

THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF VANCOUVER:
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND ADAPTATION

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnographic account of the social organization of the Vancouver Greek community with a focus on some ethnic institutions. The Church, the voluntary associations and the Greek language school are examined in order to determine their significance and role in the process of adaptation. The social organization of the Vancouver Greek community is viewed within the context of overseas Greek settlements. A historical account of early Greek immigration to the United States, Montreal and Toronto is given, in order to provide a historical background to the investigation.

The methodology is inter-disciplinary combining historical, anthropological and sociological techniques. The analysis is based on, (1) participant observation and interviews of leaders and members of the community; (2) primary historical data on the Greeks in Vancouver including Greek newspapers, Church and voluntary associations periodicals; and (3) published and unpublished materials on the Greeks in Canada, the United States and Australia.

It was found that in the Vancouver Greek community the Church acts not only as a nationalistic, integrative and culture-preserving institution, but also as the official community government. The important role that the Church plays in the Vancouver Greek community is shown to be common to other overseas Greek communities such as those of Montreal and Toronto. The voluntary associations were found to act as important adaptive mechanisms through which the leadership of the

community arises. The Greek language school ensures to a certain degree the continuation and preservation of the Greek language and culture. The three ethnic institutions that were examined, were found to perform a dual role as both culture-sustaining agents and as aids to adaptation.

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This study is dedicated to my parents,
Smaroula and Kostas, who had the courage
to leave their homeland and by coming to
Canada made all this possible.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Objectives

This work is an ethnographic account of the Greek community of Vancouver. It is a presentation of the history of the community with a focus on its major institutions: the Church, the voluntary associations, and the Greek-language school. The characteristics and functions of these ethnic institutions are examined in order to show their role in the adaptation process of migrant Greeks in Canadian society.

Greek immigrants abroad have developed a community organization that is common to overseas Greek communities. One aspect of this thesis is concerned with discovering the fundamental historical and institutional aspects that the organization of the Vancouver Greek community shares with other overseas Greek settlements.

Immigrants (or migrants) will be defined as any ethnic Greeks born outside of Canada, who are permanently living in Canada. The definition is extended to include second-generation descendants of the original migrant Greeks.

Existing Research and Literature

Fifty years ago there were fifty Greek families in Vancouver. The Greek community assumed its present character after World War II when a large number of new immigrants entered into the community. In

1971 according to the Canada Census there were more than 6,500 Greeks in British Columbia.

At present, no ethnographic study of the Greek community in Vancouver exists. The Greeks have formed a distinct ethnic group in Vancouver since the 1920's, yet they have been little studied. This thesis attempts to fill the gap in part.

The social organization of the Greek community has not been examined in any detail yet there are three studies that give some reference to Greeks in B.C. Walhouse (1961) provided a brief geographical sketch of the community as one of the several minorities in urban Vancouver. Norris (1972), writing for the British Columbia Centennial presented an outline of Greek settlement in B.C. Grant (1972) drew attention to the food habits and shopping patterns of the Greek immigrants in Vancouver.

In the context of Canada, there are a few more studies. Vlassis (1953) described the composition of the Greek communities across the provinces with an emphasis on specific people and social events. The few sociological studies on Greeks that do exist were all carried out in the eastern part of Canada. Richmond (1964; 1965; 1967a; 1967b; 1972) conducted ethnic surveys in Toronto but without a specific description of Greek social organization. The community is relatively small and is therefore included in the "others" category. Other recent studies (Chimbos 1971; 1972; Nagata 1969, 1970; Alexiade, 1962) described the social adaptation of Greeks in the Lakehead area and in

Toronto. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups (1969) offered some general comments on the characteristics of the Greek communities in Canada. Porter (1965) included Greeks in the "other" category. This virtually completes the list of available literature on the social organization of Greeks in Canada. The existing literature is indeed small, and covers an area outside the focus of this research.

Greeks in the United States have been studied more extensively. Saloutos' (1964) classic on the Greeks in the United States encompasses in scholarly and fascinating fashion more than 150 years of Greek-American historical and community development. His comprehensive work offers great insight in the nature of overseas Greek settlement and early social organization. Saloutos (1973) also examines the Greek Orthodox Church and its determined efforts to resist assimilation, especially in the early period of Greek migration. Theodoratus' (1971) ethnography of the Tacoma, Washington community in the Pacific Coast is helpful since it shares many characteristics with the Vancouver Greek social organization and history. The works of Chimbos (1963), Vlachos (1964), and Tavuchis (1968), give further insight in the social adjustment, assimilation, and kinship patterns of Greek communities across U.S. cities like Missoula, Montana, New York, and Anderson, Indiana. Treudley (1946), explores the formal organizations and "the americanization" process of Greeks in Boston. Her analysis of the "functions of autonomous organizations" was the first of its kind on Greek immigrants. She presents a framework for the classification of

Greek voluntary associations which is still valid, though it does not consider the complexity and conflict found in present-day urban Greek communities. Stycos (1965) studied the community cohesion of the Greeks in Bridgetown, New York. He found an unusual amount of psychological and structural unity between Greeks which is uncharacteristic of other later studies. Cultural change was studied among three generations of Greeks in San Antonio, Texas (Lauquier, 1961). A recent study by Humphrey and Louis (1973) explores the assimilation and voting behavior of Greek-Americans. Lastly, Cutsumbis' (1970) bibliographical guide to materials in the U.S. from 1890-1968, incorporates a variety of sources of published and unpublished works on the Greeks.

Outside the North American continent Greeks have been mainly studied in Australia (Price, 1960) where they form distinct, sizeable communities.

Theoretical Issues

To understand the nature of the Greek social organization abroad it is necessary to examine first the issues of rural to urban migration, and the effects of migration in a theoretical context, before applying them to the Greek situation in Vancouver.

The majority of Greek migrants come from the rural areas of Greece. However, most Canadians live in urban communities and earn their living mostly in non-farming occupations. The change from rural to urban life affects the social structure, behavior and values of migrants (Porter, 1970: 134).

In a rural community, kinship plays a very important role as an economic, religious and socializing agent (Moore, 1963: 337). Weber and Parsons define a "traditional" society as one where values are ascriptive and particularistic (Hoselitz, 1963: 14). The rules of behavior are set and predictable. Industrialization brings a complex system of new norms, and structural differentiation in institutional spheres such as the family and work (Hauser, 1963: 210). A complex division of labour and skills demands specialization and mobility. The family becomes separate from work (Goode, 1963: 242). Thus, migrants move to the cities in search of better economic conditions. Cities are regarded as having the best to offer in health, education and employment (Matos Mar, 1962: 171). But migrants often overestimate the economic advantages and arrive unprepared for the competition, and demands of urban life (Moore, 1963: 334). Peasants or farmers are considered unskilled so they receive low wages, and face the danger of unemployment (Porter, 1970: 140).

Some sociologists believe that the family disintegrates as a result of urban pressures (Wirth, Redfield, Davis, Loome, Burgess, and Locke quoted in Key, 1961: 49-56; Blumberg and Bell, 1959). Other social scientists view the family in the urban context as an important agent for primary relations, companionship and support (Key, 1961; Litwak, 1960; Tavuchis, 1968; Kluckhohn, 1958). The findings of Matos Mar (1962) and Key (1961) support the hypothesis that the family does not disintegrate in the transition from rural to urban

life. Instead it continues to remain a source of security, by satisfying primary contacts and needs.

Migrants have traditions and views which often come in conflict with the new values. They can result in mental, social, and economic maladjustments (Matos Mar, 1962: 175). Heiss (1969: 422) believes that a necessary pre-migration trait is the ability to learn a new culture. The right personality he feels, faces less mental problems with the difficulties of migration.

The overwhelming majority of Greek migrants is of rural traditional background coming mainly from Peloponesus, Macedonia, and the islands (Nagata, 1969: 49). Greece is still an agricultural country with 50% of the population in agricultural occupations (Friedl, 1962: 19). Family relations are patriarchal, and the father is supreme (Lauquier, 1961: 229). The woman's status is low, especially in the village setting. She is expected to obey and uphold all decisions made. First she is under the tutelage of her father, and then of her husband and sons. In the rural setting, the primary interaction groups with which lie first allegiances, are the nuclear family and the kinship network (Saloutos, 1964: 311).

Greece is a poor, dry country which cannot support its population. Villagers often live in intolerable poverty trying to squeeze a meager living from the parched land (Chimbos, 1963: 24). This is the main reason they move to the cities or emigrate. Richmond (1967a: 32) found that 80% of Mediterranean immigrants stated economic motives as the primary reason for migrating. Goldlust and Richmond (1974) in

a recent study found that one-third of their sample of 128 Greek immigrants came from a village or farm. More than half of them were sponsored immigrants. This explains their lower education and lack of skills since they did not go through the normal immigration selection procedures. Only one immigrant in four had come independently. Three out of four immigrants in their sample, stated primarily economic reasons for migrating. Political and religious motives are usually secondary, and are only cited by the small minority (2%-3%) of professionals and intellectuals who migrate from Athens (Parai, 1969: 59; Nagata, 1969: 49).

Ninety-seven per cent of Greek immigrants to Canada are from the rural or working class. They are considered unskilled or semi-skilled (Nagata, 1969: 49). Treudley (1949: 45), Chimbos (1963: 38), and Theodoratus (1971: 4), in their research of Greek immigrants in America, found that in all cases the first generation is unskilled or semiskilled. Nagata (1969: 62) found that the Greek immigrants in Toronto had very limited knowledge of English, and without specific job skills became employed as factory workers, dry cleaners, waiters, cooks, and floor sweepers. Without English, the Greeks had to work for other Greeks and this resulted in heavy exploitation.

As a result of long exhausting hours, family interaction was minimal. Women worked even if they had children, often the babysitting being done by the father. This changed the traditional family roles and created personality conflicts, especially in the men. Yet

most of the studies on the Greek family abroad have found that it remains a uniting agent providing needed reassurance in the alien urban environment (Treudley, 1949; Stycos, 1965; Tavuchis, 1968).

A considerable amount of research has been carried out regarding the process of migration, and the ensuing social changes in the migrant. There are diverse definitions of the major processes. Some emphasize either economic or social and psychological aspects. Assimilation, acculturation, integration, and adaptation are often used interchangeably to signify the same issue. But they are defined differently and can have a variety of subtle meanings.

Johnston (1963: 295-298) sees assimilation as two-fold:

1) external, where the migrant's exterior qualities become less distinguishable from the indigeneous population, and 2) subjective, where the migrant identifies with the host culture, considers it proper, and is willing to identify with it.

Parsons distinguished social from cultural assimilation.

Social assimilation emphasizes the process of adaptation to the receiving society's system of interaction between individuals and collectivities. Cultural assimilation involves adopting the content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic systems that are essential in the "shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced through behavior." The need for social integration may initially be greater than the need for cultural integration. The immigrant's previous primary groups are destroyed, and his individuality and self-image are

threatened if he does not re-establish his position within the new social system. Cultural assimilation is impeded if the migrant has not first secured himself in some type of new social system. It is at this point that the ethnic community plays an important role in the adjustment period of the immigrant.

O'Flannery (1961: 195-206) tested this two-aspect model with Puerto Ricans in New York and found that these processes are independent to a degree. Sengstock (1969: 18-31) studied the Chaldean Iraqi group in Detroit, employing Parsons' two-type assimilation model. She determined two further aspects of cultural assimilation: 1) concerned with external aspects (food, language, and religious rituals), and 2) dealing with the "value system" (ideals, symbols). Her findings show that long after the Chaldean immigrants had adopted many of the new society's "external" aspects, they still retained a great number of their migrant values, and identified strongly with the ethnic group. She concludes that social and cultural assimilation occur at different rates with social assimilation being much slower.

Park and Burgess (1921: 735) view assimilation as a:

"Process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated in a common cultural life."

Young (1949: 615) has a similar conception of assimilation as:

"...the fusion of two or more groups into one group; the interpenetration of divergent habits, ideas, and social relationships into a common unity. Complete assimilation of

two ethnic groups may be said to have been accomplished when cultural distinctions, including distinction in social status, based upon ethnic or physiognomic ancestry cease to exist."

Eisenstadt (1953: 169) sees "absorption" as a gradual process consisting of three stages:

"a) redefinition of old established roles...so as to make them compatible with the alternative roles of the new society. b) acquisition of new roles which have been, as it were, relinquished during the process of migration and which are necessary prerequisites for participation in the new society. c) ...evolution of identification with the new society and its common, shared values and goals."

But he propounds that no concrete index of assimilation - acquisition of language, customs - can serve as a universal criterion of adaptation. Instead the social setting, and the importance it attaches to acculturation influences greatly the relative significance of each index.

Duncan and Lieberman (1959: 364-374) define absorption as the entry into the productive activity of the host society. Assimilation is seen as integration in the social structure in terms of socio-economic equality. The socio-economic status is considered as an index of immigrant adjustment. Acculturation is another term they apply to "the adoption of local customs and the relinquishing of identifiable distinct ethnic characteristics" (Duncan and Lieberman, 1959).

The above definitions imply a one-way process. Assimilation, "besides its misleading biological connotation, too often implies a one-way street in group relations" (Bernard, 1967: 23). More important, these definitions imply the virtual subordination and disappearance of one culture over another. They suggest that the new migrant is remoulded,

reshaped, and stripped of all his natural gifts and former ideas. He is made into a "Canadianized" or "Americanized" product. It is forgotten that this new way of being (which he has to adopt) was indeed forged and shaped by the immigrant forefathers and their interaction with each other.

The term integration appears to be a better one in that it implies "cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity" (Bernard, 1967: 24).

In most instances the integration of immigrants in the host society produces some change in the institutional structure. According to Eisenstadt,

"The evolution of a new institutional structure is a long-term process, which cannot immediately obliterate the distinct entities of different immigrant groups but - at most - transforms and incorporates them within the new structure." (1953: 168)

Both parts, the migrant and the receiving society are affected by their interaction with each other, becoming complementary but individual.

Similarly, Valee et al. (1957: 541) see the process as one in which a number of ethnic groups become increasingly similar to one another. This is balanced by continuous and simultaneous differentiation in various areas in which the ethnic groups maintain and develop their original cultural expression. This aspect is of utmost importance in the development of a dynamic culture. This type of definition implies contact, equality of exchange and change. Immigration, adaptation, and later integration is a process that happens to both parties: the migrant

and the host society. It is in this sense that the terms integration and adaptation will be used in the analysis of the social organization of the Greek group in Vancouver.

Migration is a shattering event for an individual. "Migration is one of the most obvious instances of complete disorganization of the individual's role system" (Bar Yosef, 1968: 28). There are several studies that deal with the psychological impact it has on the psyche of a person, and others that discuss the effects of migration on his social organization. The individual's role system disintegrates and his previous social identity is lost when he migrates. Eisenstadt says:

"The process of migration entails not only a shrinkage in the number of roles and groups in which the immigrant is active but also, and perhaps principally, some degree of 'desocialization', of shrinkage and transformation of his whole image and set of values." (1954: 506)

There are gaps in information, proper behavior, expectations, and gaps even in time perspective (Bar Yosef, 1968: 28). There is distress and anxiety because of "incomprehension or misunderstanding of new values" (Fitzpatrick, 1965: 44). The older migrants in particular find their treasured way of life and values threatened. This may lead to ethnocentrism or to fear and hatred of the host culture. Isolation and alienation can result (Fitzpatrick, 1965; Bar Yosef, 1968). Eisenstadt (1953: 180) found an inherent amount of social tension in the process of adaptation: a) there may be cultural incompatibility between the immigrant group and the society's formal institutional structure which

may give rise to instability and personal disorganization; b) it may be impossible for the immigrant to realize his level of aspiration either because of (a), or because of discrimination on the part of the absorbing society. These tensions may give rise to aggressive feelings and negative attitudes towards the new country. In extreme cases the tensions may result in suicide, severe depression or aggression.

Dutch settlers in Vancouver found their previous ideas about life and work did not fit in a Canadian environment (Cavelaars, 1967: 38-45). Migrants to the *barriadas* of Lima were faced with the hostile and unknown world of bureaucracy. They were scorned and ridiculed because of their "underdeveloped peasant mentality" (Matos Mar, 1962: 174). Greeks in Boston had to undergo a "personality conversion" in order to be accepted (Treudley, 1949: 45). Estonian refugees in Sweden suffered from general deterioration in their social standards, and from a much lower level of aspiration (Dahlstrøm, 1965: 103). Because refugees leave their homeland involuntarily the initial shock can be greater than that faced by immigrants. After that it appears that many of the problems faced are similar to those of migrants.

The majority of migrants are not familiar with the language of the host country. This along with lack of specific skills and experience can result in discrimination in the labour market (Cavelaars, 1967: 38-45; Dahlstrøm, 1962: 98-108). Migrants usually find themselves in "niche" occupations where they complement rather than compete with members of the host society (Inglis, 1962: 267).

How does the migrant deal with these problems? On the psychological level it appears that personality changes and resocialization are necessary. Resocialization, according to Bar Yosef is,

"the tendency to re-establish the role-set, to rebuild the connection between the self image and the role-images, and to achieve a real and acceptable social status." (1968: 42)

If some degree of successful adjustment does not occur, then the migrant will be a marginal man unable to fit in either culture. The process of adaptation involves dissolution of old patterns and the rebuilding of new ones.

Three interrelated social spheres aid the immigrant in coping with the effects of migration. By evolving through them he adapts to his new life. They are: a) residential segregation, b) ethnic community life, and c) ethnic institutions.

Extensive research shows that individuals with similar cultural origins tend to become residentially segregated (Lieberson, 1961: 52-57; Jones, F.L., 1967: 412-423; Richmond, 1972: 3). In the first stages of settling in a new country, most migrants tend to prefer residential proximity with other ethnic members since it facilitates interaction and helps to ease the cultural shock (Jones, F.L., 1967: 413). It allows people with similar values to maintain their group norms, to preserve a sense of ethnic identity, and to feel secure in a familiar social network (Richmond, 1972: 4). The effects of residential concentration or integration, intermarriage and occupational mobility have been studied. It has been shown that residential dispersion is a neces-

sary prerequisite for ethnic integration and mobility (Duncan, and Lieberman, 1959: 364-374; Lieberman, 1961: 57; Jones, F.L., 1967: 412-423). In several studies the Greek group has been characterized as more residentially concentrated than other ethnic groups, except perhaps the Italians (Benyei, 1960; Jones, F.L., 1967; Inglis, 1972). There is general consensus that the more concentrated groups are also the most recently arrived. As length of residence increases so does ethnic dispersion (Ianni, 1957: 65-72).

Before discussing the role of the ethnic community, we must examine what are the criteria that define the Greeks as a distinct ethnic group. The aggregate of Greeks in Vancouver, is an ethnic group because its members "share a social organization whose critical characteristic is self-ascription and ascription by others" (Barth, 1969: 13). Greeks use ethnic identity as determined by origin and background, to categorize themselves and others for the purposes of interaction. There is a continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders (Barth, 1969: 15). Indeed all non-Greeks are referred to as "foreigners" (xenoi). The Greek group maintains its boundary as a cultural unit, in interaction with non-Greeks. There are implicit marked differences in behavior which become apparent in social contact with persons of different cultures (Barth, 1969: 15-16).

The ethnic community may have social, rather than strictly territorial boundaries although in the case of the Greek community of Vancouver the social community has a small territorial nucleus in Kitsilano. In his discussion of ethnic groups, Barth (1969: 15) states

"the boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts." The formation of these social boundaries entails the existence of common socio-psychological referents and of common sets of interrelated institutions (Straaton, 1974: 19). Crissman after MacIver defines community "an area of common life based on common interests which can determine activity," and which "has ethnicity as well as locality as its basis" (Crissman, 1967: 188). Belonging to a community, sharing its customs, and culture provides a feeling of solidarity and conscious awareness of a "definite set of roles to fulfill in the group" (Fitzpatrick, 1966: 5-16). This function of the ethnic community is particularly important to the migrant in the early post-migration stages.

According to Fitzpatrick, a community can be identified either physically by a set of geographical boundaries, or psychologically by mutually recognizable symbols such as language and customs (1966: 5-16). In the anthropological sense a community is a cultural group with a set of interrelated institutions, in a geographical setting with a particular set of relationships with the larger society. The links with the larger community are occupation, education, and political action (Arensberd and Kimball, in Fitzpatrick, 1966).

The concentration of Greek residents in Vancouver is an ethnic community. The Greeks form a culturally distinct ethnic group with a specific geographical nucleus in Kitsilano. The group shares a common set of values, common cultural forms and institutions which

regulate the activities of the group. The Greek community has a definite educational and political relationship with the wider society. The community "has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others" as constituting a category "distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (Barth, 1969: 11).

It is possible for an immigrant to become "interpersonally integrated with the 'native' community, within his ethnic community or with a group of immigrants from another community" (Breton, and Pinard, 1960: 465-477). This is possible if no ethnic organizations exist to attract the allegiance of the immigrant. According to Breton (1964: 193) the notion of "institutional completeness" is more important in attracting the immigrant than merely the idea of community. Institutional completeness or self-sufficiency is measured by the number of available ethnic services (such as churches, newspapers, organizations and schools) within the social boundaries of the ethnic group. Some communities like the Italian in Toronto and the Chinese in Vancouver are relatively self-sufficient institutionally. Most life services and necessities can be provided within the ethnic community. The Greek community of Vancouver has a relatively high degree of institutional completeness. There exist formal organizations like the church, voluntary associations, schools, and newspapers which successfully keep the social relations of the immigrants within the ethnic community. Institutional completeness of an ethnic group can be seen as a constructive reaction to the disintegrating process of migration (Breton and Pinard, 1960: 145-177).

Institutions that flourish with migration are the ethnic voluntary associations. They act as a buffer to the cultural shock by emphasizing and cultivating the traditions and customs of the home country while simultaneously acting as stepping stones to the native culture. They lessen the personality stress of the individual by providing a familiar frame of reference for interaction. They offer necessary peer-group association especially in the early stages. The voluntary associations do not usually engage in formal economic or political activities but provide first of all entertainment and informal contact. These are important functions for immigrants who because of language difficulties remain outside the main cultural and social activities of the society (Bar Yosef, 1968: 42). Their deeper significance is that they fulfill the role of mediator between the native and the migrant community.

Some sociologists propose that ethnic associations hinder the integration of migrants (Zubrycki, 1956; Borrie, 1959; Grygier and Spencer, 1966). Johnston (1966) tested this hypothesis with Polish immigrants in Australia and found that no significant differences existed in the rate of integration. Most likely those that are not fully integrated may join while others more involved in the native community may not. Bar Yosef cautions that there is the danger of "social self-segregation" which may result in a distorted and hostile image of the society, and even prejudice towards other immigrant groups, if the migrant remains secluded in the ethnic community and associations.

Usually through the voluntary associations rises the leadership of the ethnic community (Treudley, 1949: 44-53).

"It seems that voluntary associations with their sophisticated leadership, versed in the ways of the new social structure, can be critical in the resocialization of the adult members of the migrant families." (Johnson, 1975).

The majority of Greek voluntary associations have as basis of membership the region of origin in Greece (Stycos, 1965: 253-258). For others, Greek nationality is enough. There are also mutual-aid societies, charitable groups, and youth-oriented organizations.

