

# Under Foreign Stars

## Australian Estonian Diaspora and Adaptation Narratives

**Abstract:** The article is concerned with the adaptation narratives of Estonians, who arrived in Australia after World War II. The adaptation stories reveal that people who arrived at different times had to adapt to all possible settings, make relevant changes in themselves, their beliefs and physical space. Presumably, adaptation depends on the migration policy of the country, presence of personal support network, personal choices, personality traits and people's learning capacity. Excerpts from longer chains of narratives have been chosen to characterise arrival and modes of adaptation into the new environment; also, language use and single controversial customs have been highlighted.

**Keywords:** adaptation, Australian Estonians, language, migration

### Introduction

Ted Lewellen (2002: 171) refers to the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the era of refugees, the war and political violence depriving 140 million people of their homes. As many as 23 million refugees were added during the year 1994 alone. Steven Vertovec defines diaspora as a form of social being, a type of consciousness and a means for the creation of culture (Vertovec 1997: 2).

The ethnic group of Australian Estonians, rather than living in geographically homogeneous communities, prevailingly

reside as single families in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, with a considerable distance to their nearest compatriots, with the exception of the Thirlmere Estonian village. The Eesti Maja 'Estonian House' and the native media amalgamate the Estonians with dispersed residences into a joint cultural and social network. Seven Estonian Houses with concurrent social life have preserved until today (together with Tasmania): Adelaide, Brisbane, Sidney, Canberra, Melbourne, Perth and Hobart. They consolidate cultural and sports societies, student corporations, joint festivities, the archives, etc. Such a shared ethnic space simultaneously affects the customs and habits for shaping personal spaces, visual ethnic markers and the models for the accrual of innovations (cf. Kõiva 2008).

The article describes the evolvement of the Diaspora of Australian Estonians on the background of the local migration policy, and, by way of the narratives, characterises their arrival and ways for adapting in the new environment, the relevant different perceptions and reactions. Also, the article shows how the personal narratives, obtained by way of relevant interviews, reflect the adaptation process of Australian Estonians in Australia, the alteration of their physical and cognitive space, the place of living and communication. Identity creation is a more lengthy process, with ups and downs, and it is recurrently being recreated.

## **The Adaptation Stories the Article Is Based on**

The article is based on interviews conducted in New South Wales and the State of Victoria in 2001. The interviews were conducted in Estonian and the samples presented here have been translated into English. The interviewees had arrived with different migration waves; the majority of them comprised the refugees of World War II and their descendants. There were also those who had arrived during the Soviet time, with different reasons and strategies, and those who had emigrated later, either temporarily or permanently. The current article concerns the narratives of the post-WW II refugees.

At the beginning of the oral interview, the interviewees were asked to recollect their life in Estonia, their departure from Es-

tonia and life away from the homeland, their journey to Australia and the first impressions upon arrival. During the first part of the interview, a few elaborative questions were asked. Other questions concerned the celebration of national holidays, the activities of the Estonian community, and also obtained data with regard to the relationships with the Soviet and independent Estonia.

The majority of interviewees were well-informed about Australian and Estonian history, politics, migration laws, and also about the standpoints declared by the media with regard to migration and ethnic groups; they had their own opinions and more generalised viewpoints on history, politics and migration related issues.

In the last ten years, an enthusiastic group of amateurs operating at the Estonian House in Sydney has videotaped and recorded the life stories of the senior members of their community, first in the Estonian language, and later also in English. This undertaking had prepared many people to narrate about the quirks of their lives and conspicuous events. The narrators had already contemplated on some of the problems, recalled them and put them into words.

Analysing messages posted in the diabetes forum (Kõiva 2010), the term 'narrative chain' was used, which is also appropriate to characterise the life stories told during the interviews of Australian Estonians. In addition to the main narrative (or several main narratives), the presented life story also comprises the parts of daily communication, (loosely) related to the main narrative, presenting different stories and comments to the theme, and highlighting the arguments and contra-arguments in connection with certain subject matters. Such a chain intermittently involves parts without any plot, judgmental clauses, beliefs, and formulations with a length of a sentence or a couple of sentences, everyday philosophical generalisations and contemplations. Such a life story narrative/interview could be divided into multi-meaningful and non-multi-meaningful areas.

