ministry to the Orthodox faithful. It is important to note that these findings are not yet located in the field of trans-cultural studies, though this will be the focus of future research in this project.

Expectations: old and new mentalities

Using the influx of Greek migrants to Australia of the 1950s and 1960s as a starting point, this article looks at mentalities, as identified by the priests

and presbyteras, in relation to their position and the roles they play within the lives of their parishioners. The older generation of migrant parishioners expect a different approach to Church services, for example, sermons and style of ministry to be in their first language, Greek, and for Church services and activities to be conducted as they were in the Greece from which they arrived. The newer or 'younger' generations of the Orthodox faithful within a contemporary society expect that these same services will be in the language they are more familiar with, English. Likewise there is a request for Church activities and style of ministry to be of a more relatable nature that encompasses the needs of a contemporary setting in which they have been raised.

The complex nature of the parishioner's expectations and needs coupled with increasingly unrealistic assumptions of occupational and personal competencies of the priest and the supportive presbytera, suggests that changes in contemporary society need to further influence a range of transformations or accommodations within the Orthodox Church. Based on the desire for the clergy to maintain and retain a religiously and culturally rich congregation, this further underpins pressure for change, affecting the roles of the priest and presbytera, through the expectations of Church, the Church hierarchy, parishioners and each other (Tsacalos 2007). These multiple expectations of the roles found within the position of the priest and presbytera encompass stories passed down from generation to generation (Tsacalos 2004). For example, the expectations and experiences of the early Greek Orthodox migrants were that the Church would be the religious and cultural centre (Barrett 1999), and the priest was the person they went to with all their problems with family, health and spiritual matters, gleaning comfort, guidance and support from their priest (Tsacalos 2007).

One priest³ reflected on these older mentalities, he faced in his ministry: The problem with most clergymen [sic] in Australia is dealing with those who came from Greece (off the boat) and dealing with the Australian born Greek people. Those who came off the boat have a different mentality than those born and raised in Australia. For example, the first generation Greeks, the ones that came first to Australia – want the language, the customs and traditions because they miss their country ... they want to see those things, ...αυτά που είχαν στην Ελλάδα και τα νοσταλγούν, θέλουν να τα δουν και εδώ... (the things they saw and did in Greece and miss or feel nostalgic for...they want to see these things here too)

This same priest reflected further on the new mentalities he has encountered within his ministry:

Those born here in Australia have a very different mentality because they have grown up in a different environment with different customs and English as their first language. The Australian born Greeks want to hear their language (English); they want me (the priest) to talk to them in their language especially with the Sacraments, especially when it's mixed marriages ... because they want to feel embraced into the parish or else they will feel like they are foreigners, xenoi.

While this priest understands the diverse needs of his congregation, he believes that this cultural group wants the clergy to be relevant, particularly where people are disappointed with social systems, disappointed within themselves and hardened by the difficulties of life (Clement 1967-68; Tsirintanes 1986). The expectations of this group for relevance vary widely from those of the migrant group, but the situation is even more complex than this implies.

These complexities come from changing expectations by the Orthodox faithful, starting from the early Greek migrants as they assimilate or choose not to assimilate for a wide range of factors (which are beyond the scope of this article) and the level of attachment to Greek traditions among ensuing generations born and raised in the Orthodox tradition in Australia. Anecdotal evidence suggests subsequent generational groups question the priest's ability to understand the pressures of living with a dual cultural identity (Barrett 1999), the priest's competence, relevance of the church in their life, and even language barriers faced by non-Greek speaking parishioners. These points indicate a shift in cultural norms, perceptions and expectations in the context of the Orthodox Christians within the Greek culture, the Greek-Australian culture and more recently the Australian-Greek culture, and raises questions about the relevance of clergy in relation to their ministry, to both parishioners and the wider community (Tsirintanes 1986; Clement 1967-68; Tsacalos 2009).