The Church is a unifying ethnic institution, particularly so for Greek communities abroad (Inglis, 1972; Nagata, 1969). The Greek Orthodox Church has always been considered important because of its historic role as a unifying and culture-sustaining agent during the Turkish Occupation:

"During all the long years of Ottoman subjection, the Greeks, no matter how scattered or oppressed by their Moslem conquerors, clung with tenacity and fervor not less than that of the Hebrews to their own history, religion, language, and learning....Even under Ottoman domination, every little Greek community in Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, the Aegean Islands, or the Greek peninsula had its Orthodox Church, presided over by a priest whose patriotic ardor for the "Great Idea" of Greek unity under a free government has finally triumphed in the independent united Greece of today." (Mears, 1929 quoted in Warner, 1945: 158)

Another writer refers to the nationalistic aspects of the Church:

"Church and race being identified, the Greek Church has become the symbol of nationality in the estimation of the Greek people. The threads of religion and nationality are so woven that it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to separate them. The one cannot be touched without affecting the other. Many religious observances, customs, festivals, usages are rather national affairs." (Xenides, 1922 quoted in Warner, 1945: 158)

Abroad the Church continues to be closely identified with Greek nationalism. It continues to exert its influence even though to a lesser degree. The head of the North American Greek Orthodox Church is the Archbishop whose headquarters are in New York. The Archdiocese administers in conjunction with the elected parish councils the Greek Orthodox communities of North and South America. The majority of studies (Treudley, 1949; Chimbos, 1963; Stycos, 1965; Inglis, 1972) have found that the Church is a major culturally cohesive force in Greek communities abroad. But its strength and effectiveness can vary (Nagata, 1969).

Greek immigrants abroad are faced with the problem of maintaining the Greek language and cultural tradition, and passing it on to their children. It is considered "a sacred duty" for parents to teach their children the "language of Homer and Plato". After the establishment of a church, the Greek language school is also organized to teach young children the language of their forefathers (Saloutos, 1964: 73-74).

Research Methods

There exist no studies of the social organization of the Greek community. The objective of the present study is to fill the ethnographic void in part by using the traditional methods of anthropology.

Ethnic groups in Canadian society have been able to preserve their distinctions over time. The Canadian values and system of government support the continuing existence of ethnic differentiation (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969). The dominant French and English "charter groups" have received a considerable

amount of attention (Porter, 1965). Yet the knowledge of particular ethnic groups is limited (Elliott, 1971a; 1971b). An important aspect of this thesis is to contribute to the knowledge of Canadian ethnic groups by focusing on the Greeks, and their nature of adaptation in Canadian society.

The presentation of the literature, and the discussion of some theoretical issues has emphasized certain problems that will be examined in the context of the Greek community of Vancouver. The research explores the social organization of the Greeks in Vancouver.

Given the lack of knowledge it is not possible to do any kind of sociological survey research, without prior fieldwork in the traditional anthropological sense which involves participant observation and interviews from key informants. Such an approach allows the exposure of an overall ethnographic picture, which will draw attention to specific issues for further research.

When I entered the field I considered examining the entire scope of community organization but soon realized that the task was immense given the time limitation, lack of assistants and funds. Then it became a question of narrowing the field of research down to the most important ethnic institutions and issues. I confined my research to the institutions in the public domain. Thus, the family is not examined even though it plays an important role in the ethnic community.

The ways in which Greek immigrants cope with the dislocating effects of migration are reflected in the institutions that develop.

From my first informal contacts, it became evident that the Church is by far the most culture-sustaining institution mainly because of its dual role as a focus of religious and nationalistic feelings. The Church provides community cohesion and leadership in the overseas communities. The voluntary associations and the Greek-language school aid the immigrants in adapting, while simultaneously maintaining the cultural heritage and traditions.

Some other important issues for examination are the motives for migration, the characteristics of Greek migrants after World War II, and the changes in the community structure after the influx of new immigrants.

I wanted to explore whether the institutional and historical development of the Vancouver Greek community paralleled that of other overseas Greek settlements. To determine the nature of overseas community structure, I followed the pattern of Greek migration to America since it was to the United States that Greeks came first and formed communities.

The historical perspective of the Vancouver Greek community provided the necessary background for the analysis of the ethnic institutions.

This study is the result of fieldwork carried out in the Greek community of Vancouver from December 1973, to June 1974.

It is frequently assumed that research is easier if done by a member of the cultural group under study. While the advantages are well

known, the complexities and disadvantages of this method are seldom discussed. The issue of gaining entrance in the community was a delicate one. Understandably there is no language barrier. Even though the researcher is Greek by birth, the fact remains that I had been only marginally involved in the affairs of the Greek community. Before my entry in the community as a fieldworker, I had had the opportunity to interact only marginally with fellow Greeks. I had occasionally used the ethnic services such as food stores, restaurants, or occasionally visited the church without ever being a paying member. Excluding the rights of birth, I had little tangible affiliation with the community. Having been absent from most ethnic expressions of the community, I was effectively a stranger. Thus it was necessary to enter the activities and slowly become visibly recognized as a fellow Greek. This was not too difficult to achieve, but problems of a different nature arose. Being unaware of the issues important to my fellow Greeks, I was suddenly thrown into an arena of previously unknown problems which demanded my passionate support or rejection. I was identified as a possible recruit to several positions. I always made an effort to stand apart from the divisions or conflict of the community, avoiding to pledge my support to any of the local discords. The ambivalence of my position was sometimes questioned, especially by individuals who wanted to continue or develop further the rapport we had established in the interview situation. The ethnographer's supposed objectivity was sometimes difficult to maintain, especially when I became aware

of informants deliberately spreading false rumours or misconstruing events for my benefit.

A great aid to research was the fact that my informants and I shared a common ethnic background. This meant that we were "playing the same game" (Barth, 1969: 15), and could assume a lot of implicit understanding about common values, interests, and behavior. Often, I was as interesting to my informants as they were to me. There was usually first an exchange of personal information before we proceeded to the more formal aspects of the interview. This mutual exchange established a balance of flow of information which appeared to facilitate my subsequent questioning. The fact that I was working in my own society as well as in the ethnic community to which I ascribe, allowed me to draw on my own background of experience as a basis of knowledge. This was especially helpful in setting up the structured interviews, and formulating the questionnaire (Vidich, 1971: 246). There was greater possibility for successful communication because I was dealing in the same language and symbolic system as my respondents.

"Several studies have indicated that a greater range of intensity and attitude are more likely to be expressed when the interviewer is closer to the class and ethnic position of the respondent." (Goode, 1952: 188)

An interesting issue was my identity as a female. I speculate that in the Greek male-dominated society my visibility as a woman may have influenced the nature and results of my research. But I cannot determine to what degree. Except for very few instances, I was always treated "as a woman" by informants of both sexes. There was no

overt prejudice, but I felt the existence of a subtle negative attitude towards my unusual role of both a woman and a scientific researcher. On occasions views about women were expressed by men in my presence. I was not surprised to see that women are thought of in the traditional manner as subservient, of a lesser intelligence, and their position as being definitely in the home. Most of the women (first generation, newly arrived) gave the appearance of accepting this role to a lesser or greater degree, but I did not have the opportunity to explore this deeply. The position of women in Greek immigrant society remains a most interesting area for future study.

There was a lot of explanation necessary to establish the exact nature of my status as a graduate student and a fieldworker. Even the most sophisticated informants had trouble accepting the non-commercial purpose of my research. In order to gain their confidence I learned to explain simply and coherently the educational purpose of the study. But even then Sociology was confused with Social Work which often resulted in my being asked to 'do something for my fellow Greeks', or to publicize the needs of the community. It was difficult to explain that I personally had no power, and the data was for my own personal use rather than for the purposes of publicity.

The greatest part of the data was collected mainly through personal interviews and participant observation at meetings and social gatherings. My first contacts were made through the editor of the Hellenic Echo newspaper, and the priest, who are known, controversial

personages in the community. It was quite coincidental I later found out, that they are representatives of the two-faction conflict that divides the immigrant community. They both gave me lists of people (which overlapped a little) that would be helpful and informative. Through the church secretary I obtained the list of the eleven associations. Friends and acquaintances also introduced me to other possible helpful individuals. I contacted most of my informants by telephone and those I could not reach I sent letters explaining my research (see Appendix B).

I interviewed formally a total of 35 members of the community: the two leaders of the church council, the priest and the eleven presidents of the voluntary associations, the two independent Greek-language school teachers, the two editors of the newspapers, the organizers of the two radio programs, two pioneer women of the community, three business people, five U.B.C. students, and five workers (three men and two women).

I obtained permission to be a regular observer at the bi-weekly meetings of the parish council which take place at the Greek church. I asked to examine the minutes of the council meetings for the past ten years but was refused permission. There was fear of publicity, and breach of confidence.

For two weeks, I attended daily one of the Greek language schools for all grades, and interviewed the two teachers. The twenty students of the highest grade class answered a questionnaire (see Appendix C) regarding their feelings about the language school.

All the back issues of the three-year old bi-weekly Greek language newspaper, the Hellenic Echo, were examined. The paper publishes a page of local news which I read every two weeks. I established a set of files on the events of the community. The ethnic press was of great assistance because of its function as a catalyst of opinion, conflict, and events.

Other documents consulted were the Regulations and Uniform Parish By-Laws of the Greek Archdiocese, the constitutions of the voluntary associations, and two books published on the Biennial Ecclesiastical Congresses of 1962 and 1970. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese Handbook was also consulted, as were various Church pamphlets on religious activities.

The history of the community was reconstructed mainly from testimonies. The British Columbia Archives in Victoria were examined, but contained no information except for some recent newspaper clippings.

The interviews were carried out according to a predefined set of questions (see Appendix A). The questions were to be used as a guideline for interviewing, and not for rigorous statistical analysis. The data were analyzed by simple mathematical procedures.

The orientation of the interview questions, was not to collect specific data on personal experiences but to determine how the Greek immigrants felt about the institutions of the ethnic community. Other data were collected which dealt with the personal feelings and general impressions of the informants. Though this material was important it

was minimal in quantity. It was not included since more ethnographic research is necessary. Nevertheless, this background information provided a general first-hand knowledge of salient issues in the community.

The interviews took place usually in the home of the informants in the evenings, and ranged from three to four hours. Almost all informants were eager and pleased to help. Rapport was established quickly which allowed for freer conversation on a wide range of topics affecting the community and life away from Greece. From these spontaneous discussions I was able to achieve a very realistic picture, as well as get a deep basic feeling of the Greek immigrant experience. Often both wife and husband were present as well as some of the children. This allowed me to talk with both and see their sometimes different perception of events.

At social events, restaurants and cafes, I had many opportunities to discuss with women and men relevant issues of my research on an informal basis. On such occasions I was a complete participant. I kept a field diary where I noted such informal discussions.

At formal interviews, I asked permission to use a tape recorder and did so if there were no objections. Some of my informants were afraid that I would use the material for publicity purposes, and refused to allow the interview to be taped. I personally found that the spontaneity and freedom of expression was best achieved if the tape recorder was not used, and instead I simply noted some crucial facts. Upon leaving, I immediately wrote down in Greek what had transpired,

as well as completed the set of questions. The taped information was transcribed in Greek and later translated in English, as were the answers to the set of questions. I found that the interview situation in the familiar setting of the informant's home allowed a free and continual interaction to occur with little inhibition. I was able not only to get answers to my questions, but also to discuss openly and candidly general issues and ideas which gave me a better understanding and an all-round picture of the Greek community in Vancouver.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The historical perspective which follows places the Vancouver Greek community in chronological and historical context. The society of Greeks in Vancouver is not an isolated, fragmented unit. It shares historical and sociological ties with other settlements of overseas Greeks.

The basic social organization of the Vancouver Greek community is reflective of the type of community structure found abroad. Historically, the United States was the primary focus of Greek immigration. Therefore, to determine the development and basic features of Greek community structure, it is necessary to examine first the pattern of Greek migration and settlement in the U.S. In Canada, the same organizational features are found in both the Greek communities of Toronto and Montreal. In Vancouver, the Greek community is relatively smaller and more recent. Nevertheless, it shares a similar organizational pattern with other overseas Greek communities.

GREEK PIONEERS

Aside from the semi-legendary voyage of Juan de Fuca (Ioannis Fokas) to the Pacific Northwest, few Greeks came to North America before

the 1880's. Juan de Fuca, whose name bear the straits separating the State of Washington from Vancouver Island, was supposedly a Greek navigator, the first to sail in the straits in 1592. His real name was Apostolos Valerianos. He was born in Cephalonia in the Ionian Sea, and was in the service of the Spanish Navy for forty years. De Fuca's discovery of the straits is only documented by Michael Lok, an Englishman whom he happened to meet in one of his travels in Europe. The validity, discovery of the straits and existence of Juan de Fuca is disputed (Vlassis, 1953: 79-84).

Two hundred and fifty-nine years after de Fuca's discovery the first Greek to come to Canada (of whom there is a record) was George Nicholas Kapiotis. He arrived in Victoria, B.C., in 1851. He was an adventurer who had fought in the Crimean War. He came to North America during the California gold rush, and took part in the Fraser and Caribou gold rush. In Victoria, he was married to the daughter of the Songhees tribe chief by a Russian Bishop according to Greek Orthodox dogma. Kapiotis died in 1916 at the age of ninety-three. A great grandchild of Kapiotis and the daughter of the Indian chief, George Athans, is a medical doctor and a Canadian springboard champion, having represented Canada in the 1936 Olympic Games in Germany (Vlassis, 1953: 84).

Another Greek pioneer was John Nicholas Stevens, born on the island of Syros. His family owned a fleet of trading ships. Stevens was a sailor. After many seafaring adventures all over the world, in 1878 he deserted ship at Vancouver, then known as Hastings. Along with

another sailor he worked in New Westminster for a winter cutting wood. He soon gave it up, worked on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and finally started fishing salmon. That occupation proved to be most appropriate to his background and upbringing. By 1895, he and eleven other fishermen had built their own cannery. Stevens (a naturalized Canadian) remained in the fishing industry working sometimes with fifty other Greek fishermen. Most men were bachelors from Skopelos. The group of Greeks retained their customs: at Easter they dyed eggs, and always danced their own regional dances as well as sang their own folksongs. They felt close to their homeland: in 1912 many returned to Greece to fight in the Greek-Turkish War. Stevens lived by the Fraser River for sixty years, and died there in 1938 (Vlassis, 1953: 85-91).

The early Greek pioneers that arrived individually and sporadically were usually sailors or fortune seekers with little intention of settling permanently. Some remained, becoming part of the immigrant pioneering groups that settled in Canada.

Full scale migration to Canada did not begin until after 1911.

The U.S.A. was the first and foremost place Greek immigrants dreamed of and aspired to reach. Their motives for emigration and the problems they faced on arrival in the U.S., parallel closely those encountered by Greek immigrants to Canada. The community structure and institutions that developed in the U.S. are reflected in the Greek-Canadian communities. Therefore, understanding the nature of the Greek-

American situation will allow better assessment of the character of the Greek ethnic minority in Canada.

EARLY GREEK MIGRATION TO AMERICA

American missionaries (under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), in the 1820's and 1830's, encouraged Greek youths to come to the U.S. for educational purposes. They were to return to Greece and contribute to its general betterment. These early Greeks - educated and trained - were unrepresentative of the large numbers who arrived later. The true massive migration began when the Greeks of Peloponesus, the islands, and the Turkish dominated areas started arriving in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These can be called the "Greek Pilgrim Fathers" (Saloutos, 1964: 22). An estimated three-quarters of the male population between eighteen and thirty-five years old emigrated from Sparta to the U.S. This exodus left behind villages of old people, women and children. By chain migration entire families emigrated forming enclaves abroad composed of relatives or friends from the same area (Price, 1960: 93).

Motives for Migration: Situation in Greece

At the end of the 19th century Greece was a sparsely inhabited country with a population of two and a half million people. It was a nation of villages: in 1879, fifty years after the War of Independence eighty-two per cent of the population lived in communities of less than 5,000 inhabitants. As late as 1928, the rural class comprised sixty-

seven per cent of the total population (Saloutos, 1964: 8). Agriculture was of a primitive kind, and the large cities were few. The depressed state of the economy encouraged many to seek better fortunes elsewhere. Reports from America gave glowing accounts of a land where employment was ample and salaries were high. Young men started emigrating mainly because of the lack of opportunity at home, and the inability to live above subsistence level. The 1890's saw the failure of the current trade crop and greater numbers of young able bodied men left. The unhealthy state of the economy, and the natural disasters (earthquakes, floods) that befell Greece brought deprivation and hunger, thus forcing entire male populations to emigrate (Saloutos, 1964: 30).

The dowry system was another reason which obligated not only men but also women to emigrate. A dowry in the form of money, land or property was a necessary obligation to the groom upon his marriage. The father and brothers were required by social custom to provide their marriageable females with attractive dowries in order to secure a husband for them. If a family had many daughters, the burden of providing dowries for each one often brought the family to financial ruin. Dutiful brothers could not marry themselves if their sisters had not been previously assured of a dowry and a prospective husband. For some families dowries proved impossible to provide unless one or two sons emigrated to work, and send money for the dowry (Friedl, 1962: 64-70). Before immigration to America began, young brothers went to the other parts of the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor or Egypt.

When the Turkish Constitution of 1908 required military service from all its male inhabitants, many young men sought to escape conscription by going elsewhere, even coming to North America. Some women who because of circumstances were unable to secure a dowry and marry, left Greece seeking a mate and financial stability. Their numbers though were not great (Saloutos, 1963: 33).

The unrestricted emigration went unstopped. Without any governmental control whole territories were deprived of the young male population as priests and schoolteachers were the only adult males left (Vlassis, 1953: 92). Hundreds of Greek ocean liners leaving from Patras or Piraeus transported entire village populations. From 1820 to 1880, there were only 398 immigrants from Greece in the U.S. After 1900, masses of migrants arrived not only from Greece but from Asia Minor as well. Table I shows the increase during the peak periods. (Adapted from Μαλαφούρη , 1947, cited by Theodoratus, 1971: 3.)

Early Immigrant Characteristics and Occupations

The rural economy of Greece, the poverty and lack of opportunity for a better life provided the motives for migration. The main reason was economic, and because of this the early immigrants came to stay only for a short time. They were characterized by a sojourner mentality. Their sole intention was to make a fortune and return home. Ties to their homeland were not severed, but strengthened by contributions and aid to their native villages. "Greek immigrants gained the

TABLE I
EARLY IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA
1881-1940

YEAR	TOTAL FROM GREECE	TOTAL INCL. ASIA MINOR
1824-1880	398	401
1881-1890	2,308	
1891-1900	15,979	
1901-1910	167,519	173,513
1911-1920	184,201	196,119
1921-1930	51,084	91,369
1931-1940	9,119	---
<hr/> TOTAL 1881-1940	<hr/> 430,210	<hr/> 488,410

reputation quite early of sending more money home per capita than the immigrants of any other nationality" (Saloutos, 1964: 43).

In contrast to earlier immigrants of other nationalities (German, Irish), Greeks had no knowledge of English and no specific skills. They did not seek agricultural employment because they had come to America to escape the bitter experiences of crop failures, unstable yearly yields, and poverty. They congregated primarily in the eastern U.S. cities. Their lack of skills and language required them to do menial tasks which were more readily found in cities. The earliest migrants worked in street trades selling cigars, flowers, and candies. It was noted that the majority of Greek street vendors were small "capitalists" saving most of their salary to send back to their relatives (Saloutos, 1964: 46). Later on they moved to the West working on railroads, lumber mills, and sawmills (Theodoratus, 1971: 4).

Greeks worked also as bootblacks, waiters and clerks. Some ambitious and lucky ones became small shopkeepers managing "grocery stores, coffeeshops, barbershops, clothing stores, bakeries, carpentry stores, cleaning and pressing shops, laundries, print shops, meat markets and brokerage firms" (Saloutos, 1964: 47). As they gained confidence in the economic sphere they began to compete with the Irish, Americans and Germans in business: hotels, confectioneries, and flower shops. They soon abandoned street vending to the Italians, Syrians and other later arriving immigrant groups.

All immigrant groups faced hardships and exploitation, and the Greeks were not an exception. The padrone (boss) system was known to the Italians as well as other ethnic groups. With the Greeks it was confined to the shoeshining trade, and to the peddling of fruits, vegetables and flowers. A crafty, entrepreneurial Greek with his own business imported young boys from Greece and then exploited their services to the maximum. Youths were easy to find since parents needed the earning capacity of their children. Families encouraged their sons to emigrate since the padrone offered some help in transportation costs, accommodation on arrival, and then a job. Parents appreciated the money sent back as it was often enough to help the entire family. Upon arrival the boys were indentured for varying lengths of time. Part of their wages and all tips were kept by the padrone, but they still managed to send some home. They worked long hours (eighteen to twenty hours daily) with little nourishment, as meals consisted often only of bread, olives and cheese. Rigid control was maintained over their hours and free time, thus closely limiting their opportunities to learn English or seek a new job. More often than not they were too exhausted to be rebellious or try to learn about their rights. Many young boys thought that without their employers they surely would have starved to death because of their lack of English and experience. They looked to their bosses for protection and shelter, very often not realizing that they were exploited. Padrones came to be known as somatoëmporè (flesh peddlers) (Saloutos, 1964: 54).

A similar type of exploitation was carried out in the railroad construction work: contracts were not honored and employment was unreliable. The property of workers was mortgaged and often failed to be returned. The highly dangerous work left many crippled or injured without any compensation (Saloutos, 1964: 57).

The peddling trades experienced also the effects of the padrone system. Young boys were similarly exploited, living above stables, eating poorly and working long hours.

Public concern and outcry in the media brought attention to these activities. Both the governments of Greece and the U.S. warned immigrants of the risks. Penalties were applied and laws were passed prohibiting the "flesh peddling". But it was a difficult situation to eradicate. Many new arrivals had no one to turn to, either relative or friend, in time of need. In seeking employment or other services, they naturally turned to someone who appeared as though he was familiar with the ways of the new country. Being uninformed, they trusted more a fellow Greek (even though he exploited them), than a foreign, impersonal agency (Saloutos, 1964: 55).

Opposition and Discrimination

Greek immigrants were facing not only the hardships of an alien environment but also open prejudice and discrimination. Older immigrant groups feared competition in areas which they had previously monopolized, particularly in jobs. There was opposition from organized labour, vehemently protesting the hiring of Greeks who were not American

citizens. Greeks were scorned by union members for accepting lower wages or unwittingly strike-breaking. The public was warned that these "foreigners" had come to America only to make money and return to their homeland. They were mostly accused of disregarding the laws and customs of the country. There were strong feelings of resentment: the Ku Klux Klan in the South was generating public opposition against them (Saloutos, 1964: 63). Greek shopkeepers were harassed and often forced out of business. The most publicized violent attack against Greek immigrants occurred in South Omaha, Nebraska in 1909, in reaction to the killing of a policeman by a Greek. A riot broke out to avenge his death, and to get rid of those "undesirable Greeks". It resulted in the destruction of Greek property and the driving of 1,200 Greeks from the city (Saloutos, 1964: 67). They were beginning to realize that their stay in America was not going to be easy, and some measures had to be taken to protect themselves, especially since they could not foresee an immediate return to Greece.