The concept of narrative chain has also been used in order to signify partially sequential narrative cases to define a network which has a common actor, a protagonist. A narrative event is the cortege of events and participants and presents typical tendencies (Chambers & Jurafsky 2008). The protagonist of a life

story is usually the story-teller who represents him/herself and conveys the position of his close ones, other Estonians and that of antagonists.

The term narrative chain has also been used by William Labov, in whose view each narrative in the chain narrative is constructed of the most reportable event: i.e. that the event is at least general and it has the broadest consequences with regard to the safety and well-being of the participants. This is also in correlation with reportability and trustworthiness. "The recursive rule of narrative construction produces a narrative chain, a skeleton of events, linked by their causal relations" (Labov 2004: 37). Australian Estonians tell their personal life story in exactly this kind of chains. Inevitably, these are real life stories, although they also contain elements and motifs of internationally known folk narratives. Beliefs and prejudices are very common and the events happening in one's life can be transferred to be a part of another's story.

## **Australian Migration Policy**

Australian migration policy used to give radical preference to migrants of British origin and set strict limitations for non-Europeans migrating from nearby countries. The White Australia law, i.e. the Immigration Restriction Act passed in 1901 officially relied on the egalitarianism of British culture and education. The non-white people formed a so-called invisible class of the unwanted, comprising also the coloured wives of Australian soldiers (interviews 2001; Hugo 2001). The laws favouring the white people and constraining immigration were still valid in the 1970s and were thereafter alleviated due to the already commencing massive wave of immigration. As of the 1980s, the Australian government became radically re-oriented towards a multicultural policy.

The first Estonian re-settlers arrived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, more at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>, yet the more mass-scale resettlement indeed took place at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the 1920s. The first archival records of Estonians in Australia date back to 1864 (Taemets 1988: 80). Letters and the abundant material of the Estonian Archives in Australia

provide a multi-faceted reflection of the life of the immigrants of the 1880s. Although personal history related data has so far been scarcely analysed, it is known that the early re-settlers kept in contact with each other, and the first national Estonian Society was formed already in 1912, in Sydney, i.e. at the same time with the Caucasian Estonians (Mikkor 1998). The people of this pre-war population, comprising representatives of different occupations (farmers, miners, builders, tradesmen), were inter-related by way of joint get-togethers and entertainment. Social life was particularly thriving after the major migration in the 1920s, from the neighbouring areas (incl. China) and homeland. A compact Estonian settlement of 25 families emerged spontaneously in Thirlmere, where forests were felled as of the end of the 1920s to build chicken farms; in the immediate vicinity of the site there were also the Buxton farmers (Rampe 1988: 2; interviews 2001). Within the diaspora, the re-settlers from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are customarily referred to as the Old Estonians; they are the ones who established libraries, ethnic national societies, Estonian Houses and other associations which serve as the centre of cultural life up until today.

The largest wave of migration occurred in the time after World War II. Decisions were made during WW II and the post-war period to increase the Australian population and develop the economy independently from England; immigration policy continued to be explicitly oriented at the white British population (Vasta 2002; interviews 2001). However, as the number of British immigrants could not satisfy the demographic or economic needs and new hands were needed, Baltic and Slavic war refugees were selected as suitable for their racial characteristics and anti-communist ideas. The resistance of the local people against mass-scale immigration was alleviated with the help of the strategy to select candidates with appropriate looks from the refugee camps – young, culturally prone people. As a result, 180,000 Eastern Europeans arrived in Australia during 1947–1951, i.e. 37% of the entire volume of immigration at the time, and according to estimations, they coped very well in the host country (Vasta 2003).

The post-war immigration model supported the arrival of British emigrants and Northern Europeans, they could come together with their families, and their rights in the labour mar-



*Photo 1. The majority of Estonians had to try unknown occupations: In Australia they took single men only to work in the forest. We were simply brought here as workers, without any money, and were made to work in the forest for two years. Picture from Bon-gilla's beginnings by A. Tündern-Smith (2007: 116).*

ket were equal to those of Australians. However, Eastern and Southern Europeans had fewer rights, the concurrent arrival of their families was not an automatic right; frequently, the arrived persons were directed to less desirable work places and treated as a lower class (Collins 1991; Collins & Henry 1993). The Estonians who arrived after World War II were also subject to such a status.