In essence, if we were to view culture as a set of control mechanisms, rules and instructions that govern behaviour influencing attitudes and mentalities, we could say that the Greek culture or Hellenism is the source rather than the result of human thought and behaviour (Geertz 1973). Therefore, on this premise one could argue that these attitudes and mentalities direct the priests', presbyteras' and parishioners' actions and behaviour and organise their experience (Creswell 2007), impact on behaviour

patterns, expectations and traditions, both those brought with them from the Mother Land and those modified to suit the new land and life. The impact of these varying mentalities is that the priests have to adjust their ministry style to suit the various Churches and congregations they serve, particularly where the parishioners have been resistant to change, where they have adjusted only a little bit, and have 'aV poume, sklhro Ellhniko cararkthra' ('let us say, a strong Greek character').⁴

Despite these problems, anecdotal evidence supports the priests and presbyteras' belief that the Greek Orthodox faithful of this country were and are searching for answers about their religion and culture, and at some point in their life do turn to the Church and its clergy for answers, comfort and support. The question is how will their needs be met, and this impacts directly on the roles of the married clergy and those they minister to.

Historical setting: Hellenism and the Orthodox Church growth in Australia

The story of Greek migration to Australia is well-known and documented, so I will outline the most basic facts as relevant to this article. The first Greek Orthodox people came to Australia around 1850. This early group of travellers were sailors or adventurers who on their return to their native islands described Australia to their people, inspiring the dynamic individuals who saw migration as an opportunity (Kanarakis 2010). By the end of the nineteenth century, there were enough Greek Orthodox people to warrant the establishment of a religious community in Sydney. In 1896, the first Orthodox priest arrived from Samos, 5 to serve the religious needs of the Greek Orthodox people of Australia. Subsequently, on 29 May 1898 the foundations of the first Greek Orthodox Church (the Holy Trinity) were laid in Sydney.

By 1927 there were more than 10,000 Greeks residing in Australia. The religious communities and number of the faithful increased remarkably. For the Church this opened up new horizons, while at the same time creating new needs and problems. The clergy was not enough and the charity organisations inadequate to meet the multiple demands of the immigrants (Imerologio, 2010; (Pan Orthodox Symposium n.d.; Tsirintanes 1986).

The Church responded to these needs and problems and the very different requirements and aspirations (Zernov 1961) of the Orthodox faithful

through the hard work and dedication of those early priests and presbyteras. Without delay, well chosen men were ordained priests, the first Christian movements were established, and to a considerable degree the formation of religious cores in Australia were cultivated (Pan Orthodox Symposium n.d.). New communities created, new churches built, schools established and special centres organised to provide for general philanthropic aims and to address social problems of the Greeks. The Church and its hierarchy continued the development of the religious, special and cultural needs of the Orthodox flock with the systematic cultivation and promotion of the religious and cultural inheritance of the Greek Orthodox tradition (Imerologio, 2010).

However, anecdotal evidence suggests that a major issue faced by these newly ordained men and experienced priests arriving from overseas was adjusting to their changed circumstances, leaving Greece and relocating to Australia. They had to learn the language themselves; while at the same time, the recently ordained had to adjust to their priesthood with little help because of the demands of work. Nevertheless, one could argue that this first migrant generation handed down by tradition this inheritance, and that this has had an influence over the younger people of Australia in contemporary society (Tsirintanes 1986). However, this influence appears to vary across communities and generations.

The priests and presbyteras share their stories: reflections, experiences, issues and impacts

In this section, I present never before documented aspects of the priests' and presbyteras' insights in relation to their ministry to the Greek Orthodox faithful and the Church. It is through these impressions, reflections, and issues that we begin to understand the pressures and confusion they experienced. The participants talk about some impacts on the roles of the married clergy, as experienced across life spans and generations in terms of retaining, maintaining or possibly losing Hellenism through religion in Australia.

