Introduction

> *Perhaps one of the characteristics of the Greek nation is to remember. To remember, without ever forgetting, good or bad events, kindness or cruelty, hostility or ememocity [sic].*[1]

Stories of war never lose the power to shock, sadden and confront us. Witnessing death and experiencing violence and atrocities create traumatic memories, and indelible and unavoidable traces of these events are left behind – not just for those who witness them but also for future generations. How these events and their effects are understood and discussed over time is a perennial challenge to those who experience them, and to those who attempt, long after, to fathom the enduring depths of past human violence.

The complexity of reconstructing, recapturing or representing acts of extreme violence in war has been well documented. Debates surrounding how this can and cannot be achieved have preoccupied writers, artists, theorists and historians.[2] On one aspect, however, there is agreement. War memories from whatever historical period often haunt individuals, and the effects of this continue to ripple outward from these individuals to families and communities for decades after the episode occurred.

[1] *Australian Greek*, 10 May 1952, p. 2.

[2] The relationship between memory and war has been explored most comprehensively in relation to the Holocaust. See, for example, Maree Louise Seeberg, *The Holocaust as Active Memory: The Past in the Present* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); David Cesarani and Eric J. Sundquist, *After the Holocaust: Challenging the myth of silence* (Routledge: New York, 2012); Richard Crownshaw, *The Afterlife of Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Literature and Culture* (Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2010); Chaya H. Roth, *The Fate of Holocaust Memories: Transmission and Family Dialogues* (Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 2008); Geoffrey H. Hartmann (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

What is less clear – and remains an under-researched area – is the fate of the memories of these experiences when migrants emigrate to another country where the culture, language and history of the host nation is foreign and unfamiliar, even hostile. In the great movement of peoples after wars in the twentieth century, the place of war memories assumed different meanings and significance. For some individuals, the need to forge to the future and to forget was imperative. For others, the desire to remember meant the need to pass on their family histories.

Memory and Migration in the Shadow of War poses questions about memory, migration, identity and war in relation to arguably one of the most significant groups to shape post-war Australia: the Greeks. What happened to memories of war when, after the bloody and horrific almost decade-long period that included the Second World War and the Greek Civil War, Greeks migrated *en masse* and in unprecedented large numbers to Australia? Were these memories forgotten? Did stories of the past circulate in families and immediate communities only? How were they received, contested and negotiated within the Australian community? Was there an expectation of post-war immigrants that this history would be confined to the past? This book will for the first time explore how war has shaped family memory of these events amongst Greek immigrant Australians.

At one level, these are deceptively simple questions. Existing scholarship on migration allows us to at least recognise how some groups have remembered and commemorated certain events, how government authorities might have perceived such stories, and how migrants recall the memories of past wars.[3] But the actual effect of trauma, dispossession and repression on individuals, families and communities is rather different. It's much more than the official and symbolic, it is about how a multitude of individuals made sense of their lives in relation to the wartime experiences they had gone through and then, later, in relation to the alien society in which they found themselves – and then about how they have recreated themselves in this new environment.

At the time of migration, the question of how Greeks and other migrants would adjust to a new society was one that was seen largely through the prism of the host society and was something which preoccupied policy makers during the immediate post-war period. Assimilation was the byword for successful immigration during those years and seemed to provide an answer to the question about how the Australian

[3] See Loring Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Anastasios Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

way of life could be preserved in the face of so many new arrivals. Yet before the question of how new groups such as the Greeks could and would assimilate, the issue of what *to assimilate to* actually meant had to be asked. What did it mean to be a 'New Australian'? In his classic work on the migration of Southern Europeans to Australia, Charles Price discusses issues of assimilation, national identity and nation building. One of the key observations he makes is to consider the way in which migrants erected 'fortresses' in 'their fight to adapt themselves to Australian conditions' and in their attempts to retain their customs and institutions.[4] Price was writing in 1963; since then much of the historiography concerned with migration has focused on questions of government policy, issues of workplace inequality and the politics of assimilation and identity. Most of these studies have considered the impact of migration on the host nation economically and culturally within the context of settlement in Australia. None have examined in detail the impact and memory of war on the migrant's subsequent adjustment to their new land.[5]

Migration history has now attracted a substantial body of work, and a focus on the experience of Greeks is one of the largest areas of scholarship. It can be said that the Greeks almost more than any other group have attracted attention, and from the very beginning of migration studies, they were the focus of early research. There is no shortage of material published on Greek migration since then, especially in the fields of literature, history, education, oral history, public policy and memoir. The range is wide and covers an extraordinary body of exemplary scholarship.[6] Greeks are a diasporic people; their history is one that has been

[4] Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1963), p. 272.