The conditional stratification “the Beautiful Balts” is even today an important marker among the Estonian community and it is frequently referred to in the narratives. The arrival of this group in Australia was a political event and thus consciously covered by the media. Cuttings from newspapers and photos are still kept in the home archives regarding the quondam reception; the event is also reflected in family tradition and self-written cultural history (interviews 2001; Haas & Siska 1988).

*(1) We came on the board of the ship called General Stewart Heinzlmann, an American military transport vessel, the first DP-transport to Australia. The ship landed us in West-Australia, Fremantle where we were put into a camp. And of course, we were extremely noteworthy objects – the first post-war ship of immigrants – and were constantly photographed and interviewed.*

*Afterwards I saw a film on the history of Australian immigration and it said there that the most beautiful and healthy people were selected, the ones who would look like Australians, in order for Australia to accept us. [Smiling]*

(Interview 2001, Sidney, woman 1)

*(2) When they had landed in Fremantle, they had given a concert on the ABC radio, an Australian radio station, and earned their first wages. This was enough for every one of them to buy an ice-cream and a milk-shake. At least they knew that it is possible to earn money somehow. It was really interesting that these men could stay together as a group and found a job together, and they were given preferences in order for them to remain together.*

(Interview 2001, Sidney, woman 2)

The Italians who had resettled at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had established areas of living and their own economic domains, similarly to other more numerous ethnic groupings. To a certain extent, the resettlement of Estonians also followed a similar model. The newly arrived could use the help of earlier Estonian settlers, whereas the majority of them had to try unknown occupations, order special literature for the implementation of their business ideas and subsistence; similarly, they strived for better education and training in order to find a more

rewarding and cleaner occupation. The two-year-long work permits granted by the trade unions upon their immigration, indeed guaranteed a non-qualified job, thus preventing competition with local workers – this was one of the conditions of the immigration legislation. People worked in hospitals, in workplaces demanding hard physical labour, immigrants were employed in large labour-intensive undertakings such as the Snowy River project and mines, in building infrastructure, and they also concentrated in ever-expanding industrial centres, Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide (Lever-Tracya & Quinlan 1988). Within the Australian continent, Estonians tended to move towards the south, and established Estonian houses in larger places.

## **Different Models of Living and Working**

The life stories, formatted as interviews, highlight that Australia was chosen as the country of destination due to different reasons. Frequently, the decisions proceeded from practical possibilities and the relevant selection could have been partially forced-upon, e.g. the asylum seekers were not in compliance with the requirements set by Canada or the USA as both countries refused to accept those who had served in the German army, and the persons who were either too elderly or had large families. The service of men in the German army inevitably prioritised Australia as a destination, similarly to the intention to resettle together with parents or even grandparents who were in general not acceptable by the committees of host countries.

The closest neighbours, particularly Finland and Sweden were apprehended because of the vicinity of Russia and its presumable impact on the official politics of these countries. Similarly, political instability, e.g. Peron's rise to power in Argentina, ruptured the emigration to South America for quite a few people. The wish to flee quickly as far from Europe as possible was reasoned by the instability of Europe and the two world wars.

Australia was not the first choice for many Estonians as their knowledge of the country was meagre, obtained mainly from school textbooks, and thus their understanding of the continent was not realistic. Having imagined a warm country with exuberant nature, the dryness and non-compliance with the im-





*Photo 2. 180,000 Eastern Europeans arrived in Australia during 1947–1951. The arrival of the first group in Australia was a political event and thus consciously covered by the media. The group of Estonians in Bonegilla camp – young and full of energy. Picture from Bonegilla’s beginnings by A. Tündern-Smith (2007: 114).*

aginations were indeed frustrating. There were also people with idealised fancy ideas from literature and textbooks, however, as an exotic host country, Australia seemed extremely exciting. The knowledge with regard to the political system was particularly scarce, hence the possible idealisation.

