

FOOD HABITS AND FOOD SHOPPING PATTERNS OF GREEK
IMMIGRANTS IN VANCOUVER, B.C.

by

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ABSTRACT

North American cities consist of a variety of different ethnic groups. Many of these groups are minority communities who live in clearly defined areas of the cities and maintain many of the habits and traditions of their homelands. This leads them to live in a way which is often quite distinctive from the dominant Anglo-American culture prevalent in most Canadian or American cities. The present study is concerned with one such community.

More particularly, this study examines the food habits of Greek immigrants in Vancouver, and attempts to show that the food habits maintained by this group differ from those of the 'average' Canadian. Spatially, such differences are manifested in a distinctive pattern of food shopping behaviour.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most striking aspects of North American cities is the cultural diversity of the urban populations. Most major cities contain a variety of different ethnic minority groups, and these groups tend to live in spatially defined clusters or concentrations within the city boundaries, and play distinctive roles in the functioning of the city. The presence of large cultural minority groups within the city often promotes the development of a distinctive local cultural landscape through which the local community is able to preserve its own identity.

The present study seeks to analyse an aspect of the geography of such an ethnic minority group in a North American city. The aim of the study is to investigate the extent to which ethnic food habits are preserved among recent immigrants within Vancouver, Canada, and to examine the relationship between ethnic food stores and the local ethnic community. Two major questions are discussed:-
(a) do cultural minority groups preserve the food habits of their "old country" in Vancouver, and (b) do these food

habits influence ethnic food shopping patterns? For this purpose, an immigrant community in Vancouver, the Greeks, is subjected to empirical examination.

Although geographers have studied ethnic minority groups in terms of their settlement patterns (Ward 1968) and changes in residential locations within the city (Morrill 1965, Murdie 1968), little attention has been devoted to the shopping patterns displayed by urban ethnic communities. Is there any variation or difference between the shopping patterns displayed by different ethnic groups in the city? Do these groups exercise cultural preferences in purchasing their goods?

This study attempts to offer some solutions to these questions by examining the food habits and food shopping patterns of the Greek community in Vancouver. However, because only limited data were available from the Greek community (for reasons discussed later) the information examined in this study does not lend itself for ready generalisations concerning Greek cultural activities. Trends in Greek food habits and shopping patterns are indicated, but further studies of this and other ethnic minority communities need to be made before a series of generalisations can be established concerning such ethnic activity.

As the central theme of this study concerns an immigrant community in Vancouver, it is appropriate to define some relevant terms pertaining to immigrant groups which will be used throughout the remainder of this study.

Canada is populated by a variety of separate ethnic groups who have migrated to Canada from different points of origin. Ethnic origin generally implies a biological affiliation and ancestry rather than a necessary belonging to the group. For example, a German living in North America yet born in Germany may not wish to have any association with other Germans living in his local district. However, an ethnic group implies people's loyalty to the group and it is a force which draws its strength from its members' feeling of belonging to the group. In this study "ethnic group" is used to define those Greeks who live and associate with fellow Greeks and who actively belong to the Greek community in Vancouver. Essentially, ethnic groups may be regarded as cultural groups. "Culture is a way of being, thinking and feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant force of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences." (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, General Introduction 1969)

In order to function and survive, cultural groups such as the Greeks are obliged to integrate into the dominant Canadian society. "Integration in the broad sense does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics, or of his original language and culture. Integration is not synonymous with assimilation. Assimilation implies almost total absorption into another linguistic or cultural group. An assimilated individual

gives up his cultural identity and may even go as far as to change his name." (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, 1969) The Greeks in Vancouver have followed the path of integration. Most Greek men speak some English, but in the home and on social occasions Greek is the language spoken, for most Vancouver Greeks are recent immigrants or first generation Greeks in Canada. Of the Greek sample used in the study, 93% (of those interviewed) were first generation settlers in Canada.

As the Greek population integrates into the dominant Anglo-Canadian community of Vancouver so they become acculturated. Acculturation is seen as the process of adapting to the new environment in which an individual lives. By examining Greek food habits, the present study is concerned with one aspect of this acculturation process.

The next chapter acts as a background to the study and examines some of the literature relating to urban ethnic groups. This literature is of particular interest to the present study. The growth of the Greek community in Vancouver is then discussed and an examination is made of the importance of food habits in the cultures of immigrant groups living in North American cities.

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CHAPTER II

A BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Ethnic Groups in North American Cities

The foundations of the present study in Vancouver are derived from the studies of ethnic minority communities which have been made in large American cities. In order to appreciate the present importance of minority cultural groups in Canadian metropolitan areas the differences between the patterns and trends of ethnic settlement in Canadian and American cities are briefly examined.

In the United States large numbers of European immigrants settled in the metropolitan areas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but in contrast, the influx of Europeans, especially of Southern Europeans, into Canadian cities has only started to gather momentum since 1945. In the U.S.A. the period since the end of the Second World War has been characterised by the in-migration of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Southern whites to metropolitan areas of the North. However, in Vancouver, the Greek population which was 588 in 1941 had risen slowly to 2233 by 1961. Since 1961 the number of Greeks has risen

rapidly and estimates placed the Greek population in 1970 at approximately 6000.* In Toronto, Murdie (1968) noticed that the Italian population expanded from 2.5% of the total population in 1951 to 8.3% of the total population in 1961 and constituted the largest group of non-British origin in metropolitan Toronto. Murdie concluded that "measured in numbers, the large scale European migration to Toronto parallels the recent rural-urban migration of the American negro."

In Canada, a popular recognition of the existence of ethnic diversity within the city has always persisted due to the two nation origin of the country that for example divides Montreal into two distinctive English and French speaking areas. The influx of ethnic immigrants into Canada since the conclusion of World War II has consequently added new groups and residents to ethnic areas which had already been firmly established. Simmons (1969) states: "Most Canadian metropolitan areas now have three or more readily identifiable ethnic areas indicating a concentration of over 10,000 or so persons of a given background within the city."

The fact that in Vancouver these communities are rapidly making an impact on the cultural landscape of the city may be partly attributed to the differences between Canadian and American attitudes towards ethnic minority

* Estimated by the Secretary of the Greek Orthodox Church, Vancouver.

groups. Such attitudes have been studied by Marion McKenna (1969). She examines the Canadian concept of their society as a "Mosaic" in which ethnic groups are encouraged to maintain their individuality, against the American concept of their society as a "melting pot" where people of all origins lose their cultural differences with the passage of time and become absorbed into a distinctly American culture. McKenna noted that the importance of ethnic minorities tends to decline after the third generation. From such attitudes and the fact that emigration of Southern European groups into Canada has been a recent phenomenon, it is apparent why a varied cultural landscape of Italian and Greek stores, churches and housetypes has recently emerged in Vancouver almost a half century after such phenomena first appeared in larger American cities.

The development of special cultural stores and churches within an urban area indicates the presence and importance of a local ethnic community. In his study of the Negro Ghetto in Chicago, Pred (1963) showed that the concentration of ethnic groups in certain urban areas manifested itself in the appearance of the local urban environment.

Pred compared the land use patterns in the negro area of Chicago with two surrounding white areas in order to examine the extent to which the presence of a cultural minority group (negroes) influenced the surrounding urban landscape. Pred faced difficulties distinguishing those

land uses which were typical of a negro area and its culture from those which were typical of a low socio-economic area, but on close examination he noticed that bars, dry cleaners and food stores displayed conspicuous features of the negro culture. The food stores in the negro area displayed neckbones or chicken necks, turnip greens and other leafy and yellow vegetables, whereas in the white areas adjoining the negro sector, better cuts of meats and a wider display of vegetables were conspicuous in the food stores. Pred concluded that cultural as well as economic factors contributed towards these differences. Fortunately in the present study of Vancouver Greeks, the problems faced by Pred did not materialise due mainly to the obvious Greek signs which distinguished Greek food stores from non-Greek shops.

From his study of the negro community in Chicago, Pred concluded that "the presence of principal business thoroughfares and its landuse patterns provides a telescoped expression of the material features of culture. The presence of cultural shopping facilities is indicative of where the local population is not completely acculturated nor totally assimilated into the prevailing urban way of life."

Pred's research provides a basic, and valuable contribution to the literature concerning urban ethnic groups. Although non-analytical and essentially descriptive the study showed how the culture prevalent in the negro ghetto

of Chicago found some expression in the patterns of consumer behaviour and, therefore, was reflected in the land use structure of the slum's principal business thoroughfare.

Some indication of the way minority groups behave in their food shopping habits is available from studies by Murdie and Ray in Ontario, Canada.

Murdie (1965) examined two groups of consumers, the "Old Order Mennonites" and "Modern Canadians", residing in the same area of Ontario, and investigated the factors affecting the distances each of these groups was prepared to travel to purchase their goods. In contrast to the "Modern Canadians" the "Old Order Mennonites" are easily recognised by their dress, their means of transportation, occupation and other characteristics. Murdie noticed that the "Old Order Mennonite" demand for food was not specialised enough to justify frequent trips to a large supermarket (in a large town).

Murdie's conclusions concerning this rural minority group do, however, contrast with the hypotheses of the present study (see below) in which it is predicted that an urban minority group (the Greeks), maintains a special food shopping pattern in the city compared with the majority of Canadian shoppers.

In his study of market centres and functional regions in Eastern Ontario, Ray (1968) noticed that the patterns displayed for food shopping by a "spatially stratified

sample of consumers" indicated that food services are a hamlet level function offered by all central places. By using "desire lines" to map his data, Ray noticed that a symmetry in the food service pattern emerged from consistent consumer travel to their nearest centre. The few exceptional cases where consumers failed to purchase their food at the nearest shopping centre is explained either by multipurpose shopping or by cultural differences ... "with some French Canadian farmers preferring a French Canadian central place to a closer English centre".

From these writings we are reminded that:- (a) the presence of minority cultural food stores in the city is closely related with the maintenance of distinctive cultural food habits, (b) in "central place" terminology, food is a low order good for which people are not generally prepared to travel great distances to purchase, except possibly where cultural preference is being exercised.

The next section of this chapter examines the growth of Greek food stores in Vancouver during the last decade, and investigates the importance of food habits in the culture of immigrant communities in North American cities. From this discussion, hypotheses are developed concerning the maintenance of Greek food traditions in Vancouver and the consequent shopping patterns we would expect such traditions to encourage. This chapter is concluded by comments on the organisation and strategy employed in the study.

Greeks and the Urban Landscape of Vancouver

The present survey of the Greek community in Vancouver has been prompted by the steady growth of the Greek population over the past ten years and the impact that this growth has had on Vancouver's urban landscape. The largest area of Greek settlement is in the Kitsilano district of the city, where 21% of the Greeks in Vancouver resided in 1961 (according to D.B.S. data obtained from enumeration areas).

In 1966 the "Parthenon" grocery was opened on West Broadway as the first store offering speciality Greek foods in Kitsilano, thus rivalling the only previous Greek speciality store, the "California" grocery, which had been established in the West End on Seymour Street some 40 years earlier. The opening of the "Parthenon" provided an impetus for other such stores to open under Greek management although without distinctive Greek names such as the "University Stores", the "Seven Seas Fish Market" and the "Broadway Bakery". In line with these developments a Greek restaurant "the Acropol" was also opened. Thus within three years the Greek community in Kitsilano had become large enough to support several local stores and restaurants. In 1970 two more stores were opened in a similar location on West Broadway, the "Olympia Bakery" and "John's Meat Market", and in January 1971 a new Greek supermarket was opened adjoining this meat store, called the "West Broadway Groce-

teria". "John's Meat Market" has since closed down and has been replaced by "Buy Low Meats", another Greek owned store. Further comment on this changeover will be made in a later chapter. Thus Greeks now have a full range of food stores to shop at if they so desire.

The Significance of Food Habits

Food habits are an essential part of culture and are usually quite deeply imbedded in the personalities of people raised in a given cultural tradition. One evidence of this is the symbolism frequently associated with food, for all religions of the world have certain rituals involving special foods. The sharing of food universally symbolises a high degree of social intimacy and acceptance. To Mead (1943) "food habits are seen as the culturally standardised set of behaviours in regard to food manifested by individuals who have been reared within a given cultural tradition." The cultural aspects of food do not merely involve definition as such. Mead (1953) has said: "in most societies food is the focus of emotional associations, a channel for interpersonal relations, for the communication of love or discrimination or disapproval; it usually has a symbolic reference."

It may be inferred, therefore, that the maintenance of traditional food habits is important to ethnic groups migrating to North America. To many such communities

clustering together within the city, the celebration of an old country food festival or the preparation of a traditional type of meal is one way in which they can maintain a greater kind of intimacy with one another as they celebrate for a moment the old way of life they knew so well, if in fact they so desire. Evidence suggests that for a majority of such immigrants this is the case.

Among the New Haven Italians writes Child (1943), "one of the most persistent traits of Italian culture, regardless of the individual's type of reaction, is the cuisine." Gordon (1949) noticed that among the Minneapolis Jews "there is a retention of special Jewish delicacies and dishes that were associated with the parents' home, even among those who no longer observe the kosher food taboos." Valassi (1962) reveals how Greek-Americans preserve many of their Greek dishes in the new North American environment, and states that "many Greek-Americans in the U.S.A. continue to buy imported Greek olive oils although some of the domestic varieties are as good." Of the speciality food stores found in the ghetto, Wirth (1928) states: "among them are the kosher butcher shops, where fresh meats and a variety of sausages are a speciality, and where, besides the butcher, there is to be found a special functionary, the sochet who kills fresh poultry to order, mumbling a prayer as he cuts the throat of each chicken, duck or goose with his chalef, a "ritually approved butcher knife."