In the early 1900's, most Greeks still oriented themselves towards the homeland. They were greatly concerned with continuing and preserving their Greek heritage. The institutions that existed at that time were testimony to that belief.

Institutions

In this immigrant society (ninety per cent male), certain institutions developed to deal with the sudden loss of familiar life patterns. They helped the lonely immigrant to find companionship and

relief from his daily struggles. A carry-over institution from Greece was the kafenion (coffee-house), a purely male institution in which women were not welcome. In America, the kafenion was a sanctuary: a place to relax, socialize, and keep in touch with events in the patrida (homeland). Coffeehouses carried such Greek names as: Acropolis, Messinia, Arcadia, and Parthenon. They served coffee, Greek food and pastries. Men talked, read Greek newspapers and played cards. They relaxed in a familiar environment (Theodoratus, 1971: 16). As immigrant numbers increased coffeehouses began to cater to groups from particular areas of Greece: a kafenion for Spartans, or Cretans was frequented only by those originating from that area. The men kept in touch with events in Greece: politics were discussed with great passion. Coffeehouses became recognized as enclaves of supporters of either Venizelos or the King at a time when political feelings were high (Theodoratus, 1971:17). Men dancing, and bouzouki music were not uncommon. Sometimes even karagiozi (shadow theatre), and floor shows were to be found in large city coffeehouses (Saloutos, 1964: 80). The early kafenion provided diversion and entertainment in a familiar atmosphere for the men who worked long hours at depressing or menial jobs. But as immigrant life became less harsh and family life increased, the coffeehouses began to lose their appeal. As Greek immigrants began to adapt to American life they acquired some knowledge of English, and made friendships outside the closed Greek group. Soon other forms of recreation were found as immigrants joined non-Greek associations, and became more involved in community affairs.

Another institution that developed early was the mutual-aid society. One existed usually in every community. They cut across regional barriers providing help in times of need. They paid for funerals for those that had no one to look after them. They cared for the poor, the sick and those needing food and shelter. But they soon went out of existence because of corruption and internal strife (Saloutos, 1964: 77).

A type of institution that was quite prevalent was the regional society. It was formed by members of a certain area in Greece for the purposes of sending aid to the native village or town. Greeks often emigrated en masse, resulting in entire Greek populations of American towns sending help especially to one area such as Crete, Marmara, or Nisyro (Theodoratus, 1971: 14). Later on in the 1920's and 1930's as numbers increased these regional societies became national in scope: for example, the Pan-Cretan Brotherhood, the Pan-Epirotan Society and the Pan-Arcadian Society.

A national association that was founded in 1922 to combat antagonistic attitudes was the Order of AHEPA: American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. It was the first national association to try to counteract the unfavorable sentiments against Greeks by organizing an association that promoted understanding and assimilation to the new homeland. It aimed to unite the Hellenes, educate them in the laws of America, and generally change antagonism to a sense of goodwill (Chebithes, 1935: 27).

The Church was an institution of great importance. Until a church had been built a community was not permanent. In theory, the church unified all Greeks by bringing them under the Orthodox dogma. But very often there were struggles for power as different groups in the community tried to get control of the church since it also meant control of the community (see chapter on church). Once immigrants became permanent residents, one of their primary purposes was to build a church. The building of the church signified the beginning of the organized community (Theodoratus, 1971: 2). The oldest Greek community in North America is in New Orleans: its church was built in 1866. Next was New York, built in 1891, and Chicago in 1898. In Canada the oldest organized community is that of Montreal as its church was built in 1910 (Greek Orthodox Yearbook, 1958: 150). Priests came from the Holy Synod of Greece. If a community had no church building its members attended other Orthodox churches. The establishment of the North and South America Archdiocese in 1920, in New York (see chapter on church) brought all churches under its jurisdiction.

The above institutions - the kafenion, the mutual aid society, the regional society and the church - helped the immigrant after his arrival, during the adjustment period: a time of crisis and dislocation. The various functions that the institutions performed, at home would have been dealt with by the kin group and by the wider social group of the closely knit village.

The historical background of Greek migration to America shows the situation and events that were faced not only by the Greeks but by most ethnic groups upon arrival.

Greeks coming from a poor rural society had to adjust to an alien urban environment, without knowledge of English or skills. They worked at menial jobs, faced exploitation and discrimination, but managed to survive and keep their customs through the various institutions that arose to deal with the disruptive effects of migration.

The immigration policies at the time are of great importance since they directed and shaped the nature and flow of incoming immigrants. The imposition of quotas drastically cut immigration to the U.S., making Canada a good second choice for immigrants. The policies of both the U.S. and Canada will be examined prior to discussing the beginnings of the Greek communities in Montreal and Toronto.

Immigration Policies: American and Canadian

Immigration to the U.S. was unrestricted until the latter part of the 19th century. Up to the 1880's labour shortage had attracted many British, Dutch, German and Scandinavian immigrants. Except for a bill passed in 1819 to regulate the transatlantic transportation of immigrants, no other restrictions had been legislated (Lasker, 1944: 32). By 1882 waves of immigration had brought more than a million and a half people in the space of thirty years. The greatest influx was from Southern and Eastern Europe changing the nature of American society and creating social and economic problems. In 1882 further laws were

passed excluding the Chinese and other "undesirable alien elements" such as imbeciles and criminals. But these preliminary restrictions did not succeed in controlling the great volumes of "new immigrant groups" from Southern and Eastern Europe which comprised up to three-quarters of the total immigration volume in the early 1900's (Lasker, 1944: 32-34). Further laws were passed in 1886, 1904, 1906 restricting alien labour, Japanese and Chinese immigrants as well as barring further "undesirables". It was not until 1917 that Congress passed an act using literacy as a test of admission, as well as raising the existing head tax. To curtail immigration and encourage preferred immigrants (from Northern Europe) the 1921 Act of Congress imposed quotas on entering aliens.

The restrictive legislation of the 1920's brought an end to the great flood of post war immigration:

"The gates were closed in response to fears that immigration was a menace to the whole social order. Restriction came in response to outcries that nearly half of the white inhabitants of the country were descended from foreign stock, that among the foreign-born the birth rate was higher, and that newcomers were introducing differences of outlook and culture which were seriously modifying the basic Anglo-Saxon heritage and patterns of American life." (McKenna, 1969: 436)

By selectivity and quotas the rate of immigration was checked so that very soon America was not receiving immigrants indiscriminately. America was not to continue being the "dumping ground of Europe" (Lasker, 1944: 40).

At the time when America began imposing restrictions, Canada became aggressive and put forth great efforts to secure immigrants

(Woodsorth, 1909: 165). Previous to 1896 Canadian immigration policy was nonexistent ("Verax", 1944: 4). Canada started to attract European immigrants after America began closing its doors. With its active propaganda, and its few restrictions (i.e., Canada accepted immigrants if jobs awaited them, whereas the U.S. alien labor law barred anyone with ready employment) (Coats, 1926: 181), great volumes of immigrants came in a short time. In 1906 immigration to the U.S. was about 1.4% of the population. Canada's immigration in 1908 was four per cent of the population (Woodsworth, 1902: 166).

The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969) cites certain other factors which along with American restrictive policies brought mass migration to Canada:

"...the Yukon gold rush, the completion of the first continental railway and the building of other lines, the closing of the American frontier, new developments in dry land farming, and the Canadian government's first concentrated policy to promote immigration all combined to attract more than three million immigrants to Canada between 1896 and 1914." (Book IV: 22)

At the beginning of the 20th century Canada still had mostly an agricultural economy. Its raw materials were in great demand. Mineral and coal resources were largely untapped. There were great land areas unsettled (Coats, 1926: 178-180). Agriculturalists, and farm laborers were greatly needed.

Canada's society in the early 1900's was mainly Anglo-Saxon in character. Great emphasis was placed in recruiting immigrants who would assimilate quickly into the Canadian (Anglo-Saxon) mold. Before

World War I immigration was mainly from Britain and Northern Europe.

But soon, according to Coats,

"an unwelcome change showed itself in the quality of... immigration since by 1914 it had come to include an admixture of races lacking the pioneer spirit...on which (the progress of Canada) depends." (1926: 184)

Canadians reacted with alarm. Discriminatory measures were adopted in an effort to stop the non-British tide of immigrants. One immediate result was the total exclusion of the Chinese (McKenna, 1969: 439). Non-British immigrants were "aliens" who had to assimilate otherwise they were "useless" (Coats, 1926: 187). If the influx from Southern and Eastern Europe surpassed that from Britain, in the words of one restrictionist,

"...the racial composition of Canada...would have been completely adulterated." (McKenna, 1969: 439)

Canada restricted immigration but without adopting a quota system. The Canadian government established a list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries from which to select immigrants. It virtually excluded the Chinese, and severely limited the number of other Asians (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969, Book IV: 25). Only much later and very slowly did Canada begin to adopt non-discriminatory policies, but still retaining "preferences" and by subtle bureaucratic ways barring "undesirables" (Corbett, 1957: 46). It was as late as 1967 that all discrimination was dropped with the establishment of open Chinese and Asian immigration according to the newly established point system (Hawkins, 1974: 141-163).

It is recognized that the growth of Canada has greatly depended on immigration. But Canada is selective. It has always sought to admit immigrants who will assimilate easily, while simultaneously making it very difficult for those who need to migrate. Quotas were not imposed but legislation effectively accomplished that. During the 1920's the "non-preferred" immigration classification included the Southern and Southeastern Europeans who needed to migrate because of bad economic and social conditions. Canadian immigration policy remains utilitarian, always regulating the immigrant flow according to Canada's economic needs and interests (Kalbach, 1971: 67-69).

2. GREEK IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND VANCOUVER

Early Greeks in Canada

Most of the Greek pioneers in Canada arrived in the late 1880's and 1890's. The first were sailors who had sailed up the Pacific Coast, or the St. Lawrence River, and then deserted ship. There was no considerable immigration until after World War I when there were 5,740 Greeks across Canada. (See Tables II and III for Greek immigration to Canada and B.C. between 1900-1971.) Greek migration to Canada,

"was little more than an eddy of the great flood which poured in the U.S. in the forty years preceding the institution of the quota regulations." (Gibbon, 1938: 330).

TABLE II
POPULATION OF GREEK ORIGIN IN CANADA

1871	39
1881	--
1901	291
1911	3,220
1921	5,740
1931	9,444
1941	11,692
1951	13,966
1961	56,475
1971	127,475

Census of Canada, 1871-1971

Population by Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue.

TABLE III

POPULATION OF GREEK ORIGIN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

1901	96
1911	810
1921	703
1931	977
1941	1,115
1951	1,494
1961	3,124
1971	6,615

Census of Canada, 1901-1971.

Population by Ethnic Groups and Sex, for Provinces and Territories.

Greeks settled in all provinces across Canada but particularly in the eastern cities of Toronto and Montreal.

Only a small proportion of these settlers were skilled workmen, the majority being labourers with very little money: \$28-\$70 per capita (Woodsworth, 1909: 183). As had happened in America, they were often

"defrauded and deceived by fake employment bureaus usually run by their own countrymen." (Woodsworth, 1909: 122)

The padrone system existed even in Canada, exploiting youths by bringing them over and controlling their earnings (Woodsworth, 1909: 138).

THE MONTREAL COMMUNITY

Early History

Many of the Greek sailors who had deserted ship, settled down in Quebec, married French-Canadian women, and often all traces of them were lost. Documented evidence of Greeks actually settling in Montreal before the 1880's is scarce. The oldest recorded Montreal Greek is A.G. Zervoudackis who established a confectionery company in 1876. He came from Crete and his family was from Spetse. Most of the early Greek settlers to Montreal came in the late 1880's. By 1900 their numbers had risen to 300, most of whom were Laconians, Arcadians and Macedonians (Vlassis, 1953: 137).

In 1906 there were about a thousand Greeks in Montreal, enough for the community to be organized formally. They requested a

priest from the Holy Synod in Greece. Father Agathodoros Papageorgopoulos arrived in 1906, and became the spiritual leader of the community (Athenagoras, 1961: 7). There was no Greek Orthodox church at the time so until 1910 services were held in the St. James Anglican Church. Enough money was collected by 1910 to build "The Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church" on St. Lawrence Boulevard.

Dissent and conflict split the community with the result that in 1925 a new church was purchased and named 'The Holy Trinity' Greek Orthodox Church. Simultaneously two schools were formed, and philanthropic services were duplicated. Voluntary associations split, dividing the community in two factions (Athenagoras, 1961: 8). The division lasted for six years. But the Greek community was too small to support two separate institutional spheres: two churches, two schools, and several voluntary associations. Thus, in 1931 both factions united again, retaining the 'Holy Trinity' church. In the same year, Archbishop Athenagoras, Head of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America officiated in blessing the union of the two churches (Vlassis, 1953: 144).

Montreal was the first community to establish a Greek language school in 1910. Working closely with the church in 1925 it became a full-time day school. Courses are still taught in both English and Greek, and the school is recognized by the Protestant School Board. Greek students can enter directly into the High School system after completing their Greek school. After the split in the

community was healed in 1931, both schools were united under the title: "Socrates Daily Parochial School" (Athenagoras, 1961: 8). Presently most of the children who attend classes came from Greece with their parents and know the Greek language quite well. Their intention is to learn English and be transferred to public schools. Thus the purpose of the school is reversed!

Voluntary Associations

Ahepa was introduced to Montreal in 1930. This American-based Lodge was organized in order to promote loyalty to the new homeland, allegiance to her constitution, and laws. The American-Hellenic-Educational-Progressive-Association known as the Order of Ahepa, has three other auxiliaries for women, girls and boys: The Daughters of Penelope, the Maids of Athena, and the Sons of Pericles (see chapter on Voluntary Associations). The "Mount Royal" chapter is still active with many philanthropic and social events.

Two women's charitable organizations were founded early in the existence of the community. They remained divided because of the split, and did not reunite until 1950 (Vlassis, 1953: 147).

Later, associations based on regionality were formed: 1) The Laconian Brotherhood, in 1936; 2) The Cretan Brotherhood, in 1912; 3) the 'Voyatskikon Club' of Western Macedonia, in 1916; 4) the Pan-Macedonian Association; and 5) The Canadian Womens Aid Society of Naxos, in 1934. The aims of these associations are: to unite all persons across Canada coming from that specific area, to financially

or morally aid needy members, and to assist their members in becoming Canadian citizens. They perpetuate the retention of the Greek language, heritage and religion, while simultaneously encouraging adaptation to the new homeland (Vlassis, 1953: 152).

Montreal has many active associations for the Greek-Canadian youth. There is the Holy Trinity Youth Club founded in 1945 to promote better understanding of the Greek Orthodox dogma. Later on it joined GOYA, (Greek Orthodox Youth of America) and its activities became diversified: there is a basketball team, a bowling league, a drama society, and a music appreciation committee. The youth stays closely in touch with the church and community activities, particularly in the early beginnings of the community. It becomes increasingly difficult to keep the young people within the ethnic context. They are better adapted within the Canadian culture. Therefore they have little need for the supportive functions of the ethnic institutions.

The Montreal Greek community has been actively involved through the years not only in local affairs, but in issues vital to Greeks across Canada and the U.S. For example, Montreal has been quite outspoken about the role of the North and South America Archdiocese in the affairs of the Canadian communities (see chapter on church). Montreal is perceived as "The Mother of Hellenism" in Canada. Montreal Greeks are considered as farsighted, independent and as the leaders of the Hellenic communities in Canada.

Montreal had the largest population of Greeks until the early 1960's. Toronto now receives the greater number. This has occurred because of the recent internal political developments in French Canada: the rise of the Parti Quebecois, and its desire to create an independent Quebec. Many Greeks left because of the violence and instability of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The implementation of Bill 22 which institutes French as the language to be chosen for the education of non-English speaking immigrant children, discourages many Greeks from settling in Montreal. New arrivals prefer that their children learn English; that is why many more settle in Toronto. They feel that in English-speaking North America their children will have better opportunities if they learn English.

THE TORONTO COMMUNITY

After Montreal, Toronto is the oldest Greek community in Canada. It was organized formally as the "St. George Greek Orthodox Community of Ontario" in 1909 (Athenagoras, 1961: 17). The few Greeks that were there in the early 1900's had no place of worship until 1910 when a small building was turned into a church. It was paid by collections amongst the Greeks in Ontario. Later on a bigger church costing \$37,000 was purchased in 1937. The community grew and the influx of new immigrants made new demands on the community. In 1921, a daily school, "Athena", was established teaching both English and Greek. Later on it was changed to an afternoon school which still operates. Montreal remains the only city with a full-time day school (Athenagoras, 1961: 8).

The Filoptohos Sisterhood (see chapter on voluntary associations) began in 1921. Its activities are philanthropic and social. Lately it works closely with a committee taking care of new arrivals from Greece.

The men's Ahepa chapter - "Lord Byron" - was the first one to be organized in Canada in 1928. The women's auxiliary (Daughters of Penelope), as well as that for young girls and boys (Maids of Athena, and Sons of Pericles) have active chapters since the late 1930's (Vlassis, 1953: 189).

The regional associations that have arisen through the years have been traditionally oriented towards the homeland. They appear and disappear frequently.

After World War II and especially within the last fifteen years Toronto has seen a greater number of immigrants arriving than ever before. Thirty per cent of Greek immigrants to Canada settle eventually in Toronto (Nagata, 1969: 49). Community life is composed of small informal social units that usually remain isolated and fragmented. Nagata found that only very few of the recently arrived immigrants participated in the voluntary associations. The latter tended to be monopolized by a few families who were prominent in the social domain. Few newcomers had any voice in the administration of the Hellenic Community (Nagata, 1969: 53).

THE VANCOUVER COMMUNITY

Early Greeks

Excluding the sailors who arrived in Vancouver sporadically before the 1890's, Greek immigrants began to settle in B.C. in the early 1900's. Before that, the distance and lack of industrial jobs did not attract many. They usually drifted to Vancouver from the other eastern cities, having heard of the opportunities in fishing, and of Vancouver's balmy climate. When industry began to develop, there was a demand for labourers, and many Greeks came.

Many of them came from the islands of Greece. The majority were from the poor areas of the Peloponnesus (Laconia, Arcadia), and Sterea Hellas (northwest of Athens). There was also a small number of Greeks from Asia Minor. The situation in Greece at the turn of the century has been described: there were crop failures, natural disasters, and the economy was unstable. The major motive for migration was economic.

Early Occupations

Little is known about these early Greeks and their first experiences in B.C. Some of the Greek peasants had attempted to start up farms in the Prairies, but the Canadian farming methods proved to be a totally unfamiliar and harrowing experience. Greek peasants at home, worked the land in large kin groups within small geographical areas close to the village or town. Farming in Canada involved working

miles apart from other neighbours with usually only the family as the working unit. Greek peasants had not previously encountered such a type of soil, or the sophisticated methods of sowing and harvesting. Selling the produce involved complex business methods, whereas at home business transactions were crude and of a personal nature including credit, and one's word of honour. Such methods were not practised in Canada. Some Greek pioneer families tried farming in Saskatchewan for a few years, before giving it up for the relatively easier life in urban Vancouver.

Other Greeks drifted off from the Pacific Northwest after the Gold Rush there was over. Many Greek sailors chanced to find themselves labouring jobs in Victoria and Vancouver. Salmon fishing proved to be an attraction for Greek islanders. Those unable to fish directly, opened "Oyster Bars" where they catered to their fellow Greeks.

The major skill of the early Greeks in Vancouver was their ability to work the land. Upon arriving they discovered that they had no marketable skills. Without knowledge of English they had little choice but to work in menial jobs. Some worked as labourers on the waterfront or in sawmills, and on the railroads.

They were characterized by an enterprising and independent spirit. They aspired to start their own jobs, and saved money for that purpose. As soon as they had enough capital, they invested it by buying a stand or a cart for selling fruits, or flowers in the streets. They shined shoes. They were milk vendors who went around neighbourhoods on

horse-drawn carriages selling milk, yoghurt and cream. By saving small amounts of capital they expanded as small merchants. Instead of selling fruits in the streets, they bought licences to set up stalls or sold their goods from a small store. At that time the town of Vancouver extended only a few miles away from Burrard Inlet. Most Greek businesses were close to the water in the area from Cordova and Hastings to Granville and Georgia (Vancouver City Directory, 1910: 1342). Small grocery stores and fruit markets proved to be the early business endeavours of the Vancouver Greeks, before the Chinese immigrants took over that economic sphere.

Greek-owned stores soon expanded from selling only fruit to other items as well, particularly Greek specialties: ρέγκα (smoked fish), χαλβά (halva), and loukoumia λουκούμια (Turkish delight sweets). Importing companies were soon established in order to bring over Greek goods. At that time they were mainly consumed by the Greeks themselves. It was only later when Canadian attitudes became tolerant enough to accept and appreciate the foods of other nationalities, that Greek food specialty stores began to cater to non-Greeks as well.

"When Greek meets Greek he opens a restaurant" (Gibbon, 1938: 332). In Vancouver small coffee shops were started by Greek families, or by brother partnerships. The three most prominent types of business for Greeks were: restaurants, cafes, and confectioneries. Most oyster shops, shoe shining establishments, and the like were in the area that is now Gastown: on Alexander Street, Carall Street, Water and Pender Streets. Papamanolis, in his Brief History of Canada and Greek Canadian

Guide (1922: 433-458) presents prominent Greeks and their occupations across Canadian cities. He documents that the Vancouver Greek pioneers came between 1900 and 1910 and the majority worked in food trades: cafes, restaurants and confectioneries.

Some restaurants were combined with confectioneries or bakeries, as for example the "National Cafe and Bakery" on Hastings Avenue. Confectioneries, or candy shops, were very popular at the time. They specialized in producing the favorite sweets such as loukoumathes and pastais. It was a social event to go to a confectionery and spend some time sipping thick Turkish coffee and eating a sweet, since all confectioneries had tables and service for their customers. "Scott's Cafe" on Granville Avenue was such a popular family place. At the time most Greeks lived in the East End around Commercial Drive, so their social and public life centered around the stores and confectioneries they frequented.

Papamanolis mentions twenty-four privately owned Greek stores in Vancouver. Out of the twenty-four sixteen are restaurants and confectioneries. The rest are: two fish and oyster companies, a chocolate shop, a bakery, a shoe store, a coffee and tea company, a taxi service, and a department store. It becomes evident that first Greeks start small but they soon climb quickly.

"...catering to the minor wants of the public admits of being started on the curb with little capital and no experience. Once his foot on the first step, the saving and commercial Greek climbs. From curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to big store, to the chain of stores, to branch stores in other cities - such are the stages in his upward paths." (Report made for Massachusetts Board of Immigration, quoted in Gibbon, 1938: 332)

Community Life

Before 1910 there was little community feeling as the mostly male population came from different areas in Greece and had little in common with each other except their being Greek. The biggest group in Vancouver came from Peloponnesus, and villages from Attica.

As soon as the men made some money they sponsored their relatives and friends by sending encouraging letters and remittances. Men sent for their wives and children. Others asked their families at home to send them a suitable bride.