In telling the presbyteras' stories, I have relied heavily on the sharing of known personal experiences. For two reasons: firstly, because studies⁷ on the factual documentation of the presbyteras from this early period in Australia is non-existent; and secondly, because the presbyteras of yesterday are either

no longer with us or have declined to share their views, stating that some experiences were too painful to relive, even after several decades. Nevertheless, the presbyteras were and are always prepared to support and assist their husbands as needed during their ministry to the Orthodox faithful.

The presbyteras

This section draws from the presbyteras' lived experiences through reflections on incidents, issues encountered, and the consequent impacts on themselves, as a presbytera, a wife and a woman.

Anecdotal evidence indicated that the presbyteras from the earlier generations were themselves new migrants to Australia and spoke only Greek. This set a precedent where the expectation was that all presbyteras must speak Greek. The role they played was one mainly of support, comfort and providing any assistance they could while adjusting to their new life and circumstance. Many years ago, I had personal conversations with several of these presbyteras and the advice given to me as a new presbytera was the same: 'look after your husband because no one else will'. Anecdotal evidence affirms that these presbyteras saw their role as working with their husbands, assisting in the establishment of new Churches. The roles that accompanied their position as presbytera included chanting during services (where the Church had no chanter); **teaching Sunday school for the children; cooking and cleaning for fund raising activities; visiting the Orthodox faithful in the hospitals when asked to do so by the priest; and generally looking after their husband and family.

A recurrent theme voiced by the presbyteras of today was that language played a big part in how the Greek Orthodox Church community perceived them, and that tied up in their own identity as a presbytera was the Greek language, whether they spoke it or not. They also believed that somehow, by acceding to the expectation that speaking Greek would be a part of their presbytera position, they would be giving up something of themselves. The presbyteras considered that if they could fill the position and subsequent roles adequately without having the language, then it should remain their choice whether to learn Greek or not. They felt that if they took that step they would lose their own identity, and that the language would subsume them as a person. Avoiding loss of identity was paramount (Tsacalos 2004).

However, there are consequences to these choices and the presbyteras' reflections demonstrated that defying expectations brings its own brand of hardships. Presbyteras faced many biases, particularly where the community was very traditionally Greek, and therefore Greek was still the Church community's first language.

One presbytera reflected on this issue:

He (my husband) hardly spoke a word of English and I did not speak a word of Greek. He was Greek and Orthodox, I was non-Greek and not Orthodox. It was very hard ... but soon after we married, I became an Orthodox. Then the time came for him to become a priest, and my husband said 'I can't do it, my wife is not Greek, she doesn't speak Greek, and I will have a very hard time' ... and he (the Archbishop) said 'your wife is going to help you with the English'. I did learn Greek, he still speaks very little English.

The expectations of the people are the biggest issue we face. I have always felt that not being a Greek was a drawback in some way. Even after almost fifteen years, I think there are people that will always see me as a foreigner. It would not matter if you spoke Greek like a native, you would always be 'h xenh, the foreigner.

Because of these issues, I keep to myself. I take the children to Church and help where I can, but I leave the women of the Church to do what they do and do not interfere. I look after my husband and my children and help my husband where needed.

In light of this experience, all the presbyteras that were interviewed, identified that where patterns of human conduct toward them were less than kind, there was a predisposition among parishioners towards being much more closed minded about difference, and there were subtle pressures on the presbytera to speak Greek, regardless of whether she was of Greek or non-Greek background (Tsacalos, 2004). As we can see that despite coming to this compromise, the presbytera still feels pressured, anxious and uncomfortable about the clash between parishioner expectations and her reality.

