

GREEKS IN CANADA: A RESEARCHER'S APPROACH

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RÉSUMÉ

On constate que la présence de Grecs sur le sol canadien remonte à 1592: c'est-à-dire bien avant que le Canada ne devienne un État fédéral (1867). C'est en 1906 cependant que la première communauté hellénique a été créée à Montréal et c'est en 1921 qu'on publie le premier livre traitant des Grecs du Canada. Le présent article constitue une brève synthèse de toutes les études existantes concernant les Canadiens d'origine grecque; il met en évidence: 1) l'urgent besoin d'une recherche empirique plus poussée qui regroupe dans un même schéma d'analyse toutes les données connues sur les Grecs du Canada; 2) les diverses relations qu'on peut établir entre les données (démographiques, sociales, culturelles, politiques et économiques) de ces recherches. La présente analyse se fonde sur un ensemble de soixante-dix-sept études (publiées ou inédites) que l'auteur a pu identifier au cours de deux ans de recherche à travers le Canada.

ABSTRACT

The very first presence of Greeks on Canadian soil may be traced back to 1592, long before Canada herself had become a Federal State (1867). It was, however, in 1906 that the first Greek community organization in Canada was established in Montreal, and in 1921 that the first book was published dealing with Canada's Greeks. This paper attempts a synoptic analysis of all existing studies dealing with Canadians of Greek descent by pointing to: a) the urgent need for further research on the different Greek-Canadian issues within an integrated scheme of analysis all across Canada; and b) the various correlates - demographic, social, cultural, political and economic - of the existing research on Canada's Greeks. The entire analysis has been based on a grand total of seventy-seven such studies located after a two-year, Canada-wide search.

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INTRODUCTION

Canada is a nation of immigrants. This is the most commonly heard statement when discussing different issues about Canadian society in general. Both in public and in private, no one seems to dispute the fact that what is today called Canada, is a country made up of numerous and different groups of people whose ancestry may be traced back to all five continents. In fact, as the official Canadian publication (Census Canada, 1971) has argued:

With the exception of some 300,000 of Canada's Native Peoples, today's entire Canadian population consists of immigrants and their direct descendants...Canadian history, as commonly presented, deals primarily with the growth of European settlement since the establishment of the first colonies in Quebec (p.1)

Yet, when we speak of Canada's immigrant groups, the overall understanding is that references are made to those groups who came and settled on Canadian soil during the 19th and, more so, during the 20th century. The so-called "charter groups" or "two founding peoples" (French and English) are no longer considered immigrants and/or ethnic. (As a matter of fact there has always been a controversy as to who is and who is not an immigrant and what the criteria for such a categorization ought to be).

Nevertheless, until quite recently, this ethnic reality of Canadian society had made very few inroads into the social research field. The immigrant population composition of Canadian society, along with all-important issues stemming from such a composition, have for too long remained unexplored. As most scholars have argued, it was only during the early 1960's that a rather concerted effort was made to thoroughly investigate different immigrant issues (e.g. Lafferrière, 1982). Certainly, this is not to say that before the 1960's no such study had been conducted with its main focus the Canadian immigrant population. The fact of the matter is that there had been sporadic and isolated attempts to study certain groups of immigrants. The "boom", however, in so-called ethnic studies in Canada is in fact a rather recent phenomenon. In that respect, Canada's Greeks and their systematic study appear to be an interesting case in point.

GREEKS IN CANADA: AN HISTORICAL NOTE

When P.Chimbos(1980) notes that "no one knows exactly when the first Greeks came to North America", he is closer to

the truth than many realize. Although one may be tempted to trace the first Greek presence on Canadian soil back to the years when Christopher Columbus explored the "New World" (Sicilianos, 1950), it seems that George Vlassis' argument (1953) on the arrival of the first Greek in Canada is the most widely cited reference in that respect. According to Vlassis, in 1592 Juan de Fuca (whose original name was Yiannis Phokas, a native of the island of Cephalonia in the Ionian sea), who was serving at the time in the Spanish navy, explored the coast of western Canada. The strait between Vancouver Island and Washington State was named after him. It has also been argued that by the year 1843 the first two Greeks (Panayiotis Nonis and Theodore Lekas) had come and settled in Montreal (Petritis, 1972) and that by the year 1851 another Greek had arrived in British Columbia. He was a native of Kyme (Eubea) named George Kapiotis (Chimbos, 1980).