[5] For some of the key texts covering the history of migration, see James Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures* (Melbourne: Chesire-Lansdowne, 1996); James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); Ann-Mari Jordens, *Alien to Citizen: Settling Migrants in Australia, 1945–1975* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1997); Janice Wilton and Richard Bosworth, *Old Worlds and New Australia: The Post-War Migrant Experience* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1985); Eric Richards, *Destinations Australia: Migration to Australia since 1901* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008); Gwenda Tavan, *The Long Slow Death of White Australia* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2005); Jock Collins, *Migrant Hands in a Distant Land: Australia's Post War Immigration* (Sydney: Pluto, 1988).

[6] There is a substantial and rich body of work in the field of Greek migration studies and history, which covers a diversity of themes and perspectives on Greek migration to Australia and Greek-Australian history. See, for example, Gillian Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1979); George Kanarakis (ed.), *Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1987); Alfred Kouris, *Migrant: The Blessing and Misfortune of Loving Two Countries: The Modern-Day Odyssey of the Diaspora Greeks* (Melbourne: Greek Press, 1998); Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*; Anastasios

defined by movement of populations, most especially through the twentieth century, and this constant flow forms a key part of their history.[7] So, how has the Greek migration story to Australia been told? Doumanis argues that this has been one of a 'modest success story'. He characterises this history as not one of romantic yearnings but instead as one to 'build capital and raise families'. He sees this story as a successful balance of maintaining a sense of difference and becoming actively involved in the Australian community. In the post-war era, there was little overt disruption: 'tolerance and stability characterized the post-war years'.[8] 'Old World' conflicts, he argues, were not continued in Australia, despite fears from authorities. Most were happy to leave politics behind them.[9] Notwithstanding the difficulties, he argues there were many positives in migration. To a certain extent this is true. There is no denying that the story of Greek migration to Australia is one of overwhelming success,

Tamis, *A Trilogy of Greek Voices in Australia* (Melbourne: Elikon, 2012); Nicholas Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', in R. Clogg, *The Greek Diaspora in the 20th Century* (Macmillan: St. Antony's, 1999), pp. 58–70; T. Nicolacopoulos and G. Vassilacopoulos, *From Foreigner to Citizen: Greek Migrants and Social Change in White Australia, (1897–2000)* (Melbourne: Eothinon Publications, 2004); T. Nicolacopoulos and G. Vassilacopoulos, 'Becoming Australians by choice: Greek-Australian activism in 1960s Melbourne', in Seamus O'Halon and Tanja Luckins (eds.), *Go! Melbourne: Melbourne in the Sixties* (Melbourne: Circa, 2005), pp. 245–259; Dominique Francois De Stoop, *The Greeks of Melbourne* (Melbourne: Transnational Publishing Company, 1996); Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Volumes 1–3 (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1977); Maria Hill, *Diggers and Greeks: The Australian Campaigns in Greece and Crete* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010); Niki Savva, *So Greek: Confessions of a Conservative Leftie* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2010); Toni Risson, *Aphrodite and the Mixed Grill: Greek Cafes in Twentieth Century Australia* (Ipswich: Westminster, 2007); Eugenia Tsoulis, *Between the Ceiling and the Sky* (Sydney: Flamingo, 2000); Yiannis E. Dimitreas, *Transplanting the Agora: Hellenic Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: NSW, 1998); Gillian Bottomley, *From Another Place: Migration and the Politics of Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Helen Nickas, *Migrant Daughters: The Female Voice in Greek-Australian Prose Fiction* (Melbourne: Owl Publishing, 1992); Effy Alexakis and Leonard Janiszewski, *Images of Home* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1995); John N. Yiannakis, *Odysseus in the Golden West: Greek Migration, Settlement and Adaptation in Western Australia since 1947* (Perth: API Network, 2009); Reginald Appleyard and John N. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 2002); Nick Vournazos, *Dancing Solo: A Life in Two Lands* (Melbourne: Tsonis Publications, 2005); Steve Georgakis, *Sport and the Australian Greek: An Historical Study of Ethnicity, Gender and Youth* (Rozelle: Standard Publishing House, 2000); Emilios Kyrou, *Call Me Emilios: A Justice of the Supreme Court of Victoria* (Melbourne: Emilios Kyrou, 2012). There is a body of children's literature touching on Greek-Australian themes such as Irini Savvides, *A Marathon of Her Own: The Diary of Sophia Krikonis, Melbourne 1956* (Linfield: Irini Savvides, Scholastic Press, 2004).