Another presbytera reflected on her experiences before and after becoming a presbytera:

We often discussed my then fiance's thoughts and experiences with the Orthodox faithful and seeing the Greek community in Australia at its worst, he used to say 'now this girl loves me and wants to be a presbytera. When I become a priest, she

is going to be overwhelmed because she has been raised here in Australia, and is not going to understand the social circumstances out of which these immigrants have come, and she's going to be hurt and distressed and traumatised by their reaction'. When my husband was thinking of becoming a priest, we decided I would go with him to Greece, where I saw the Greeks in their own environment, living their lives. I came to understand the psychology and mentality of the Greek people, their attitude. This greatly assisted me in coming to grips in what was still predominately an immigrant Church (in Australia) back in those days, some thirty years ago.

As it turned out the expectations of the people were unrealistic and demanding. For example, parishioners call our home looking for the priest, demanding to know why 'he is not in his office' at a particular hour ... and it's funny when people ring the home and they ask me (presbytera) 'can we speak to pater'; and I say 'he is not here'; and they demand 'where is he?'; I respond 'I don't know'; their comeback is 'you're his presbytera and you don't know where your husband is?' Some of the responses are hilarious and some are just highly disappointing and very hurtful. This becomes very difficult. I can say that these attitudes have not changed in over thirty years.

While this presbytera has done more than in the previous example to try to meet Hellenistic expectations, she still feels inadequate because parishioners expect her to know where her husband is at all times. While this may be reasonable perhaps in a small Greek parish in the Mother Land, it is not necessarily so in the large parishes found in Australia.

A third presbytera reflected on her various roles as the wife of a priest: I teach Religious Education at mainstream schools; I speak at Conferences and address Fellowship gatherings; I sit on Committees outside the Church; I am involved in various Support Groups and facilitate a Ladies Group where we talk about a religious topic, say prayers and have lunch. All of this in a combination of Greek and English, as these are our languages. We all live the dual-identity and are able to 'switch' back and forth between the two.

She acknowledges that her position as a presbytera is beneficial in her various roles, however she feels the need to maintain her own identity and emphatically declared:

I have not made his ministry my ministry ... I have my own interests and commitments. In the school where I teach Religious Education, the students say

they are going to 'Greek' lessons and 'Greek School' because there are so many Greek children attending classes. We are able to use this forum to maintain our Orthodox religion, our Greek language and culture securing its continuance well into future generations.

While this presbytera has met Hellenistic expectations more than the other two in terms of language and commitment to the Church, and carries out some of the roles traditionally associated with the Greek presbyteras, she still feels the need to explain and justify not carrying out the major traditional role of supporting her husband's ministry within the Church.

The priests

This section looks at the priests and the roles they played then and now. It draws from their memories and experiences, their perceptions and interpretations of the roles as clergy, with a focus on the 'older' generation of priests, and experiences of changing expectations, attitudes and mentalities of parishioners. The participants reflect and assess the impact these mentalities have on the roles of Greek Orthodox clergy in their ministry, and by extension their marriage.

The priests I interviewed talked of having to 'switch channels' between the old and the new mentalities of the parishioners within their ministry to address their spiritual needs despite barriers such as language and cultural identity, and the attitudes or 'Greek mentalities', from the new migrants through to today's generations of Australian-Greeks raised in the Orthodox tradition.

One priest talked about the reality of his ministry:

When I see a parishioner who only speaks Greek, I have to switch channel to the Greek mentality, the Greek way of thinking, the Greek attitude as well, so I can deal effectively with this person. Then I have to see a young couple getting married, so when they come I have to switch back to another channel, which is the Australian born kid who has a different mentality, a different way of thinking as well, because I have to say things in a way they will understand. So they can feel comfortable with me; and they connect with me (the priest) when they start talking about their problems. It is important for them to feel comfortable, they want to feel welcomed in the parish.

As he reflected on this experience, he believed that the lack of understanding of the Greek language by the newer generations and a resistance to change from the older generations, these attitudes and mentalities indicate a shift in cultural norms, perceptions and expectations of the roles of the priest and presbytera. The later generations rarely see the Church as a place of comfort and direction as did earlier generations (Tsirintanes 1986; Molokotos-Liederman 2003).