Nevertheless, the number of Greeks in Canada by the year 1871 did not exceed 40 individuals, whereas the total number of Greeks on Canadian soil by the year 1900 had reached the 200 figure. Thus, it was around the turn of the century and the overall political and economic developments of the time that the sizeable Greek immigration to Canada recorded its presence. Between 1900 and 1907 a total of 2,540 Greeks entered Canada (Woodsworth, 1909), and by the year 1912 Canada had become the "new home" for 5,740 Greeks - the majority of the (67%) living within the areas of metropolitan Toronto and metropolitan Montreal. Almost twenty years later (1931) the number of Greek origin individuals in Canada had reached a total of 9,450 persons. These early Greek to Canada may be considered a kind of "foundation" for the massive Greek immigration to Canada after WW II and the civil war that followed in the case of Greece.

As expected, the mere population increase over the years and the many and multifaceted needs/problems of the early Greeks in Canada necessitated some sort of social organization and the establishment of "collectivities" in the new, hospitable, yet strange land. In fact, according to some very recent claims (1) the first such Greek collectivity on Canadian soil was formed a few years before the turn of the century under the leadership of Harris Koutsogiannopoulos who has become known as "the father" of the very first Hellenic Community in Canada. It was the same group of people who, a few years later, in the year 1906, established the first socio-cultural and religious-educational community under the name "Greek-Orthodox

Community of Montreal". In the latter part of 1910, the first Greek-Orthodox Church (Evangelismos/Annunciation) and the first day Greek school (Plato) were established as official community institutions serving the immediate needs of Montreal's Greeks. From then on, the institutional development and growth of the Greeks living in Montreal -and of Greeks across Canada, for that matter- proceeded according to the flow of immigration to Canada.

After the massive Greek immigration movement of the 1955-1970 period, the few community associations and institutions of the pre-WW II period gave rise to a plethora of additional community organizations in virtually all of the Canadian provinces. As expected, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver have witnessed the creation of the most Greek institutions over the last 25-30 years, since those three cities have traditionally attracted the largest concentrations of Greeks to Canada. In short, Greek origin Canadians are to be found today from the east to the west coast of the Canadian federation, and Greek community institutions and community life are an integral part of Canadian society from Halifax to Vancouver.

Thus, one may argue that Greeks in Canada, along with their socio-cultural organization, are rather recently "naturalized Canadians" when compared to a number of other immigrant groups. At the same time, however, they have a rather long history in this land when compared to many other immigrant groups living on Canadian soil - especially so, when comparisons are made to several of Canada's immigrant groups who arrived, mainly, during the sixties and the seventies. Yet, Greeks in Canada, as seems to be the case with several other immigrant groups, are among the least studied groups. Even today when one may point to a number of recent studies concerned with Canada's Greek population (e.g. Gavaki, Lambrou, Lewis, Chimbos, Bombas, Bredimas-Assimopoulos, Constantinides) Gavaki's argument is still valid: "...as far as Greeks in Canada are concerned, the literature is not only meager but also lacks sociological focus and an integrated scheme of analysis" (Gavaki, 1977:13).

The latest comprehensive study dealing exclusively with Greeks living on Canadian soil was published in late 1983 and concerns itself with Quebec's Greeks (S. Constantinides: Les Grecs du Québec, 1983). Among other comments in his conclusion, the author reiterates the argument for further research and collection of scientific evidence- beyond and in parallel with anecdotal and descriptive accounts - pertaining to the various aspects of Quebec (Canadian)

Hellenism:

Quoi qu'il en soit, il est grand temps d' étudier le groupe, car l'action concrète doit avoir des fondements scientifiques, doit se baser sur des recherches qui éclairent les problèmes particuliers.

Unfortunately, up to the present time, the number of studies dealing with Canada's Greeks at a national level is extremely limited beyond the mere descriptive analysis. In addition, as far as this author is concerned, there is no such study under way (2) despite the fact that, over the last couple of years, several small-scale studies have been conducted - principally in Montreal, Toronto, and to a lesser extent, in Vancouver. The existing research efforts of several individual and/or team scholars in Quebec and Ontario, though significant on their own merit, have not succeeded in co-ordinating and merging their endeavors into a well-organized and integrated research scheme that may be called "Greek-Canadian Studies".