Hypotheses of the Study

It is apparent that food habits are a fairly conservative aspect of culture. In order to examine the food habits of the Greeks in Vancouver, certain hypotheses are developed and tested for this group in the Vancouver Metropolitan area.

Hypothesis One

First generation Greek immigrants preserve their own food habits in the Canadian urban environment. Do first generation Greeks in Vancouver regularly eat food which is distinctly Greek, and preserve their own Greek food customs and feast days? If the findings are positive it will indicate that (a) immigrant Greeks maintain a marked independence from Canadian culture so far as their food habits are concerned, (b) Greeks are able to obtain most of the special food items they require. Clearly many factors influence the reasons why Greeks preserve such food habits if in fact they do so. However, an examination of such variables as income and social class are beyond the scope of this study. An important factor which must be considered is the temporal factor, for it is anticipated that a Greek, resident in Vancouver for ten years, will have integrated into the dominant Canadian culture sufficiently to have acquired different food habits from a newly arrived Greek immigrant, even if these habits are only modified to include several Canadian type dishes. In order to assess the

importance of the temporal factor, I shall make frequent use of the term "length of stay", which in this paper will refer to residence anywhere in Canada or the U.S.A. for Greeks who have travelled to Vancouver directly from Greece and those who have travelled to North America directly from Greece, but then lived elsewhere in Canada or the U.S.A. prior to settling in Vancouver.

Hypothesis Two

The maintenance of traditional food habits by an immigrant community leads to a distinctive set of food shopping patterns which are culturally defined. This hypothesis is dependent on the verification of Hypothesis One.

In this hypothesis, the spatial consequences of the preservation of special immigrant food habits are examined. It has already been shown that in his study of Chicago, Pred noticed a close relationship between the negro community and negro food stores. In the present study it is hypothesised that a close relationship exists between the Greeks and the Greek food stores. I hope to demonstrate that in Vancouver, Greek immigrants shop frequently at their own food stores, and therefore, provide a spatial pattern of shopping behaviour that is distinctive from the pattern displayed by an average Canadian shopper. If the results show a distinctive spatial pattern it may be inferred that "culture" is an important factor governing such behaviour.

The Organisation of the Study

In the absence of accurate census data since 1961, the actual number of Greek inhabitants in Vancouver is open to some degree of guesswork. Walhouse (1960) estimated the Vancouver Greek population to be approximately 3500 in 1959. However, an examination of the census figures for 1961 shows that Walhouse overestimated the Greek population by 1200. The problem of estimating population figures is considerable and estimates offered by well-meaning leaders of local ethnic communities should be treated with caution. The estimated Greek population in Vancouver in 1970 was in the neighbourhood of 6000, but this figure will in all probability, be shown to be inaccurate when census data for 1971 becomes available.

As a result of these numerical discrepancies several problems arise in the organisation of the study: (a) where do the Greeks in Vancouver reside? (b) how can a study area be accurately defined without recent statistical data of the Greek population? and (c) how representative is the sample used in the study? From these difficulties it is apparent that the sample (see below) used in the study does not provide conclusive results but rather shows patterns and trends in Greek food habits and shopping patterns. It may be assumed that such patterns are representative of the larger Greek community as a whole.

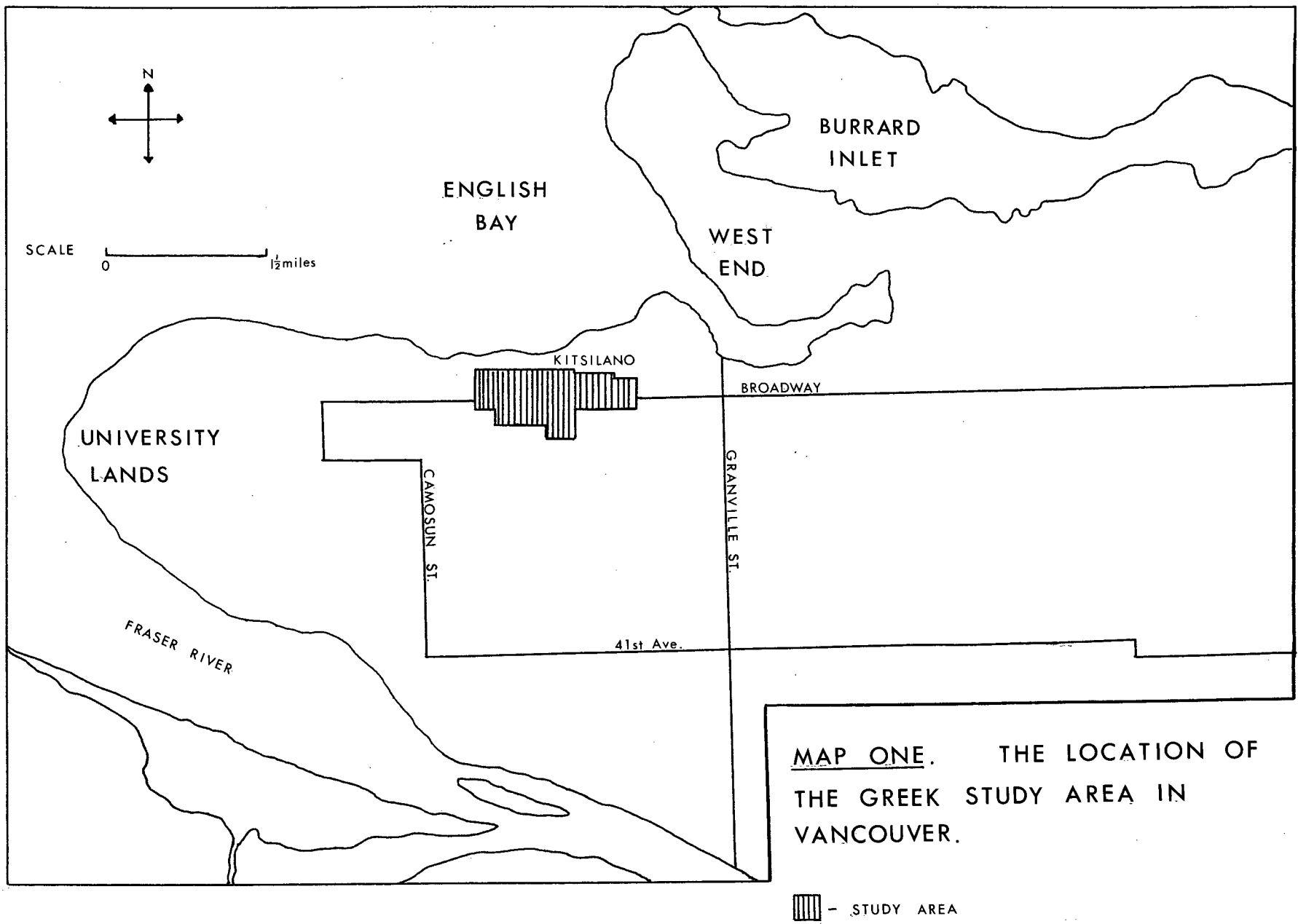
An examination of the 1961 census figures for Vancouver indicated that 21% of the Greeks resided in the

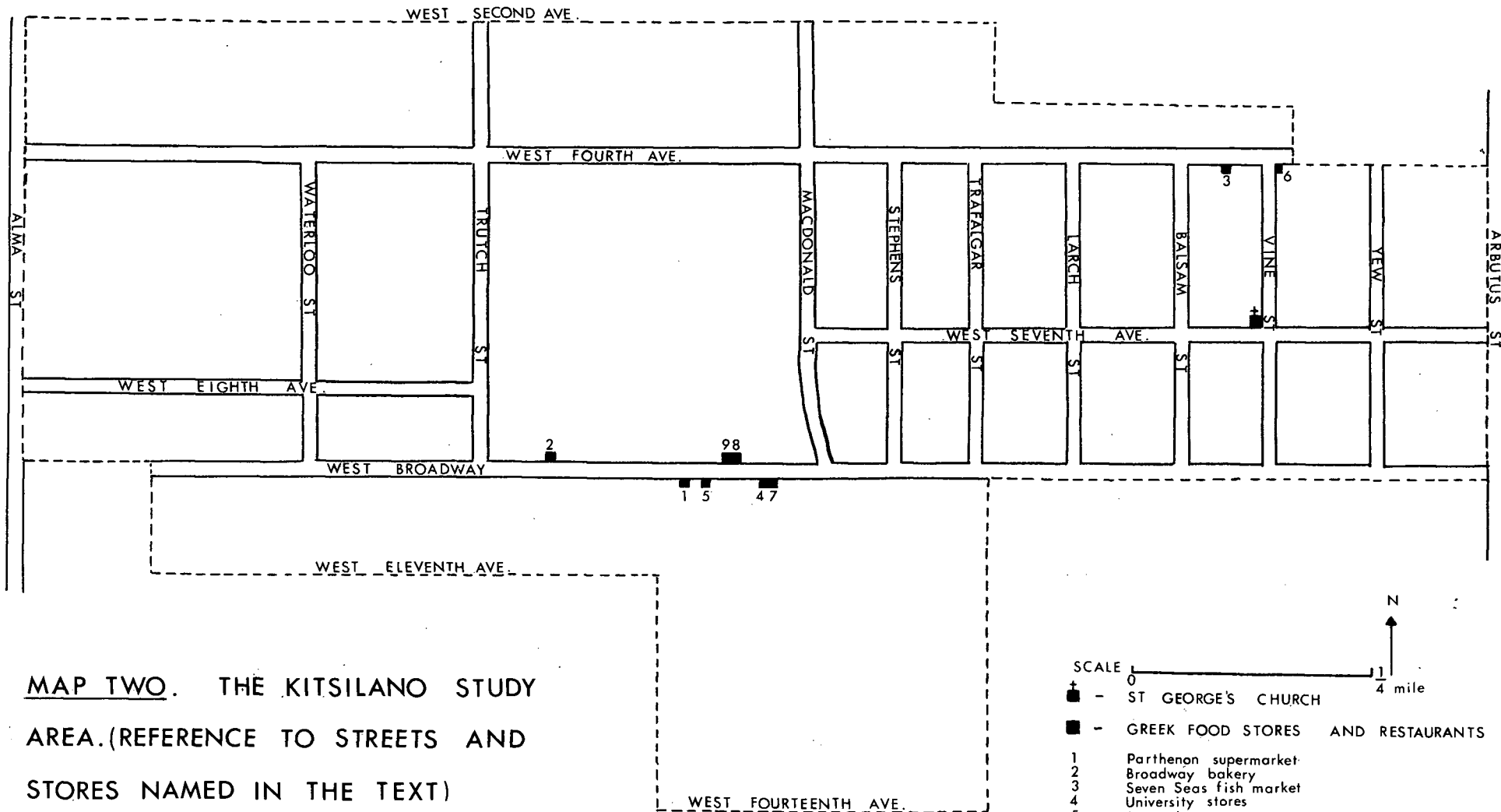
Kitsilano area of the city, closely followed by the area surrounding the "west end" of the city. With the development of Greek food stores along the main business thoroughfare of Kitsilano on West Broadway, it is apparent that the main centre for the expanding Greek community has focused on this part of the city.

This study is based on fieldwork carried out in the Kitsilano area of Vancouver (Map One) between November 1969 and July 1970, and consists of several distinctive stages once the hypotheses had been developed:-

1. For this study, the Kitsilano region is defined as that part of Vancouver west of Arbutus Street to Alma Street and West 16th Avenue northwards to Point Grey Road. The "telephone directory" and the "city directory" were examined for Greek residents of streets falling within these arbitrarily appointed boundaries. The study area was then delimited (Map Two), the boundary being drawn along streets which had either no or only a few Greek residences on the block. This was in contrast to the density of the "core area" where there were nine Greek residences in a block (see below).

2. Once the Greek study area had been established in Kitsilano, a questionnaire survey was applied to a sample of Greek households within this study region. The questionnaire was structured in four parts:- (a) to obtain general information about the food Greeks were eating; (b) to investigate some traditional aspects of Greek food habits;





MAP TWO. THE KITSILANO STUDY AREA.(REFERENCE TO STREETS AND STORES NAMED IN THE TEXT)



(c) to examine Greek food shopping patterns; and (d) to extract personal information such as country of birth, length of stay in North America and age. The questionnaires were provided in both the Greek and English languages and were completed through personal interviews and through postal replies.

3. Merchants of Greek food stores in the study area were interviewed and asked to issue address slips to Greek customers entering their stores. From these results a hinterland for these Greek stores was established.

4. Grocery delivery lists were obtained from the leading supermarket stores in the study area and mapped. Thus the hinterlands of both the supermarkets and Greek food stores in the study area could be readily compared.

5. A "Canadian" sample of fifty people living within the study area was questioned about their food shopping habits. These people acted as a control group for ready comparison with the Greeks, and were chosen by random sample from the "city directory".