[7] Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century* (Macmillan: St. Antony's, 1999), pp. 1–17.

[8] Nicholas Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', in Clogg, *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, p. 70.

[9] Ibid., p. 70.

however this might be measured. But one aspect of this story – which has yet to be fully explored in the existing historiography – is the lingering place of past memories that remain a presence in different manifestations. This book attempts to explore memories of war as one dimension to post-war migration, which remains a largely elusive and a subsumed topic within the history of the Greek diaspora in Australia.[10]

There is a personal dimension to this research, as is invariably the case when issues of migration and wartime experiences are concerned. My father, George, a boot maker, migrated from Florina to inner-city Melbourne in the Olympian year of 1956, and then arranged for my mother Sofia, a dressmaker, and my one-year-old sister, Mary, to come to Australia in 1957. They initially settled in Gertrude Street, and then Napier Street Fitzroy, as had many migrants before them. They joined thousands at that time who had arrived from Greece.

Florina is situated in the northern part of Greece in Macedonia. Its history is marked by brutal and bloody war. It sits in the heart of the Balkans region and as such has been in the centre of war and regional power struggles since the seventeenth century. During World War I, it was occupied by Bulgaria, and under the Axis Occupation in World War II, the town became a centre of Slavic separatism. For much of the Greek Civil War (1946–1949) Florina was under Communist control. By the 1950s much of the area was devastated: villages had been razed, infrastructure destroyed and large numbers of the population killed or forced to flee. With few employment opportunities available, it is no surprise that many of those who remained chose to emigrate to the United States, Canada and Australia.

The historian Sheila Fitzpatrick writes that we inevitably return, as historians, to our first questions, those 'your parents taught you to ask, as well as the questions that, for reasons you didn't understand, they failed to answer'.[11] And so many of the questions this book raises emerge from my own background and personal experience.

I, like so many of my generation, Australian born, grew up listening to these stories about war being told over and over again. These stories became an important part of my parents' generation and my Greek identity – these experiences and our personal histories and memories became a defining aspect of who they were. For my parents, the decision

[10] A. Scarfe and W. Scarfe, *All That Grief: Migrant Recollections of Greek Resistance to Fascism, 1941–1949* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1994) is an exception as this book documents the memories of war experiences of Greek migrants.

[11] Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'The Cold War as remembered by children of the old left', in Ann Curthoys and Joy Damousi (eds.), *What Did You Do in the Cold War Daddy? Personal Stories from a Troubled Time* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2014), p. 277.

to migrate was made on the basis of the need to escape from the aftermath of war and its trauma, deprivation and destruction. They carried with them these memories and these stories, like so many of their compatriots. Others chose not to speak of traumatic pasts and as we shall see, prefer silence as a means of dealing with family histories from another time and place. This book asks the question about how these stories circulate in migrant families and how they have been discussed, remembered, documented and forgotten.

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The distinctive aspect of this book lies in relating war and memory to the wider transnational context of migration. It embraces the move in recent histories to examine processes, relationships and *mentalities* that moved beyond the borders of nation states.[12] In so doing, it aims to provide a new narrative of the history of these wars and how they have been remembered, and adds an unexplored dimension to histories of migration: the enduring legacy of intergenerational traumatic war experiences which transcend place and nation.

By adopting this focus, *Memory and Migration* reconceptualises a history of migration that is deliberately uncoupled from nation building and the history of the nation. In taking as its frame of reference the view expressed by transnational scholars for the need to transcend national histories and the borders of nation, it attempts to move the discussion of migration beyond an emphasis on migrants and nation building within the receiving nation, and focuses instead on the way in which the fallout from war affects relationships between cultures and generations when people cross national borders. It thus pursues the challenge presented by interdisciplinary scholars who call for the history of migration to be broadened.

As a part of this material, the notion of *transnational families* has emerged in recent scholarship while considering the impact of migration.[13] This research aims to contribute to a further understanding of the impact of the flow of culture and politics by moving the discussion beyond the development of the nation state within the framework of

[12] Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU EPress, 2005), p. 5.

[13] Mary Chamberlain and Selma Leydesdorf, 'Transnational families: memories and narratives', *Global Networks* 4, 3 (2004), pp. 227–241; Anastasia N. Panagakos, 'Recycled odyssey: creating transnational families in the Greek diaspora', *Global Networks* 4, 3 (2004), pp. 299–311; James Hammerton, 'The quest for family and the mobility of modernity in narratives of postwar British emigration', *Global Networks* 4, 3 (2004), pp. 271–284.

assimilation, to consider new forms of ethnic identities. It is within this paradigm, I would argue, that migrant memories can be explored through an examination of the place of the past within these memories. Within the context of the Greek diaspora around the globe, the transnational nexus has typically been explored through return migration by the second-generation, and through the negotiation of ethnic identities within Greek families.[14] This work both draws from this framework – in linking migration and transnationalism – but it also departs from it by examining the memory of war in particular within Greek communities as a transnational phenomenon.