At any rate, it is toward that direction that the present synoptic analysis focuses its attention by discussing virtually all works (published and/or unpublished) dealing with Canada's Greeks. The analysis that follows, and which aims at pointing to the urgent need for further systematic research within the overall framework of "Greek-Canadian Studies", is based on a previous Canada-wide search to locate every single study on Greek-Canadians (Bombas, 1982). It is believed that an in-depth analysis of all existing major and/or minor studies on Canada's Greeks (published and unpublished) along chronological, thematic, and linguistic lines will be a useful groundwork for future research on the same topic. Furthermore, it is hoped that both Greeks and non-Greeks across Canada will be sensitized to the need for further scientific evidence regarding all aspects of the personal and social life of the almost 250,000 Greek origin Canadians who already have an eighty year long institutional history in this new homeland. No doubt, Greece itself and Greek State officials are by no means excluded from such considerations and concerns. On the contrary. The rhetoric so often often delivered by successive Greek governments regarding Greeks abroad in general, and the Greek-Canadians in particular, should at last, be translated into concrete actions.

THE EXISTING STUDIES ON CANADA'S GREEKS

An extensive two year search between 1980 and 1982

revealed the existence of 68 different studies dealing in whole or in part with Canada's Greek population from coast to coast (Bombas, 1982). The publication of the first and only annotated bibliography on "Greeks in Canada" has been based on that research. The bibliography includes all major and minor works on Greek-Canadians, published and unpublished, from Halifax to Vancouver, in all three languages (Greek, English, French). Both theoretical and empirical studies are included with a small summary of each enlisted work. Articles, commentaries and any other items on Canada's Greeks that may, at times, have appeared in the popular press (newspapers/magazines) have not been included in the bibliography regardless of size or importance of such materials.

Based, then, on this bibliography and on an additional nine works on Greek-Canadians that have been brought to this author's attention over the last two years, a rather general content analysis of all those 77 works is attempted, and some overall trends are discussed in the present context. In addition, the thematic, linguistic, and chronological appearance of those works on Greeks in Canada are analyzed and discussed against a number of other - yet interrelated - phenomena: the number of Greeks coming to Canada during different time-periods; their background characteristics and their stand in the new society with regard to the anglophone and francophone populations (especially in the case of Quebec); the socio-cultural, political and linguistic developments in all of Canada, with particular reference to Quebec; and the institutional development of the Greek communities of Canada (3).

A glance at Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 provides a first picture of the existing studies along several interesting lines. Table 1 shows the total number of published and unpublished works up to the present day. One may see that there is an almost equal number in both categories (40 vs. 37) with the existence of 13 books and 27 articles published in a wide variety of journals or books. Furthermore, the existence of only one doctoral dissertation throughout the long period of Greek settlement in Canada is something that needs to be mentioned in particular. In other words, the study of Canada's Greeks at the post-graduate level has yet to be realized and updated.

Table 2 shows the language of publication or the language that the author has used to present his/her work in a paper, thesis or report. First of all, it becomes clear that the English language has dominated the scene over the

years, and especially so in the form of books, published articles, and Master's theses. A total of 47 works on Canada's Greeks have been presented in English compared to less than half of that number which have appeared in French (i.e. 20). Furthermore, the anglophone "dominance" in our case is best illustrated with the existence of 12 Master's theses all of which have been written in English - even though five of them have been submitted to various departments of Quebec's universities. The only doctoral dissertation, dealing with the socio-professional mobility and the integration of Greeks in Montreal, has been presented in French (Bredimas-Assimopoulos, 1975). As far as this present analysis is concerned, no study on Greek-Canadians seems to have been presented in all three languages (Greek-English-French).

Table 3 shows the time period within which each of the existing studies has been presented, regardless of the language used or whether publication was in a journal/book or neither. It was thought that the most convenient - and perhaps the most logical - way to draw the "borders" of each period was the immigration pattern and the "time-table" followed by Greeks coming to Canada through the years. Thus, the arrival time of the first Greek on Canadian soil well up to the mid-fifties may be considered the period of "the first breed" of Greeks to Canada, the so-called paleometanastes of the Greek-Canadian communities. The second period covers all those years that followed WW II and the civil war in Greece. As the record shows, it was during those 14 years that the massive Greek immigration to Canada was observed, and the Greek communities across Canada took a new drift. Around the late 1960's the number of Greeks coming to Canada started to taper off and by 1974 only a few Greeks were coming to Canada to begin a new life. Finally, the decade between 1975-1984 has been separately considered in the present context not only due to the fact that from 1974 on, the number of Greeks coming to Canada is minimal and the different Greek-Canadian communities have already been on the search for new structural arrangements and participation in Canadian socio-political life; but also because it is the most recent decade of the rather long history of Greek in Canada. It would be both interesting and useful to attempt to discern the research tendencies of these last years.