(3) *I did not want to go Canada either. It is very cold there.*  
(Interview 2001, Thirlmere, woman 1)

(4) *In our case too, they just came to the camp one day and said you can go where you want to. I said as far as possible! That was Australia and in Australia they took single men only to work in the forest and so. We were simply brought here as workers, without any money, and were made to work in the forest for two years. It was very dry and nothing had been built at all since the war until almost that time. It was relatively underdeveloped then.*

(Interview 2001, Sidney, man 10)

(5) *We still talk about Australia and what it looked like. Now it is quite different. When we arrived, in the fifties, then I thought, oh my god, if I had the money, I would go back to Europe. But, well, then more Swedes arrived and in the town the gardens were made pretty and in the country the old trees were cut down. Now it looks quite good.*

(Interview 2001, Thirlmere, woman 8)

(6) *And it was raining and I was walking alone along the reddish sand road and cried. I was thinking: Why did I come to this dead land?*

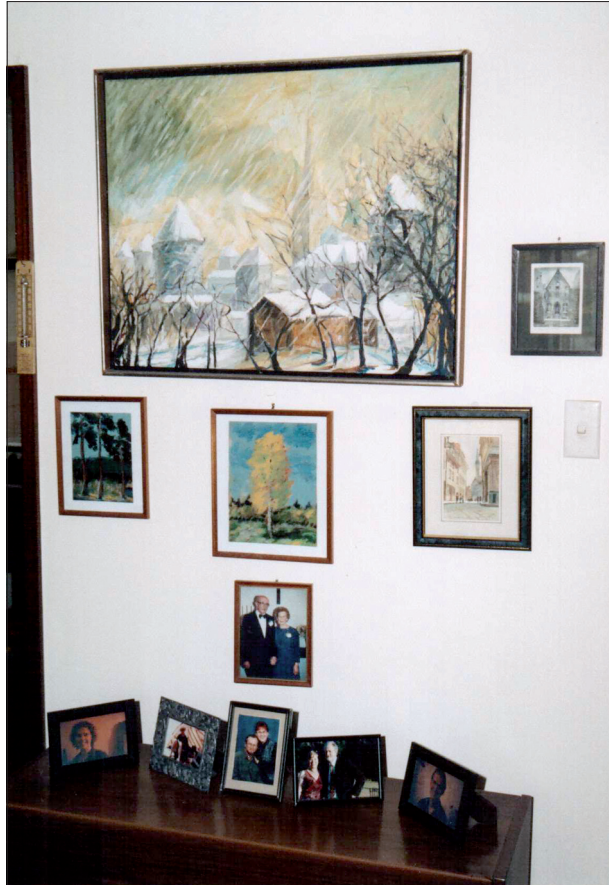
(Interview 2001, Sidney, man 2)

Many existing conceptions and factors operate simultaneously in the process of adaptation of an individual in a new cultural environment. "Cross cultural adaptation is a dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environments, establish (or re-establish) and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal and functional relationships with those environments" (Kim 2001: 31). The above-presented personal narratives highlight group emotions and individual psychological experience in relation to changes and adaptation to the new environment. By way of perceiving the emotional experience and the similarities in expression, group emotions affect group experience and thus increase the uniformity of the conduct of group members (Parkinson & Fisher & Manstead 2005: 123).

Irrespective of the differences in details, the narratives tend to be similar in their main features, with the trauma narratives regarding the arrival in the DP camps and leaving the homeland being part of nearly every life history. Likewise, the first experiences in setting up the place to live also involve stereotypical motifs and analogous memories.