One vital aspect of this research is the oral tradition of story telling for the first generation. Very few immediate post-war migrants from Greece had writing proficiency beyond primary school; most remained illiterate in English. It is through this storytelling that experiences of war are conveyed, passed on and communicated. This takes on a particular form and narrative, as any oral testimony. But in the context of family war experience and migration, there is a connection to identity and the past that creates a particularly forceful and distinctive narrative. For the second generation, it is invariably a written testimony that is adopted – in whatever form – fictionalised or otherwise.

In order to pursue these concerns, I draw from recent studies of oral history in migration studies that have provided cultural history with a methodology and approach to shape new historical questions.[15]

[14] Russell King, Anastasia Christou and Janine Teerling, '"We took a bath with the chickens": Memories of childhood visits to the homeland by second-generation Greek and Greek Cypriot "returnees"', *Global Networks* 11, 1 (2011), pp. 1–23; George A. Kourvetaris, 'Conflicts and identity among the Greek-Americans of the diaspora', *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 27, 3–4 (July–October, 1990), pp. 137–153; Loretta Baldassar, 'Home and away: migration, the return visit and "transnational identity"', in Ien Ang and Michael Symons (eds.) *Home, Displacement and Belonging, Special Edition: Home, Displacement, Belonging. Communal Plural: Journal of Transnational and Crosscultural Studies* 5, pp. 69–94.

[15] See Mark Mazower, 'Introduction', in Mark Mazower (ed.), *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 8. For studies that consider different aspects of the Civil War, see especially Riki van Boeschoten, 'The impossible return: coping with separation and the reconstruction of memory in the wake of the Civil War', in Mazower (ed.), *After the War Was Over*, pp. 122–141; and Xanthippi Kotzageorgi-Zymari, with Tassos Hadjianastassiou, 'Memories of the Bulgarian occupation of Eastern Macedonia: three generations', in Mazower (ed.), *After the War Was Over*, pp. 273–292; Mando Dalianis-Karambatzakis, *Children in Turmoil during the Greek Civil War. 1946–49: Today's Adults* (Stockholm: Karolinska Institet, 1994); Milan Ristovic, *A Long Journey Home Greek Refugee Children in Yugoslavia, 1948–1960* (Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 2000); Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-War Britain* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006).

The themes that emerge from the migration and memory literature include personal narrative and identity, constantly remade in relation to events of the present, and the ordering of disparate pasts into a flowing story. Oral history, memoir and autobiography are mediums that are always characterised by the speaker's centrality to events retold.[16] I have drawn from this literature and also from approaches that highlight the centrality of narratives and stories to how a sense of self and identity is created and sustained. Furthermore, this work draws on literature that is concerned with moving beyond what people remember to the wider meaning of their recollections and why they remember in the way they do.[17] Towards this end, this work considers the creation of cultural memory and narratives that have been confined to family histories. It is an attempt to place these migrant narratives within wider Australian history and to convey the experiences of those who arrived in the wave of post-war migration.[18]

The history of Greek migration to Australia has been inevitably written with an emphasis on the post-war period when large numbers migrated. But a connection with war and events in Greece were never too distant for migrants in the years prior to 1945. I begin in Chapter 1 by looking at continuities and discontinuities around war and transnationalism for the Greek migrant living in Australia before 1940. The Balkans War and the First World War figure prominently at this time, as Greece played a central role in these events. Greek inhabitants and residents – typically male, young and single – in Australia assumed an active role in engaging with them. There were few of them, and as such 'Greek' remained a novelty in Australian rural areas, country towns and cities. But I would

[16] See A. James Hammerton and Alistair Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms: Australia's Invisble Migrants: A Life History of Postwar British Emigration to Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Alistair Thomson, *Moving Stories: An Intimate History of Four Women Across Two Countries* (Sydney: New South, 2011); Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006); Penny Summerfield, 'Culture and composure: creating narratives of the gendered self in oral history interviews', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), pp. 65–93.