Several priests shared their memories from their youth of conversations with and impressions of the priests of the 1950s and 60s and their roles at that time. While these memories may be embellished, they remain central to others' perceptions and attitudes of what a priest does, particularly in light of the tremendous contribution of the older priests - who came here as immigrants themselves - and their ministry to the early Greek Orthodox faithful arriving in Australia:

Shiploads of immigrants arrived every week; these priests were there, at the wharf ... it was their voice that was the first recognisable voice for the immigrant; it was a comforting voice. The priest's voice spoke to the customs officer and tried to explain the different circumstances of each immigrant.

Immediately they had to be by the immigrant's side at hospitals, at police stations and in courts when they got in trouble, in the workplace, dealing with unions to name a few. Most of their hardships arise from language difficulties, and it is not strange to witness spiritual and psychological ailments, unemployment and discouragement as a result.

The immigrants turned to the Church and its priest for comfort. It was not just a place of worship; it was also a community meeting point where the Orthodox faithful would share in their experiences, their common language and culture. The priest shared in their joys and their sorrows by going to wedding receptions, their birthday parties, going to hospitals whenever the Orthodox faithful were in need. The priests committed themselves 24/7, always ready to assist their spiritual flock. They were participants in every aspect of the spiritual and communal life for the Orthodox people at that time.

This early dedication has set a precedent with enormous 'social' demands on the priesthood. This mentality continues to this day, where the earlier migrants still expect the priest to be available to the people (parishioners), to be on-call for their needs whenever they arise, to be their *personal* priest.

They expect you (the priest) to give a 1,000 per cent of yourself, not just 100 per cent. Even if he is all of these things, they (parishioners) are his greatest critics. Subsequently, there is a personal cost to this dedication. Such as having their

important family occasions disrupted unexpectedly because they have been called out to a parishioner's emergency (Tsacalos 2007).

The Orthodox people of today have become more demanding, more educated and have moved away from the old Greek cultural and religious tradition (Tsirintanes 1986; Molokotos-Liederman 2003), with the loss of the Greek language being one point in contention. One could argue that this generation no longer sees the priest as the person to go to for advice or guidance as their parents and grandparents once did. For example when the earlier generations see their children and grandchildren having trouble in life they try to encourage them to go to the priest. As Barrett (1999) suggested the response is often in the form of resistance. Third and fourth generational groups often question the priest's ability to understand the pressures of living with a dual cultural identity or question the priest's competence as an untrained counsellor, or question the relevance of the Church in their life, and even pointing to language barriers as they speak no Greek and cannot understand the Church services. For example, a priest reflects on his own experiences of growing up as a witness to a parishioner abandoning the Church because of a lack of communication and questions remaining unanswered as a young boy of eight or nine, his thought was 'this is terrible' ... 'we can't allow this to happen in the future. Someone has to be able to speak to them in their own language'. As a priest he reflected 'I thought that communication was the first thing that needed to be developed'. It is interesting to note that he would be the first of many Australian born and raised Greeks to be ordained priests of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia. So the barriers that exist today can be seen as the source for inspiring and leading the transformation of the future of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia and how each priest uses their own personal experiences to influence their own fellowship and style of ministry.

A reflection of one such priest describes how the maintenance of a variety of community based activities including: teaching religion in public primary and secondary schools; established junior fellowship for teenagers; senior fellowship for young adults; Greek Bible study groups for the faithful who were immigrants; and arranged hospital visits initially with the youth are still a very important part of the priest's ministry.

These activities were a very important part of the priest's ministry because he was able to maintain the spiritual and cultural elements of Hellenism through the Church and the Greek Orthodox religion. Young people born in Australia suddenly heard an 'Aussie' accent and identified with the Church in a different way.

I was now 'one of them'. Even though the previous priests were loving, beautiful people and they gave their entire self to the Church and to the people, it was just novel that someone could speak to them [younger parishioners] in their own language and own accent.