(7) *Yes, and we had a big-big barrack. We all lived there in rows. And then the men came. The men had already been taken to work. And men came home for Christmas and they had army blankets and then everyone started to hammer. A small separation for every family: bit by bit. And my son was at that time walking on all four, going around and gathering all the boots so in the middle was row of boots [Laughter].*

(Interview 2001, Sidney, woman 4)



*Photo 3. Väino Jaaniste's home at Thirlmere. Family's sacral corner, in which they display artefacts and photos of their loved ones. Photo by A. Kuperjanov 2001.*

*(8) We lived in tin barracks and they also had this habit of starching all bedlinen. So you went to bed and thought it was like going to the morgue! Everything was thin, you know, and in the barracks everyone was walking back and forth. It was made of tin and the opossums were looking in. And the nature was so sad. Only the dead trees.*

*(Interview 2001, Thirlmere, woman 3)*



*Photo 4. Estonian House in Melbourne. Carpets depicting Estonian national themes in national colours, paintings and photos as well as portraits of great Estonian historical figures make the appearance of the house uniquely ethnic. Photo by A. Kuperjanov 2001.*

The adaptation takes place within different communication processes inside the host state and identity transformation processes. Nature and the environment were shocking, but most of the newcomers were very optimistic concerning their future life. The personal experience stories reflect rejection by members of the Australian society, confusion in roles, values and expectations, also surprise and anxiety because of cultural differences. In the beginning, primitive living conditions were seen as a major problem.

*In 1957, we arrived in Thirlmere to settle for good. The phone was installed after one year but electricity took over two years before it was installed. We never received city water. Prior to electrification, lighting was by 'Aladdin' kerosene mantle lamps, hurricane lamps and cooking was on a wood fuel stove in the kitchen and a coal burning 'Cosi' heater for winter.*

(Alas 2006)

Elderly people experienced distress and emotional reactions as a result of losing the familiar signs and symbols of social interaction and of misunderstanding or misinterpreting new experiences. For instance, the habit to use the second person's singular and the first name even when approaching less familiar people causes

a lot of misunderstanding and profound offence in Estonians who are accustomed to use the polite 'you' form with strangers.

*(9) My mother was greatly perturbed that people addressed her by her first name – she used to call her maid by the first name, and now she was in this position. But this was an act of pure friendliness. In Australia people start to call you by the first name very soon – and this indicates that you are accepted as one of them. [Laughing] But my mother didn't think of it like that.*

*(Interview 2001, Sidney, woman 1)*

Similarly, problems also occur due to the habit of men to give a helping hand to women or assist them in a job which is not directly their task. Australians interpret this as an attempt to take over the job of others. The fact that Australians tended to mock and use every possibility to hint that they would send the people back from where they came from was indeed irritating for the migrants deprived of any possibilities to choose. As a



*Photo 5. Dolls in folk costumes are being made for the state's handicraft exhibition. Estonians have won main prizes throughout years. Photo by A. Kuperjanov 2001.*

reaction to such behaviour, Estonians feel they are better and come from a better environment.

(10) *Yes. We were satisfied with a little. – Yes, we were, and in the end, we liked the warm climate and we got used to this. We even looked down at the Australians a little. We started to build our own homes. And they were definitely better than theirs.*

(Interview 2001, Thirlmere, woman 4)

According to official statistics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, only 25% of the Australian women worked outside the home; even more recent research indicates a relatively low employment rate of women outside home (54.4% – Hugo 2001). Indeed, this was a differentiating feature between the locals and those arriving from Estonia who were forced to enter the labour market due to the need to quickly improve their standard of living, in addition to the fact of being accustomed to a different employment model.

(11) *The rule here was that you could get a full salary once you were twenty-one years old, but I was only fifteen, so I got only a third of the salary, although I worked just as much as other people.*

(Interview 2001, Sidney, woman 1)

The attitudes towards speaking a foreign language were more incredulous in the case of simple co-workers, however, even more educated people could react painfully to the use of a non-understandable language.