6. Questionnaires were also mailed to Greeks living up to eight miles from the study area, and replies from this group provided a useful comparison with the Greeks residing in the study area. An interesting feature of the results of these questionnaires is the way they illustrate how these dispersed Greeks actually maintain certain "cultural" relationships with the main centre of the Greek settlement in Kitsilano.

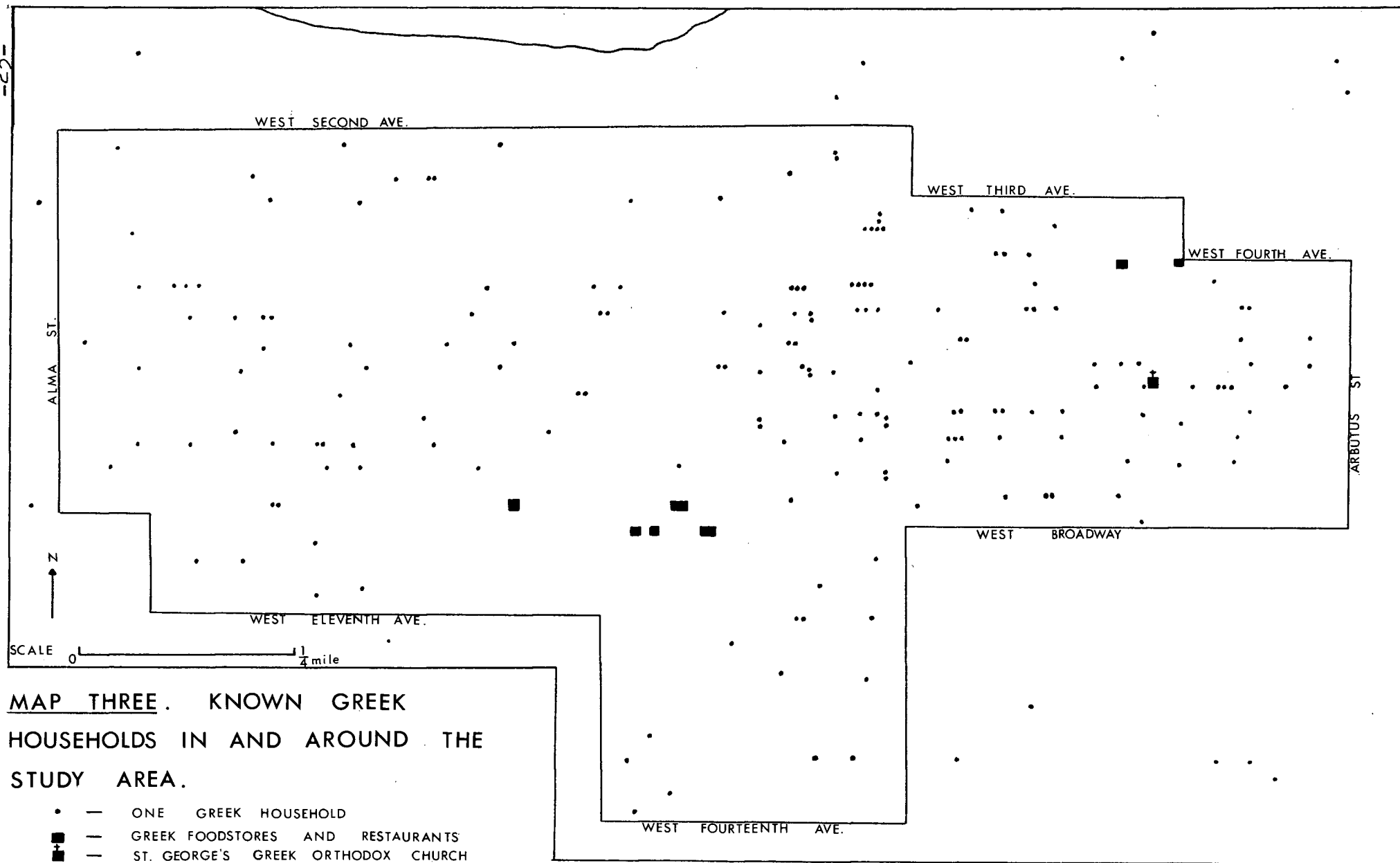
The Nature of the Study Area

The information obtained from the "city directory" enabled a study area to be defined within the Kitsilano region. The study area is bounded on the east by Arbutus Street, on the north by West 2nd Avenue, on the west by Alma Street and on the south by West 14th Avenue. The area is, however, not rectangular in shape (Maps Two and Three).

The study area falls generally into a "lower Middle Class" category, the average household earnings in 1961 ranging between \$4500 and \$5500 per year. (D.B.S. 1961 census report.) The region may be divided into several distinctive "housetype" zones according to the age and appearance of houses found in the area.

The eastern area has seen many of the older single dwelling houses replaced by modern apartment buildings especially in the zone between Balsam Street and Arbutus Street. Most Greeks residing in the study area live in old single dwelling detached houses; those Greeks who dwell in the new apartments tend to be in the 20-30 age group and are usually unmarried men. The Greek Orthodox Church is located on Vine Street and West 7th Avenue, and a large number of Greek families live in the remaining single detached houses which surround the church.

Eastwards to Macdonald Street and north of West Broadway apartments are less numerous, and many old, single dwelling detached houses dominate the area. It is this



region centered along Stephens Street that appears to be the zone of densest Greek settlement within the study region. Several house frontages have been rebuilt with towering white pillars, reminiscent of the "grandeur that was Greece".

West of Macdonald Street apartment buildings are virtually absent from the skyline apart from those along the major thoroughfares of West 4th Avenue, West Broadway and Alma Street. The quality of housing generally improves westwards as does the apparent affluence of the Greek population. Another important cluster of Greek families is that found in the proximity of Waterloo Street and West 8th Avenue.

The Greeks known to be residents of the study area probably do not fully represent the total number of Greek families living in this region. Approximately 200 Greek households are plotted on Map Three, but because there is a fairly consistent flow of new Greek arrivals into the area it is known that there are more Greek families living within the study area. However there is no reason to suspect that their distribution pattern is any different from that displayed by those Greeks who are known residents of the study area.

The questionnaire survey was directed at Greeks who were married, mainly because single Greek men stated in interviews that they preserved very few Greek food customs,

yet in fact suggested that if they only had somebody to cook regularly for them they would be delighted to continue eating special Greek meals. Such feelings could not be included in the study. The Greek population within the study area was sampled by random number selections from the list of known Greek addresses, and those chosen were asked to complete the questionnaire. Where the choice involved an unmarried Greek male, the selection was rejected. However, some difficulties arose primarily because many Greeks were suspicious of answering any questions about themselves. It appears that research conducted into minority cultural groups can frequently run into similar problems unless the researcher can establish a good relationship with the group in question through familiarity with the group's language. A total of forty-two questionnaires were completed from personal interviews with Greek residents in the study area, and these represented a 65% return from people interviewed. Ninety-three per cent of the questionnaires were completed by first generation Greeks in Canada.

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CHAPTER III

AN EXAMINATION OF GREEK FOOD HABITS IN GREECE AND VANCOUVER

In order to understand the food habits and food shopping patterns of the Greek community in Vancouver, it is necessary to obtain information about the behaviour of this group in their "old country". The following brief discussion examines some aspects of the geography of Greece and shows how regional differences have produced a variety of Greek food patterns.

Greece is a mountainous country, and barren limestone rock and thorny bush constitute 55% of the land surface. However, despite the rough nature of the terrain, some 60% of the Greek population practices agriculture. In the mild, moderately moist winters and hot dry summers which characterise much of Greece, olives and vineyards are important, and orchards of citrus, figs and almonds flourish along the Aegean coast. In summer, the dazzling white limestone makes a striking contrast to the deep azure of the Mediterranean sea. Everywhere, the proximity of the sea is always felt in some subtle way, for distance

from the sea means isolation, backwardness and poverty for many inland Greek villages. People of different regions in Greece have different ways of life, for example, the mountain people who have little communication with the rest of the country have distinctive dialects, customs and food habits. "Although in the United States a man may be recognised as a Greek, to other Greeks he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian or an Epirot".(Valassi 1962).

Food Habits in Greece

Within this environment of barren mountains and blue sea, of poor communications and isolated villages, can be felt the overall impact of the Greek past. The home of one of man's earliest civilisations, Greece has since been subjected to the whims of many subsequent invading groups. The most important of these, the Turks, drove many Greek families into the comparative shelter of mountain village sites, and the long Turkish occupation of Greece has had a considerable influence on the Greek cultural landscape and the Greek way of life especially in the north eastern part of Greece. Mosques and Turkish type houses characterise the small towns of this region and several Greek foods reveal a marked Turkish influence both in their content and preparation. Often Turkish names are applied to certain dishes such as "dolma" in "dolmathes" (minced meat stuffed in rolled cabbage leaf or vine leaves) and "pilaf" (a rice

dish). The consumption of Turkish coffee is popular in many Greek households, and special coffee houses and inns are popular throughout Greece and are frequented mainly by the men.

Because of the physical environment, sheep and goats roam freely around the Greek countryside. Lamb is the most popular meat in Greece and is often eaten on Sundays or on special occasions. The consumption of roast lamb each day is considered to be a sign of affluence in Greece.* Chicken is eaten occasionally, but the consumption of beef is not very popular, because, in Greece, cattle are not raised exclusively for beef, hence the meat is fairly tough. Goats' milk helps to produce the white "feta" or soft cheese which is so popular in Greece. Most milk is consumed in the form of cheese or as cultured milk (yoghurt), for Greeks drink very little ordinary milk. The presence of olive trees has encouraged the use of olive oil for the preparation and cooking of most meals, and olives, with other "mediterranean" fruits are usually considered to be essential features of any meal.

Greek food habits are closely related to religious beliefs. Many Greeks fast prior to Christmas, and in Lent prior to Easter, but this fasting does not bring about a radical change in the Greek diet. For example, fish is

* The information on food habits in Greece in this chapter was obtained through personal interviews with Greeks in Vancouver and from the Human Relations Area Files, located in the University of British Columbia Main Library.

not allowed whereas fish roe is. Fasting is more rigidly adhered to in the rural areas than in the cities, for in the latter, many people fast only on a few important days in Lent. This rural-urban difference may probably be attributed to the partial breakdown of folk and family customs which occurs in the more dynamic atmosphere of the city. Greek religious festivals have their appropriate food. Throughout much of Greece it is customary to kill a pig at Christmas, and at Easter time families join with relatives and neighbours to eat a spit-roasted lamb. Other religious festivals such as Baptism are usually associated with specially prepared dishes.

Greek meals are traditionally simple, and there is always bread at the table. The family meal is usually the evening meal, and meal times, especially the Sunday meal, are considered the medium for hospitality. To take a friend out to dinner is considered an insult, for restaurants are for foreigners who ape Greek ways. In Greece, however, there are informal eating places known as "kitchens" where men who work too far from home may obtain a home-type meal.

An obvious difference in eating habits exists between rural and urban Greeks. In the village, the bread is brown and home baked, and may form the whole meal with olive oil for dipping. Vegetables such as beans, peas and tomatoes supplement the starch food, for eggs and poultry

are considered luxuries, chickens being killed only for very special occasions. Fish is eaten fresh along the coasts and is consumed in the interior villages when it is available, usually in a salted and dried form. Salted roe when made into a salad is greatly enjoyed and forms a regular food item during Lent.