Conclusion

In this article, I have presented a unique account of how Hellenism has been retained, maintained, transformed and in some instances lost through Greek Orthodox religion in Australia, drawing on the priest and presbytera's lived experiences and the impact that this has had on their ministry.

What the priests and presbyteras found particularly challenging was the Orthodox faithful holding onto beliefs, mentalities and past experiences in a way that leaves no room for new or different experiences. As Damousi (2010) so eloquently puts it, 'immigrants can be locked into nostalgic longings of an idealized past – the way they were and the way things used to be – they can struggle to embrace a new future' (Damousi 2010: 29). This puts a great deal of pressure on clergy to respond to these unrealistic expectations of their roles and behaviour while they also have to seek ways of being relevant to those generations in varying degrees of transcultural change. This simultaneously inspires transformation while maintaining Hellenism across generations.

There is a shift in some of the earlier generations 'Greek mentality', particularly where those parishioners from the 1950s and 1960s feel that the services must be conducted in Greek because this is how it was done 'back home'. Church services are now conducted in a combination of Greek and English in some Churches across the country. The Divine Liturgy is performed in English once a month in many Churches and the priests adjust the percentage of Greek and English used when performing the Sacraments, according to parishioners' needs.

The Orthodox Church in Australia has made the biggest commitment and contribution to the continuation of the Orthodox tradition in the establishment of St Andrew's Theological College in Sydney, providing the education and training of future priests. The priests who graduate from St Andrews are now Australian; if not actually born here, they have been raised

in the country, with English their first language. They have an understanding of the later generations because they themselves have grown up in Australia, have been educated here, have met their partners and had their families in Australia. However, there is still the need for these priests to be able to be well versed in ways to relate to older generational migrants and recent migrants.

There are many issues to be considered: how do we insure that future generations are finding a connection spiritually to the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia enough to seek the knowledge and a commitment to understand and live the Greek aspect of their culture that is increasingly more Australian? What are the ways in which Church services, activities and style of ministry further appeal and are inclusive of younger generations? Likewise, how do younger generation ordained priests maintain a real connection to older generational migrants and recent migrants? The main question is not based on whether we should continue to teach and maintain our Greek Orthodox traditions, our spiritual and religious knowledge and our Greek culture and language but rather how it is effectively maintained and thereby retaining Hellenism and anchoring it firmly into the heart of future generations of Orthodox faithful. Ultimately, it comes down to choices. The clergy's choice to adapt their style of ministry in a way that fulfils the spiritual needs of the congregation, and the Orthodox faithfuls' choice to retain or maintain their spiritual and cultural heritage.

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Notes

- ¹ As a matter of style, where the term 'priest' is used, it refers to Greek Orthodox clergy/ministers; 'presbytera' refers to the Greek Orthodox priest's wife; married clergy refers to Greek Orthodox ordained clergy. 'Archdiocese' refers to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia; Church, Church community, parish or parishioners refers to the Greek Orthodox Church and its congregations in the Australian context.
- ² For the purposes of this study 'Hellenism' is defined as the culture Greek migrants have brought to Australia, regardless of time of arrival.
- ³ The information related in these passages is direct quotes from the Priests I interviewed during the course of this research project. Their names have been withheld to protect their identities as a professional courtesy and an ethical consideration.
- ⁴ A direct quote from one of the research participants.
- ⁵ Reverend Archimandrite Dorotheos Bakaliaros.
- ⁶ The information related in these passages is direct quotes from the priests and presbyteres I interviewed during the course of this research project. Their names have been withheld to protect their identities as a professional courtesy and an ethical consideration.
- ⁷ It is important to note that this is a yet unexplored field of study and remains ground breaking research, with Tsacalos (2004, 2007, 2009) entering new territory. It is envisioned that this area will inspire subsequent studies.
- ⁸ A chanter is the person who assists the priest during Church services with the hymns.