(12) *[...] a few houses further lived a Latvian family. And the Australian lady was saying: “To think, they not only talk Latvian among themselves, but also to the dog!” [Laughter] And she was really amazed that the dog is so wise it can understand Latvian. [Laughter] But I think the lady was missing something in her head.*

(Interview 2001, Sidney, woman 4)

Likewise, the Estonians too had hesitant stereotypes with regard to Australians – perceiving differences in culture and the environment the Estonians believed the Australians to have different valid norms. Thus, typically to categorisation and stereotyping, they presumed their inner group to behave positively and the others, i.e. the outer group, to have a negatively signed conduct. One of the most widespread narrative motifs is associ-

ated with the unusual Australian nature and one of the many prejudices with regard to the local inhabitants:

(13) W4: *We were really frightened in the beginning and thought how Australians treat their children – throw them out at night when it's really cold. Yeah. And what was it then? Auuu... auuu.... auuu... This bird cries like that, and we thought it were children. As we were the first transport to Bathurst and we had no idea who is the one crying like that. And we thought it were children. Because they make a weird sound. This kookaburra is a ... Yes, in the Bathurst camp there were the birds who sounded exactly like children. And we hear it and think where on earth the children cry like that.*

W5: *We were thinking who those parents are pushing their children out in such a cold.*

(Interview 2001, Thirlmere, women 4, 5)

## Conclusions

Schneider has drawn a distinction between the oral tradition and oral history which consists of the stories that a group of people know, that they consider important enough to retell, and that they actually do retell and pass on to others (Schneider 2008: 161). In this article, I have highlighted certain selected themes from the narrative chains, starting with the reflection of the immigration policy and moved further to the first experiences in Australia. However, many popular narrative themes were not addressed, such as prior work experience or failures and mishaps caused by lack of skills, misunderstandings emanating from different lifestyles, up-bringing and related comic situations, and other incidences associated with the adaptation process.

Humour is present in many, or even in the majority of stories, recollections of past events are presented in a warm tone. The norms and violations of norms concerning the education, behaviour and different social background of people make the storytellers laugh and smile during their narration. It is conspicuous that beside humour, the adaptation stories of Estonians reflect the stereotypes and prejudices in the form of a narrative, and primarily the non-tangible relationships elicited from the memory



*Photo 6. Folk dance, choir singing and native language theatricals occupy a prominent place in Estonian diaspora communities. Painting of folk dancers at the Estonian house in Melbourne. Photo by A. Kuperjanov 2001.*

by emotions and mental values.

The stories have their own sentiment, contextualised by the history of resettlement. Sherna Berger Gluck notices that peoples' representations change depending not only on their own personal developments but also on the changing socio-political context in which the interview is conducted (Gluck 2008: 120 ff.). Nearly ten years after Estonia's regained independence and several decades of multi-cultural policy in Australia, these narratives also reflect the quondam experience with regard to

categorisation and stereotypes obtained from each other, from the media and politics. The stories also describe a particular society and the relevant cultural values at the time of arrival, reflect the interpretation and effect of the laws, and personal and human conflicts emanating from the contradictions between the 'own' and the 'other', between the Australians and the newcomers. The narratives tell about much more than mere personal adaptation and survival experiences when arriving in Australia.



## References

- Alas, G. 2006. *From Thirlmere to Estonia: Stories from a Unique Community*. Wollondilly Heritage Centre: Wollondilly NSW Migration Heritage Centre. Available at: <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibitions/fromestonia/life-problems.html>; date of access: 31 April 2010.
- Chambers, N. & Jurafsky, D. 2008. Unsupervised Learning of Narrative Event Chains. In: *Proceedings of Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL) with the Human Language Technology Conference (HLT) 2008*. Available at: <http://stanford.edu/~jurafsky/narrative-chains08.pdf>; date of access: 31 April 2010.
- Collins, J. 1991. Multiculturalism in Australia: The Challenges ahead. – *Working Paper 7* (September). Sidney: Sidney Institute of Technology, School of Finance and Economics. Available at: <http://www.business.uts.edu.au/finance/research/wpapers/wp7.pdf>; date of access: 31 April 2010.
- Collins, J. & Henry, F. 1993. Racism, Ethnicity and Immigration in Canada and Australia. – *Working Paper*, 25 (March). Sidney: Sidney Institute of Technology, School of Finance and Economics. Available at: <http://www.business.uts.edu.au/finance/research/wpapers/wp25.pdf>; date of access: 31 April 2010.
- Gluck, S. B. 2008. The Representation of Politics and the Politics of Representation: Historicizing Palestinian Women's Narratives. In: W. Schneider (ed.). *Living with Stories: Telling, Retelling, and Remembering*. Logan: Utah State University Press, pp. 120–133.
- Haas, Õ. & Siska, V. (eds.) 1988. *Eestlased Austraalias*, 1. Adelaide: Austraalia Eesti Seltside Liit.
- Hugo, G. 2001. A Century of Population Change in Australia. In: *Year Book Australia*, 2001. Australian Bureau of Statistics. Available at: <http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsw/dlc057c1016e548b4ca256c470025ff88/0b82c2f2654c3694-ca2569de002139d9>; date of access: 31 April 2010.
- Kim, Y. Y. 2001. *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-cultural Adaptation*. California: Sage.
- Kõiva, M. 2008. Kahe kultuuri vahel: Virtuaalne väliseesti kogukond. In: K. Labi (ed.). *Paar sammukest*, Vol. 24. Tartu: EKM Teaduskirjastus, pp. 31–59.
- Kõiva, M. 2010. Inter-patient Narratives in the Internet. In: *Narratives Across Space and Time: Transmissions and Adaptations: 21–27 June 2009, Athens*. Athens: Hellenic Research Centre, p. 145.