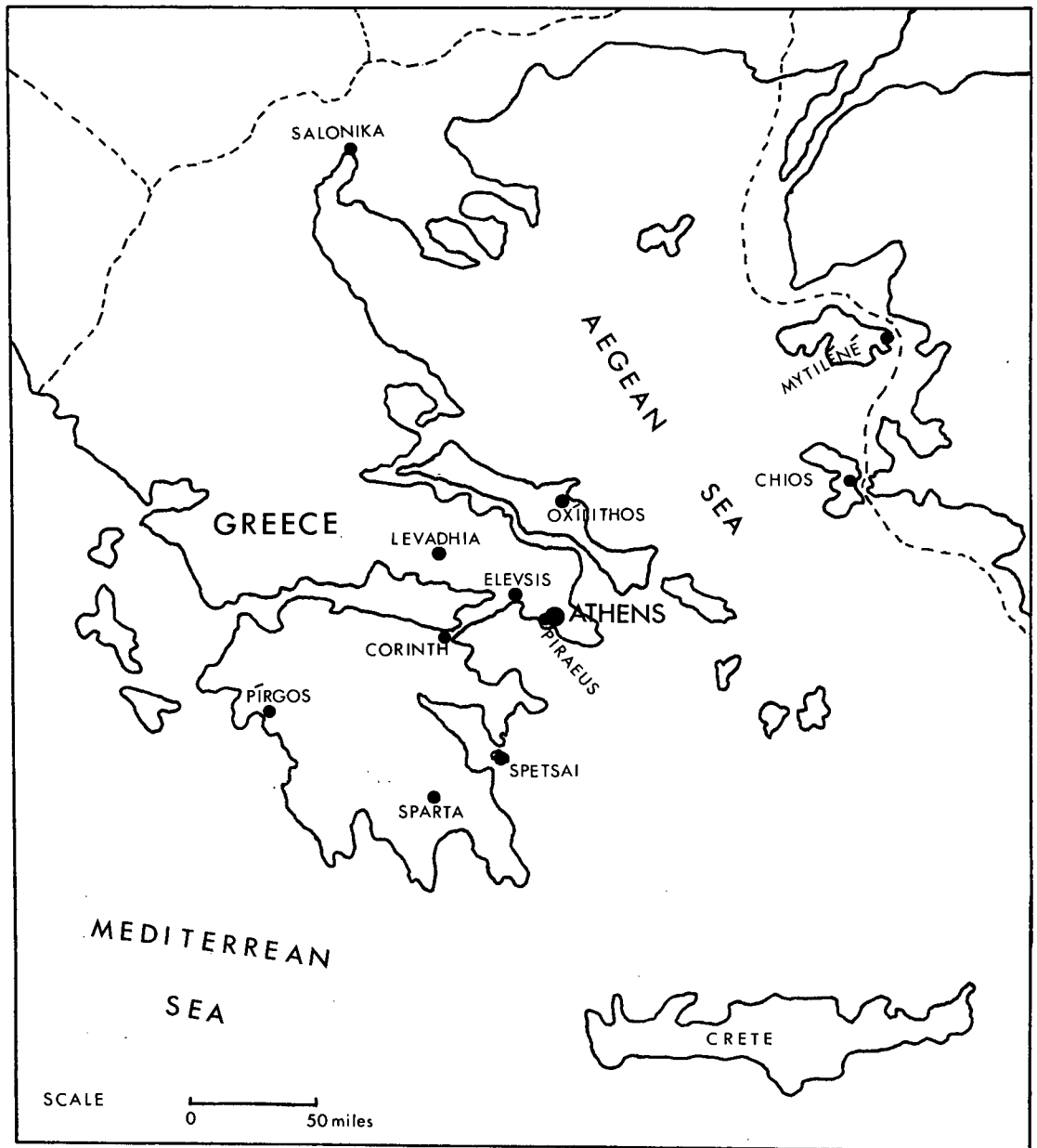
The city Greeks consider themselves to be very different from the peasants -- there is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks imitate some ways of foreign visitors, and certain "North Western" trends in their food habits are represented by increased milk and meat consumption.

Greek Food Habits in Vancouver

The Greeks questioned in the study area did not show as varied an origin as might have been expected, for of the 42 Greeks who completed the questionnaire over 50% came from Athens. The full count was:-

Athens	22	Salonika	2
Piraeus	4	Corinth	1
Mytiléné	3	Sparta	1
Levadhia	2	Chios	1
Oxíliothos	2	Pírgos	1
Elevsis	2	Spetsai	1

From Map Four it can be observed that 65% of these Greeks come from within 30 miles of Athens, and that all of these towns are located on the coast apart from Levadhia



MAP FOUR. ORIGINS OF THE GREEK SAMPLE.

and Sparta. It is also apparent that these town dwellers are probably not as traditional in their views as Greeks living in the rural areas of Greece.

The following analysis of Greek food habits in Vancouver is divided into several distinctive sections. The questionnaire set out to establish (1) the general foods that Vancouver Greeks consume and (2) the extent to which these Greeks preserve the traditional food habits of their home country. From these results, the degree of cultural conservatism may be measured against length of stay in North America. The central theme for the remainder of this chapter is, therefore, to examine Hypothesis One, i.e. that Greeks preserve their own food habits in the Canadian urban environment.

In order to test Hypothesis One, a section on "general foods" was included in the first part of the questionnaire. Within this section, questions were asked about vegetables, fruits, fish, meat and drink, and the Greeks were asked to list in order the three foods in these groupings that they consumed most frequently. For analytical purposes each food item was then given a weighted score -- three points for a first choice, two points for a second choice and one point for a third choice. Once scores for individual food items had been evaluated, they were then converted into a percentage of the total overall points score possible. Since 42 Greeks answered the questionnaire it follows that the overall points for the group would

total: $42 \times (3+2+1) = 42 \times 6 = 252$. The best score for any one food item would be $42 \times 3 = 126$.

In order to obtain a ready comparison between the types of food eaten by Greeks and Canadians, the Canadian control group was also asked to complete the section of the questionnaire relating to the consumption of "general foods". Forty two of these completed questionnaires were then randomly selected to provide a comparison with the Greek responses. The results of the survey are shown in the following tables.

Table I The Canadian Consumption of Fruit and Vegetables

<u>Food Item</u> <u>(Fruit)</u>	<u>Points Scored</u> <u>(Max. 126)</u>	<u>% points score</u> <u>relative to max.</u> <u>possible</u>
Apples	90	71.4
Oranges	59	46.8
Bananas	42	33.3
Grapefruit	14	11.1
Peaches	11	8.7
Grapes	10	7.9
<u>Food Item</u> <u>Vegetables</u>		
Carrots	48	38.1
Peas	44	34.9
Potatoes	30	23.8
Broccoli	29	23.0
Lettuce	28	22.2
Green Beans	18	14.3
Corn	14	11.1
Tomatoes	12	9.5

From Table I and Table II it is evident that the Greek choices of fruit and vegetables are similar to the food preferences of the average Canadian consumer.

Table II. The Greek consumption of Fruit and Vegetables

<u>Food Item</u>	<u>Points scored</u>	<u>% points score relative to max. possible</u>	<u>Index of Greek differ- ence from Can- adian sample</u>
Oranges	83	65.9	+24
Apples	55	43.6	-35
Grapes	44	34.9	+34
Pears	19	15.1	+19
Bananas	16	12.7	-26
Watermelons	16	12.7	+16
<u>Food Item</u>			
<u>Vegetables</u>			
Spinach	38	30.1	+38
Lettuce	37	29.3	+ 9
Green beans	36	28.5	+18
Tomatoes	32	25.4	+20
Cabbage	30	23.8	+30
Carrots	18	14.3	-30
Cauliflower	17	13.5	+17
Broccoli	11	8.7	-18
Peas	11	8.7	-33

The fact that oranges and grapes constitute fifty percent of the fruit listed by the Greeks obviously has some cultural significance, because both may be considered to be "Mediterranean" fruits. However, Greeks do not have difficulty obtaining these fruits, mainly because fruit is

cheap and because oranges and grapes are generally supplied from fruit growing areas in California, and are, therefore readily available in Vancouver food stores.

Greeks prefer fresh fruit and vegetables to the frozen or canned varieties, and the availability of a wide selection of fresh vegetables in both Greek and Canadian food stores has enabled the Greeks to maintain this preference in Vancouver. In Greece, vegetables usually constitute the main dish, and as such are eaten in a large quantity at a meal, often with little else. Salads are very popular in Greece, and their continued popularity in Canada is emphasized by the high scores of both lettuce and tomatoes in Table II. Certain leafy vegetables such as cabbage and spinach are Greek favourites and they are used to prepare "national" dishes such as "dolmathes" and "spanocopetta" (spinach pie). Peas are not very popular among Vancouver Greeks mainly because fresh peas are not regularly available and Greeks do not generally like purchasing canned or frozen vegetables. Celery, cauliflower and carrots are new vegetables which are widely accepted, and eggplant and imported ripe olives are still popular among many Greeks. Tables III and IV summarise the findings of the questionnaire concerning Canadian and Greek fish and meat consumption.

Table III. The Canadian consumption of Fish and Meat

<u>Food Item</u> (<u>Fish</u>)	<u>Points scored</u> (<u>Max. 126</u>)	<u>% points score</u> <u>relative to max.</u> <u>possible</u>
Salmon	81	64.3
Cod	38	30.1
Shellfish	34	27.0
Sole	32	25.4
Halibut	21	16.7
Tuna	20	15.9

Food Item
(Meat)

Beef	107	84.9
Poultry	63	50.0
Pork	40	31.7
Fish	18	14.3
Lamb	14	11.1
Ham	7	5.5

Table IV. The Greek consumption of Fish and Meat

<u>Food Item</u> (<u>Fish</u>)	<u>Points Scored</u> (<u>Max. 126</u>)	<u>% points score</u> <u>relative to max.</u> <u>possible</u>	<u>Index of Greek</u> <u>difference from</u> <u>Canadian sample</u>
Salmon	67	53.2	-14
Smelts	47	37.3	+47
Cod	38	30.1	Even
Halibut	28	22.2	+ 7
Shellfish	15	11.9	-19
Sole	12	9.5	-20
Sardines	10	7.9	+10
Squid	7	5.5	+ 7

<u>Food Item</u> (Meat)	<u>Points Scored</u> (Max. 126)	<u>% points score</u> <u>relative to max.</u> <u>possible</u>	<u>Index of Greek</u> <u>difference from</u> <u>Canadian sample</u>
Lamb	85	67.5	+71
Beef	82	65.1	-25
Poultry	52	41.2	-11
Fish	19	15.1	+ 1
Pork	14	11.1	-26

Fish is well liked in Greece and it is regularly eaten in coastal areas, usually as soon as it is caught. This overcomes the problem of inadequate refrigeration facilities and poor transportation methods. As a result, the Greeks in Vancouver have a marked preference for fresh fish. Salmon is clearly the most popular fish despite its cost, but Greeks also purchase a lot of cheaper fish types, together with shellfish of all descriptions and the more exotic choices of squid and anchovies.

The Greek choice of lamb above any other meat was expected and offers a good example of the strong conservative attitude Greeks have towards certain aspects of their food habits. 47.6 per cent of the Greeks interviewed placed lamb as their first choice meat purchase, but beef was well placed in second position, with 45.2 per cent stating that beef was their first choice. The high placing of beef in the Greek food habits (Table IV) can be explained by several factors:-

(a) Beef is the favourite Canadian meat and is always well displayed in the food stores.

(b) Greeks use a lot of ground beef and hamburger meat for many of their dishes, e.g. for "mousaka" and "dolmathes".

(c) Fresh lamb is very expensive in Vancouver and many Greeks feel that it does not compare in quality with the lamb eaten in Greece. Vancouver Greeks eat little frozen lamb because they do not think it tastes as good as fresh lamb. Consequently, the high preference for lamb shown in Table IV represents a good example of the Greek desire to preserve a vital part of their cultural heritage at a high cost.

Four of the Greeks interviewed stated that they usually celebrated Easter with a whole lamb spit-roasted in their own back garden. Many friends and relatives were invited to this important occasion.

The lists of drinks consumed most frequently by Canadians and Greeks are shown in Tables V and VI.

Table V. Consumption of drinks (Canadian)

<u>Drink</u>	<u>Points Scored</u> (<u>Max. 126</u>)	<u>% points score</u> <u>relative to max.</u> <u>possible</u>
Tea	83	65.9
Instant coffee*	71	56.3
Milk	58	46.0
Wine	23	18.3
Coca Cola	13	10.3
Turkish coffee	-	

*When completing the questionnaire a large number of Canadians expressed the fact that they drank more percolated, drip coffee, etc. than the instant variety. The high rating for tea, therefore, has to be seen in this light.

Table VI. Consumption of drinks (Greeks)

<u>Drink</u>	<u>Points scored</u> <u>(max. 126)</u>	<u>% points score</u> <u>relative to max.</u> <u>possible</u>	<u>Index of Greek</u> <u>differences from</u> <u>Canadian sample</u>
Turkish coffee	80	63.5	+80
Instant coffee*	80	63.5	+ 9
Wine	40	31.7	+17
Milk	25	19.8	-33
Tea	20	15.9	-63
Coca Cola	6	4.8	- 7

*See footnote for Table V above.

The strong Greek preference for Turkish coffee indicated in Table VI above is matched by an equal desire to drink the much more convenient instant coffee. Many Greeks residing in Vancouver have brought their families with them from Greece. The presence of "grandmother" dressed in her traditional black costume was a regular sight in the houses of those Greeks who answered the questionnaire, and where such a notable lady was present, Turkish coffee was often the most favoured drink. Many Greeks, however, do not always have time to prepare Turkish coffee and where this is so, the more convenient instant coffee is consumed. Other Greeks enjoy instant coffee far more, thus an accurate gauge of which drink is more popular depends on circumstances and is, therefore, difficult to assess.

Summary of Food Buying

From this brief analysis of the main foods eaten by Vancouver Greeks, it is apparent that this group is fairly traditional in their choice of food. As 93 per cent of the Greeks interviewed were first generation settlers in Canada, such a conservative trend is to be expected. The Greeks have been helped to preserve their old food habits by the quality and variety of the food stores in the study area, most of which offer foods with which the Greeks are familiar. Greeks have accepted several relatively new food types into their diet such as salmon, instant coffee, beef and carrots, but they have maintained many of the older much-favoured Greek foods with which they are most familiar such as lamb, spinach, oranges and Turkish coffee.

A good example of tradition in Greek food preparation is well indicated by the fact that 68% of the Greeks interviewed regularly used olive oil to prepare their food dishes.

Conservatism in Greek food habits

In order to test further the extent of cultural conservatism in Greek food habits, a section of the questionnaire was specially designed to examine this aspect in greater detail. Table VII illustrates the questions which were asked. It indicates the expected Greek "conservative" reply to these questions and shows the percentage of those

Greeks interviewed who responded in a traditional fashion to these questions.

