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CULTURAL CHANGES IN THE GREEK FAMILY IN MONTREAL: AN INTRA- AND INTER-GENERATIONAL ANALYSIS

Efie Gavaki*

RÉSUMÉ

Le présent article a pour but d'esquisser une brève analyse, de caractère sociologique, de la famille grecque de Montréal et de suivre son évolution à travers les changements culturels et structuraux qu'elle a subis dans ses efforts pour s'adapter à une nouvelle culture et survivre dans une société urbaine industrialisée. L'exposé comprend des données historiques sur le groupe immigrant, identifie les caractéristiques socio-économiques de celui-ci, souligne les structures traditionnelles de la famille grecque et analyse les changements qui surviennent pendant le processus d'adaptation.

L'étude se fonde sur les données du Recensement du Canada ainsi que sur les résultats d'une enquête récente menée dans la région de Montréal auprès de 179 étudiants célibataires, de niveaux secondaire, collégial et universitaire, vivant avec leurs parents, et auprès de 115 parents ayant des enfants célibataires à la maison.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to give a brief sociological description and analysis of the Greek family in Montreal as it is currently going through cultural and structural changes in its struggle to adapt and survive in a new culture and in a demanding urban-industrial society. Such description and analysis will include discussion of the historical trends of migration and the socio-economic characteristics of the immigrant group; of the traditional family structures; and of the changes that occur in the process of adaptation.

This discussion is based on Canada Census data and on a recently completed survey study carried out in the Montreal Area among 179 High School, College and University students, single and living with their parents; and among 115 parents having single children at home.

I. THE GREEKS IN MONTREAL: A BRIEF HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

1. The Historical Profile

Immigration to Canada from Greece began as an offshoot of the larger migration to the United States in the 19th century. The first to come were seamen and they settled in British Columbia and Nova Scotia.

After the Greek War of Independence from the Turks in 1821 and by the end of the century, almost 20,000 individuals left for overseas. All but five were destined for the United States. During the first two decades of the 20th century (1900-1920) almost 370,000 Greeks, mostly young, and mostly males, left Greece with their main destination the U.S. Such an influx of rural, unskilled and uneducated labour potential created concerns for the American authorities who imposed restrictions to curb their entrance to the States. Thus, many of those intended for the U.S. found an outlet to Canada hoping to be able to join friends and relatives in the States later on.

* Concordia University (Montréal) — The author wishes to express her gratitude to the Provincial and Federal governments for their generous financial support to carry out the present study.

During 1870-1880 there were about 39 Greeks in Canada. In 1901 approximately 300 Greeks had settled in Quebec (66), Ontario (65), Nova Scotia (15), Manitoba (27), British Columbia (96) and other places. In 1911 the Greek population rose to 3,600 mainly concentrating in the metropolitan cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. As they became established, they sponsored the immigration of relatives and friends from their native towns and villages in Greece.

In Montreal, oral accounts suggest that some Greeks arrived during 1880-1885. Others, however, suggest that a few Greeks had settled in the port of Old Montreal as early as 1864 (Petritis, 1972:2). Finally, Vlassis (1953:137-8) claims that Greek immigrants resided in Montreal as early as 1839. It was, however, after the devastation of Greece by the end of World War II and the Civil War (1950) that large waves of Greeks arrived in Canada. By 1981, the official Census set the number of Greeks in Canada at 154,365 of whom 49,420 lived in Quebec. And although Greek immigrants are rural in origin, they tend to settle in urban areas with Montreal and Toronto receiving the bulk of them.

Today, about 98% of the Greeks in Quebec reside in the Greater Montreal Area. Thus when one speaks about Greeks in Quebec, one is generally referring to Greeks in Montreal. The Majority of them initially settled — and still live — in the low rent, low income area of the immigrant corridor between St. Laurence Boulevard and Park Avenue reaching to the north of Park Extension. In the last decade, however, and in descending order of concentration, they have moved to Laval, South Shore, Montreal North and South West. Most recently, they have been moving to the West Island. They follow the same pattern of family migration, that is, a member of the family moves out into a new residential area to be soon followed by other relatives and compatriots whenever it becomes financially feasible.