- Labov, W. 2004. Ordinary Events. In: Fought, C. (ed.). *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 31–43.
- Lever-Tracy, C. & Quinlan, M. 1988. *A Divided Working Class: Ethnic Segmentation and Industrial Conflict in Australia*. London: Routledge, Kegan-Paul.
- Levellen, T. C. 2002. *The Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Westport (Connecticut) & London: Bergin & Garvey.
- Mikkor, M. 1998. *Eestlased Musta mere rannikul*. Tartu: M. Mikkor.
- Parkinson, B. & Fischer, A. H. & Manstead, A. S. R. 2005. *Emotion in Social Relations: Cultural, Group, and Interpersonal Processes*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Rampe, L. 1988. Eesti asula Thirlmere. In: Haas, Õ. & Siska, V. (eds.). *Eestlased Austraalias* 1. Adelaide: Austraalia Eesti Seltside Liit, pp. 1–17.
- Schneider, W. 2008. Afterwords. In: Schneider, W. (ed.). *Living with Stories: Telling, Retelling, and Rememberin*. Logan: Utah State University Press, pp. 161–166.
- Taemets, T. 1988. Eestlased Queenslandis. In: Haas, Õ. & Siska, V. (eds.). *Eestlased Austraalias*, 1. Adelaide: Austraalia Eesti Seltside Liit, pp. 80–87.
- Tambiah, S. J. 2000. Transnational Movements, Diaspora and Multiple Modernities. – *Daedalus*, 129 (1), pp. 163–194.
- Tünder-Smith, A. 2007. *Bonegilla's beginnings*. Wagga Wagga: Triple D Books.
- Vasta, E. 2003. Australia's Post-war Immigration – Institutional and Social Science Research. *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, 3/02. Malmö: School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations Malmö University.
- Vertovec, S. 1997. Three Meanings of “Diaspora”, Exemplified among South Asian Religions. – *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 6 (3), pp. 277–299.

# Through the Ages II. Time, Space, and Eternity

Mare Kõiva

<http://www.folklore.ee/ri/pubte/ee/sator/sator13/>

ISSN 1406-2011 (print)

ISSN 1736-0323 (web)

ISBN 978-9949-490-98-1 (print)

ISBN 978-9949-490-99-8 (web)

Tartu 2015

Printed version: Mare Kõiva. **Through the Ages II.  
Time, Space, and Eternity.** SATOR 13. Tartu 2014

Author: Mare Kõiva

Series editor: Mare Kõiva

Editor: Liisa Vesik

Translators: Liisa Vesik, Mall Leman, Lii Liin,  
Tiina Mällo

Cover design: Lembit Karu

Designed by NGO Estonia Folklore Institute

HTML: Diana Kahre

Electronic version editing is supported by EKKM14-344  
Expansion of the sphere of use and introduction of the  
Estonian language, culture and folklore in electronic  
information carriers.

© 2015 ELM Scholarly Press

© 2015 Mare Kõiva

© 2015 Cover Lembit Karu