Table VII. Conservatism in Greek food habits

<u>Question</u>	<u>Greek Conserv- ative Reply</u>	<u>% of Conserv- ative Reply</u>
1. Do you eat break- fast cereals?	Rarely	47
2. Do you eat more traditional cheese (feta) than Canadian cheese?	Yes	86
3. Do you eat canned fruit and veget- ables?	Rarely	57
4. Do you eat frozen fruit and veget- ables?	Rarely	57
5. Do you eat more lamb than beef?	Yes	50
6. If a lb. of lamb and a lb. of beef was the same price, which one would you choose?	Lamb	50
7. How often do you cook your own national dishes?	Frequently (at least once a week)	88
8. Do you observe your own religious/ cultural feast days?	Yes (special Greek holidays or relig- ious festivals)	93
9. Do you have a special meal on such feast days?	Yes	86

<u>Question</u>	<u>Greek Conserv- ative Reply</u>	<u>% of Conserv- ative Reply</u>
10. Do you eat any of the specially prepared dishes such as Yiachni, Mousaka, Pastitsio, Dolmathes, Kreas Fournour?	Yes	91
11. How often do you visit Greek restaurants in Vancouver?	Rarely (less than once a month)	67

From Table VII it is evident that those Greeks who were interviewed responded in a traditional fashion to most of the questions. Clearly, these results indicate that Greeks like food and food ceremonies which remind them of their homeland, and that as a group they are fairly traditional in their food habits.

Greek Food Habits and Time

The longer minority immigrant communities stay in North America, the more integrated they become into the dominant North American way of life. In order to investigate the extent to which Greek food habits might change in Vancouver over time, the Greek responses to the questions in Table VII were plotted against the time that each Greek has stayed in North America. Where a conservative response was made to a question one mark was awarded, thus a Greek who is very traditional in his food habits could score a total of eleven points. The points acquired by each Greek

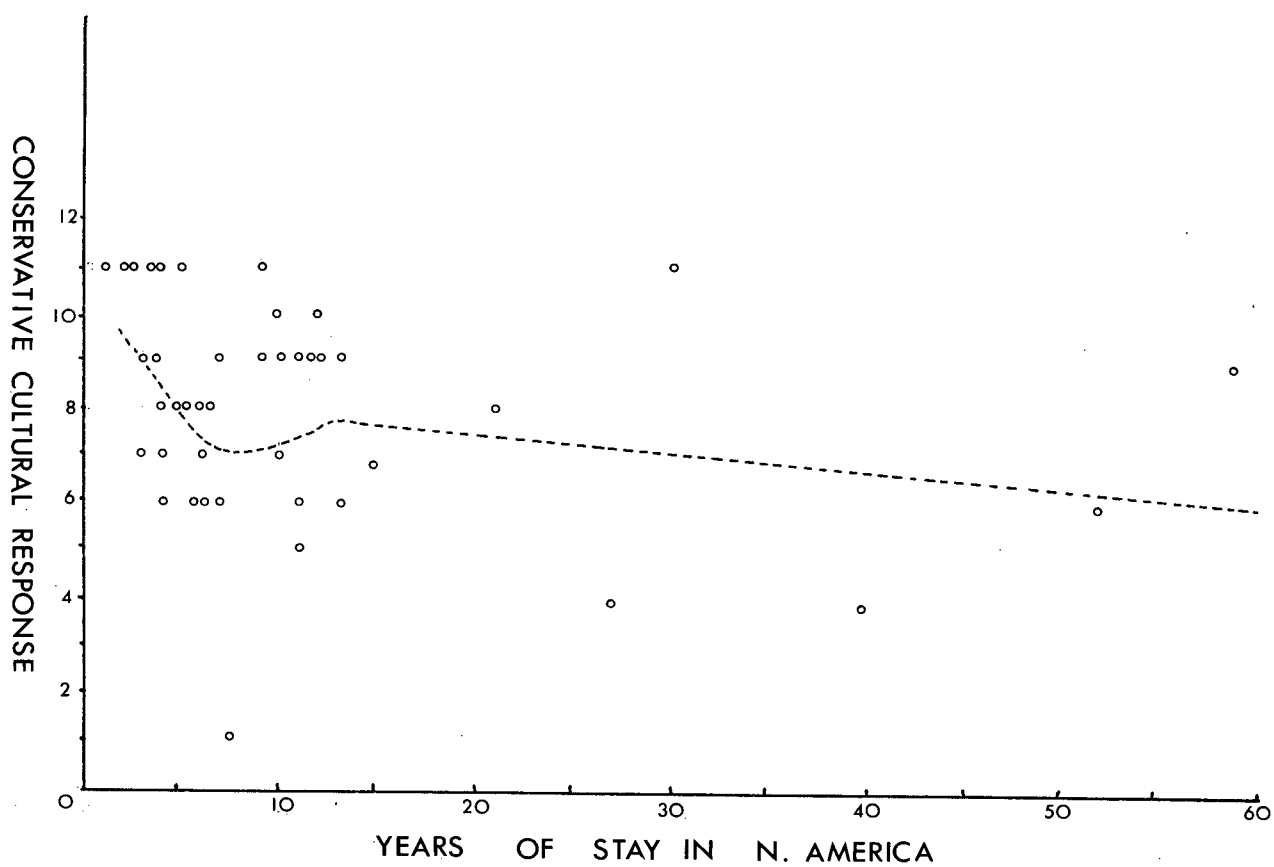


FIGURE ONE. GREEK FOOD HABIT CONSERVATISM
MEASURED AGAINST YEARS OF STAY IN N. AMERICA.

were plotted on a graph against his or her length of stay in North America, and the resulting distribution is shown in Fig. 1.

From the diagram it is apparent that most of the forty two Greeks interviewed have migrated to North America within the last fifteen years, and the figures in the diagram show that the most recent immigrants have the highest scores, hence the greatest familiarity with Greek food and the desire to maintain Greek food habits. In the diagram, the line of average "cultural" scores even up after six to seven years, and this suggests that the Greeks are prepared to accept only a limited number of Canadian food habits, and that the desire to maintain food habits which are traditionally Greek is very strong.

Conclusion

(a) Greek food habits

The results of this survey of Greek food habits in Vancouver closely support Hypothesis One. The following points may be noted:-

(i) Greeks preserve foods which remind them of home such as oranges, lamb, Turkish coffee, feta cheese and spinach.

(ii) Greeks accept some new foods especially those that they can adapt to their traditional methods of food preparation and cooking,

e.g. hamburger and ground beef.

(iii) Greeks are conservative in their food habits and often pay higher prices to obtain the special foods they require, e.g. olive oil and lamb.

(b) Food changes with time

Two factors may be noted with respect to food changes with time:- (i) The wide range of products displayed in Vancouver food stores has enabled all Greeks to maintain certain aspects of their food habits with little difficulty. (ii) Most of the Greeks in Vancouver are first generation settlers, and are, therefore, keen to preserve as many of their old cultural habits as possible. Possible changes in Greek food habits may be experienced among second and third generation Greeks, but this group will certainly not become very apparent in Vancouver for some time to come.

Reference

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CHAPTER IV

GREEK FOOD SHOPPING PATTERNS IN VANCOUVER

In this chapter, the spatial activities of Greek residents in Vancouver are examined, the aim being to show how the cultural attitudes of the Greeks influence the spatial movement of members of this group within the city with regard to their food shopping habits. In order to test Hypothesis Two it will be shown that Greeks reveal food shopping patterns which are separate and distinctive from the "average Canadian" shopper, and that Greeks are prepared to travel some distance across the city to purchase their special food requirements.

Certainly, the presence of distinctive Greek food stores in the Kitsilano district of Vancouver suggests that there is a close relationship between these stores and the local Kitsilano Greek population. Most of the Greek food stores are located between Macdonald and Trutch Street on West Broadway, the main business thoroughfare of the study region, but an important fish store and a Greek owned restaurant are found on West Fourth Avenue between Balsam Street and Arbutus Street. The first Greek food store, the "Parthenon" was opened in 1966 and between then

and February 1971 no fewer than six Greek food stores and three Greek-owned restaurants have opened for business. The development of such food stores may be closely related to the rapid growth of the Greek community in the Kitsilano region of Vancouver between 1961 and 1971.

In this study, three such food stores are examined in detail, the Parthenon Supermarket, the University Stores and the Seven Seas Fish Market. Since field work was completed, a new Canadian and Greek supermarket have been opened in the study region. A new Safeway store was opened at Macdonald Street and Broadway towards the end of 1970, and the Broadway West Groceteria was opened in January 1971. However, because they have only recently opened for business, data are not available for these stores.

The presence of three Greek supermarkets and two Greek bakeries suggests that there is a healthy Greek market for such stores. However, in the case of the Greek-owned meat store, "John's Ranch Meats", this was not the case, for it lasted less than a year, before being closed down and replaced by another Greek owned meat store, "Buy Low Meats". From this occurrence it appears that such Greek stores selling just the one product will find it very difficult to compete with cut-price Canadian butchers such as "Rob Roy Meats" and "Roannes Meats", both of which are located in the study region on West Broadway.

Most of the Greek stores are characterised by cans of imported Greek olive oil displayed in their windows and

by Greek names. Inside the Parthenon, the non-Greek visitor is impressed by the display of fresh fruit and vegetables, and by the numerous sacks offering speciality beans and imported olives. Huge feta cheeses dominate the cheese counter and the dominant meat on display is lamb, not beef. A happy atmosphere exists inside the store, and Greeks converse cheerfully with their friends and the Greeks who work there. The Parthenon sells over 15,000 gallons of imported Greek olive oil a year, a good indication of the sizeable business it operates.

The University stores is much smaller than the Parthenon and concentrates more on speciality Greek imported foods. Greek olive oil cans and special Greek food brands dominate the window of this store. The Seven Seas Fish Market is operated by Greeks who live in Ladner, and is perhaps the best fish store in the vicinity of the Kitsilano study region. The fish is always fresh; salmon, halibut, smelts and cod are the most important types of fresh fish sold. The Greek customer is also able to purchase oil and special cheese, and a selection of dried, imported Mediterranean fish is also available, together with Greek newspapers and magazines. The Parthenon and the University stores appeal mainly to Greeks, but the Seven Seas Fish Market is also frequented by many non-Greeks, due to the quality of its merchandise and the lack of competition in the area.

In order to examine the food shopping patterns and habits of the Greeks residing in the study area, the Canadian

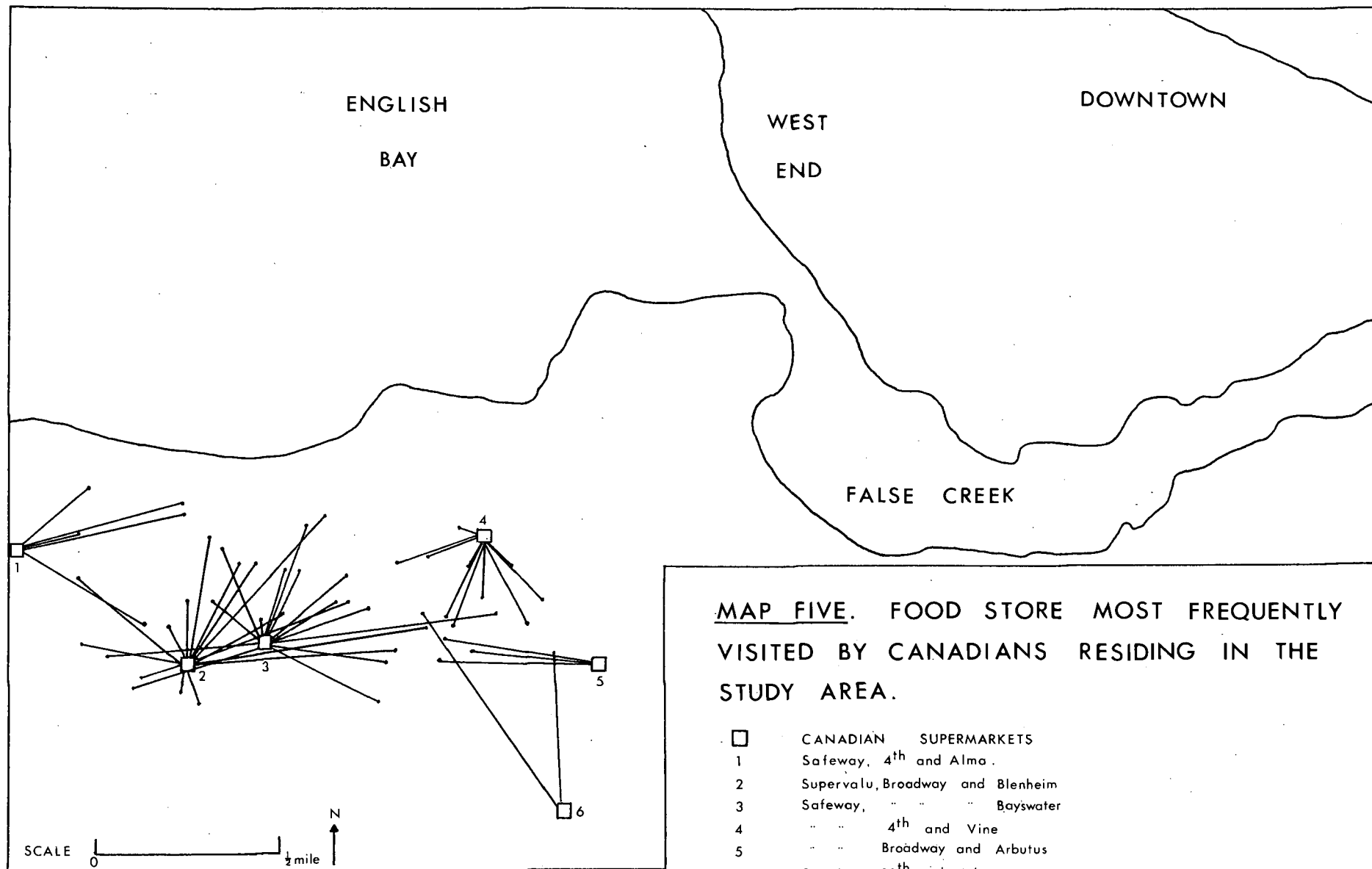
control group of 50 people was questioned about their food shopping habits. By mapping the information obtained from these people, a comparison of the shopping patterns displayed by this group and the Greeks is readily available. Differences in this pattern may be considered as "cultural differences", for major socio-economic differences are diminished by selecting the control group from the study area.