But particularly in the years before the community was formally organized, the Vancouver Greek society was male. Men lived together in small rooming houses to save money in order to start up a business or get a home for the arriving family. The men worked in small shops or stands all day. They had no organized social life - except for a kafenion which was started in 1906, by a Greek from Vilia (60 km from Athens). It was the only place where the men could relax, drink coffee and talk. But it was short-lived probably due to lack of business. After its closing one or two others were started but with no success. Papamanolis refers in passing to the existence of a "Hellenic Patriotic Association" without giving any further details. I was not able to find any other information about it, neither regarding its membership, nor its purposes or demise (see chapter on voluntary associations).

In 1910 there were fifteen families in Vancouver. Once the women and children began arriving, the family took over as the most

important social unit in the community. Entertainment and leisure time were filled with visits and close contact between families. Social participation consisted of informal interaction, of a non-organized nature between individuals. It was much later, after the Hellenic Community was organized, that people began to interact socially within a prescribed, formal setting.

During the period from 1900 to 1920, there was no church or place of worship. By the 1920's the number of families had increased to fifty. Their religious and spiritual needs were fulfilled by the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian Orthodox priest from Seattle, Father Andriotis (a Greek by birth), visited the Greek communities in Washington and B.C. irregularly for services such as baptisms (Theodoratus, 1971: 19). Sometimes marriages were performed in Seattle where there was a Greek Orthodox church and priest since 1918. This was the usual pattern for communities that did not have their own church.

On November 19, 1927, the Hellenic Community of B.C. was incorporated as a Society under the Societies Act. Its name was the "St. George Greek Orthodox Hellenic Community". For the next three years plans were made to build a church for the growing number of Greek residents. On New Year's Eve in 1929 a Greek Orthodox priest came from the U.S. to celebrate Mass at the St. James Anglican church. On that evening he fervently spoke to the small Greek parish of celebrating the next Easter in their own church. There were many who doubted his dream, since at that time not even the land to build a church

existed. But when Palm Sunday of 1930 came, every Greek for hundreds of miles around came to celebrate Mass in his own "Home" as the Greek Orthodox church was called. The small building was on 7th Avenue and Vine. It had a basement where for the first time the Greek immigrants could gather. The \$20,000 cost of the church was paid mainly through personal donations, benefit dances and a loan which the Greek community undertook. The Ladies' Auxiliary, founded in 1929 devoted all its efforts to assisting the community by collecting money through bazaars and dances. Another early organization - the AHEPA - supported financially the effort. By 1936, the church belonged entirely to the Greek community.

Once the church was built, it signalled the beginning of a closer community life. It unified Vancouver Greeks, gave them a place to meet, worship, and teach their children about the Greek Orthodox religion, and the Greek language. A Sunday School was established. The first priest, Rev. Ambrosios Mandilaris, taught the Sunday School and gave Greek lessons to the children. It was not until the early 1950's that a teacher was hired to teach the growing numbers of young children.

In 1930, the "Gladstone" chapter of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association), was established with Tom Stamatis as its president (Vlassis, 1953: 216). Two years later, in 1932, a chapter of the "Maids of Athena" was started for young girls. The Ahepa's women's auxiliary did not get organized until 1948. In the

1930's and 1940's these associations played an important role firstly, by raising money for the needs of the community, and secondly because their social events (dances, picnics, and bazaars) were an important part of community life. They created a feeling of involvement and unity.

Regional associations did not come to existence until the 1960's mainly because the groups were too small.

The Ladies' Auxiliary became the Filoptohos Society in 1942, thus joining the national Sisterhood that existed in the States and Canada (see chapter on voluntary association) (Vlassis, 1953: 215). For the first years of the community, the Ladies' Auxiliary helped greatly the church by providing philanthropic services to the needy, as well as contributing regularly to its coffers.

Social Life

In the years before World War II, the community became established. The Greek residents began to see themselves as more or less permanently settled. The church symbolized unity, bringing all groups under the aegis of Greek Orthodoxy. The kinotis (community administrative group) represented all Greeks. The community life was varied, and personal, with visits and small gatherings as the main form of entertainment.

Namedays were celebrated festively at home, with friends visiting one after another the homes of their celebrating acquaintances. Food, and Greek sweets were abundant. At the time very few occasions

were celebrated outside the home: hotels and catering services were not used as they are now for weddings and baptisms. The main social life consisted of visiting friends and relatives.

Before Greek films started being shown in Vancouver, the early Greek residents did not go to foreign films mainly because they could not understand English. They preferred to remain with their friends and talk (kouventa) rather than seek outside entertainment.

In those years, Greeks enjoyed informal picnics, and dances, where they could roast lambs outdoors, drink retsina and talk with their friends. These events were usually organized by the kinotis (church council) - the focus of social life.

The young unmarried people were encouraged to participate in these events with the hope of meeting a suitable spouse. Dating patterns were very strict: young girls were not allowed to date unless the young man had serious intentions, that is, marriage. In the early years of the community, there were few exogamous marriages. But as Greeks became more involved in the Canadian community life, as they studied or worked with Canadians, there arose more opportunities for mixed marriages. The Greek Orthodox church at the time was completely against marriages of Greek Orthodox with non-Orthodox. It retained that position until the late 1960's when under growing pressure to change with the times, it permitted mixed marriages as long as the children were baptised in the Greek Orthodox faith (Saloutos, 1973: 395-407).

According to Chimbos, ninety-five per cent of Greeks he interviewed in Lakehead, Ontario, objected to their children's inter-ethnic marriages mainly due to their desire to maintain the culture and religion (Chimbos, 1971: 5-17). Gordon (1964: 60-93) emphasized that when religion was combined with nationality there were usually strong tendencies to maintain the cohesion of the group against pressures to assimilate (i.e., exogamous marriages).

The World War II Period

In 1941, there were approximately 600 Greeks in Vancouver, 1,115 in B.C. and 11,692 in Canada (see Tables I and II). The war stopped the emigration flow from Greece, except for a few women and children who joined their relatives under special circumstances.

The War years saw many young Greek men serving in the Canadian Armed Forces. The original Greek settlers were far too old to go in the service, but the young men born here did so. The community centered all its efforts in the War relief, cooperating with the Red Cross and sending clothing to the homeland. The women of the Filoptohos spent their time in relief-oriented occupations. Many of the women who had never worked before, got jobs outside the home to replace the earning capacity of their husbands who were in the service.

The closed nature of those war years further united the community. Sheltered in the relative safety of Canada they spent the war quietly without internal disturbances.

Greece's heroic role during the Italian invasion and resistance against the Nazis, had repercussions across the Greek communities abroad. Greeks in Vancouver felt proud of their homeland and their Hellenic heritage. It was a rare time of pride and satisfaction for the Greek immigrants abroad who had faced opposition and discrimination in the past. The Greek-Canadian men serving in the Army brought additional honour and prestige. The position of Greeks in Canadian society was greatly enhanced. Vancouver Greeks were realizing their dual allegiance to Canada and Greece. They were coming to terms with their past and present.

The Post World War II Period

After World War II ended, Greece underwent internal political strife as civil war erupted between the Monarchists and the National Liberation Front, which wanted to oust the monarchy (Saloutos, 1964: 354). Immigration was minimal during this time, changing very little the character of the Vancouver community.

But the next decade (1951-1961) proved to be the most decisive one since the number of Greeks in Canada more than tripled, bringing a different type of immigrant, with different background and attitudes. In the years from 1961 to 1971, new arrivals more than doubled the existing Greek population in Canada, bringing the total to 127,475. Within twenty years, Canada had received more than 100,000 people of Greek origin. British Columbia's population grew six times: from 1,115 in 1941 to 6,615 in 1971 (see Tables II and III).

Compared to the relative stability and slow rate of change of the pre-war years, the new influx altered greatly the character of the Greek community. There were new problems: conflict of ideas, outlooks, and methods of accomplishing things. The community became involved in issues created by the large numbers: for example, the need for a bigger church, the expansion to four language schools, and the changing relationship with the non-Greek society.

There was diversity of interests, occupations and leisure time activities. In the 1960's the regional voluntary associations blossomed, attracting support away from the church. The older associations such as the Filoptohos, and the Ahepa family, began losing their numbers as older members died, and few newcomers joined.

The New Church

The small church on 7th Avenue and Vine which had served the community since its early beginnings, proved to be inadequate with the influx of new immigrants. Also, the growing prestige of the community demanded an appropriately bigger building, to suit the growing aspirations. The church was not built until 1970, even though the decision to begin plans for a new and bigger church was made in 1963, by the governing body of the community - the Hellenic Kinotis. The land was chosen in the well-established area of Kerrisdale, away from Kitsilano where a great number of Greeks lived.

The new half-million dollar church was built by a lot of cajoling and pressure to get donations and new memberships. It was

not until 1970 that enough money had been collected to begin building. The old church was sold as well as two houses belonging to the Filoptos. Most voluntary associations organized benefit dances for the support of the new church. Donations were accepted from individual members of the community. But there were several misunderstandings and outright accusations about the collection of the money and how it was being spent. A community center is to be built when enough money has been collected. But it is still in the planning stages.

Residential Segregation

During the early years, the majority of Greek residents lived in the East End area of Vancouver, where housing was inexpensive. They were few in number and at that time did not form a recognized enclave in the city as the Chinese and Japanese did. Their businesses were situated close to the waterfront (Vancouver City Directory, 1910: 1342).

After the church was built in 1930, a few families moved closer to the church since most social events centered around it. The community did not become recognized as residentially segregated until the late 1950's and early 1960's when Greek-owned stores and restaurants started to appear in Kitsilano - the area where the church was situated. New immigrants seeking familiar surroundings congregated around the church and stores, slowly attracting friends and relatives. By 1961, twenty-one per cent of Greeks in Vancouver were concentrated in the Kitsilano area (Grant, 1972: 127).

"It is apparent that with the development of Greek food stores along the major business thoroughfare of Kitsilano on West Broadway, the main centre for the expanding Greek community over the last decade (1961-1971) is focused on this part of the city." (Grant, 1972: 128)

The Kitsilano area continues to attract new arrivals who are seeking security in a familiar social network. The services (translations, employment advice, companionship) that are found there help to ease the cultural shock (Jones, 1967: 412-423).

Recent Greek arrivals appear to go through a period of two to five years where they remain in residential proximity with other Greeks before they disperse within the city. Residential dispersion is a necessary prerequisite for the general adaptation and social mobility in the non-Greek society (Lieberson, 1961: 52-57). The second generation which is more adapted and more socially mobile, is to be found dispersed all over the city. The correlation between residential segregation and recency of arrival, was also observed by Stephanides with the Greeks of Detroit (1971: 115-128).

The Modern-Day Kafenion

In the Kitsilano area, and particularly on West Broadway Avenue there are some Greek-owned restaurants (serving Greek food and pizza, or Canadian food), which cater to Greeks and non-Greeks alike. They are usually family-run enterprises. Their decor reminds one of Greece as everywhere there are Greek posters, and popular Greek music is played loudly. These Greek restaurants (one open 24 hours), perform the function of the kafenion of the early days. In all of them,

there are a few tables implicitly reserved for Greek customers: particularly men, and sometimes women accompanied by their husbands. It is interesting to note that whenever a Greek known to the owner enters, he is greeted by name and then seated at the table reserved for Greek patrons and friends. When others arrive they are usually seated together. The owner serves them coffee (often on the house) and chats with them if he/she is not busy. They usually discuss the latest political events in Greece, and have passionate arguments over the advantages and disadvantages of life in Canada. They read Greek newspapers and play the latest Greek music in the juke-box. Some stay longer than two hours just drinking coffee - especially the unemployed ones. They sometimes eat, promising to pay later. Newly arrived immigrants receive information from the owner regarding jobs with Greek employers, or directions on how to get a job through the Manpower offices. Translations of documents are done right there by Greeks who speak English. Lately there has appeared a billiard hall frequented mainly by young, newly arrived Greeks. It is a totally male enclave, run by a Greek man and his family. There are refreshments and hamburgers for the players. The billiard hall appeared two years ago (1972) on West Broadway Avenue, attracting the young unemployed Greek men who previously chatted and drank coffee in the restaurants.

On West Broadway Avenue there are other Greek-owned businesses besides restaurants: bakeries, travel agencies, photographers' studio, shoe stores, and fish stores. In all the above places Greeks drop by to

have a chat with the owner even if no purchase is made. At some places where they are better known they will go right through to the back of the store (for example, a bakery) and spend some time talking, eating pastries that are always offered, and discussing business. The type of person most often engaged in such a past-time is the young, recently arrived unemployed male, with minimal knowledge of English, and few skills.

The informal visits in stores and restaurants often serve to carry out reciprocal, informal transactions of loans, or business deals. The economics of the Greek community are often carried out on this informal level where money is exchanged without formal contracts or interest. Repayment is often not in the same form, but can be reciprocated later by a personal favor, or help at a time of need.

Prominent leaders of the community (the priest, the kinotis president), often drop by the place of business to speak personally with the owner rather than telephone him or her regarding a special message or request.

Greeks prefer carrying out business transactions informally, on neutral, public ground such as restaurants or stores.

This type of social interaction could be interpreted according to Weber, as tradition-oriented, the kind one would find more often in a folk rather than urban culture. Greek immigrants continue such traditional practices even in Vancouver, a modern, industrial society. Even though these traditional behaviour patterns may come in conflict

with those of the outside society, they are maintained mainly because they offer stability in the face of great change and dislocation (Hoselitz, 1963: 11-31).

The historical development of the community shows how it grew from a small congregation of a few men to a complex, dynamic society with various specialized institutions.

The nature of the community was shaped by the post-war immigrants who came in great numbers. The characteristics of the three groups which comprise the Greek community are presented in the next section. A discussion on the stratification of the community follows, based on preliminary observations.

Characteristics of Immigrants

The Greek community is comprised of three different groups:

1) the older group that came before 1948; 2) the recent group that arrived after 1948; and 3) the second generation.² Let us examine each group separately.

The first group consists of people of older age who arrived in Vancouver before 1948. Their average age is close to sixty years old, but there are a few older ones. They are considered the pioneers of the community. Upon arrival they had no skills other than farming. They usually spoke no English and later learned just enough to carry out their business. They came from the rural areas of Greece and had minimal formal education, particularly the women. The majority are self-employed and quite successful economically.

They are traditionally oriented, holding many of the Greek values as unquestionable truth. They are conservative and critical of modern patterns such as racial equality and mixed marriages. They often look on the rapid change of events and values with baffled bewilderment and insecurity. They prefer to withdraw in the past often using it as a shining and proper example of behaviour.

They speak Greek at home, read Greek and English newspapers. They are moderately interested in non-Greek affairs and are Canadian citizens.

It was their pioneering spirit which had established the community, therefore they are of an independent nature particularly with regards to occupation. They own their own homes (or have owned several in the past) and their children have usually gone to university or are working at some skilled position.

They support the church and kinotis strongly by their involvement and generous contributions. They disapprove of the criticism and attacks on the priest and the church. They feel critical of the younger immigrants for dividing the community.

The second group which is the largest, consists of younger Greeks who arrived after 1948. For example: in the years between 1956 and 1963 the greatest number of arrivals in Canada ranged in age³ between 20 and 29 years, the next group was between 30 and 34 years. In the late 1950's, the largest occupational categories admitted were⁴ domestics, labourers and farm labourers. There was a decrease of

unskilled admissions in the 1960's, as more skilled immigrants such as⁵ tailors, electricians, typesetters and seamstresses were admitted.

The majority came from villages but there was also a greater number of urban dwellers. In the late 1960's and 1970's more educated and better trained people arrived than ever before.

The majority of recently arrived immigrants who come from rural areas usually speak no English (or very little) and work in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Very often they are sponsored by relatives, and in the beginning stay with them until employment is found. If not married on arrival they soon marry someone from here, or someone sent over from Greece. They have little social interaction outside the Greek community, particularly in the first years. They do not become formal members of voluntary associations. Their social interaction is limited to informal friendship patterns and extensive kin group ties. They listen to Greek radio programs, and read Greek newspapers and magazines. They often attend Greek movies that are shown every two weeks in Kitsilano, at the Hollywood Theatre on West Broadway Avenue.

Most of them came to Canada with the purpose of staying temporarily, saving money, and returning to Greece as soon as possible. Others come solely for educating their children, planning to return after the completion of their studies. But they soon put roots by purchasing a home close to friends and relatives, and enjoying comforts they did not have at home. After five years they usually become Canadian

citizens because a foreign passport is desirable. When they visit Greece they realize that they have adapted to the Canadian life style that cannot be found at home. Few return to stay permanently.

This second group of recently arrived immigrants exhibits traits of regionalism. Amongst themselves they identify each other as Cretan, Epirotan or Athenian. They rarely call themselves "Canadian". That term is used only with reference to one's passport, and very rarely to one's identity. A resident of Vancouver for twenty years or more, said: "A Greek I was born, and a Greek I shall die." They share this strong ethnic identity with the older immigrant group. One can determine a Greek's measure of adaptation merely by examining what he calls himself:

- a "Greek" is relatively unadapted and identifies himself strongly with the homeland, having come here as an adult (15 years and over).
- a "Greek-Canadian" probably came here as a child and feels some identification with his past, but also an allegiance to Canada.
- a "Canadian of Greek origin" is usually the second generation person who is assimilated within the Anglo-Saxon framework and feels little ethnic identification with his heritage.

First generation Greeks change little their values and norms particularly in the subjective domain. They may adapt in exterior ways to some degree but they retain most of their earlier socialized values.

A measure of adaptation is linguistic proficiency. They may learn English, often well enough to get along with English-speaking friends, but at home they continue to speak Greek. The children are expected to do so also, with the result that when they begin their schooling they do so without any knowledge of English, but it is soon learned.

Included in this post-1948 group of immigrants is also a number of people who left Greece for political rather than economic reasons. They are better educated, have professional skills and come from urban areas. Their number is small particularly in B.C. which does not receive so many Greeks as do the eastern provinces. This type of immigrant quickly moves into a high occupational status and income, outside the Greek community. They involve themselves minimally in the ethnic life, and have wide social networks with non-Greeks. There is also a small number of Greek students who come for graduate studies, and then promptly return to Greece.

The third group consists of the second generation. They are the children of the older immigrants, and the offspring of immigrants who came after 1948. They identify the least with the ethnic system of values. They are the best educated group of all three. They have had maximum contact with the Canadian society throughout their life and as a result participate little in the ethnic community. Even though they attended Greek language school as children, they speak mostly English at home. Their social participation in the Greek community is

mainly through the national associations such as Ahepa and its auxiliaries which stress allegiance to Canada more than Greece.

The second generation Greeks do not live in the area of Vancouver where the majority of immigrants live, but prefer to disperse all over the city and the suburbs. Their income is higher than the majority of Greeks since many are professionals and work for Canadian firms.

This group did not seem to attach the same degree of importance in the area of Greece from which their parents came. Some had not visited Greece and knew little of their relatives there.

There tended to be more mixed marriages in this group. There was no emphasis on marrying within the group, particularly since very few spoke Greek.

The second generation is well adapted in the Canadian community. But there is need for further and closer study of this group.

Stratification

The following remarks regarding the stratification of the Greek community are based on first-hand observation. No structured interviews or questionnaires were used to obtain the data. Rather they are the result of informal discussions and participant observation within the community. Being a member of the community myself, enabled me to discern the subtle and intuitive divisions that exist in the Greek society.

The observations that follow are based on my own interpretation of the existing relationships. It is acknowledged and understood that the stratification of the community is much more complex and more integrated than the following categories describe. The observations are primarily an outline of the complex stratification structure.

I have chosen to include these preliminary premises (even though not empirically tested), because they are representative of the feelings of Greek community members. The implicit assumptions made by the Greeks themselves regarding the classes of the community, play an important role in understanding the problems of: 1) leadership; 2) institutions monopolized by certain groups; and 3) inter-group conflict.

The community is not rigidly stratified in a manner that allows no inter-mobility. The vague classes are not closed. There are no social rules preventing the inter-mixing of classes. The class system is not rigidly enforced or clearly sanctioned. There is a lot of inter-generational mobility and a great degree of integrated activity between the different groups.

Nevertheless, the members of the Greek community recognize certain groups as apart, or as stratified according to certain criteria. The individuals in these groups are placed in an informal hierarchical framework on the basis of prestige derived from wealth, occupation, or education. The first group with a high prestigious position consists of a small number of pioneers who established the community. The second group includes the entrepreneurial and professional people.

The third group is the working class, comprised by the greater number of newly arrived immigrants.

The group of older pioneer Greeks has a special position in the community structure. Small in number (200-300 people), the pioneer group has prestige mainly because it is part of history. The majority of these immigrants are now independently wealthy, living in prestigious residential areas. They are past their prime active age where they can contribute fully in the social and administrative arenas of the community. Their views and opinions are sometimes sought but mainly as a gesture of appreciation. Their status arises from their previous contributions: the fact that "they built the community and the church." They are the "elders", occupying a special position because of their age, and past contributions.

The pioneer Greeks disapprove of the "destructive" tendencies of the recent immigrants who want to separate the church from the secular aspects of the community. For them the church has always signified community. They come in conflict with the recent immigrants but they have little amount of real power to influence the course of events. They are "leaders" only out of respect and recognition.

The second category comprises the entrepreneurial and professional people. Together they constitute the leadership of the community.

The entrepreneurial group is composed mainly of merchants who are self-employed. They have average education and usually just an adequate command of English. They arrived at their present occupational

status through progressive stages at various menial jobs. They have their own homes, and one or two cars. This class is the nouveau-riche elite of the community. From this merchant group are recruited the members of the kinotis council, and the various church and school committees. Ascribing to a laissez-faire attitude, they are intolerant of the church's involvement in the secular aspect of community organization. They view the church's role as an encroachment and a hindrance to the development of the community. In this aspect, they are in conflict with the older pioneer group which considers the church and community as inseparable.

This class monopolizes most forms of leadership. They participate more than any other group in formal institutions like the kinotis, and the voluntary associations. Because of their active involvement, they influence and shape the action of the ethnic community.

The professionals and second generation Greeks are also included in this second category. They are relatively wealthy and have a higher education than the above business group. They usually remain outside the realm of the ethnic community, participating only marginally in its activities. In the past, some qualified lawyers and architects worked with the ethnic community. But because of conflict they left in disillusionment. The number of well educated individuals who do not remain with the group is increasing. It is postulated that they leave because of cultural conflict. Professionals have ideological differences that conflict with the conservative and traditional thinking

of the majority of Greeks - most of whom are recent arrivals. (Further examination of this professional group would be useful in order to examine fully its characteristics and motives for withdrawal from the group). The professional category enjoys higher prestige in the wider community than the merchant group. This is mainly because of their education - a criterion considered as more important than wealth or business success.

The third category is the working class. It constitutes the largest part of the community, comprising mostly recently-arrived immigrants. The characteristics of this group were described previously. They are relatively poor, have low status occupations, and are unskilled. They participate very little in formal social interactions, preferring the closed family and kin group associations. They are minimally involved in the affairs of the community, and even less so in the non-Greek society. They are the least adapted of all three groups.