From the time of the first Greek on Canadian soil until 1954 there have been only two works dealing exclusively with

Canada's Greeks. No other source dealing either in part or in whole with Greek Canadians has been located for the said period. The only two works of the period -in a book form- are merely descriptive accounts of the then existing Greek settlements in all Canadian Provinces. The first of these books, which is also the very first work on Canada's Greeks, is a telephone directory for the Greeks living on Canadian soil (Papamanolis, 1921-22). The book includes a very small description of Greeks across Canada and has been published in Greek.

The second book of the period is published in English (Vlassis, 1953) and provides an informative description of the different Greek communities in Canada along a sort of "who is who" of the Greek origin personalities in Canada.

The second period covering the years of the Greek massive immigration to Canada (Ontario and Quebec being the principal "attractors" of Greek immigrants, and Toronto/Montreal in particular), that is between 1955 to 1969, has produced an additional eleven works. Despite the fact that Greeks were coming by the thousands to Canada during those years - the so-called neometanastes (new immigrants) - a corresponding increase in research work has not been recorded. Among many other factors, the perennial efforts for the day-to-day "bread and butter" issues of the new Greek immigrants and the multifaceted hardships in adjusting to the demands of the new society may be seen as explanatory variables for the relatively small number of works produced. On the other hand, one should bear in mind the fact that well up to the sixties the ethnic relations field in Canada - and for all immigrant groups - was poorly organized. Furthermore another point worth mentioning is the appearance in 1969 of the very first study on Canada's Greeks (Montreal) in the French language, commissioned by the Quebec Ministry. The so-called "Quiet Revolution" of the sixties and the realization that Quebec's Greeks had, for the greatest part, submerged into the anglophone milieu, may in some way explain the appearance of this work in French.

From the late 1960's on, the number of Greeks coming to Canada starts to decline steadily. At the same time, however, the institutional development and the expansion of Greek-Canadian communities are on the rise. In fact one may argue that the early seventies witnessed the massive establishment of Greek community organizations and associations (e.g. Sirros, 1973; Chimbos, 1980; Bombas,

1983; Lambrou, 1976) and the re-organization of the already existing community institutions. To a considerable extent the first difficulties and problems of trying to 'make it' in the new land had been, more or less, managed. The need for organized fronts and expressions across Greek-Canadian communities took the front scene. This drift in direction may also be observed in the number of studies produced during the four-years period between 1970 and 1974. It is of interest to note that a total of 15 studies on Canada's Greeks appeared during that period compared to 11 for the previous period (1955-1969) of fifteen years, and the two works of the first period. No doubt, the official policy of multiculturalism (1971) adopted by the Canadian government, the "awakening" of French nationalism in Quebec, the Civil Rights movement across the border (U.S.A.), and the arrival in Canada of a "new breed" of more educated/liberal Greeks ought to be seriously considered in this context.

The last chronological period for the purposes of this analysis covers the most recent decade, from 1975 up to the present. A grand total of 49 works on Canada's Greeks appear during that period, eighteen of which have been presented in French. If the sheer number of studies is an indication of a renewed interest in investigating the different aspects of the Greek-Canadian community, the volume and the thematic diversity of these studies speak for themselves. Funds, though limited, are becoming available from both levels of government (Federal and Provincial), "amateur" and professional scholars - principally of Greek descent themselves - push forward research ideas, and the so-called ordinary Greek-Canadian is in constant search for objective data about himself, his family, and his "Greekness" in the new society.

Yet, despite the sizeable increase of studies over the last decade and the interest shown from many sides (real or not) for an in-depth investigation of Greek-Canadian issues, many aspects of the Canadian Hellenism remain unexplored or, at best, poorly examined. Empirical research and objective evidence are far from adequate. On the whole, the vast majority of existing studies are of a descriptive nature with methodological and theoretical shortcomings. There does not appear to be any co-ordination and co-operation among different research efforts and there have been instances where there is a constant "marathon" as to who will get government funds. (4)

On the part of both levels of government there seems to be an undeclared policy of priorities when it comes to assisting the research efforts dealing with Canada's Greeks.