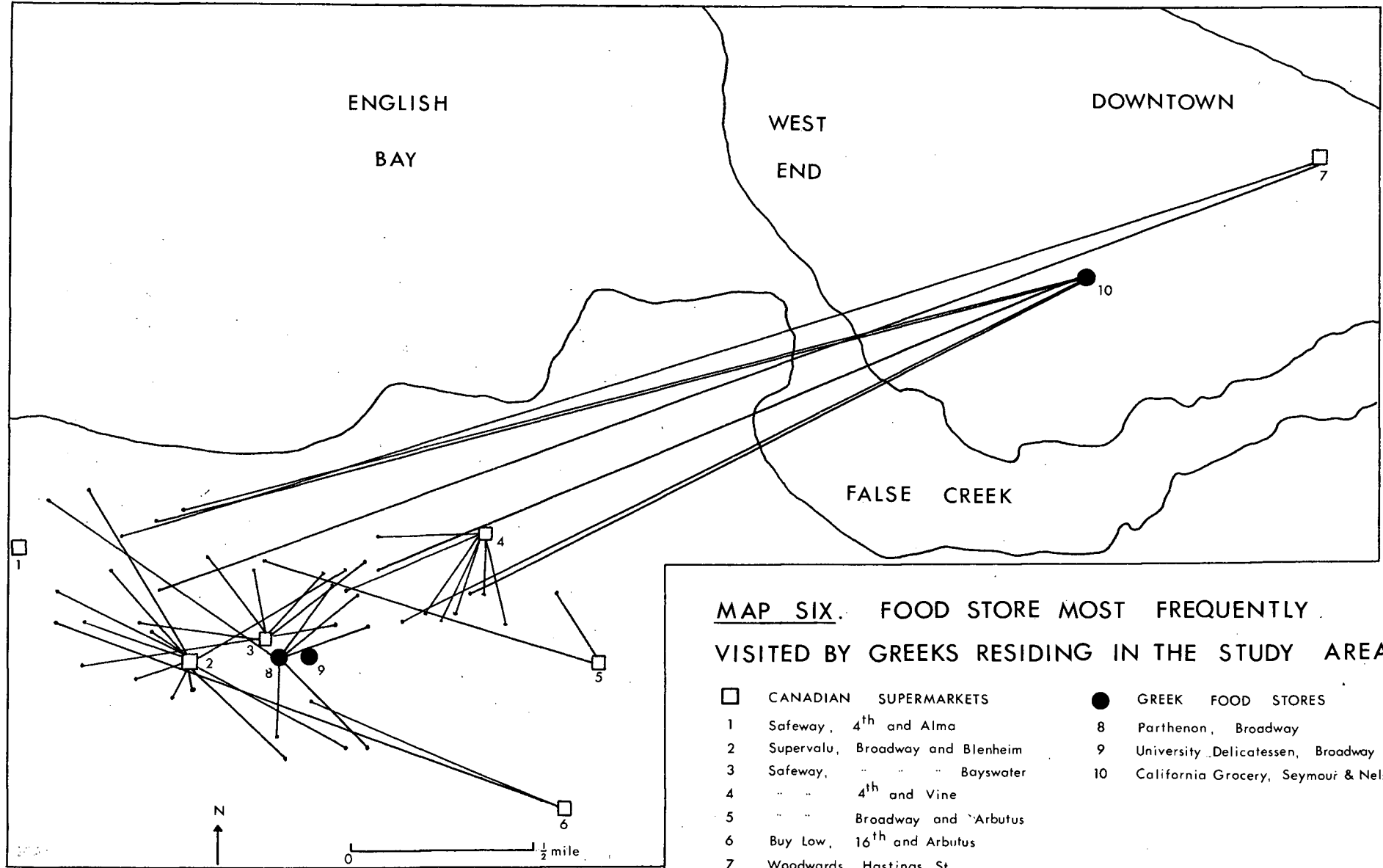
Food stores within the city generally serve a local neighbourhood market area, for "Central Place" studies have revealed that food is essentially a "low order" good which consumers are not usually prepared to travel a great distance to purchase. Carol (1962) noticed that 80 per cent of the residents of a Zurich suburb purchased their groceries within the local neighborhood, and Berry (1967) showed that food services supply a very local trade or service area in which consumers are unwilling to travel far either because of frequency of demand or the bulk of the commodity to be purchased. Despite the fact that food stores mostly sell their goods to a local market, there are cases where consumers are prepared to travel some distance to purchase their food requirements. Ray (1968) found in his study of food services in Eastern Ontario that "the few exceptional cases where consumers ignore an intervening opportunity are explained by multipurpose travel behaviour or by cultural differences".

Maps Five and Six show the food shopping patterns displayed by "Canadians" and "Greeks" who are residents within the study area. The mapping device used is the "desire-line", a straight line drawn between home and food store to indicate Canadian and Greek shopping habits. Map Five shows the food shopping pattern of the Canadian shoppers residing in the study area. Clearly, the localised nature of their food habits is most apparent, for everybody who was interviewed stated that they shopped for groceries most frequently at Canadian supermarkets within, or in close proximity, to the study area. Only one person of the 50 questioned stated that he visited the Greek supermarket at all frequently, (i.e., once a week) and this visit was only because these stores were local and remained open for Sunday shopping.

In contrast, Map Six, which shows the food shopping habits of the Greek sample, illustrates a complicated pattern of spatial activity both in and outside the study area.

From this map, several observations may be made. Sixty nine per cent of the Greeks interviewed do most of their grocery shopping at Canadian supermarkets within the study area, and a further 4.8 per cent travel across the city to shop at the larger Canadian supermarkets downtown. The explanation behind this pattern is that Canadian supermarkets offer fresh quality products with which the Greeks are familiar at fairly cheap prices. Thus, Greeks who shop at these Canadian stores save money on their food purchase.





The fact that 4.8 per cent of this group travels downtown to do their grocery shopping implies that this may be one of the hardships that minority ethnic groups in the city have to endure in order to preserve a distinctive cultural way of life. Twelve per cent of the Greeks travel out of the study area to the California Grocery, a noted Greek food store, located at Seymour Street and Nelson Street, thus from the results of the questionnaire, a total of 26.2 per cent of the Greeks actually visit Greek food stores to purchase most of their food supplies. This is quite a high percentage when it is considered that Greek stores are generally more expensive than their "Canadian" competitors.

In contrast to this figures, however, 82.5 per cent of the Greeks stated that they visit Greek food stores at least once a week. Thus it appears that although approximately one quarter of the Greeks interviewed stated that they completed most of their grocery shopping at Greek supermarkets, a vast majority visit these stores each week for some of their shopping. The reason for this shopping pattern is that many Greeks wish to frequent Greek stores to purchase speciality Greek foods, but are not prepared to commit themselves to heavy spending on food in these stores, for they realise that goods are cheaper in the Canadian supermarkets and there is little, if any, difference in the quality of the food offered. Of the Greeks interviewed 81 per cent stated that they visited Greek stores mainly because these stores offer speciality imported Greek

food, and of the remainder, only 7.1 per cent suggested that the reasoning behind such visits was because the goods offered in Greek stores were fresh and of high quality. The items listed as being the goods most frequently purchased in Greek stores were "specialities" such as fresh olives, lentil beans, feta cheese, olive oil and some lamb.

A good comparison of the Greek and Canadian food shopping patterns may be obtained by measuring the trip lengths from home to the grocery store for each group. Using the data presented on Maps Five and Six the journeys from home to store for all Greeks and Canadians were measured, and the average trip length in street blocks was derived for each group. The results are shown in Table VIII.

Table VIII. Length of Journey to Grocery Store

<u>Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Distance travelled to Grocery Store</u>				<u>Average distance travelled</u>
		<u>Under 3 blocks</u>	<u>3-5 blocks</u>	<u>6-10 blocks</u>	<u>Over 10 blocks</u>	
Greeks	42	10	20	4	8	7.6 blocks
Canadians	50	19	27	4	-	3.1 blocks

As the size of each group sample is very small it is difficult to generalise about the respective shopping patterns displayed by each group. However, the figures in Table VIII suggest that Greeks travel further to purchase their food requirements than do Canadians, and that the Greek food shopping pattern is different from that displayed by Canadians.

Summary

Of the Greeks interviewed, 73.8 per cent did most of their grocery shopping at Canadian food stores mainly because, at a competitive price, these stores offer a variety of fresh, good quality products with which the Greeks are familiar. Despite this, however, a high percentage of all the Greeks interviewed (82.5 per cent) stated that they visited Greek food stores at least once a week mainly to buy speciality imported Greek foods which are not available in the Canadian supermarkets. Twenty-six per cent of the Greeks in fact visited the Greek stores to do most of their grocery shopping, and many of these suggested that they did so because the Greek stores have a friendly Greek atmosphere inside and offer fresh and high quality products. However, even if only one quarter of all the Greek families residing in the study area regularly visit the Greek supermarkets to purchase most of their food requirements, these stores are kept busy throughout the year.

The Market Areas of Greek Food Stores

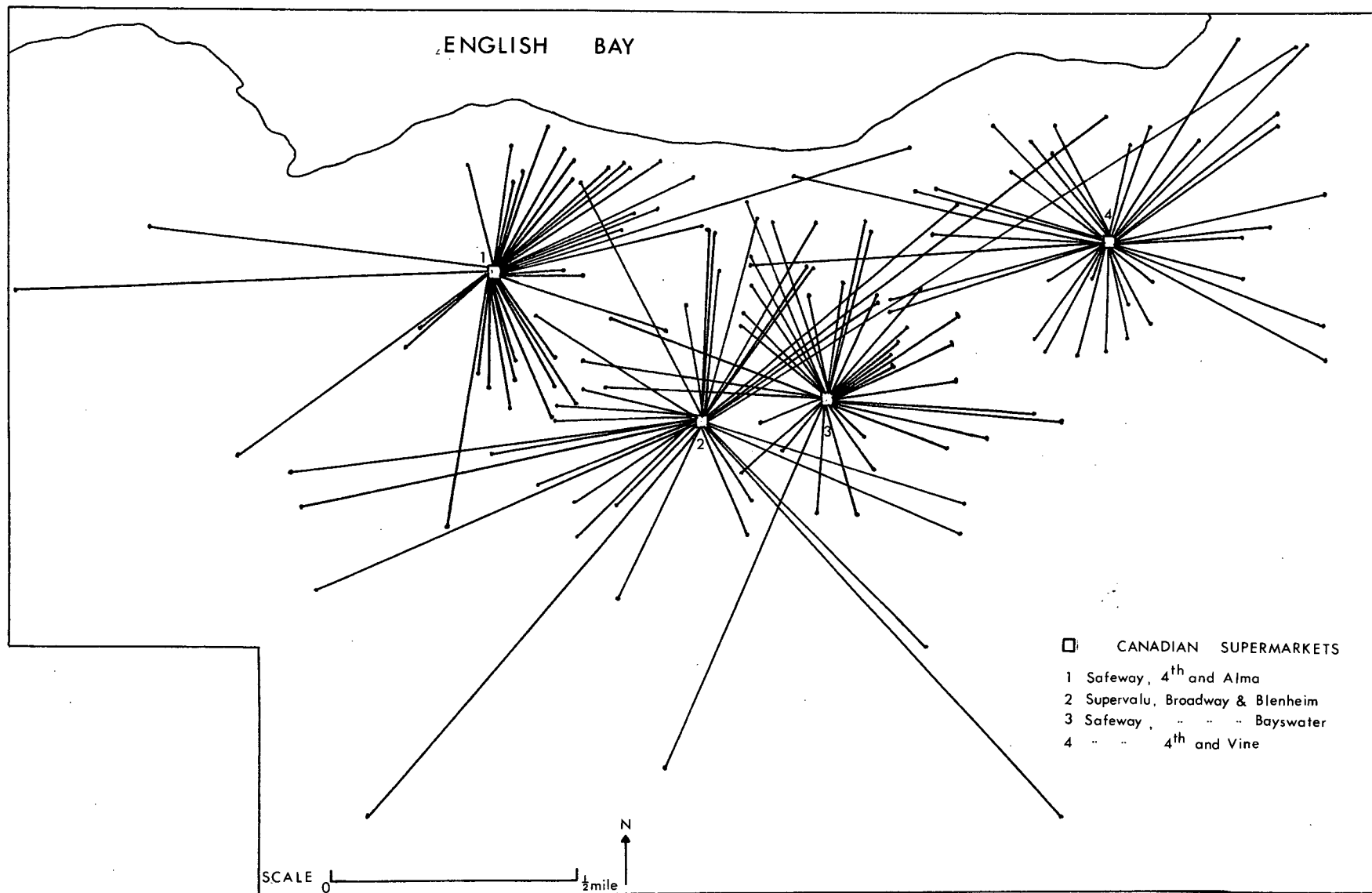
In addition to the regular Greek grocery shoppers and those Greeks who shop only for speciality Greek foods, the Greek food stores do important trade with non-Greek shoppers from the study area, and also with Greeks who live in different parts of the city away from the Kitsilano area. Business with this latter group forms an important part of

the trade of Greek food stores. Thus these stores not only have the function of serving the local Greek population, but also numerous Greeks who are located in many different areas of the city. It is to be assumed that such Greeks are motivated by strong cultural traditions and feelings to travel large distances across town to purchase the distinctive Greek foods of their choice.