Having examined the historical development and character of the community, we can now analyze in closer detail the major ethnic institutions: the church, the voluntary associations and the Greek-language school.

Notes

1. This is due to Montreal's opposition to the Archdiocese's continued efforts at centralization.
2. Classification after Stephanides, 1971: 122.
3. Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration Statistics 1946-1963. Immigrants by Ethnic Origin, Age Group and Sex 1956-1963.
4. _____. Immigrants by Ethnic Origin and Intended Occupation 1956-1963.
5. _____. Immigrants by Ethnic Origin and Intended Occupation 1959-1963.
6. For a distinctive typology of immigrants and mode of adaptation, see J. Goldlust and A.H. Richmond, A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation, International Migration Review, Vol. 8 (26) Summer, 1974.
7. Term "Greek of Canadian Origin" after Stephanides, 1971: 124.
8. Terms "subjective and exterior domain" after Nagata, 1969: 45.
9. For a study of cultural change among three generations of Greeks, see Helen Capanidou Lauquier, Cultural Change Among Three Generations of Greeks, American Catholic Sociological Review, Vol. 3, Fall, 1961, pp. 223-232.
10. Goldlust and Richmond call this type: immigrant with "average or higher education, short residence".

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH

HISTORY OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

In order to understand the important role of the Church in the ethnic community, it is necessary to examine its historical roots and its relationship to the Greek consciousness.

Ninety-four per cent of Greeks in Greece are Orthodox. It is a reality that the Orthodox Church is a prominent element of everyday life as much now, as it was hundreds of years ago. Spiritually it can be said that Greece is the Orthodox Church (Etteldorf, 1963: ix). It is taken for granted that one cannot be a Greek without at the same time being a member of the Orthodox church.

The close relationship between citizenship and Orthodoxy was cemented during the 400 years of Turkish occupation (1453-1829). The fact that the Greek nation was able to survive almost 400 years of Turkish dominance is readily attributed by Greeks to the sustaining power of the Orthodox Church. There were other factors involved such as the help of the friendly Western powers, and the stubborn nationalism of the Greek character, but by far the principal cause was the Orthodox Church (Etteldorf, 1963: 43-44). Under Turkish domination the Patriarch of Constantinople was granted by Mohammed II not only ecclesiastical, but also civil authority over his people (Etteldorf, 1903: 45). The Church was the only non-Turkish civic authority to remain in Greece.

It became identified with the survival of the Greek nation. To be an Orthodox Christian was to be a Greek. The Greek consciousness was kept alive by the schools that the Church fostered, educating the occupied nation in its rich cultural heritage (Etteldorf, 1903: 47). Popular belief¹ is that during the 1821 War of Independence the Church played a prominent role. There are conflicting views about this, but the fact remains that the Greek people closely identify the Church with nationalism. Once independence was achieved the Orthodox Church in Greece repudiated the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople thus becoming the autocephalous Church of Greece in 1850 (Constantelos, 1967: 56). In the new nation the Church retained its autonomy with Jesus Christ as its head, and the King as its administrative ruler. Thus nationalism and Orthodoxy had fused in the Church of Greece, further cementing the identification of Orthodoxy and Greekness.

The State has some authority in Church matters, and in turn the Church is linked with the political ideologies of the State (Etteldorf, 1963: 52-53). The military regime which ruled Greece for seven years (1967-1974) had posters in buses and public places proclaiming: "To be a Greek is to be a Christian," and "Let us build a Greece for Greek Christians."

2

Since Byzantine times, Romiosini and Orthodoxy have been closely linked to each other, together formulating the Greek spirit and consciousness.

The Greek Orthodox Church has five administrative jurisdictions: 1) the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (Istanbul);

2) the Patriarchate of Antioch; 3) the Patriarchate of Jerusalem; 4) the (autocephalous) Church of Greece; and 5) the (autocephalous) Church of Cyprus. The Orthodox membership of 2.5 million of North and South America was under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul until 1908 when it was transferred to the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece (Constantelos, 1967: 51). It was so until 1918 to the detriment of the communities abroad which had no central organization or authorized leader (Greek Orthodox Yearbook, 1960: 107).

The historical development of the Orthodox Church in America is relevant in understanding the present day character and problems of the Church in Vancouver. After 1880 the heavy flow of Greek immigrants to the U.S. began and steadily increased so that by 1910 there were 180,000 Greeks (Saloutos, 1964: 45). (In Canada, by 1910 there were only 3,200 Greeks (Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Immigration Branch, 1937-1942).) For more than thirty years the communities and churches functioned without a central authority.

World War I and internal political events in Greece influenced and shaped the Greek communities abroad. Clergy and parishes were split violently between the Loyalist and Venizelist factions (Iakovos, 1972: 10). For years personal beliefs tore communities apart as Greek immigrants took sides. The Church itself was divided as its members supported either the King or Venizelos and their particular political ideologies for the future of Greece (Saloutos, 1964: 138-145). Having been in the New World only a few years and planning to return soon, Greek-Americans found it difficult to remain uninvolved. They divided

themselves into rival factions and tried to influence the foreign policy of the U.S. towards Greece (Saloutos, 1964: 159).

The Church in the Americas continued to remain disorganized and without an appointed head until 1918. The Holy Synod of Greece then passed a resolution of its intention to establish the "Archdiocese of America" returning the New World Churches to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul (Saloutos, 1964: 241). The Church was undergoing internal strife since its own fortunes lay with the rival political factions. Each succeeding change in the political winds of Greece brought further chaos abroad as each bishop tried to establish his own hegemony (Saloutos, 1973: 395-307).

In 1922, Alexander was named Archbishop of the newly formed Archdiocese of North and South America. But the Church in the U.S. had been reduced to such a weak state by factional strife as to be unable to offer any strong or meaningful leadership. The civil war within the Church continued until intervention by Damaskinos, the Metropolitan of Corinth. He arrived in the U.S. as Patriarchal Exarch in 1930 (Saloutos, 1964: 299). He faced long opposition but managed to bring order to the distraught communities. Finally Athenagoras I, the Metropolitan of Corfu, was named Archbishop on the recommendation of Damaskinos. His administration which began in 1931 brought some stability and maturity to the warring factions abroad (Hellenic Echo, 15 July 1972). Athenagoras made it clear in his numerous travels that the administrative system of the Greek Orthodox Church was going to be employed without

question (Greek Orthodox Yearbook, 1958: 18). He sought a national cooperation between clergy and laity in running the affairs of the communities. There was resistance, but finally in 1931 in New York the Fourth Congress of Laity and Clergy met to tackle the numerous problems. "The Church was again reaffirmed in her role as the natural mother and protector of the Greek people abroad" (Saloutos, 1964: 304-305).

The Greek language school came under the aegis of the Archdiocese which realized its important role as a culture-sustaining institution. There was to be a special orientation and organization of the schools to reflect the reality of Greek life abroad (Saloutos, 1964: 306).

The organization of the Archdiocese itself was changed. It assumed total jurisdiction of all the churches of North and South America. The Archbishop assumed total control by appointing his own bishops and being responsible only to the Patriarchate (Saloutos, 1964: 307). In community matters the only change was in the role of the clergy.

"The local Administration, the election of officers, and financial affairs were left in the hands of the constituent bodies. But in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical such as the appointment and discharge of priests, jurisdiction belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical administration." (Saloutos, 1964: 306)

The internal Church war and strife seemed to subside as the Church assumed an aggressive role in community affairs. Its role was to become increasingly aggressive and even authoritarian as it assumed

unprecedented powers in the person of the Archbishop by becoming centralized at the expense of the bishops, parish priests and the laity (Saloutos, 1964: 371).

DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND KINOTIS

The historical development of Greek communities abroad follows a pattern. Whenever there are enough Greeks in a city, they found a parish or kinotis which comes under the administration of the Greek Orthodox Church. The relationship between the kinotis and the church is a very important feature of the social organization of Greek communities abroad. For this reason I present its nature and function as it is interpreted by the Orthodox Church. The significance of the terms kinotis and community as they are used in the context of the Vancouver Greek community is also explained.

According to the official Greek Orthodox Church definition, the parish is "...the body of communicants of the Greek Orthodox Faith in a given locality, organized for the support and maintenance of a parish church and affiliated institutions" (Regulations and Uniform Parish By-Laws, 1959: 9). The communicant is a baptized Greek Orthodox who is still in communion with the church. A parish is made up of individuals who are united by linguistic, religious and ethnic ties. The group supports a single church and participates in "a series of socio-religious relationships sanctioned by the Orthodox Church" (Theodoratus, 1971: 31).

In the Orthodox interpretation, a communicant is not necessarily a member of the parish, and the parish is different from the community of people it represents. That is why there are two usages of the word "community" in the Greek language.

One usage refers to all members of a group of people, living in a certain location and sharing a common identity, cultural, social and psychological bonds (after McIver 1949: 8). A second and more limiting usage equates the community with the parish. The founding of a community abroad has more often than not meant the founding of a parish under the direction of a priest and the diocese. In this sense, the main function of a community is the building and maintenance of a church. Thus the officers of a church are also the officers of the community.

Therefore, a distinction is necessary as to the usage of the word community in this thesis. In the Greek language, the word for community is kinotis. This term is used by Greeks for both meanings of community since both can be distinguished intuitively by the specific nuance of the word. The word kinotis ideally designated any group of Greeks at home or abroad. Now it has come to narrowly designate that small group of communicants who are dues-paying members of the parish. In Vancouver, members of the kinotis, are synonymously members of the parish of St. George's Greek Orthodox Church of Vancouver. It is confusing, especially since it is a particularly Greek concept whereby all members of a Greek settlement, and the congregation of its church are both referred to by the same word, kinotis. To avoid confusion, kinotis shall be used in a very restrictive sense.

I shall use the word community to refer to all Greek residents of Vancouver, whether they are members of the parish or not. The word kinotis shall be used to refer to the official, administrative church structure, (that is, the parish council), and to the parish membership.

This raises an important question about membership. A Greek Orthodox member of the Greek community is not necessarily a member of the parish. A member of the parish is a person over twenty years of age who has paid the yearly membership dues to both the parish and the Archdiocese. The Regulations and Uniform Parish By-Laws (1959: 27) explain this further:

"All persons, irrespective of place of birth, who are of Greek descent, have attained the age of twenty years, accept and adhere to the faith, canons, laws, dogmas, discipline, worship, ritual, decision, usages and the ecclesiastical authority of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, and who agree to abide by the provisions of the by-laws of this parish and regularly pay their membership dues, shall be members thereof. Any Christian married to a Greek Orthodox in the Greek Orthodox Church and baptized in the same or unmarried joining the Greek Orthodox Church, shall be eligible for membership in this parish.

No Greek Orthodox, married or single, can be a member of a Community of the Greek Archdiocese if he does not pay both the dues of the Community and the Dekadollarion of the Archdiocese, which is and always will be considered as inseparable from the dues of the Community. Excepted from this rule are those who can be proved to be completely impoverished."

It is clear that a community member is not necessarily a parish - or kinotis - member. He only becomes one after paying the yearly dues of \$55.00. Only kinotis members have a voice in the government of the parish. A member of the Greek community is excluded from

the government of the parish until he has paid his dues and has thus become a kinotis member.

Historically, the kinotis provided for the establishment of a church and a school in Greek communities abroad. The churches came under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul which assigned to them their priests (Greek Orthodox Yearbook, 1960: 107). The kinotis was headed by a board of directors who administered the funds, hired the priests, teachers and staff. The dues-paying members elected the council and had a say in its affairs (Saloutos, 1964: 76-77). The kinotis "looked after the welfare of the entire Greek colony, but its activities centered primarily on the Church" (Saloutos, 1964: 18).

THE COMMUNITY AND KINOTIS IN VANCOUVER

Kinotis

The history of the settlement of the first group of Greek immigrants in Vancouver was described in Chapter II. In 1927 they organized themselves - approximately 30 families - under the Societies Act of B.C. as the Hellenic Community of Vancouver. Three years later, the St. George Orthodox Church was built. Affiliation with the Archdiocese became immediate with the founding of the church (Encyclopedia Canadiana, Vol. 5: 33-34).

In Vancouver the number of Greek residents is approximately 6,500 people (Canada Census, 1971 #92-723). Of the 800 kinotis members, only 200 are active. Only members of the kinotis can actively partici-

pate in elections and general assemblies of the community. The \$55 yearly dues support the Church, the Archdiocese, and the activities of the kinotis.

Only in theory is the kinotis a true representative of the community at large. The kinotis members of the congregation alone elect a group (usually of independent merchants) to form the kinotis council for one year. These 15 men and the priest have considerable power since they alone can direct the official policies of the parish.

Kinotis Leadership

The council acts as the official representative and mediator with the host community. It is interesting to note that the non-Greek community regards this small elite group as a representative of all Greeks, but the Greeks themselves see it only as "a group of well-off immigrants who represent only their own interests". This parallels Straaton's observations of the Chinese community in Vancouver.

The Chinese Benevolent Association corresponds to the kinotis in the Greek community. When the Chinese Benevolent Association (C.B.A.) was first organized it was controlled by a few wealthy businessmen. It aimed to transcend all factions and represent all Chinese. But it has since lost its appeal and many Chinese do not recognize its right to represent them. As with the Greek kinotis council, the C.B.A. is regarded by the non-Chinese as a representative of all Chinese, but the Chinese themselves regard it "as a representative of only certain factions within the community, particularly the Kuomintang" (Straaton, 1974: 94).

The fifteen members of the kinotis council have been almost always male. In the past there have been two women in the council but they were both two of the earliest settlers, and both in their seventies. Presently, the age of the fifteen men ranges between 38-51 years old. All are in business; ten restaurateurs, two storeowners, two contractors, and one furrier. Their length of residence in Canada varies from twelve to twenty years. They are much wealthier, more successful and well known throughout the Greek community. Being first generation immigrants they have little more formal education than the working Greek: with few exceptions their English is not fluent. There are no second generation council members (but there have been a few in the past).

Finances: the Church and the Archdiocese

The kinotis is financially responsible for the church, its priest, staff, general upkeep and mortgage payments. It is also responsible for the Greek language schools and teachers, as well as for the Sunday School. The building cost of the new church (half a million dollars) is still being paid through contributions and the members' dues.

Thirteen dollars out of the yearly fifty-five goes to the Archdiocese in New York which supports the St. Basil Academy for teachers in New York, the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School in Brookline, Massachusetts, and the other financial obligations of the Archdiocese.

In return the communities get a priest, teachers, books, and spiritual guidance. All necessary documentation regarding baptisms, marriages, and deaths is done by the Archdiocese. Previously these functions were performed by the Patriarchate, and then by the Church of Greece. Many people become members of the church-kinotis because they need some religious service performed such as marriage or baptism. After that most do not keep their membership.

Up to 1942 the Archdiocese was supported mainly through voluntary contributions which often were minimal. In 1943 it inaugurated a compulsory \$1.00 contribution per capita which was further increased to \$10 (Dekadollarion) in 1950 (Greek Orthodox Yearbook, 1958: 18). Some wealthier communities are now paying up to \$13 head tax. These increases brought opposition as parishes refused to collect the tax, and the number of members in good standing steadily decreased (Saloutos, 1964: 372). The Canadian communities especially, object to their contributions going to the U.S.

Centralization of Power

Further and greater dissatisfaction exists - constantly expressed in the Greek media - with the Archdiocese's continued centralization and determination to assume power over lay matters. On paper, the laymen have a great say in administrative if not ecclesiastical matters. In reality, congresses are priest-directed, with the Church⁴ having its own ways of circumventing the laity and its authority.

The 17th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress in 1964 adopted the Uniform Parish Bylaws which gave the church hierarchy undisputed control over its parishes (Saloutos, 1964: 372). The leadership of the parish was assigned to the priest, along with the council. Many parishes refused to ratify the by-laws. Vancouver did, and now the community is constantly in turmoil over its lack of power in dealing with the Archdiocese. Even the kinotis members do not fully understand the exact meaning of the constitution articles and by-laws. At kinotis meetings they argue and question constantly where the authority of the laity stops and the authority of the Church begins. Because the priest is both religious and secular leader, he is constantly criticized. The people object to his dual role. An editorial in the Hellenic Echo (1 October 1973) objected:

"Don't you think that the time has passed when priests and the Holy Archdiocese of North and South America involved themselves in affairs that were not in accordance to their religious duties? The only thing we want from you is advice and guidance and not orders."

The kinotis is unable to change any of the parish by-laws even regarding the simplest matter without the approval of the Archbishop. Communications are often slow and chaotic (Saloutos, 1964: 370). To the ethnic press it appears incomprehensible that at this stage of historical development, a dynamic, urban community is still administered by the Church. The community resents being subjected to this kind of authoritarian leadership, especially when the Archdiocese seems reluctant to be flexible with the special needs of each community.

It becomes evident that the kinotis is the administrative organ of the Church. The community's attempts for self-determination are thwarted. It is felt by many that there is no strong leadership to counteract the Archdiocese and the clergy. The priest is criticised because of his involvement in lay affairs. All the informants believed that the role of the priest should be confined to the religious sphere.

The ambiguous nature of the clergy-laity leadership, allows personal conflicts, and ambitious arguments over the proper share of authority. The kinotis council is racked by personality conflicts which diminish its effectiveness (Hellenic Echo, 1 July 1974).

The greatest part of the community remains outside the kinotis. The general assemblies which take place twice a year invite all Greeks to participate:

"If you are a Greek, and love your homeland, and your ancestors, come to the general assembly to hear the problems that the kinotis is facing, to voice your opinion, and to decide the future of the Greek kinotis and school." (Hellenic Echo 15 February 1972)

Out of a population of 6,500 and an active membership of 200 people, only 60-70 attend.

I would speculate that most Greeks do not become kinotis members because they are more concerned with fulfilling their primary needs of life, than occupying themselves with the affairs of the kinotis. The majority are recently arrived immigrants. They have lower education and thus low income occupations, with long hours which allow little free time. In some families both parents work, often on dif-

ferent shifts and on weekends. They tend to participate more as the length of residence increases and as they achieve a more comfortable standard of living.

They do not participate because they feel disoriented in a new environment and alien culture. They are uncertain about the nature of behavioural patterns, and of the "proper" ways of interacting. They prefer to interact within a secure narrow network of friendships and kin patterns than in formally structured institutions.

They view the kinotis as monopolized by the wealthier and older immigrants, allowing little room for newcomers. They are not familiar with the fund-collecting aspects of the kinotis or church, because in Greece the Church is a public institution supported by the State. Furthermore, they object to the fact that a quarter of the dues goes to the Archdiocese in the U.S.

The majority become members only out of necessity - when they need a religious service.

THE CHURCH AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN VANCOUVER

The Greek Orthodox Church is distinguished by certain characteristics which are specifically Greek. The Greek language, and the Byzantine tradition of Liturgy and music are three of the more salient aspects.

The religious celebrations as practiced today have roots in the earliest beginnings of Christianity and Byzantium. A most enduring quality of the Greek Orthodox Church is her strong tie with the tradi-

tion and ritual of the past. The external administrative sphere of the Greek Orthodox Church in North America has changed since its early beginnings in the 20th century. But the Church has retained its subjective and emotional aspects, continuing its historical role as a sustaining and spiritually supportive institution.

Some of the religious celebrations are described below with the understanding that not all are included. There are other events (such as weddings, and funerals) which are important features of social and church life but are omitted because they were not observed adequately, or closely enough to allow satisfactory analysis.

The following activities are presented in order to give a more expansive understanding of the function and role of the church in the ethnic community. Regardless of the administrative conflicts that exist between the church (kinotis) council and the community, the church continues to thrive as a culture preserving institution, particularly among the first generation immigrants.

The language, rituals and traditions of the church link the community not only with the Greece of the present but also of the past.

Language

Language is the most important ethnic characteristics of the Greek Orthodox Church. According to the majority of Greeks, if the Church discontinued its use of Greek in the religious services, it would cease being Greek. The language used in the liturgies and services is New Testament Greek which is very close to Katharevousa - the formal modern Greek. The spoken and written language of the people is

demotiki. The two varieties of Greek are very dissimilar. Liturgical Greek is considered beautiful even if most of it is not understood.

Historically, the Church has opposed the use of English in its religious services. But with time it became essential to bow to necessity and accept the use of English if the Church was to survive. In some parishes, the use of Greek alone alienated many, and aided in the dissolution of the Greek community. In 1970, the 20th Biennial Clergy and Laity Congress approved the substitution of Greek in the liturgy. There were outcries that the North and South America Archdiocese was showing "separatist tendencies", and was "de-hellenizing" the Church in the New World (Saloutos, 1973: 405). But according to Reverend Patrinos, this resolution was not to be construed as an enforced substitution of Greek in the religious rituals, but rather as an open choice to communities (Patrinos, 1970: 4-6).

In Vancouver, Greek continues to be used in all religious services except for the Reading of the New Testament which is read in both Greek and English. The priest reads it in Greek first, and then a young altar boy reads it in English. The sermon is first delivered in Greek and then a brief version is given in English. The former priest spoke English well enough to be able to do so fluently. Other Greek-educated priests have had difficulty in delivering sermons in English, thus restricted themselves to a short address in English after a lengthy sermon in Greek.

Very few Greeks advocate the total use of English. The majority of Vancouver Greeks have arrived recently. They consider as

unthinkable the substitution of Greek in the services. The younger generation prefers a more extensive use of English, but they are outnumbered.

Liturgy

The Orthodox liturgies were written by early Byzantine Greeks and have been followed for centuries. The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is the most important one in use today. Theodoratus (1971: 46) quotes from a recent official edition of this liturgy:

"The long life of the Byzantine State, a realm that was Christian and Hellenic at the same time, has saved the Liturgy and was saved by it. For fifteen centuries we, as a Church, have worshipped through this Liturgy, and this worship has preserved our conscience, our language, our ideals, and our very souls. It constitutes the greatest contribution to the whole world."

The continuous use of such old liturgies is a source of pride to Orthodox Greeks who feel that their church alone has kept intact the earliest Christian traditions.

Byzantine Music: Psaltis

Byzantine sacred music is so ancient that notes on the scales of old manuscripts have still not been deciphered. "Many hymns, especially those since the fourteenth century, still bear the names of their original composers" (Etteldorf, 1963: 199). The Greek interpretation of Byzantine sacred music is rendered in nasal tones by a psaltis. A psaltis is the chanter who sings, or reads the epistle during liturgy. The psaltis corresponds to the choir of non-Greek churches with the only difference being that his chanting is part of

the liturgy and cannot be altered or replaced. The chants are traditional hymns and responses which are prescribed specifically for each liturgy or religious service. The only changes occur in the style or interpretation of each particular psaltis. Psaltis are always men. Boys are trained at a young age to sing in the proper style.

The psaltis in Vancouver has been singing in the church for more than fifteen years. He is sometimes accompanied by other men and boys with good voices. The Filoptohos Ladies attempted a few times in the past to organize a choir but they did not succeed. Chanting is considered old-fashioned by some who would like to have choirs as the other churches do. But to most Greeks chanting is an integral part of the church service. To alter or exclude it would result in a loss of ancient, honored Byzantine traditions.