For the most part, money is allotted much more readily in folkloric and "window dressing" endeavors which are widely popular on one hand, and rather unharmed(5) on the other. Rigidly planned academic research, which may reveal "hidden truths", does not appear to be the priority, as it should be. By the same token, the rhetoric of the Greek State has yet to be materialized in the form of concrete action. Substantial assistance (moral and financial) is a must in encouraging scientific research among the almost 250,000 Canadians of Greek descent.

At this very moment, as far as this author is concerned, with the exception of three to four individuals in Ontario, another five or six in Quebec, and perhaps one or two in British Columbia, there is no other "hearth" of Greek studies in all of Canada. Even these twelve or so individuals have little, if anything, to do with each other and their otherwise worthy efforts do not provide the layground for mutual sharing and benefit. In Montreal there have been some attempts, over the last couple of years, to coordinate efforts and to pool research resources so that eventually one may speak of a Greek-Canadian Studies framework. Much more however remains to be done toward that direction in conjunction with all other researchers of Greek issues working in all parts of Canada. As a matter of fact, the urgent need for further and co-ordinated research into the multifaceted Greek-Canadian issues has been reiterated, once more, during the deliberations of the 5th PanCanadian Seminar of Greek Teachers which was held in Montreal between May 18 and 20, 1984 (6).

Before concluding this cursive analysis of Greek studies in Canada a few words should be added regarding the issues and the themes which have been explored, so far, concerning Greek Canadians. Thus, besides those works that have concerned themselves with virtually all aspects of Canada's Greeks (42) there have been another 35 studies which have elaborated and/or investigated a specific issue. Of those 35 works, the issue of education (public and/or Greek ethnic schools) and the issue of adaptation/adjustment occupy the first place with nine studies in each broad category (Table 4). Lastly, as shown in Table 5, from the grand total of 77 works considered in this analysis, forty seven have dealt with the Greek origin population in Quebec, another 16 with Ontario's Greeks, four with Greeks in British Columbia, and a total of ten studies have concerned themselves with Greeks all across Canada.

CONCLUSION

This endeavor began with the premise that research is an essential element and prerequisite of public policy.

The official policy of Canadian Multiculturalism and the ensuing practices vis-à-vis the numerous ethnic groups comprising the Canadian society can not be successfully realized in the absence of systematic and objective research. The message ought to be clear by now. As much for both levels of government in Canada (Federal-Provincial) as for the respective government in the country of origin for each particular ethnic group.

The "window dressing" orientation to twentieth century multiculturalism and the functional approach so much favored in the ethnic relations field do not necessarily constitute the best and most effective choices available. The existing research efforts with regard to the Canadian population of Greek origin and the present day search of that population for new directions within a truly multicultural Canada, may be considered as a case in point. In short, Greek-Canadians should not be seen only as the "cultural source" of the much popular souvlaki and mousaka and perhaps, the demonstration of bouzouki music and syrtaki dance. There is, there should be yet another facet of multiculturalism for all ethnic groups in Canada. A multiculturalism of substance, part of which is the concerted effort for academic research.

The overall dramatic increase in the number of studies dealing with Greek-Canadians over the last decade, a substantial number of which have been presented in French, along with the current research endeavors on the part of several individuals (within or independently of academic institutions) constitute a phenomenon worth mentioning by itself. It seems, perhaps, reasonable to suggest that the entire Greek-Canadian community is going, not only through a developmental/structural phase of constant search and change, but through an existential re-definition of itself as well. If this increase in the sheer volume of studies is an accurate indication of such new trends within Canadian Hellenism, and if all governments concerned (Federal-Provincial-Greek) are indeed serious and honest in what they purport to believe, the next few years appear to be quite promising. Especially so, if and when all individual research efforts on Canada's Greeks pool together their valuable resources and work hand-in-hand within an overall research scheme which may loosely be called Greek-Canadian Studies.

The gains from such a prospect will not only prove themselves beneficial to the individual researchers involved and to the field of ethnic relations in general,

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but, even more so, to the Canadian population of Greek descent per se and to the entire Canadian society. To that effect, one may add that comparative ethnic studies and the collection of objective evidence regarding different aspects of Canada's ethnic populations, will undoubtedly promote the much cherished ideals of cultural diversity and national harmony.