The remaining section of this study examines the market areas of the Greek food stores in Kitsilano, and shows that, in contrast to Canadian food stores, they reveal patterns which are similar to those generally displayed by speciality stores in urban areas.

In order to show the role which "culture" plays in the shopping habits of the Greek community within Vancouver, both in and out of the Greek study area, "desire-line" maps are constructed for several Greek and Canadian supermarkets located within the study area. These are based on data derived from the stores themselves.

Map Seven illustrates the market areas of Canadian supermarkets and Map Eight the market area for the Parthenon Greek supermarket. It is important to notice the obvious difference in scale between the two maps. A fairly consistent "neighbourhood" relationship between the Canadian supermarket and its customers is indicated in Map Seven, and this supports the findings of Carol and Berry mentioned earlier in this chapter. Map Eight reveals that the Greek supermarket draws its customers from a wider region than



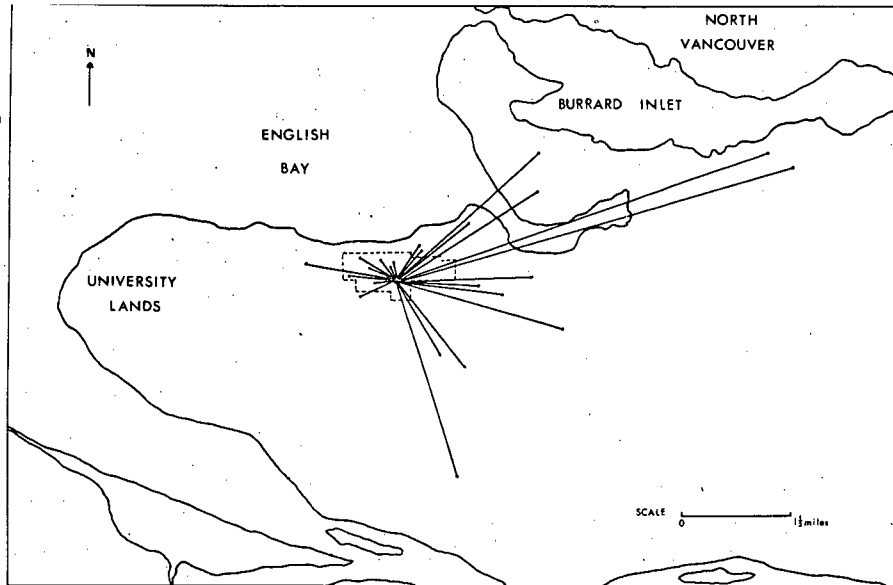
MAP SEVEN. MARKET RELATIONS - CANADIAN SUPERMARKETS (IN THE STUDY AREA)

the Canadian stores, a pattern which indicates the speciality nature of the Greek store.

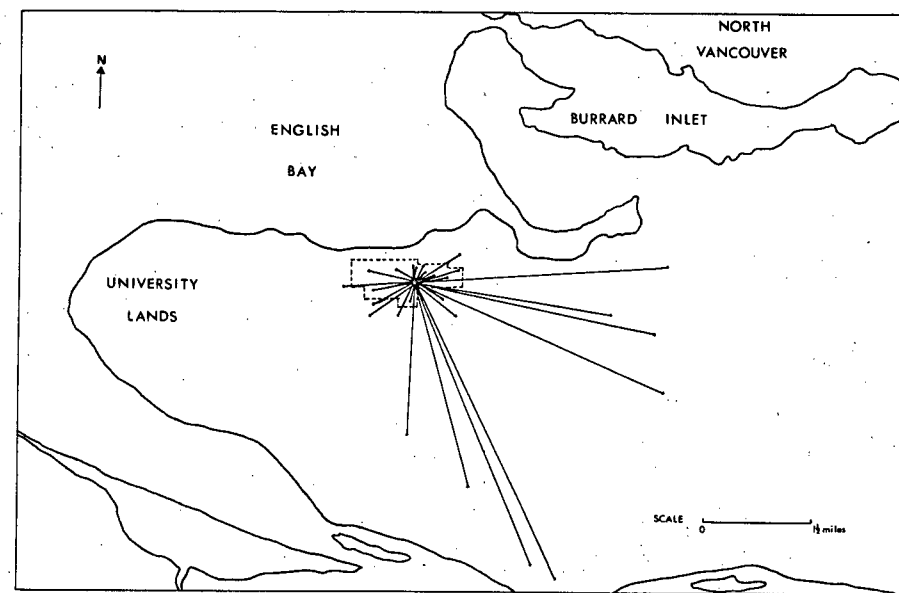
These findings are further emphasized by Map Nine and Map Ten. The data for these maps were obtained from question slips placed in the University Stores (Map Nine) and the Seven Seas Fish Market (Map Ten), which Greek customers were asked to complete by writing down their home address. The results are interesting for they show that Greeks are prepared to travel many blocks across town to purchase speciality Greek foods such as feta cheese and olives from the University Stores, and fresh fish and possibly some speciality foods at the Seven Seas Fish Market. Such cultural preferences create a culturally distinctive spatial shopping pattern between Greek stores and Canadian supermarkets within the city.

It is evident that the Greek food stores of Kitsilano play a central role in the cultural life of the Greeks scattered throughout Vancouver. However, during the field-work stage of this study it was learned that many Greeks visited the California Grocery, a Greek food store located on the perimeter of down-town. This store serves both the small Greek community residing near the West End, and the Greeks from throughout the city. It was decided to obtain data from this store (the same method as for the other stores) to ascertain the importance of its relationship with the Greeks living in Kitsilano and elsewhere in the city.

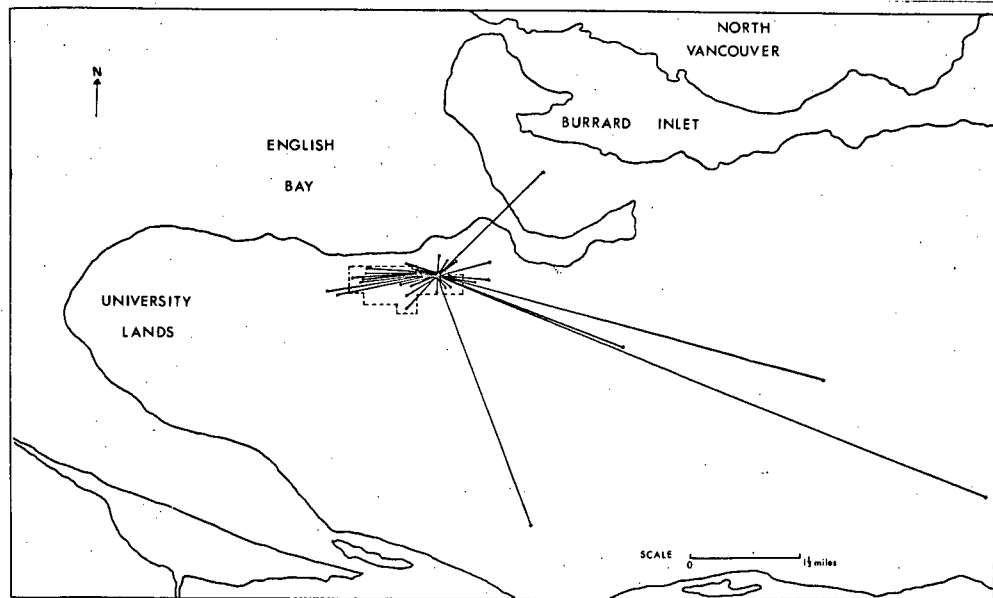
The data obtained from this store are shown on Map



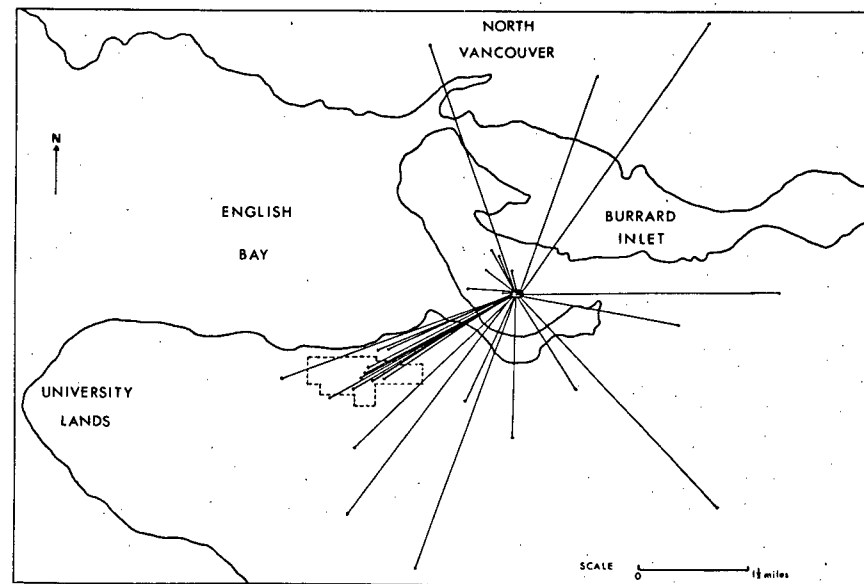
MAP EIGHT. MARKET RELATIONS - GREEK SUPERMARKET 1.



MAP NINE. MARKET RELATIONS - SPECIALITY GREEK FOOD STORE 2.



MAP TEN. MARKET RELATIONS - GREEK FISH STORE 3.



MAP ELEVEN. MARKET RELATIONS - CALIFORNIA GROCERY.

Eleven. The store serves a large market area encompassing most of the city, and this pattern re-emphasises the cultural conservatism of the Vancouver Greek community. It is also noticed that the California Grocery trades with many Greek residents from the Kitsilano study area. A comparison of Maps Eight, Nine and Eleven suggests that the Kitsilano Greek stores do not attract a sizeable trade from Greek residents in the West End region, but that the California Grocery does still attract a large number of Greeks from the Kitsilano area. This pattern is explained by the fact that the California Grocery was the first all Greek food store to be opened in Vancouver, whereas the Greek food stores in Kitsilano are of recent origin (see pages twelve and thirteen). Clearly, many Greeks living in Kitsilano began visiting the California Grocery well before the recent development of Greek food stores on West Broadway. Thus the "established" store still remains very much in business although it is perhaps now being challenged by the rapidly developing Greek commercial district of Kitsilano. The fact that such speciality food stores in different areas of the city can compete with one another, attests to the high degree of cultural conservatism which a small minority ethnic group such as the Greeks must possess in order to make the existence of a wide variety of special food stores possible.

Summary

The extent of cultural conservatism displayed in

Greek food habits is reflected also in their food shopping habits, for the Greeks do display a food shopping pattern which is quite distinct from the pattern of Canadian shoppers. In order to purchase the speciality foods of their choice Greeks in Vancouver travel some distance across the city, thus indicating that when cultural preference is being exercised the concept that food shoppers exclusively visit a "neighbourhood" food store is not readily applicable.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study has been to investigate some aspects of the culture of a minority ethnic group in order to show how ethnic minority communities function within the city. For this purpose, an ethnic minority group in Vancouver, the Greeks, was studied in order to establish the extent to which this group maintained its own cultural identity within the "strange" environment of the City. Research concentrated on the food habits and resulting food shopping patterns of this group, and the study revealed that:-

(a) The Greeks in Vancouver, most of whom are first generation settlers in Canada, tend to preserve the food habits which remind them of their homeland.

(b) Members of this group find it quite easy to preserve their traditional food habits in Vancouver and to purchase their favourite foods, due to the presence of Canadian supermarkets (which offer a wide variety of fresh quality goods with which the Greeks are familiar) and of Greek food stores, which offer speciality imported Greek foods, not usually available in Canadian stores.

(c) Greeks display a considerable degree of cultural conservatism in their choice of food even after a long residence in Canada.

(d) Greek food shopping habits differ from the "Canadian" patterns. Some Greeks frequent their own food stores to purchase much of their general requirements and even more so for speciality food requirements. This means that in order to preserve their own cultural habits, members of this ethnic group have to travel farther in the city to purchase the goods they require.

(e) The maintenance of special food habits has caused Vancouver Greeks to display a distinctive food shopping pattern within the city. This contrasts with the food shopping pattern displayed by Old Order Mennonites in rural Ontario who not only have the space, but also a familiar climate (compared with the Greeks in Vancouver) in which they are able to grow many of their own special food requirements.