Religious Celebrations

A. Easter

Easter is the most important religious event of the Greek Orthodox Church. "Holy Week and the ceremonies of Lent which precede it are the most important part of the yearly ritual calendar" (Theodoratus, 1971: 47). My observations of the Vancouver church and community during Easter Week parallel very closely those of the Tacoma, Washington community as described by Theodoratus:

"During this time (Holy Week and Lent), there are evening as well as daily services. Attendance is at first meager but as Lent continues, attendance grows. During Holy Week even the evening services are well attended. The services on the eves of Great (Good) Friday, Saturday and Easter are

the most important services of the Greek Church. On these occasions there is not even standing room in the church. It is during this period that all individuals feel the closest bond to the church. All clubs and social groups actively work and cooperate to make the services and celebrations a success. Money is collected and donated for the decorations; all contribute flowers and try to get everyone to attend." (1971: 47)

Great Friday culminates the events of the Holy Week, as the most important part of the Passion of Christ comes to an end. On the evening of Great Thursday, the crucifixion is re-enacted as the Cross is carried around inside the church while a litany is sung. On Great Friday, the Epitaphios (bier of Christ) is decorated by the women during the day with flowers. When ready, it is placed in front of the altar and until the evening, people come to pay their respects; they cross themselves, bow, kneel, and crawl under the Epitaphios twice cross-wise. In the evening there is the liturgy of Great Friday, during which the Epitaphios is carried outside, around the church on the men's shoulders. The entire congregation follows, holding candles and singing litanies specific to the events of the Crucifixion and burial of Christ. The music and mood is very religious and grave compared to the jubilation of the next day when the Resurrection is celebrated.

The Easter Services are from Saturday evening at 11:00 p.m. to 1:30 a.m. on Sunday. It is the one time that the church is absolutely full and people are outside on the lawn and sidewalks listening to the liturgy through the loudspeakers. Exactly at midnight, the priest sings Christos Anesti (Christ has risen). Everyone joins in the joyous singing, each holding a lighted candle. The liturgy continues, but many

people go home with their lighted candles. Friends greet each other with the Easter salutation Christos Anesti to which the response is Alithos Anesti (truly he has risen). Some people bring red-dyed Easter eggs to church to knock with others' eggs. The people return home to celebrate the Resurrection by usually eating mayiritsa, and red-dyed eggs. Mayiritsa is a traditional Easter soup with regional variations, made of tripe, liver, herbs, and avgolemono (egg-lemon) sauce.

On Easter Sunday, the Vancouver Greeks either roast lambs in their own back yards, or get together with a group of families for the day. Some voluntary associations organize Easter Sunday picnics. The attendance is fair, but Greeks prefer smaller gatherings particularly with family members and relatives.

B.. St. Basil's Day

Another important church celebration is St. Basil's, celebrated on New Year's Day. In Greece, it is he who bears the gifts and gives them out on St. Basil's Day (New Year's Day) rather than Christmas. In Canada, he has been all but replaced by Santa Claus.

The church and the Filoptohos Ladies organize a St. Basil's Day cutting of the vasilopita (Basil's cake). St. Basil is considered the patron and protector of orphans so sometimes vasilopita events are organized to collect money for the support of orphanages in Greece or in New York (St. Basil's Orphanage). On St. Basil's Day, after the liturgy there is usually a church party where a vasilopita is cut and the pieces given out.

Ordinarily every home has its own cutting of the vasilopita also. The pieces are cut in descending order of importance: one for Christ, one for the home, then one for the father, mother, and children, or whatever one wants to cut for. In the cake there is a coin and the person who finds it is supposed to have a lucky year. The recipes for vasilopita vary regionally, as does the time it is cut (at lunch or dinner), and the carols that are sung.

Since 1972, vasilopita cuttings have been organized by a young woman for the children of the community. Outside the Greek language school there have been few events directed toward young children. Their participation at the vasilopita party has been a welcome event for the community, especially since on such occasions they can learn traditional songs and games.

C. March 25, Annunciation of Theotokos

The Annunciation of the Virgin Mary - Theotokos - on March 25th, is of great importance because it is also Greek Independence Day. In Vancouver it is one of the greatest annual celebrations because it combines both the religious and secular aspects of the community.

The devotion to the TTheotokos in the Orthodox Church is unique. For Greek Orthodox, she combines godly, maternal and virginal qualities in a redemptive role that brings her very close to God as well as man (Etteldorf, 1963: 118-137). The Greeks' devotion to her is reflected in their churches, their liturgy, and their art. They honor her in all possible ways, and especially on her day, the 25th of

March. There is a liturgy on that day, and the sermon extolls the virtues and godliness of the Theotokos (Mother of the Redeemer).

The national day of Greek Independence is commemorated ceremoniously with traditional ritual, and ethnic celebrations. In 1974, a special event added greater significance to this day. The Mayor of the City of Vancouver proclaimed March 25, 1974, to be "Greek Day". (See the text of the proclamation in Appendix E.) On the same day for the past two years twelve Greek flags have been raised outside City Hall, in further recognition of Greek Independence Day. These events brought pride and self-satisfaction to the Greek community, because they were interpreted as a "recognition of the great contributions made to the city of Vancouver by its Greek community" (Hellenic View, 25 March, 1974).

The Greek language schools celebrate festively Greek Independence Day. The kinotis and the independent schools celebrate separately but following the same format. The General Gordon independent school holds its National Fete in the auditorium of the school, whereas the kinotis schools celebrate in the church hall. The children prepare at least a month in advance their Greek patriotic poems, songs and dances.

In 1974, the independent school held its celebration in the auditorium which was decorated with small Greek flags, and posters of the War of Independence heroes. The program began with speeches by the teachers and secretary of the Greek school which emphasized the "resurrection of the Nation in 1821", and the holiness of the Theotokos.

The Canadian and Greek anthems were sung as well as a special hymn, Akathistos Hymnos, to the Theotokos. Then the children dressed in the national colors (blue and white) recited their poems praising the beauty of Greece, and the heroism of the Greek Revolution. The poems were interspersed with Greek patriotic songs. The program ended with folk dancing. The children wore national costumes (the boys - evzones, the girls - amalia) and danced to recorded music.

The parents and friends who filled the hall applauded often, encouraging out loud their children, sometimes even getting up and reciting their poem with them. The teachers asked the audience not to criticize or laugh at the children's sometimes poor Greek, saying that they were all putting in a great effort. At the end of the program coffee and doughnuts were served in the school cafeteria to the children and their guests.

On the same evening, a similar type of program was presented in the church hall by the kinotis school children. At this celebration, more community leaders were present, including the Greek consul, who gave a lengthy patriotic speech. The children recited poems and presented a short historical play and danced.

A commemorative wreath was placed on the monument of the Unknown Soldier in remembrance of the fallen heroes of the Greek Revolution of 1821. Representatives of the voluntary associations, the children of both schools, and the president of the kinotis, as well as many members of the community took part in the ceremony.

In celebration of Greek Independence Day, the kinotis holds a dance for the entire community. In the past, it has been held at the Commodore Cabaret one of the oldest Greek establishments. In 1974 it was held at the Bayshore Inn, a far more prestigious place than the Commodore.

The program includes several speeches by leaders of the Greek and Canadian community. They speak of the heroes, and of the events of the Greek Revolution. They extoll the contributions of Greece and Greek immigrants to Canada and the world. The young children of the schools dance, dressed in the national costumes. Greek poems are recited by the older children. When they finish they shout zito ei Hellas (long live Greece), and zito ei eleftheria (long live freedom). The audience responds excitedly in the same manner.

The celebration of Greek Independence Day exemplifies the strong ties that the Vancouver community feels with the historic past of Greece. The historical aspect of the day, coupled with its religious significance make the 25th of March, an important landmark of the year.

D. Namedays

Every day of the calendar year is dedicated to a saint. Except for second-generation children, few Greeks celebrate their birthdays. Instead, a person celebrates on the day of his name saint. Thus a person named Constantine, celebrates on St. Constantine's Day, Gregory on St. Gregory's Day, and the like. There is a measure of

affinity between people of the same name who might otherwise have little in common.

Sometimes parties are given, but most often the celebrating person receives friends during the day, who come by to wish him chronia polla (many years). No invitations are sent. Any one can drop by at the home of his friend on his nameday. There are cakes, sweets and drinks for the well-wishers.

Liturgies are held for the more important saints and this is especially so for St. George, whose name bears the church in Vancouver. A special liturgy is held on the eve of St. George's Day, and next morning there is another service. People baptized with the name of George try to attend, but many others come also because they want to receive St. George's blessing. He is considered the patron of the Vancouver Greek community because the church is named after him. After the liturgy, the Filoptohos Ladies organize a benefit luncheon or tea to collect money for the church.

To be baptized in the Orthodox Church one has to be named after a saint. Also, only one name is given, most often the name of a grandparent. But this is changing, especially away from Greece. Increasingly more children are given two names: one after a grandparent and a Greek saint, and another common Canadian name.

E. Baptisms

The godparent takes on the spiritual responsibility of the child he baptizes. The relationship between child and godparent is a

special and intimate one. The godparent, according to the Church, is responsible for the proper spiritual and Christian development of the child. The godparent is expected to teach the child the proper Orthodox thought. But in reality, the godparent is rarely in a position to fulfill the role. In everyday terms, he is more of a friend, and a bearer of gifts, than a spiritual teacher of the Orthodox dogma.

The godparent-child relationship is supposed to be an intimate one, maintained through life. If anything should happen to the parents, the child can always turn to his godparent, and expect to get help.

It is considered a "Christian blessing" to baptize several children. It also creates wide social networks, since it unites two families through the koumparos relationship. But often the cost of the baptism is great and poorer families cannot afford the expense and continuous responsibility.

In small communities in Greece, baptisms are occasions in which the entire village is invited to participate. This is not the case in urban, industrialized communities such as Athens or Vancouver.

There was little opportunity to directly observe baptisms in Vancouver, because they are closed events. They are celebrated on a much smaller scale here. The guests are kinsmen, friends of the godparent, and of the child's family. After the baptism in the church, the godparent organizes a social event (such as dinner or a dance) in a restaurant. The event is according to his status and wealth. He is

expected to pay for the church service, the celebration, and for the clothes of the newly baptized child. A wealthy and prestigious godparent brings status to the family of the baptized child. Godparents are sometimes chosen with that in mind. Usually though they are relatives or close friends.

Baptisms are reported in the Greek press, since they are part of the Greek social life of Vancouver.

Throughout its past the Greek Orthodox Church has been closely associated with nationalism. Away from the homeland it acts as a defense mechanism against assimilation and against loss of cultural identity. In the past it stressed more its ethnic national identity, than its religious features. In the late 1960's it began to accept the fact that "it was unable to resist the forces of assimilation and preserve the Greek national identity as she once thought" (Saloutos, 1973: 407). The Church chose to survive by catering to the immediate needs of the immigrants rather than idealistically aspiring to resist the forces of change.

The presentation of the church and its religious celebrations shows the direct link that exists between the present-day church in Vancouver, the Byzantine past, and the Orthodox Church of Greece.

The Church acts as a preserver of Greek culture, by perpetuating and strengthening the institutional ties of the Vancouver Greek community with Greece.

Notes

1. For further information see, Papadopoulos, T.H., Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination. Wetteren, Belgium, 1952.
2. Name first given to Greeks in 3rd century A.D. Romeoi: Roman citizens. Term is still used by Greeks to signify Greekness or the Greek people.
3. In contrast to Nagata (1969) who found the kinotis in Toronto to be composed only of second and third generation Greeks.
4. Personal communication from member who attended the Clergy-Laity Congress.
5. The Vancouver kinotis asked a two-year absolution of submitting the head tax since all funds were needed to pay off the new church. It was granted, but the tax was requested (with threats) before the two-year period was up (Hellenic Echo, 1 January 1974).

CHAPTER IV

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The majority of Greek immigrants come from the rural areas of Greece (see Chapter II on characteristics of immigrants). The geographical nature of Greece fosters localism by its mountainous, and island topography. Loyalty is first given to the area of Greece where one comes from and then to Hellas as a whole. This localism has been greatly manifested in the associations that Greeks form abroad. They exhibited a mania in the U.S. for forming topika somatia or local societies which oriented towards the motherland and specifically towards the native areas. About one hundred such associations were in the U.S. as early as 1907 and in New York alone there were thirty (Saloutos, 1964: 75). Associations of this kind are not found in Greece. They are a reaction to the effects of migration and to the loss of a recognized behavior system (Bar Yosef, 1968: 27-45). For the early immigrants voluntary associations* performed many functions to ease the transitional shock: mutual aid, employment office, and recreation. For the immigrant who could not speak English, and consequently could not fully participate in the affairs of the host community, the associations offered an opportunity to organize, be elected and carry on debates in the passionate oratory known to Greeks (Saloutos, 1964: 76).

* Institutionalized groups in which membership is attained by joining (after Johnson, 1971: 6).

These early associations were only marginally interested in prompting integration into the new society. Greeks migrated and still do, with a sojourner mentality to stay abroad only as long as absolutely necessary. Their main purpose was to amass enough money and return to a comfortable life at home (Straaton, 1974: 43). Therefore these associations were oriented towards Greece and their spiritual allegiance was shown by constant contributions to the native village. The Panhellenic Union - founded in New York in 1907 - sought to maintain the spirit of Hellenism as well as take care of the temporary needs of the immigrants before they returned home (Saloutos, 1964: 98 and 246).

It was only later when Greeks realized that they could not make that fortune as quickly as they thought, that they began to consider their stay as permanent and considered adapting to the new society. It was this attitude and this desire to integrate that prompted the founding of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association). It was formed in 1922 in Atlanta, Georgia, as a reaction to the anti-foreign discrimination that Greeks were facing after World War I (Chebithes, 1935: 26-27).

It soon became a nationwide organization. In Vancouver the first men's Ahepa chapter was founded in 1930 (see Table IV).

Voluntary Associations in Vancouver

Since the earliest beginnings of the Vancouver Greek community there was a voluntary association. Before the Hellenic Kinotis was founded in 1927, there existed a voluntary association to which be-

TABLE IV

GREEK VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN VANCOUVER

Orientation	Type	Name	Date Founded In Vancouver	Greek Population ^a
Universalistic	Nationalistic	Hellenic Patriotic Association	1917 ^b	150
	Community	Hellenic Community of Vancouver- St. George Greek Orthodox Church	1297	800
Particularistic	Welfare	Ladies Auxiliary of the Hellenic Community - became a chapter of:	1929	
		The Greek Orthodox Ladies Filotop- tohos Sisterhood	1942	
	Fraternal	The Order of A.H.E.P.A. (Glad- stone Chapter)	1930	
		Maids of Athena ^c (Ariadne Chapter)	1932	
		Sons of Pericles ^d (Lion's Gate Cht.)	1935	
		Daughters of Penelope (Poseidon Chapter)	1948	1,400
		Island of Crete Society of B.C.	1960	3,120
	Locality (Landmannschaften)	Cretans' Organization	1970	
		Messinian Brotherhood of B.C.	1971	5,500
		Epirotan Society	1973	
		Northern Greece and Macedonian Society	1974	
		Thessalian Society	1974	
	Leisure	The Greek Olympics Soccer Club	1970	

Continued

TABLE IV - Continued

- a. Approximate number at time of founding.
- b. Date of founding and demise unknown.
- c. Presently inactive, disbanded four times.
- d. Presently inactive.

longed the first Greek male settlers: the Hellenic Patriotic Association (Paramanolis, 1922: 433-452). It is not known how it began but it was already in existence in 1911. Most Greek men belonged to it at least until other nationwide associations like Ahepa established chapters in Vancouver. It is not known whether the Hellenic Patriotic Association was dissolved or collapsed because of disuse. After the kinotis and church were established most activities centered around the church.

Presently in Vancouver there exists one universalistic association and fourteen particularistic ones. According to Topley (1967: 56), universalistic associations are open to all:

"...that is to say, they tend towards universalism in membership. As main qualifications for entry they stress common religious interests in religious matters and belief in a particular ideology....As secondary interests they pursue philanthropic and cultural activities."

In this category falls the Hellenic Community of Vancouver which is open to all Greeks, and in the past the Hellenic Patriotic Association.

Particularistic associations base membership exclusively on personal identity, such as the region from which one originated. These are the Landsmannschaften or Fellow-Countrymens Associations which are the most numerous in Vancouver (see Table IV).

Straaton (1974: 55) noted that in the Chinese community of Vancouver, the Chinese Benevolent Association (with universalistic criteria of membership) formed first, and particularistic ones formed later.

In his study of voluntary associations in Singapore, Freedman (1967: 47-48) pointed out that:

"...the associations which in a small-scale and relatively undeveloped settlement express social, economic and political links in an undifferentiated form tend, as the scale and complexity of the society increase, to separate into a network of associations which are comparatively specialized in their functions and the kinds of solidarity they express."

This is evident in the development of the Greek community in Vancouver. At the early stages when the immigrant settlement was small, the Hellenic Community (kinotis) performed many functions. It was the representative body of the Greeks, it looked after the welfare and philanthropic functions of the community, as well as organized the social and cultural activities of the settlement. But as the Greek population grew, and the society became more complex, specialized associations flourished, focusing on specific functions. Table IV shows that all locality associations were organized after 1960 when the number of Greeks in Vancouver had increased greatly. The specialized associations that arose later, divided the solidarity previously given to the Hellenic Community, by assuming many of its previous functions.

The Hellenic Community (kinotis) attempts to include and represent all Greeks. Its universal character is due to its close association with the church as has been discussed. It attempts to transcend all factions by welcoming all Orthodox Greeks to become members. Its universal role has been minimized so that in reality it represents only its small membership (see Chapter III for further details).

Welfare Association: The Greek Orthodox Ladies Filoptohos Sisterhood

One of the oldest associations is the Greek Orthodox Ladies Filoptohos Sisterhood previously the Women's Auxiliary which was founded in 1929. Its name denotes its function, filo -(friend), ptohos - (poor), friend of the poor because its main function is welfare; (even though all associations are to some extent mutual-aid). It is an association with a lot of prestige, exclusively for women. Filoptohos auxiliaries have always been associated with the Church in Greece and are known as "rich ladies volunteer welfare organizations".

The Filoptohos was started in the U.S., as were all nation-wide associations. The Society was founded by the Archbishop of America Athenagoras in 1931 to assist the church and the needy of the community. Until 1944 it operated under the Archdiocese and all its by-laws. By 1944 it had developed to the stage of owning property and opening philanthropic institutions, so it became a corporation in the state of New York (Filoptohos By-laws: 50). There are 423 active chapters in the U.S. and Canada with a membership of more than 35,000 women. The Archbishop is its executive president (Greek Orthodox Yearbook, 1970: 113).

The Filoptohos women across the U.S. and Canada helped financially and morally in the founding of the Theological School - the Academy of St. Basil - in New York, in 1937. During World War II, the Filoptohos women played an important part in the Greek War Relief by sending thousands of packages of clothing, blankets, medicine, and surgical equipment for the hospitals. The Vancouver chapter participated also, with all women helping in the war effort.

The society continues to support needy girls and orphans in Greece. Through the various social activities, the Filoptohos collects money to finance the institutions of the Archdiocese in North America.

The Women's Auxiliary in Vancouver operated as such between 1929 and 1942, when it became a chapter of the Filoptohos (Vlassis, 1953: 215). Its aim is to have all Greek Orthodox women of the community as its members. Presently in Vancouver there are eighty active members paying the five dollars yearly head-tax. The twelve member council of the Filoptohos is made up of upper middle class women. Many women have been members for thirty years. Some charter members still participate. The age ranges between 35-70 years old, with many second generation women. English is used intermittently with Greek.

The objectives of the Filoptohos in Vancouver are primarily philanthropic and secondarily educational. It contributes towards building and maintaining orphanages and educational institutions in Greece and abroad. Its funds are collected through regular annual events: the cutting of the Vasilopita (Basil's cake), bazaars, fashion shows, Strawberry cake tea, dances and picnics. The Filoptohos contributes to the building fund of the new church and helps the old and needy of the community.

The Filoptohos is a traditional association with little youth participation. An exception is the sponsoring of the "Filoptohos Dancers" made up of young people (children of the women members), who

have achieved recognition as an excellent folk dance group participating in national competitions.

The Filoptohos is an auxiliary of the Church. Consequently, its activities are closely incorporated with those of the Church. Its existence is defined primarily through its identification and cooperation with the Church, and therefore the kinotis. Because of the traditional orientation of the Church, its auxiliary also attracts a conservative membership. The characteristics of the Filoptohos members are not representative of the Greek female population of Vancouver. The Filoptohos attracts women mainly from the first and second strata of the ethnic structure (see Chapter II).

Working class women have arrived recently from Greece where the Filoptohos is considered an association for upper class women. Furthermore, the working class women are usually occupied with more immediate life tasks to have any leisure time for activities such as those sponsored by the Filoptohos: teas, bazaars, and parties.

The Filoptohos has always catered to women of a more affluent economic level, and in Vancouver it continues to do so. The great part of the Greek female population, (working class, first generation immigrants) remains outside the institutional realm of the community.

Fraternal Association: A.H.E.P.A. (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association)

The Order of Ahepa had its beginnings in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1922. The association was organized by eight Greek-American men for

self-protection against the nativist opposition at the time. The Klu Klux Klan was active in Georgia, and a wave of hostility had developed against Greek businessmen (see Chapter II). The founding fathers of Ahepa wanted to organize a peaceful, democratic association in order to promote better relations with the American community.

"They also believed that such an organization had to be secret and comprised of a select group of individuals, whose purpose would be to unite their fellow countrymen, "inculcate in them an aggressive national conscience", educate themselves in the principles of Americanism and aid them to adapt themselves in the social and commercial climate of this country." (Saloutos, 1964: 248)

The aims of its founders were to create a patriotic organization that was national in scope, nonpartisan in politics, and non-sectarian in religion (Lebet, 1972: 148). Ahepa aimed to promote the ideals of Hellenism, democracy, citizenship, and education. It wanted to unite all Greeks by instructing them with an (American) national conscience as well as by educating them in the ways of the government, business and social life (Chebithes, 1935: 26-27). America was home for the Greek immigrants and they were determined to be its loyal citizens participating actively in its life activities. This was the first association to aim towards adaptation and total assimilation within the non-Greek community.

English became the official language of the association and Ahepa made great efforts to Americanize by de-emphasizing the purely Greek aspects of its membership. Ahepa remains a secret association patterned after the Masons.

Ahepa began as exclusively male-oriented for men over twenty-one who were Greek or of Greek descent and who were not necessarily Greek Orthodox. It was the first Greek-American voluntary association that did not make Orthodoxy a prerequisite for membership, but only asked that a person believe in the divinity of Jesus and the existence of God (Saloutos, 1973: 398). In its early activities it was accused of being anti-Church and anti-Greek. But as it grew and expanded it softened its approach thus attracting more members. Presently across the U.S. and Canada it has 60,000 members with 7,000 in Canada (Hellenic Echo, 15 June 1972).

Ahepa was introduced in Canada in 1928 when the first chapter - "The Lord Byron" - was established in Toronto. Soon after that, chapters were organized across Canadian cities such as Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Calgary, Regina and Moose Jaw. The Vancouver Chapter - "Gladstone" - was established in 1930.