The Greeks in Montreal are institutionally complete, with more than sixty organizations to serve the cultural, educational, religious, communications, occupational, financial-economic and social needs of the group. These organizations aim at the maintenance and transmission of the Hellenic culture, the Greek Orthodox religion, the Greek language, traditions and values. And at the centre of both immigration process and institutional development and its functions stands the Greek family.

2. The Socio-economic Profile

The overall picture of Greeks in Montreal is that of H. Gans' (1962) characterization of "Urban Villagers". They are the rural European immigrants, who attempt to live in an urban city, establish ethnic and urban institutions to enable them to maintain their ethnic identity, culture and structures with rural and traditional values and attitudes. They have some or no skills, low education and end up in factory and service occupations with no prospects of occupational advancement.

According to a 1981 Census special report, of the 35,000 Greeks in Montreal of 15 years of age and older who are not attending full time school only 4% had a university degree while another 8% had some university education. Another 50% had completed High School, whereas 33% had only completed Elementary Education. Compared to the 1971 figures, there has only been a slight improvement in the educational picture of the group, as can be seen from Table 1. However, this improvement is not sufficient to change the overall picture of the Greeks or their position relative to the other ethnic groups in Montreal.

Of the 21,230 Greeks in the 1981 labour force in Montreal 3% were to be found in the managerial and administrative positions, with another 6% comprising a variety of professional occupations such as lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers, artists, etc. The bulk of them, about 62%, has remained in the production and service occupations, working as unskilled and semiskilled laborers in factories, hospitals and restaurants, cleaners and janitors where there is rarely a possibility of social mobility and advancement. A comparative occupational picture for the years of 1971 and 1981 can be seen in Table 2.

Table 1

Per Cent Distribution of Greeks in Montreal by Educational Level 1971-1981

Education	1971			1981		
(15 yrs and over excluding those attending full-time)	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Total Number	14,075	12,875	26,955	18,130	16,875	35,000
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. With degree	4	1	3	5	3	4
2. One or more University yrs.	7	4	5	9	6	8
3. Grades 7-13	45	36	36	54	47	50
4. Grades 1-6	41	52	46	29	37	33
5. No schooling	2	6	5	3	7	5

Source: Statistics Canada Special Reports Nos: 8917-1359A and 6451-1300-2B-1981.

Table 2

Per Cent Distribution of Occupational Categories Among Greeks in Montreal 1971-1981

Occupational Categories	1971			1981		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Total in labour force	12,835	6,865	19,700	13,565	7,665	21,230
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Mgr./Adm.	2	1	1	4	2	3
2. Other Profes.	3	2	5	6	6	6
3. Clerical	4	10	6	4	16	8
4. Sales	7	3	12	9	5	6
5. Service	38	12	29	40	16	32
6. Farms	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. Proc./Mach.	7	5	7	7	3	5
8. Prod./Fabr.	14	41	24	15	43	25
9. Constr./Trans.	7	—	6	9	—	6
10. Other - not stated	18	26	10	6	9	6

Source: Statistics Canada Special Reports Nos. 8917-139A and 6451-1300-2B-1981.

Furthermore, in 1981 35,005 Greeks in Montreal, 15 years and over, were earning some income. Of those, 71% were reporting earnings of less than $21,699 whereas 2% were reporting earnings of $32,505 and over. Compared to 1971 figures the Greeks do not seem to have made any significant improvement as can be seen in Table 3. They still rank second from the bottom (second to the Chinese) in average income earnings among twelve ethnic groups in Montreal and the lowest among the females in the same twelve ethnic group categories.

In 1981 on the average, Greeks earned $8,511 (males, $11,779; females, $4,999) compared to $11,126 average for all twelve ethnic groups in Montreal (males, $15,737; females, $6,908), and $16,290 average for the Jewish group earning the highest income in Montreal (males, $22,859; females, $9,839).

Thus, the Greeks in Montreal still present the general picture of a rural Greek, living in an urban city, with no or some occupational skills, low in income and education. They are a more rather than less culturally homogeneous group; have no class structure differentiation; share a common rural background upon immigration to Canada and hold on to family structures and networks as shock absorbers to the demands of a strange culture and an urban-industrialized society.