The importance of recognizing ethnic minority groups in a city cannot be overstated for from such knowledge comes a greater understanding and awareness of the total urban cultural landscape and a greater insight into population movements within the city. Only when such distinctive ethnic minority groups are understood can theoretical work concerning consumer behaviour patterns become more relevant and meaningful in geographical studies.

GREEK FOOD QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL

- 1) List the three vegetables that you eat most frequently.
1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____
- 2) List the three fruits that you eat most frequently.
1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____
- 3) List the three kinds of fish that you eat most frequently.
1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____
- 4) List in order (1-6) the following meats which you eat most frequently.
If you don't eat any of the following, mark 0 beside them.
Beef _____ Lamb _____ Pork _____ Ham _____ Poultry _____
Fish _____
- 5) List in order (1-6) the following drinks which you drink most frequently.
If you don't drink any of the following, mark 0 beside them.
Tea _____ Instant Coffee _____ Turkish Coffee _____
Milk _____ Wine _____ Coca Cola _____
- 6) Name the cooking fat or oil that you use most frequently in your cooking. _____
- 7) Are you able to obtain most of the typically "Greek" foods that you require? Yes _____ No _____

TRADITIONAL FOODS

- 8) Do you eat Breakfast cereals?
Usually (Everyday) () Sometimes (Less than once a week) ()
Frequently (Once a week) () Rarely (Less than once a month) ()
- 9) Do you eat more traditional cheese (Feta) than Canadian cheese?
Yes _____ No _____
- 10) Do you eat Canned fruit and vegetables?
Usually (Everyday) () Sometimes (Less than once a week) ()
Frequently (Once a week) () Rarely (Less than once a month) ()
- 11) Do you eat Frozen fruit and vegetables?
Usually (Everyday) () Sometimes (Less than once a week) ()
Frequently (Once a week) () Rarely (Less than once a month) ()
- 12) Do you eat more Lamb than Beef? Yes _____ No _____

Γενικά

1. Αναφέρατε τρία χορταρικά ή λαχανικά που τρώτε συχνά.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

2. Αναφέρατε τρία φρούτα που τρώτε συχνά.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

3. Αναφέρατε τρία είδη ψαριού που τρώτε συχνά.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. Αναφέρατε με τη σειρά (1-6) τα ακόλουθα κρέατα που τρώτε συχνά.
"Αν δεν τρώτε κανένα βάλτε 0 στην γραμμή.

Βωδινό _____ Άρνι _____ Χοιρινό _____
Χάρ(Ζαμπόν) _____ Πουλερικά _____ Ψάρια _____

5. Αναφέρατε με τη σειρά (1-6) τα ακόλουθα ποτά που πίνετε συχνά.
"Αν δεν πίνετε τίποτε βάλτε 0 στη γραμμή.

Τσάι _____ Νεέσκαφε _____ Τούρκικο καφέ _____ Γάλα _____ Κρασί _____
Κόκα κόλα _____

6. Γράψατε τι μεταχειρίζεστε για να μαγειρέψετε (Βούτυρο, λάδι, σπορέλαιο, λίπος κλπ.) _____

7. Μπορείτε να προμηθευθείτε τα απαραίτητα για να μαγειρεύετε Έλληνικά φαγητά; Ναι _____ "Όχι _____

Συνήθη φαγητά

8. Τρώτε για πρωινό σήριαλς (δημητριακά);

Συνήθως (Κάθε μέρα) () Μερικές φορές (Λιγώτερο από μία φορά την εβδομάδα) ()
Συχνά (Μιά φορά την εβδομάδα) () Σπανίως (Λιγώτερο από μία φορά το μήνα) ()

9. Τρώτε την πατροπαράδοτη "φέτα" περισσότερο από τα Καναδικά τυριά; Ναι _____ "Όχι _____

10. Τρώτε φρούτα ή λαχανικά σε κονσέρβες;

Συνήθως () Μερικές φορές ()
Συχνά () Σπανίως ()

11. Τρώτε κατεψυγμένα φρούτα ή λαχανικά (ή χορταρικά);

Συνήθως () Μερικές φορές ()
Συχνά () Σπανίως ()

12. Τρώτε συχνότερα άρνι παρά βωδινό; Ναι _____ "Όχι _____

13. "Αν τό άρνι ή τό βωδινό έχουν την ίδια τιμή τί θα αγοράσετε, άρνι ή βωδινό; _____

14. Τρώτε έντόσθια (Σηκώτι, νεφρά, καρδιές);

Συχνά _____ Μερικές φορές _____ Σπανίως _____

14α. Τρώτε κιμά; Ναι _____ "Όχι _____

15. Τρώτε βούτυρο, μαρμελάδα ή τζέλλυ σπό ψωμί-σας; Ναι _____ "Όχι _____

16. Κάθε πότε μαγειρεύετε τα έθνικά σας (έλληνικά) φαγητά;

Συνήθως () Μερικές φορές ()
Συχνά () Σπανίως ()

- 13) If a lb. of Lamb and a lb. of Beef was the same price, which one would you choose? _____
- 14) Do you eat Organ Meats (Liver, Kidneys, Hearts)?
Frequently (Once a week) ()
Sometimes (less than once a week) ()
Rarely (Less than once a month) ()
- 15) Do you eat Butter, Jam or Jelly on your bread? Yes _____ No _____
- 16) How often do you cook your own National dishes?
Usually (Everyday) () Sometimes (Less than once a week) ()
Frequently (Once a week) () Rarely (Less than once a month) ()
- 17) Do you observe your own religious/cultural feast days? Yes _____ No _____
- 18) Do you have a special meal on such feast days? Yes _____ No _____
- 19) Do you eat any of the specially prepared dishes such as:-
Yiachni () Dolmathes () Mousaka ()
Pastitsio () Kreas Fournour ()
- 20) Which of the following do you eat at least once a week?
Hamburgers () Hot Dogs () Fruit Pies () Donuts ()
- 21) How many times a year do you sample exotic National dishes from other countries? (i.e. neither Canadian nor Greek food) _____

SHOPPING HABITS

- 22) Name the three food stores that you shop at most frequently.
Name. _____ Address _____
Name. _____ Address _____
Name. _____ Address _____
- 23) Name the three Greek food stores that you shop at most frequently.
Name. _____ Address _____
Name. _____ Address _____
Name. _____ Address _____
- 24) How often do you shop at Greek food stores?
Usually (Everyday) () Sometimes (Less than once a week) ()
Frequently (Once a week) () Rarely (Less than once a month) ()

17. Τηρείτε τίς έθνικές καί θρησκευτικές σας έορτές; Ναί_____ "Όχι_____

18. Τρῶτε έθνικά σας φαγητά, αναλόγως τής έορτῆς; Ναί_____ "Όχι_____

19. Τρῶτε πότε-πότε από τά κατωτέρω έλληνικά φαγητά;

Γιαχνί () Ντολμάδες () Μουσακά ()
Παστίτσιο () Κρέας Φουρνου ()

20. Ποίο από τά ακόλουθα τρῶτε τουλάχιστον μία φορά τήν εβδομάδα;

Χαμποϋργκερ () Χότ Ντόγκς () Φρύτ Πάις () Ντόνατς ()

21. Πόσες φορές τό χρόνο τρῶτε είδικά έθνικά φαγητά άλλων χωρῶν
έκτός από έλληνικά ή καναδικά; _____

Ποῦ ψωνίζετε

22. 'Ονομάσατε τρία από τά καταστήματα τροφίμων πού συνήθως ψωνίζετε.

"Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____
"Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____
"Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____

23. 'Ονομάσατε τρία έλληνικά καταστήματα τροφίμων πού ψωνίζετε συνήθως.

"Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____
"Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____
"Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____

24. Κάθε πότε ψωνίζετε σέ έλληνικά καταστήματα τροφίμων;

Συνήθως () Μερικές φορές ()
Συχνά () Σπανίως ()

25. 'Αναφέρατε κατά σειράν προτιμήσεως (από 1 έως 4) τόν λόγο για τόν
όποιον ψωνίζετε σε έλληνικά καταστήματα τροφίμων.

- α. Τά έλληνικά καταστήματα πωλούν είδικῶς είσαχθέντα έλληνικά
τροφίμα ()
β. 'Υπάρχει φιλική έλληνική ατμόσφαιρα στό κατάστημα. ()
γ. Τό κατάστημα είναι κοντά στό σπίτι σας. ()
δ. Τά τρόφιμα πού πωλούνται στό κατάστημα είναι φρέσκα καί
καλής ποιότητος. ()

26. Ποῖα είναι τά κυριώτερα έλληνικά προϊόντα πού ψωνίζετε στά έλ-
ληνικά καταστήματα τροφίμων; (Κατά σειράν προτιμήσεως).

α. _____ β. _____ γ. _____

27. Ψωνίζετε είδικά έλληνικά προϊόντα πρό τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ή τῶν
έθνικῶν έλληνικῶν έορτῶν; Ναί_____ "Όχι_____

28. Τί ακριβῶς ψωνίζετε πρίς από τέτοιες έορτές;

α. _____ β. _____ γ. _____

29. Κάθε πότε πηγαίνετε σέ έλληνικά έστιατόρια;

Συχνά (), Μερικές φορές (), Σπανίως ()

30. 'Ονομάσατε τά δύο έλληνικά έστιατόρια στά οποία πηγαίνετε συχνό-
τερα. "Αν δε πηγαίνετε σε έλληνικά έστιατόρια, σημειώσατε ἐδῶ (

α. "Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____
β. "Όνομα _____ Διεύθυνσις _____

Προσωπικές (άτομικές) πληροφορίες

31. Τόπος (χώρα) γεννήσεως _____ 32. 'Εθνικότης _____

- 25) List in order (1-4) the reasons why you shop at Greek food stores.
- a) Greek stores offer specially imported Greek food. ()
 - b) There is a friendly "Greek atmosphere" in the store. ()
 - c) The store is near where you live. ()
 - d) The goods sold in the store are fresh and of high quality. ()
- 26) What are the main food items that you purchase at Greek food stores?
List in order (1-3).
- 1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____
- 27) Do you make special food purchases at Greek food stores before Greek religious/cultural feast days? Yes _____ No _____
- 28) What special food items do you purchase at Greek stores before such feast days?
- 1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____
- 29) How often do you visit Greek restaurants?
- Frequently (Once a week) () Rarely (Less than once a month) ()
- Sometimes (Less than once a week) ()
- 30) Name the two Greek restaurants that you visit most frequently. (If you do not visit Greek restaurants, check here ().
- 1) _____
Name Address
- 2) _____
Name Address

PERSONAL INFORMATION

- 31) Country of birth _____ 32) Nationality _____
- 33) How long have you lived in Vancouver? _____
- 34) Have you lived elsewhere in Canada? (If so, where and for how long?)

- 35) Country lived/stayed in before coming to Canada? _____
- 36) Area or town of longest stay in Greece? _____
- 37) Age (Check)
- a) Under 25 () (c) 35-50 years ()
 - b) 25-35 years () (d) Over 50 years ()
- 38) What is your present address? _____
- No. Street Town

33. Πόσον καιρό ζήτε στο Βανκούβερ; _____

34. Έχετε ζήσει άλλοι στον Καναδά; "Αν ναι, ποῦ καί ἐπί πόσον καιρό; _____

35. Χώρα στην οποία ζούσατε ἢ μένατε πρὶν ἔρθετε στον Καναδά. _____

36. Περιοχή, πόλις ἢ χωριό πού ἔχετε ζήσει περισσότερο καιρό στην Ελλάδα. _____

37. Ἡλικία (σημειώσατε μέ ἓνα ν)

α. Κάτω ἀπό 25 () β. 25 - 35 ἐτῶν ()
γ. 35 - 50 ἐτῶν () δ. Πάνω ἀπό 50 ἐτῶν ()

38. Ποιά εἶναι ἡ τωρινή σας διεύθυνσις; Ἀρ. _____ ὁδός _____ πόλις _____

39. Αὕτη εἶναι ἡ πρώτη καί ἡ μόνη (δ)σις πού εἶχατε στό Βανκούβερ; Ναι _____ Ὁχι _____. Ἄν ὄχι, σημειώσατε τή διεύθυνσι στην ὁποίαν πρωτομεινате στο Βανκούβερ. Ἀρ. _____ ὁδός _____

40. Ποιᾶς γενεᾶς εἴσθε ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τήν ἀφιξί σας στον Καναδά; Πρώτης, δευτέρας, τρίτης ἢ τετάρτης; Δηλαδή ἐάν ὁ προπάππος σας ἦλθε πρῶτος, εἴσθε τετάρτης, ἂν παππος σας, τρίτης, ἂν οἱ γονεῖς σας, δευτέρας, καί ἂν ἐσεῖς ἦλθατε πρῶτος (ἢ πρῶτοι), τότε εἴσθε πρώτης γενεᾶς. Λοιπὸν ἀπαντήσατε, παρακαλῶ. Πρώτης (), Δευτέρας (), Τρίτης (), Τετάρτης ().

39) Is this your first and only address that you have lived at in
Vancouver? Yes _____ No _____

If not, state the address that you stayed at when you first came to
Vancouver. _____

No. _____ Street _____

40) What generation are you in Canada?

First () Second () Third () Fourth ()