In Canada the Ahepa chapters are divided in two districts, the "Beaver" District No. 23 East of the Great Lakes, and the "Royal Canadian" District No. 24, west of the Lakes with the exception of "Gladstone" of Vancouver and "Victory" of Victoria which are affiliated with District No. 22 of the North Pacific States of the U.S. (Vlassis, 1953: 99-102). Each district is governed by a District Governor who is elected by the delegates at the annual convention of each district.

The Ahepa "Gladstone" chapter of Vancouver has presently seventy-five members in good standing. The enrollment fee is \$35.00, and afterwards \$25.00 yearly.

The Order of Ahepa has three auxiliaries which were founded to respond to the needs of the women and the young people. They are "The Daughters of Penelope" for senior women, "The Maids of Athena" for junior women, and "The Sons of Pericles" for junior men.

In 1929 in San Francisco, California, the "Daughters of Penelope" was created by female relatives of Ahepans. It became Ahepa's senior women's auxiliary in 1934. Its ideals and constitution are the same. It is secret, non-partisan, non-sectarian with an emphasis on adapting to the new homeland (Constitution of Daughters of Penelope: 7-9). The Daughters of Penelope increased from 97 chapters in 1946 to 331 in 1972 throughout Canada and the U.S. (Lebet, 1972: 550).

The Vancouver chapter, "Poseidon", of the Daughters of Penelope continued actively since May 27, 1948, when it was founded by seventeen women, eight of whom are still active members. The association was seen primarily as a way of participating with the Ahepans by co-hosting social events and sharing membership in the lodge.

The "Poseidon" chapter of the Daughters of Penelope has eighty-two members in Vancouver. They pay \$10.00 to register and \$7.00 a year after that.

The two other fraternal associations, the Maids of Athena and the Sons of Pericles are presently both inactive in Vancouver. In 1932 the Maids of Athena, "Ariadne" chapter, was organized in Vancouver for young girls between fourteen and twenty-one years old. The constitution is again patterned after the original men's lodge. The Vancouver chapter

of the Maids has been intermittently in existence. It has been disbanded four times. The Sons of Pericles, "Lion's Gate", began in 1935, in Vancouver and aims to attract young boys of the ages 14-21. The two youth-oriented associations of Ahepa have little support in Vancouver. They are presently both inactive. Their membership is mainly composed of children whose parents are members of Ahepa or the Daughters of Penelope. The majority of young people in Vancouver remain unfamiliar and unconcerned with their activities.

The Ahepa family is concerned mainly with philanthropic and social endeavours. Throughout its long history it has helped Greece by relief funds in times of needs, by building colleges, hospitals, and vocational schools (Hellenic Echo, 15 June 1972). It organizes student trips to Greece, and supports the scholastic efforts of children who learn Greek. Socially, the Ahepa and the Daughters organize dances, picnics and teas for the purpose of collecting money for the kinotis or their philanthropic works. Ahepa and its auxiliaries work commonly on local or national activities.

The Ahepa family is directed towards migrants who intend to live abroad, and have adapted to their new home. Still, it maintains extensive ties with the motherland: by its support and by its attachment to the best of Hellenic traditions it accepts its heritage while placing its future in the new land. The Hellenic traditions are those of classical Greece. Ahepa stresses the learning and culture of ancient Greece while neglecting Byzantine and modern Greece. It accentuates

and extols the virtues of the Hellenic ancestors, the arts and sciences of the Golden Age of Pericles. Ahepa's emphasis on ancient classical Greece comes in contrast to that of the Church which represents and upholds the Byzantine cultural traditions (Theodoratus, 1971: 210-211).

As a voluntary association, Ahepa does not concentrate on Greece like the particularistic fellow countrymen's associations do. Instead it devotes itself to the present community by active involvement in civic affairs. This type of voluntary association - the only one of its type in Vancouver - is not of the sojourner mentality.

Ahepa and its auxiliaries are definitely middle-class. Ahepa is an organ for upward mobility for established business people, men with political aspirations, and unemployed bourgeois women. Its emphasis on assimilation into Canadian society attracts mainly individuals who want "to make it", or who are seeking prestige or recognition as leaders. "Membership...in Ahepa is a testimonial to one's solid worth and achievement" (Treudley, 1949: 57). Rising in the ethnic structure and becoming Canadian are considered almost synonymous.

Newly arrived immigrants look upon the Ahepa family with wary distance. Its vows to secrecy, its acceptance of citizens (or those intending to become soon), and its emphasis on non-Greek aspects seems suspect to them. They prefer the familiarity and security of the local associations which still remind them of home, and their desire to return some day.

Locality or Landsmannschaften Associations

Landsmannschaften or Fellow Countrymens Associations are the most prevalent type found in Greek communities abroad. They are formed by a group of immigrants sharing a particularistic tie such as common area of origin in Greece. As the landsmannschaften exist in Vancouver now, they represent all areas of Greece except for Attikāi and some islands.

The oldest voluntary association based on locality was organized by Greeks from Crete in 1960. Due to personality conflicts over leadership the group split in two in 1970 forming the "Island of Crete Society of B.C." and the "Cretans' Organization". Presently the "Island of Crete" is a member of the PanCretan Association of America which was founded in New York in 1919.

The founding of the above associations signalled the beginning of an active decade, as new associations emerged with great frequency. Within the past four years (1970-1974) five regional groups formed locality associations. For example, the "Northern Greece and Macedonian Society" and the "Thessalian Society" were founded in the early months of 1974 when the fieldwork was being carried out.

The Messinian association was formed in 1971, and is the next oldest after the two Cretan societies. The constitutional aims of all the regional associations are patterned after the Messinians' and the two Cretans' groups.

Their objectives are multi-fold. They aim to promote better relations with other fellow countrymen in Canada. To accomplish this,

they hold national Congresses in various parts of Canada every year, as well as attend those organized by fellow countrymen in the U.S. They want to promote better relations with fellow Canadians and Canadian institutions. Their objective is also to organize social and cultural events for the benefit of their members. Also, to aid any needy member of the association or of the community, as well as assist the church in every possible way (Constitution of Messinian Association, 1971: 1).

One of the associations' greatest endeavours is to help the native area or village. Monetary contributions are sent usually with a request: i.e., to build a heroes' monument, support an orphan, or contribute towards the new school (Hellenic Echo, 1 October 1973). It is for the purpose of collecting money towards these efforts that the dances and picnics are held. International associations such as the Pan Cretan contribute thousands of dollars to build hospitals and vocational schools in Crete. All the associations also assist the kinotis and contribute to its coffers. They use the facilities of the church hall and in return donate to its building fund.

The actual association membership is limited, except for the Island of Crete Association which has sixty members. The usual number is small: ten to fifteen people, usually the original founding members. To join a locality association, one must have been born in that particular area or have lived there for five years, or be married to a person from that area. The dues vary from \$5.00 - \$10.00 yearly.

It is only at open activities such as dances that non-members attend, usually 500-600 people. The speeches by the president and guests of the Canadian community stress primarily the ties with the homeland and secondarily with Canada. The glorious historic past of Greece is recalled as particular events are celebrated - each association commemorating historic events of that area.

"Dances for Greeks abroad serve to keep Hellenism. The patriotic local associations help Greeks by increasing the prestige, and respect shown to them, their language, civilization, and history. Without the associations it would be harder to keep and propagate our own beliefs and customs against those of other minorities." (Hellenic Echo, 15 February 1974)

The local association operates "like a defence mechanism against the impersonality of a new social milieu" (Johnson, 1972: 135). It is a traditional type concerned mainly with preserving and continuing the Hellenic heritage. Such associations are not concerned with promoting assimilation. Instead they emphasize the homeland and the past. They are committed to Greece and its issues. They attract mainly the type of immigrant who is only marginally involved in the Canadian community. Immigrants with a sojourner mentality identify closest with this type of association (Straaton, 1974: 86). Immigrants who emigrate as adults wish to retain their language and culture as long as possible. For them the local associations provide a familiar and secure milieu. Their personalities and values are appreciated and accepted, thus easing the shock of transition (Treudley, 1949: 49).

In Vancouver the number of people who actually join is minimal. Most people participate only at the open events. It is interesting to note that Greek immigrants (especially newly arrived) do not even consider the possibility of joining. To them the voluntary associations exist because of the organizing efforts of a few individuals. Membership is unnecessary since all events are open to all, including non-members. Events are actually organized for all, especially with the locality associations. To carry out its programs, a voluntary association needs the (financial) support of non-members, and can never rely on merely ten or fifteen individuals. The success of an association depends on its ability to organize successful events; (i.e., how many people attend its events) not its actual membership.

It is at these social events that the need to be in a familiar environment, amongst Greek-speaking friends, is satisfied. One should examine who attends the functions, not if one is a paying member. Therefore, participation is open membership in the Greek community.

The people who do not attend these functions are usually those involved in the Canadian community. The youth does not attend as much, and neither does the third generation. The feeling of belonging to the Greek community is fostered by participating in its open social events, such as dances, teas, picnics, and films. The open, informal, non-bureaucratic, participatory membership is truly the only important membership in the community, not the paid membership in the kinotis or associations. Therefore, non-participation in formal organ-

izations does not necessarily mean lack of social participation (Johnson, 1971: 16).

Voluntary associations serve many of the needs such as fraternity, economic help, and social solidarity that at home would have been met by a wider kin group. They also have social functions which, besides offering entertainment, also reinforce the ties with the homeland while simultaneously recognizing the increasingly important relationship with Canada. The speeches given at these social activities by both Greek and Canadian members of the Vancouver community emphasize this dyadic aspect of the Greek community.

Leisure Association: The Greek Olympics Soccer Team

The soccer club is the only Greek athletic association in Vancouver. The Olympics^{*} team was founded in 1970 by a small group of businessmen who are also soccer enthusiasts. It aims to attract young men by providing the opportunity to participate in soccer - a very popular sport in Greece.

Youths in Greece begin at a very early age to occupy a great part of their leisure time in soccer play activities. The sport was used as an antidote and a release during the seven years of the military regime. The military government at the time encouraged soccer greatly. It exploited its popularity among the youth by supporting escapism in soccer activities. By channelling the youth's energy into

* The Greek Olympics Soccer Team was suspended from playing in the 1974 season for disciplinary reasons.

soccer it was aiming to distract them from political awareness and involvement. In the last years of the regime (1970-1974) soccer had become nationally a cry of hysteria, assuming unrealistic proportions of importance in Greek life.

For Greek residents in Vancouver soccer plays a less important role. Newly arrived male immigrants are the ones most concerned with it. Imported soccer newspapers such as Omada (Team), and Goal, are read avidly by soccer fans. The soccer scores of Greek and European teams are given regularly in the Greek radio programs.

The Greek Olympics soccer club has presently fifty members including the players. The soccer association attracts mainly newly arrived working class men, since they are most familiar with the game having been previously involved in it in Greece. There are six to eight native-born Greek Canadian participants.

Soccer, as a participant or observer activity, is popular mainly among the first generation men. It is estimated that at games where the Greek team competes, 80 out of 200 fans for example, are Greek.

Soccer activity is relatively new in B.C. and Canada. There is not enough public support yet to organize and sustain high calibre teams. The Greek team needs the support of the community in financial and human terms. Requests for help have been publicized in the Greek press appealing to the cultural identity of each Greek to support "his" team:

"For every Greek there is only one team that represents the azure (and) white Greek flag, the team "GREEK OLYMPICS."
 The Greeks of Vancouver have one church, one kinotis, one soccer team, the team of the "GREEK OLYMPICS."
 (Translation of letter by Soccer Club President to the Hellenic Echo, 15 July 1973)

The Greek soccer team is associated with Greek nationalism. Accordingly, to support the team is not only to be involved in an athletic, male institution, but also to support the Greek culture, church, and tradition.

The soccer association is the only Greek leisure organization, and it is exclusively for men. Presently, the women of the Greek community have not organized a formal association for leisure time activities. Because of their upbringing and position in Greek society, women participate mainly in informal interaction groups of relatives and friends at home, rather in formal associations (like the Filoptohos, and the Daughters) which are open to them. The women's interaction network functions primarily in the non-public domain.

Voluntary associations in Vancouver have limited formal membership. Social participation consists of participating in the open social events organized by the various associations.

The greater part of Greek residents in Vancouver are working class, recently arrived immigrants. They participate very little formally. They interact mostly in informal groups such as relatives, friends and neighbors.

Greeks with residence longer than fifteen years participate more. They are a relatively more affluent group with considerably more leisure time for such activities. Through participation in the voluntary associations, individuals arise to form the leadership of the ethnic community.

The voluntary associations provide the social life and entertainment of the ethnic community. In social events Greeks can interact with fellow compatriots on a mutually understood basis of behavior, in a familiar setting. Thus the cultural shock is eased.

The voluntary associations strengthen the ties with Greece since all of them orient to some degree towards the homeland. This is especially so with the Fellow Countrymen's associations. Voluntary associations act as a buffer to the cultural shock by emphasizing the traditions and customs of Greece. Simultaneously they familiarize the immigrants with the native culture and help them to assume their role in it.

CHAPTER V

THE GREEK LANGUAGE SCHOOL

An institution of great importance is the Greek language school. Greeks are fiercely proud of their ethnic heritage and traditions. Under the Turkish Occupation of 400 years, Greek was forbidden to be taught in order to hasten the loss of folklore and oral traditions. The language survived mainly because of the "Secret School" which operated at night in churches and monasteries for four centuries. The teachers were priests and monks who at the time were the most literate members of the society.

Because of historical circumstances, the Church assumed an important role in education. Abroad, it proved to be the only institution with enough tenacity to organize and sustain, through the educational system, the Greek language and Orthodox faith.

Away from the homeland, the perpetuation of the Greek language has always been a major concern with Greeks. The immigrant with a family is faced with a double problem: he wants to learn English himself, but he also wants his children to have some appreciation of Greek, the language "that gave light to the world" (Saloutos, 1964: 71). The Greek language coupled with the cultural tradition, is the heritage that every Greek wants to pass on to his children. It is considered a "sacred duty" to teach one's children the language of their forefathers.

Greeks are haunted with the fear that their children will reach adulthood in ignorance of their native tongue. This fear is greater if the children are born in Canada rather than if they come here a few years old. Parents are afraid of losing the only means of communication they may have with their children, so they continue to speak Greek at home. By the time the children are of school age, they have acquired at least a rudimentary basis of spoken Greek. When the children enter the Canadian school system they learn English as well.

Church Involvement

As Greek communities were established abroad, the Church, as a rule, accepted the responsibility of offering instruction in the Greek language. After the establishment of a church, the ethnic school made its appearance also, usually with the priest as the first teacher.

"A protesting minority objected to the church's assumption of a teaching role. Education in Greece...was a public not an ecclesiastical responsibility. Church-controlled schools, the complaints went, bred ignorance, stifled scientific inquiry, and fostered intolerance. But the community churches seized the educational reins and kept a tight hold on them. The churches, despite their endless feuds and shortsighted objectives, fostered whatever semblance of Greek education there was. No other agency proved capable of maintaining this sustained effort." (Saloutos, 1964: 73)

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese still considers the Greek language school the most important means of maintaining psychological ties with Greece, and perpetuating a strong ethnic identity (Theodoratus, 1971: 79). For this purpose it has a "Department of Education

and Greek Letters" which deals with providing educational guidelines, school books, and teachers.

Theodoratus analyzed a letter about the Greek school from the Department of Education of the Archdiocese which was sent to Greek-American communities in 1959. (See Appendix D for the complete text of the letter in Greek and English.) Similar letters are sent regularly to all Greek Orthodox parishes. The functions of the school that Theodoratus describes are equally applicable to Vancouver and to other communities abroad. He determines three functions regarding the role of the Greek school in the community.

First, the school maintains community solidarity. By guiding the child through the ethnic "age-graded" activities it ensures that as a future adult, he or she will participate actively in the community thus assuring the continuing existence of the church and kinotis.

Second, the Greek school upholds the morality of Greek Orthodox children. Juvenile delinquency can be avoided by associating with other "good" Greek Orthodox children. By learning Greek, a child is a good Orthodox and therefore a good citizen of his new homeland.

Third, the school aids in preserving a strong sense of identity and psychological union with Greece. The Greek language becomes a sacred cause: "the Hellenic consciousness, the Greek language, and the Greek Orthodox Faith" comprise an indivisible trinity. The school is the only place where the child can acquire all three.

Further in the letter parents are exhorted that in order to instill patriotic feelings in their children they must send them to the Greek language school. Otherwise they will be doing an injustice, not to themselves, but to their children. They will be deprived of the cultural and psychological benefits of a Greek Orthodox education as given in the Greek language school.

The Archdiocese periodically sends similar letters to the Greek Orthodox communities in Canada and the U.S. reminding them of their responsibilities as "Christian Orthodox". The Vancouver priest uses these letters as basis for his weekly sermons. He rarely neglects to encourage parents to send their children to the Greek school and Sunday School. He stresses that Greek Orthodoxy and the Greek language are two most crucial "treasures" which must be passed on to the children.

The Archdiocese supports the St. Basil's Academy in New York which trains teachers for the Greek schools abroad. Their training is specifically oriented for teaching Greek immigrant children brought up in two cultures. The books and materials issued by the Archdiocese and used for teaching in kinotis schools, are specifically adapted for Greek children away from Greece. Graduates of the Academy teach in Greek communities in North and South America.

The Greek Language Schools in Vancouver

The St. George Greek Orthodox Church was established in Vancouver in 1930. The Greek school was started soon after. The number

of children was small at the time so the first priests taught the afternoon Greek language classes, and gave religious instruction in the Sunday School. In the early years of the community, the various priests assumed the teaching responsibilities of the school. Intermittently teachers were hired but few held the post longer than a year. This was due either to conflict with the kinotis council, or disagreement with kinotis members. Therefore, the priest remained the only reliable person to keep up the school during periods between teachers.

It was not until 1956 that the Vancouver kinotis school was formally organized apart from the Sunday school and a teacher was hired. The present teacher has been teaching in the kinotis school since 1962. She was educated in Greece, in contrast to the majority of Greek community teachers who study at the St. Basil's Academy.

The kinotis supports the Greek language school. It hires and pays the teachers, it provides for necessities such as books, as well as pays the rent, electricity and the like. Kinotis members can enroll their children by paying four dollars monthly.

The decision to build the new church away from the Greek residential area left a lot of people dissatisfied. Many objected that the area (Kerrisdale) was chosen in order to satisfy the wealthier segments of the Greek population who perhaps felt awkward with the unpretentious, small church in Kitsilano - a less prestigious district. Regardless of the negative reactions, the church was built at 4500 Arbutus

Street in Kerrisdale. Many parents objected that the distance was too great for their children who attended the Greek language school in the church hall. There were threats of breaking apart the community by organizing new schools not under kinotis jurisdiction. There was a lot of bitterness. In the ethnic press, the conflict assumed wider proportions as individuals were accused of "pursuing their own egotistical interests", and using the issue of the "church being far away" as an excuse for splitting the community by creating independent schools.

The Hellenic Echo admonished Greeks to forget the conflict and instead concentrate on building the community:

"For better or worse the church was built elsewhere. Shall we tear it down now, in order to satisfy personal ambitions?"
(1 July 1971)

In 1971 the conflict resulted in the formation of an independent Greek language school using the facilities of General Gordon Elementary School (of the Vancouver School Board) in Kitsilano, and supported totally by parents' funds. Soon after that, two other schools were organized. One is privately owned in East Vancouver. In 1973 another Greek school was established at Bayview Elementary School (in Kitsilano) under kinotis auspices.*

Presently there are approximately 400 pupils in all four schools. The two kinotis schools have 180 children. At General Gordon

* After completion of the fieldwork, Athena Greek College was established, in July 1974, by the teacher of the East Vancouver School. It is not considered in the ethnographic description and analysis, but included in Table V.

school there are 170 children, and approximately 50 children go to the Greek school in East Vancouver (see Table V).

Every school year in September all four schools advertise in the ethnic press the registration hours, and the date Greek lessons start at the various locations. The General Gordon school offers instruction for children six years old and over. All schools have age-graded classes according to the Greek system. The children are separated in two groups according to their age and class level. First, second and third grade are taught together on Mondays and Wednesdays. Fourth, fifth and sixth grade attend on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Fridays are used alternately for each group. Classes are held in the afternoon from 3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

I attended the Greek language school at General Gordon daily for two weeks as well as followed some of the Greek lessons given at the church school. Their format and content is very similar, except for the learning materials used. The kinotis schools use the books supplied by the Archdiocese whereas the independent schools use texts from the Greek Ministry of Education.

The texts from the Archdiocese have been written by Greeks and are intended to be used for Greek children abroad. As would be expected much of the material is about Greece but there is also an effort to blend some of the customs of the new land. For example, the books describe a traditional Greek Easter, but they also explain the importance of Thanksgiving and Remembrance Day which are not known in Greece.

TABLE V

GREEK LANGUAGE SCHOOLS IN VANCOUVER

<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Date Started</u>	<u>Location of Classes</u>	<u>Number of Students Grades</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
			<u>1-3</u>	<u>406</u>		
Kinotis ^a	1930	Church Hall - 4500 Arbutus St., Kerrisdale	47	70	117	1
Independent (Organized by Parents)	1971	General Gordon Elementary School - Vancouver School Board - 2896 W. 6th Ave., Kitsilano	90	80	170	2
Independent (Private Enterprise)	1973	Private Home - 1962 Charles St. - East Vancouver			38	1
Kinotis	1973	Bayview Elementary School Vancouver School Board - 2251 Collingwood Ave. Kitsilano			63	1
Independent (Private Enterprise)	1974	Athena Greek College ^b 2289 W. Broadway, Kitsilano			<u>22</u>	1
			Total		410	

a. The governing body of the community, under the administration of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese.

b. Established in July 1974, after completion of fieldwork. No other information available.

The texts that are imported directly from Greece, are exactly those that children use in Greece. Sometimes the Greek-Canadian children are confused about words or ideas that are typically Greek. The teacher is then asked to explain or translate these concepts into a more familiar frame of reference. In this sense, the Archdiocese books are more relevant for Greek children in Canada.

All the texts emphasize the cultural and psychological ties with Greece. In the readings, love, duty and respect for the patrida (homeland) are stressed. The stories written especially for the Greek children abroad, encourage them to attend the Greek school regularly and to learn "the language of their forefathers". Poems about Greece are memorized, and recited at the programs of national celebrations.

Children are taught that Greece, the homeland (patrida) is the most beautiful country in the world. No other country, no matter how lovely, can approach it in its beauty. A good Greek child should always love and think of his homeland. Stories instill into the child a patriotic pride in the history and cultural achievements of Greece. Pride in the child's Greek ethnic identity is instilled early as it is constantly stressed that the language and culture of Ancient Greece "gave light to the world". Teachers sometimes, for example, show the Greek philologic roots of English words - to the amazement of the children. It is constantly emphasized that Greece gave civilization and democracy to the world.

In the first and second grade the amount of material dealing specifically with Greece is relatively low. But progressively the amount increases so that in the fifth and sixth grade the books are entirely devoted to Greece and to Greek cultural traditions.