Canada is approaching the doorsteps of the 21st century. Systematic comparative research on Canadians of Greek extraction, and on all other ethnic groups in Canada for that matter, ought to be an integral part of that journey.

TABLE 1

	<u>Published</u>		<u>Unpublished</u>
Books	13	Ph. D. Dissertation	1
Articles	7	MA Thesis	12
Total	40	Reports/Papers	24
		Total	37

TABLE 2

Language of Publication/Presentation

	<u>Gr./Fr.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Gr.</u>	<u>Gr./Eng.</u>	<u>Fr/Eng.</u>
Books	1	2	7	2	1	--
Articles	--	8	19	--	--	--
Ph.D. Theses	--	1	--	--	--	--
MA Theses	--	--	12	--	--	--
Reports/ Papers	--	9	9	3	2	1

Total	1	20	47	5	3	1

Gr./Fr. : Greek/French

Fr. : French

Eng. : English

Gr. : Greek

Gr./Eng. : Greek/English

Fr/Eng. : French/English

TABLE 3

Publication/Presentation Period

<u>....-1954</u>	<u>1955-1969</u>	<u>1970-1974</u>	<u>1974-1984</u>
2	11	15	49

TABLE 4

Studies dealing with the issue of.....

Education (Public and/or Greek ethnic schools).....	9
Community Media.....	2
Greek Church.....	3
Integration/Assimilation/Adjustment.....	9
Family.....	6
Food Habits/Cultural Geography.....	2
Work/Working Conditions.....	3
Reactions to Quebecs Language Law.....	1
All aspects of community life.....	42
Total.....	77

TABLE 5

Studies dealing with Greeks in.....

Quebec.....	47	Ontario.....	16
British Columbia...4		All of Canada.....	10

NOTES

1. Rev. Constantinos Chalkias, who has been with the Hellenic Community of Montreal for many years, is said to have prepared an extensive historical account of the oldest community organization in all of Canada (The Hellenic Community of Montreal). According to Chalkias it was in the last decade of the 19th century that the first association of Greeks in Canada was formed - though without an officially accredited charter.

2. In the October issue (1983) of Sociologie et Société, vol. XV, no. 2, Agnès Beaulieu published an article describing the current research in Quebec's universities concerned the ethno-cultural communities and the immigration to Canada ("Répertoire des recherches en cours dans les universités québécoises sur les communautés ethniques et l'immigration au Canada"). As far as the Greek community in Quebec is concerned, the author enlists the research work of Efie Gavaki (Concordia University) and that of Margaret Lock (McGill University) along with the ongoing research of five graduate students - 4 at the Masters' level and one at the Ph. D. level. The doctoral research of L. Bombas on the achievement and socio-personal adjustment of Montreal's Greek children has not been included in that list. It is of particular interest to note that no francophone university in Quebec appears in this recent account of research on the Greek Community.

3. Inevitably, most of the works on Canada's Greeks included in the annotated bibliography have been prepared by scholars and individuals or organizations based in Montreal. This has been so for mainly two reasons: a) Montreal has traditionally been the first and the oldest "Greek centre" in Canada; and, b) this author lives and works in Montreal which means that a number of mostly unpublished studies outside Quebec may have never been reported through any of the available sources. This later, unintended bias ought not to escape the attention of the critical reader.

4. This intra-Greek "marathon" for securing funds from the various governmental bodies may be observed among the different Greek community organization and, to a lesser extent, among different researchers.

5. For example, both levels of government have, time and

again, shown that they prefer to finance a "Greek dance festival" than a research concerned with, say: the number of Greek origin individuals in the public sector; or, the problems faced by Greek-Canadians in the place of work; etc.

6. The need for solid and objective evidence on the numerous Greek community schools in Canada was repeatedly stressed during the three-day workshops of this Seminar. A great number of the participants and all four Greek officials attending the seminar (from the Greek Ministry of Education and the Secretariat for Greeks Abroad), stressed emphatically the need for scientific research and the collection of objective data, before proceeding with the writing of any book for the Greek community schools in Canada. Over the last couple of years, it seems, that more and more people from Canada's Greek communities have realized the importance of academic research.

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