[17] Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (eds.), *Oral Histories and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), pp. vii–xvii; Brett Smith, 'The state of art in narrative inquiry: some reflections', *Narrative Inquiry* 17, 2 (2007), pp. 391–398; Brett Smith and Andrew C. Sparkes, 'Narrative inquiry in psychology: exploring the tensions within', *Qualitative Psychology* 3 (2006), pp. 169–192; Penny Summerfield, 'Culture and composure: creating narratives of the gendered self in oral history interviews', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), pp. 65–93.

[18] This book is based on over sixty interviews conducted by the author between 2009–2014 in Australia and in Greece. These were semi-structured, wide-ranging interviews, typically between an hour and a half to three in length. Some interviews were conducted in Greek and some in English and have been subsequently transcribed into both Greek and English.

argue that, nonetheless, they brought international politics to the Australian environment and a connection to certain events that captured the attention of the press. These were not Greeks who were victims of war. Many of them had migrated for better prospects but also felt the pull to return. Australian then, as now, was a destination for those who wished to seek opportunity. But war pulled them back and forth. The Second World War changed this landscape. As many have shown, the links between Greece and Australia were consolidated during this conflict. At the end of 1945 there was enduring good will towards the Greek nation in the forging of ties and connections.[19] But this was not always transferred to the Greeks who migrated and sought another life in Australia. This tension – between public announcements on the one hand and the treatment of Greeks in a localised setting where the White Australia Policy dictated behaviours – is a theme throughout this book.

Chapter 2 focuses on the primary group of study for this project – those who migrated from Europe after the Second World War. The policy that powerfully shaped this mass migration from Greece and many other places to post-war Australia was the assimilation policy. At its core, this extraordinary piece of public policy was optimistic, hopeful and positive. It looked to forging a modern Australia in the post-war world by redefining the nation and its people. But its attempts at inclusion were both its strength and its severe weakness. While it opened up Australians for the very first time to defining 'Australian' beyond white and British, its execution was less respectful, where not just cultural practices of migrants but past traumas, experiences and memories were to be put aside in favour of 'integration'. While war narratives and memories in Australia were being integrated to create a new post-war nationalism, the stories of the newly arrived immigrants had no place, despite the fact that many Greeks and Australians fought in the war – in the case of Crete, side by side. It remains inexplicable that the warm relations that developed between the two countries in fighting in Crete were not always transferred to peacetime Australia.

The theme of Chapter 3 is to examine in particular some of the war experiences of Greek migrants and how these emerged in post-war narratives. This generation of migrants – unlike some of their pre-war counterparts – were here to stay and this created a more ambivalent and complex relationship for them between who they were in their core and where they lived, the greater society in which they found themselves. Because war for this generation was their source of mobility, they had not

[19] Hill, *Diggers and Greeks*, pp. 2–4.

necessarily migrated willingly, but often left Greece out of necessity and with little hope of returning. Chapter 3 also reveals that narratives about war operate on two levels – within the everyday and familial and state narratives.

The themes of political, social and cultural connections with Greece after the war are developed further in Chapter 4. How did migrants translate their political beliefs to a new social setting? How was this involvement received? The period of post war migration coincided with one of the most oppressive chapters in Greek history – that of the military junta during the 1960s. Many opposed the junta from Australia; some actively agitated against it. As the regime consolidated its power, the international challenge hardened towards it. To this extent, this chapter examines agitation against it, and some efforts to mobilise Greeks in Australia. Was this appropriate behaviour for migrants when their home nation endured such repressions? And to what extent did the Australian government and people condone or censure this and other kinds of political behaviour by migrants? Chapter 4 explores how memories of war and past experiences of it often translates into political action and activism in the adopted country.

The following two chapters address a theme that draws together war, memory and experience and Australia's key role in it. In Chapter 5, the issue of child removal in Greece during war has captured the attention of historians world wide, but Australia's role in the incident has been unexplored in detail. This chapter documents the incident highlighting the cooperative dimension of the 1950s that resulted in children successfully being repatriated. The role of the social worker Aileen Fitzpatrick and Labor leader H. V. Evatt is identified as central in this effort. It also highlights Australia's continuing role in child migration by adding the story of Greek children to Australia's involvement. While this chapter shifts the focus directly away from immigrant narratives, it does so to provide a necessary broader context for the largely untold story of war and child repatriation to Australia.

Chapter 6 draws together the oral narratives of some of the children who experienced child migration and for whom cultural identity became a contested issue. The transnational nature of war, memory and national identity is encapsulated in this chapter through oral testimonies, memoirs and other forms of recollections. The power of these stories lies in the connection between war, memory and violence. In particular, the question of children and the impact of war arises here through the childhood memories of war.

The subject of Chapters 7 and 8 take us through to the present day, linking themes of children and assimilation, memory and identity.