In all schools the curriculum includes reading from the text, writing out paragraphs, spelling, and grammar. Older children are also taught religious studies, according to the Greek Orthodox Dogma. Fifth grade children study the Old Testament, and sixth grade pupils study the New Testament: the life of Jesus, the Saints, and the organization of the Greek Orthodox Church. The older grades also take History (Ancient, Byzantine and Modern).

The present teachers of the kinotis East Vancouver and General Gordon schools were born and educated in Greece. They speak excellent Greek, and fair English. It is the opposite with the children. The teachers always address them in Greek, but unfailingly the children answer in English. The children refuse to speak in Greek unless the teacher demands that they do so. Nevertheless, they read and write Greek. Amongst themselves they speak in English. Only some older children who arrived here old enough to still remember Greece choose to speak in the native tongue.

I distributed a questionnaire to the twenty sixth grade (General Gordon) children (see Appendix C) asking their views about the Greek school. The majority (52%) attended not out of free choice but because their parents enrolled them. They did not like coming to the

language school. Most (80%) had English speaking friends since the majority were born in Canada. Almost all (93%) children thought that theoretically it was a good idea to learn Greek. But most considered it a tiresome daily necessity. They generally felt that learning another language was very desirable, especially if they wanted to visit Greece.

The children realize the importance of learning Greek since it represents the only means of appreciating their cultural heritage. They are instilled with a love of things Greek and with a desire to visit Greece. But the afternoon schedule of the Greek school comes in conflict with their activities. After English school classes they want to play like the other Canadian children do. They are unable to do so, and this influences their attitudes toward the school. They are resentful and some attempt to avoid attending Greek school.

Attendance does not necessarily guarantee learning. Many do not prepare their homework and if they do come, they misbehave so that others cannot study. The children refuse to study or speak Greek because they do not want to feel that they are "foreigners" or "immigrants" in relation to their peers. Speaking Greek sets them apart at a time of their lives when they want so much to belong. The children prefer to speak English because it symbolizes their membership in the Canadian society.

Activities

The Greek language school students participate in several community events during the year: Christmas, Greek Independence Day (Annunciation of Theotokos: see Chapter on Church), and their graduation program at the end of the school year. The children spend several weeks in advance preparing for these occasions. They memorize poems or selections from their textbooks or give a short play about some historic or religious event. The most important celebrations are Greek Independence Day and the Greek school graduation which parents and community members attend in full force. The kinotis school committee advertised the school program thus:

"Today Sunday 24 March at 7:00 p.m. will take place the school celebration of the two kinotis Greek schools in remembrance of 25 March 1821, in the Hall at 2114 W. 4th Ave. You are all requested to honor by your presence this historic day. (The children) will recite poems, perform patriotic skits, sing patriotic songs, and dance Greek national dances. Come to take pride in, and applaud our future heirs.

From the School Committee"

The poems the children recite are usually emotional praises to Greece, her beauty, and her people. Children sometimes dress in Greek costumes for the plays and dances.

At Christmas, programs of poems and songs, concentrate around religious themes. Santa Claus makes his appearance also, distributing gifts to the children.

The kinotis and independent schools celebrate separately these events. Programs are organized apart and at different locations in celebration of the same event, on the same day. The only occasions

at which all school children meet is when they celebrate Mass as a group, or when the entire community takes part in a particular event, such as the placing of the commemorative wreath, on Greek Independence Day, at the Monument of the Unknown Soldier.

The presence of separate schools has created a rift in the community. It is a recognized division which the children themselves feel. In the ethnic press the conflict is attributed to some "belligerent, aggressive" individuals who have "consciously succeeded in dividing the parish in two opposing groups: the law-abiding forces versus the extremists" (Hellenic Echo, 1 November 1972). Reporting the Christmas celebration of the Greek schools, the Hellenic View questioned the wisdom and policy of some leaders to divide or ignore groups of children because they attend this or that school:

"The children of General Gordon are not children? Are they not also learning Greek? Were their parents not born in GREECE? Why this distinction? (To do so) is criminal! For what reasons? Even though we all seek the progress of the community, and work towards that goal, the germ of division continues to multiply." (December 15, 1973)

The Hellenic Echo felt it a duty to make the following declaration to the organizers of the kinotis schools, and the General Gordon school:

"It is sad to allow the raising of egotistical flags in front of our children without caring. It is sad to germinate weeds of partition in the innocent hearts of our children. We are ashamed for those whose suspect, narrow-minded interests do not allow them to see the light and the truth for the development, progress, and grandeur of the Greek parish in one united, undivided ethnic entity." (April 1, 1974)

The above expressed views generally represent the sentiments of the Greek residents in Vancouver.

The recent separation of the schools has divided the members of the community to some extent. The older immigrants in particular feel regret and sadness over the unprecedented split in the community institutions. As a preliminary observation, the division of the schools could be interpreted as representative of the factional split in the community, but further research is needed to verify this.

The Greek language school is important as a culture-preserving institution. Second generation children benefit by learning about Greece and the language of their parents. But it is questionable whether they will retain their native tongue as adults, and if they will pass it on to their children. The Greek language school is perhaps more beneficial for the conscience of the parents who fear their children losing Greek and then being unable to communicate with them. In families I visited, the children responded mostly in English to their parents who continued to speak Greek. I did notice that the parents attached greater importance to scholastic performance in the English language school, whereas the Greek school was looked upon as less crucial.

Most parents want their children to learn Greek. They ensure that the opportunity is given to them. But parents also recognize with a measure of fatality that as adults, their children will most likely not speak or write Greek fluently.

In Vancouver, the Greek community is relatively recent with only a small group of second and third generation individuals. Thus the question remains, as to what extent the Greek language will be retained by the succeeding generations of Greek-Canadian residents.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted an ethnographic description of the Greek community in Vancouver. The social organization of the community was examined, with a special focus on the ethnic institutions. The history, and community life of the Greek ethnic group were discussed in the Canadian context. The research also aimed to discover the function of the community structure in the adaptation process. The social organization of the community was examined in relation to other overseas Greek communities. The fundamental similarities in the historical and institutional development of Greek communities abroad are discussed below with special reference to Canada and the United States.

Greek immigrants to Canada and the U.S. were motivated mainly by economic reasons, especially in the beginning of the twentieth century. They were unskilled and spoke no English, which resulted in slow adaptation in the host society. Greeks were exploited and discriminated against like other migrant groups, sometimes by their own countrymen. But with the motivation for hard work and the characteristic independence of early migrants the Greeks established themselves as peddlars, bootblacks, and later as small merchants.

Living in an alien environment they sought the companionship of fellow Greeks in the coffeehouse. The kafenion became the social

center of the ninety per cent male society. In this familiar milieu they shared memories of the homeland, and the new experiences of immigrant life.

As soon as they established themselves, they sent financial support to relatives at home, often encouraging them to emigrate also. To aid the native village or area, topika somatia (regional societies) were formed. In the early years of Greek immigrant settlement in the U.S. almost all voluntary associations were oriented towards the homeland, since immigrants expected to return soon. The only exception was A.H.E.P.A. (American-Hellenic-Educational-Progressive-Association) which was founded with the purpose of encouraging adaptation and acceptance in the native society.

The Church proved to be the strongest culture-sustaining institution. It became the administrative and religious head of the Greek communities in the U.S. and Canada at a time when a cohesive and unifying agent was greatly needed. Sometimes against great odds, the Church zealously tried to maintain unchanged the Greek language, religion, and cultural values. Traditionally it was against assimilation, but slowly it recognized that a measure of adaptation was essential if the Greek Orthodox Church was to survive away from Greece.

The U.S. imposed immigration quotas, and the flow of Greeks decreased considerably. In contrast, Canada's open immigration policies began to attract greater numbers of Greek immigrants than before. But the volume of early Greek arrivals to Canada was minimal compared to the previous flood which had poured in the U.S.

In Canada, the development of Greek communities followed the same pattern as that established in the Greek settlements of the U.S. Greeks concentrated mainly in the urban centers: Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The communities organized themselves in the same manner. First, they built a church, and thus came under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. Then Greek-language schools were formed. As the number of new arrivals increased a multitude of voluntary associations appeared, performing the particularistic functions previously fulfilled by the Church.

The ethnographic description and analysis of the social organization of the Greek community of Vancouver shows that the community's development parallels that of other overseas Greek settlements. After World War II, the influx of new immigrants rapidly increased the size of the Vancouver Greek community, and changed its character. A host of new institutions developed to meet the needs of post-war immigrants. Nevertheless, the Vancouver Greek community is relatively small compared to Montreal and Toronto. Thus, it is still centralized around one church, whereas other older communities have more than one. Also the number of second and third generation Greeks is relatively limited in contrast to other Greek-Canadian communities. As a result the extent of intergroup conflict is comparatively minimal in nature.

In Vancouver, and in other Greek overseas communities, the function of the Church, the Greek-language school, and the voluntary associations are shaped by the problems implicit in migration. The

ethnic institutions perform a dual role. They preserve the cultural identity of the group, while simultaneously assisting in the adaptation process.

The Church unites the Vancouver Greeks psychologically because it embodies the ethics and ideals they believe in. The Church also contributes to the integrity of the ethnic community by bringing the immigrants together by the religious rituals and social functions it sponsors.

The Church and the Greek-language school are par excellence the two culture-preserving institutions. They promote the retention of the Orthodox religion, and the Greek language - the two most salient aspects of Hellenism. Greeks in Vancouver consider the two issues as inseparable. Loss of either one implies the disappearance of Greek identity. But to continue functioning as viable institutions abroad, both the Church and the Greek school have modified their approach according to the new environment.

The Church has recognized the need to moderate its strongly nationalistic attitude. It accepts that the Greek identity and culture cannot remain unaltered or unaffected by the native cultural values. Efforts are made to incorporate non-Greek aspects in the functions and ideology of the Church: for example the use of both English and Greek in the services, and the attitude towards intermarriages.

The adaptative effort is also evident in the content of the books that the Greek Orthodox Church uses in its Greek-language schools.

Children are taught to love and honor Greece, but they also learn of the Canadian customs and life styles.

The voluntary associations deal with the immediate needs of the newly-arrived immigrants. They function as familiar settings in which the effects caused by migration and dislocation can be stabilized. The regional associations keep alive and strengthen the ties with Greece, while encouraging the gradual integration in Canadian life. Voluntary associations that orient mainly towards the new homeland, also acknowledge their Greek heritage and culture.

The Greek social organization maintains the integrity of the community and facilitates the transition of its members from Greek nationalist immigrants, to patriotic Canadian citizens.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONS

Background Information

1. When did you come to Canada?
To Vancouver?
2. Did you come directly to Vancouver or to the eastern part of Canada?
3. Where were you born?
Your parents?
4. How big was the town or village of your birth?
5. Were you living in the same place until the time of your emigration?
6. What were the economic conditions like?
7. How many years of school did you have in Greece?
In Canada?
8. Did you speak English or French before coming to Canada?
9. Why did you leave Greece?
For what reasons?
10. What occupational training did you have prior to your migration?
11. Are you able to still practice it here?
12. If not, what are you doing?
13. Are you working for a Greek employer or not?
14. If yes, why?
If not, why?
15. If self-employed what made you decide to start your own business?
16. Do you find an improvement in your life style?
In what ways?
17. Did you know anything about Canada before leaving Greece?
What expectations did you have about your new life?
18. Did you come on your own initiative or through a relative here?

Adpatation

19. Would you like to return to Greece permanently?
20. How long did you plan on staying in Canada?
21. What do you like about Canada?
22. Is there anything about Greece which you miss and do not find here?
23. Do you have many friends here?
Outside your family?
24. Are your close friends Greeks or Canadians?
25. For recreation do you stay with your family at home or go out with friends?
Greeks or Canadians?
26. What language do you speak at home?
27. What language do you use with your children?
28. Do your children go to Greek school?
29. Do you go to Greek movies?
Often? or
Do you prefer non-Greek movies?
30. If you go to Greek movies, why?
Because of the language or because you like them?
31. Do you read Greek newspapers?
Magazines?
32. If so, why do you live in the Greek district?
33. Are your friends living close to your home?
34. If not living in Greek district, why not?
35. Do you cook or eat Greek food?
36. Do you buy "ethnic" foods from the Greek stores?
How often?
37. Do you follow politics in Greece?
38. Do you follow soccer?

39. Do you follow politics in Canada?
40. Are you, or do you want to become a Canadian citizen?
41. Have you ever voted in a past election?
Federal? Provincial? Or Local?
42. As a Greek in Canada do you feel you have an obligation towards
Greece only or to both Canada and Greece?

Voluntary Associations

43. Do you participate in Greek organizations outside the kinotis?
44. Which one(s)?
45. How often are meetings held?
46. Do you actively participate in the decision making process?
47. Do you pay fees?
How much?
48. Do you like what the club does?
Would you offer any suggestion as to how it could be improved?
49. Have you ever held office?
50. If so, how did you conceive your position as leader?
What were the obligations?
51. For what reasons did you join that particular club?
52. Did you make any friends through the club?
Have you continued such friendships?
53. Do you go to the dances, picnics, bazaars?
Why? Do you enjoy yourself?
54. Have you joined any non-Greek clubs?
55. If so, for what reasons?

Additional questions to ask of voluntary association leaders.

56. What are the objects of the club?

57. Date of founding?
58. How many members?
59. What are their characteristics?
 - a. Wealth
 - b. Occupation
 - c. Education
 - d. Migrant Status (how long in Canada)
 - e. Average age
 - f. Position in Greek community
60. How is the president of a club chosen?
61. How is the Hellenic Kinotis elected? For how long?
62. How do you feel about the present leadership?

The Church

General historical questions.

63. What year was the first church built?
64. How many active community members contributed to its construction?
65. What group of people formed the first congregation?
Their occupations?
66. What were the reasons for the decision to build a new church?
67. How was the new church on Arbutus financed?
68. The location of the church has created some conflict. What are the issues involved?
69. How do you feel about the location of the church?
70. Has the location of the new church influenced attendance and membership?

Questions to ask of informants regarding their conception of the church, its usefulness, its role and function in the community.

71. Is Mass a necessary form of worship for you?
72. How often do you attend?

73. How do you view the role of the priest?
As a community leader, or as a spiritual leader?
74. Do you participate in the celebration of:
Easter?
Annunciation of Theotokos?
St. George's?
75. Do you celebrate namedays?
76. Do you cut a vasilopita?
77. How do you feel about ayiasmo (blessing of stores, houses)?
78. Do you think the Mass should be in Greek or in English?
79. How do you feel about the Reading of the New Testament in both English and Greek?
80. If you do not attend Mass, why not?
81. What do you see the role of the church as being in the Greek community, if any?
82. Are you a full contributing member?
83. Where were you married? Baptized? In a Greek Church?
How about your children?
84. Do you teach thriskeftika (religion) to your children?
85. Are you active in kinotis affairs?
86. Do you attend the general meetings of the kinotis in the church hall?
87. Do you know how the money collected from yearly subscriptions is used?
88. Do you approve of the way it is spent?
89. If not, what are some of your ideas, as to how it should be spent?
90. How do you feel about the role of the Archdiocese in the secular affairs of the community?

Greek Language School

General questions about the Greek school.

91. As a parent, how do you feel about the Greek school?
92. If not a parent, do you think that the Greek school serves a useful purpose?
93. Is it necessary for you and your children to continue speaking Greek?
If not why?
94. Why do you send your children to Greek school?
95. How do you feel about the separation of the schools?

Questions to ask of Greek school teachers.

96. Why do the children come to Greek school?
98. How do you view their progress, or desire to learn Greek?
99. Do you make it mandatory to speak Greek in class?
100. In what language do the children communicate among themselves?
101. What is their attitude towards the ethnic celebrations?
102. Do you think that Greek will survive amongst the second generation Greek children, in view of the fact that they speak mostly English?

Ethnic Media - Radio

103. What is the purpose of the show?
104. What material do you use?
On what criteria is the choice made?
105. What aspects are emphasized? Music, News, Politics, Ethnic events?
106. Do you have any political commentary on Greek news?
107. Are there any Canadian news included?

108. Do you advertise events of the kinotis, and the voluntary associations?
109. Do you receive any comments or suggestions from your listeners?
110. Do you have any ideas as to the type of Greeks listening?
111. What need if any, does the program fulfill?
112. Do you view the Greek community as benefiting from it?
113. How many shows weekly?
114. Are there songs, or news from specific areas of Greece? Any special choice?

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO INFORMANTS NOT REACHED
BY TELEPHONE

To whom it may concern:

I would like to introduce myself and my work. I am a graduate student in Sociology at the University of British Columbia. I am preparing an original thesis in order to receive the Master of Arts Degree in Sociology. My thesis deals with the social organization of the Hellenic Community. Its purpose is to discover the changes that take place in the life of Greek immigrants when they come to Canada. My work is entirely independent, and its only affiliation is with the Department of Sociology at U.B.C. Its aim is completely educational.

The success of the study depends on your help and cooperation. That is why I am asking to be allowed to attend - as an observer - the _____. All information will be confidential and anonymous. This will give a better all-round view and an understanding of our community in the preparation of the thesis.

I am entirely at your disposal to meet you any time, whenever is convenient to you. I really appreciate your help. I am looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Y. Lambrou

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS TO GREEK LANGUAGE SCHOOL CHILDREN

1. Write down grade in Greek school and English school.
2. Where were you born? Greece or Canada.
3. If born in Greece how long here?
4. Why do you come to the Greek school?
5. Do you like to come?
6. What language do you speak at home?
7. Are most of your friends Greek or Canadian?
8. Do you think it is a good idea or bad idea to learn Greek?
Give reasons for your choice.
9. (Only for the 6th Grade Greek school children)
Do you want to still learn more Greek?

APPENDIX D

FOR THE HAPPINESS OF ALL GREEK ORTHODOX FAMILIES

M O T H E R S !

1. Send your children to the Greek Orthodox Kindergartens and the Greek Orthodox Schools.
2. Only in the Greek School can your children, from a young age make close friendships with other Orthodox children.
3. Only in the Greek School will your children be protected from bad company that may lead to juvenile delinquency.
4. Only the Greek School can keep our children within the frame of Greek Orthodoxy, and lead them from the school desk to the Church Choir, to the Greek Orthodox Youth AND to the Community or the Ladies Philoptohos Society.
5. The Greek Language should be considered as a sacred cause. The Hellenic consciousness, the Greek Language and the Greek Orthodox Faith comprise an indivisible triad. Only the Greek School can give all three together to our children.
6. Large Communities were dissolved, when they stopped teaching the Greek Language to their children.
7. Thousands of American School children are taught a foreign language in thousands of American Public Schools. Why should not our children be taught Greek?

8. Only the Greek School can develop in our children love and admiration for Greece, which is loved and admired and respected generally by all Americans and all mankind.
9. ONLY GREEK LANGUAGE REMINDS YOUR CHILDREN THAT THEY BELONG TO THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH.

(DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION-GREEK ARCHDIOCESE)



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΒΟΡΕΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΙΟΥ

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ - ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ

GREEK ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION & GREEK LETTERS
10 E. 79th STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝ ΟΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΩΝ

ΜΗ Τ' Ε Ρ Ε Ξ !

1. Στείλατε τὰ παιδιὰ σας εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικά Ὁρθόδοξα Νηπιαγωγεῖα καὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά Ὁρθόδοξα Σχολεῖα.
2. Μόνον ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Γλῶσσα ἐνθυμίζει εἰς τὰ παιδιὰ σας ὅτι ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ὁρθόδοξον Ἑκκλησίαν.
3. Μόνον εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Ὁρθόδοξον Σχολεῖον τὰ παιδιὰ σας θὰ προφυλαχθοῦν ἀπὸ κακῆς συναναστροφῆς, πού ὁδηγοῦν εἰς παιδικὰ ἐγκλήματα.
4. Μόνον εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Σχολεῖον τὰ παιδιὰ σας ἔμπορουν νὰ κάνουν ἀπὸ μικρὰ στενές γνωριμίες μὲ ἄλλα παιδιὰ Ὁρθόδοξα.
5. Μόνον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Σχολεῖον ἔμπορεῖ νὰ κρατήσῃ τὰ παιδιὰ μας εἰς τὸ πλαίσιον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὁρθόδοξης. Νὰ τὰ φέρῃ ἀπὸ τὰ θρανία εἰς τὴν Χορωδίαν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ὁρθόδοξον Νεότητα καὶ εἰς τὴν Κοινότητα ἢ τὴν Φιλόπτωχον Ἀδελφότητα.
6. Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Γλῶσσα πρέπει νὰ θεωρῇται ὑπόθεσις ἱερὰ. Φυλετικὴ συνελδήσις, Ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα καὶ Ἑλληνικὴ Ὁρθόδοξία ἀποτελοῦν μίαν ἀχώριστον τριάδα. Μόνον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Σχολεῖον ἔμπορεῖ νὰ μεταδώσῃ εἰς τὰ παιδιὰ μας αὐτὰ τὰ τρία μαζί.
7. Μεγάλαι Κοινότητες διελύθησαν, ὅταν ἐγκατέλειψαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης εἰς τὰ παιδιὰ των.
8. Χιλιάδες Ἀμερικανόπαιδες διδάσκονται σήμερον μίαν ξένην γλῶσσαν εἰς χιλιάδας Ἀμερικανικῶν Δημοτικῶν Σχολείων. Διατὶ νὰ μὴ διδαχθῶν τὰ παιδιὰ μας τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν;
9. Μόνον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Σχολεῖον ἔμπορεῖ νὰ καλλιιεργήσῃ εἰς τὰ παιδιὰ μας τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὸν θαυμασμόν διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν ὅποیان σέβονται καὶ ἀγαποῦν καὶ θαυμάζουν ὅλοι οἱ Ἀμερικανοὶ καὶ γενικῶς ὅλος ὁ κόσμος.

ΠΡΟΣΕΞΑΤΕ ! ΝΑ ΜΗ ΛΔΙΚΗΣΕΤΕ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ !

(Γραφεῖον Παιδείας Ἱ. Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀμερικῆς)

APPENDIX E

PROCLAMATION

- WHEREAS: The Greek nation was established nearly four thousand years ago; and
- WHEREAS: In the course of history the Greek nation has made numerous contributions to the progress of the human race, including the development of the alphabet, the introduction of democracy and the furthering of civilization through establishment of a communicating bridge between East and West; and
- WHEREAS: Beginning with the discovery of the Juan de Fuca Straits by Ioannis Focas, the Greek people of Vancouver have assisted in the development and progress of this City through the contributions of architects, restauranters, doctors, engineers, teachers and businessmen; and
- WHEREAS: Following 400 years of Turkish occupation of Greece, on March 25th, 1821 the banner of liberation was raised and Greek warriors began their four-year struggle for freedom, having chosen that special day because of its religious significance to all Christians as the Day of the Annunciation to the Blessed Mother of God of the birth of Jesus, bringing spiritual freedom and observing its parallel in the announcement of freedom for the Greek nation; and

WHEREAS: The Greeks of Vancouver are celebrating the 153rd anniversary of their independence on this March 25th, 1974;

NOW THEREFORE, I, Arthur Phillips, Mayor of the City of Vancouver DO HEREBY PROCLAIM March 25th, 1974 to be

"GREEK DAY".

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