Table 3

Comparative Income Distribution Among Greeks in Montreal 1971-1981 (per cent)

Income Categories		Females		Males		Total	
		1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
		Total Number Earning Income					
1971	1981*	13,775	16,870	15,230	18,130	29,005	35,005
$0.00 - 9,999	0.00 - 21,699	59	66	82	76	71	71
10,000 - 14,999	21,670 - 32,504	—	1	6	8	3	5
15,000 - Over	32,505 - Over	—	—	3	4	2	2
Not Reporting		41	33	9	12	24	22

* 1971 categories adjusted for the Consumer Price Index factor of 2.167.

As the number of new immigrants has been considerably reduced in the last five years, the maintenance and transmission of Hellenism and Greek identity rest with the group already here and especially with the Greek family and Church. However, both the structure as well as the function of those two institutions seem to be challenged by the younger generations of Greeks. Today, the Church is gradually reducing its hold over the immigrants to such events of the life-cycle as births, baptisms, weddings, religious and national holidays. The family on the other hand, although still conservative in its cultural functions, is undoubtedly undergoing a gradual transition. Time, education and exposure to new structures, values and practices are imprinting their influences on the Greek family. And along with the demands of the urban-industrial society and economic structures, the demands of the Canadian family structures and social values are instigating changes in the immigrant family. It is these structures and changes that the rest of this paper will deal with.

II. THE GREEK FAMILY: STRUCTURES AND CHANGES

The dominant family structure and values used as a model in this research were the traditional ones which characterize the rural, less educated family into which the Greek immigrants, arriving in big waves after 1952 and constituting the parents of today's families in Montreal, were raised and socialized.

A well-presented model of such family structure and values has been offered by Papajohn and Spiegel (1975) and accepted by the author (1979). In that the model the Greek family has been stated to hold a primarily "Lineal" structure, with a predominance of male authority, followed by emphasis on the "Individual" values and achievement orientation of the members of the family — especially the males — and with less considerations and emphasis on "Collateral" patterns and values or the primacy of the family as a group. The authors compare the Greek family to that of the Italian and North American; the former is characterized by Collateral > Lineal > Individual patterns whereas the latter is characterized best by Individual > Lineal > Collateral pattern.

In the Greek family, the Lineal pattern preference (male lineage authority) characterizes its structure. However, such a structure may vary depending on many factors among which the most significant ones are those of urbanization, social class, female occupation and education. The father first, and after him, the eldest son is next in line for authority, with the younger sons holding positions in their order of birth (Sanders, 1962). The father is the

undisputable and final authority. He is responsible for and provides for the welfare of his family, while wife and children are subordinate to him. Decision-making authority rests in him, unless the son (if any) is of age to be consulted. The approval of the father must be maintained at all costs in whatever is going on in the family.

The Greek father has been depicted as a figure of authority to be feared and respected. His domination over the rest of the family members, especially wife and daughters, was absolute. Achievement of the whole family reflects back on the father, hence success becomes a source of male pride. His economic position may be marginal, but not appreciably different from the position of others in the same area, thus he does not have to prove his value to re-enforce his authority as he will have to do so in the North American society.

The Greek wife and mother on the other hand has been depicted as a woman constantly displaying an attitude of tenderness, spontaneous self-denial, and self-sacrifice. Her husband and children are her life and happiness. She is modest and is expected to behave in a submissive manner in public places especially when her husband is present.

Formality and distance is maintained in the relationships — especially in the presence of others — between father and children, husband and wife. The wife must respectfully represent her husband in the community, and family weaknesses are kept a family matter (Papajohn and Spiegel, 1975).

Time, education, and a new culture and urban environment have brought about changes in the immigrant family structure. And whereas changes are experienced by both generations and both sexes, it is the second generation — as to be expected — that shows dramatic changes, and especially the women. They are questioning the traditional, rural structure of the family, and are challenging male authority and dominance. They are gradually adapting to the Canadian family structure where individual values are more dominant, followed by Lineal structures; whereas Collateral preferences are still receiving last consideration (Individual > Lineal > Collateral).

In a just completed survey, 115 Greek parents (males, 65; females, 50) in the Greater Montreal Area were asked about husband-wife relations. A significant number, more men than women, still hold on to traditional attitudes as can be seen in Table 4.

However, when the same questions were posed to 179 students (males, 69; females, 110), the change from traditional structures is dramatic as can be seen in Table 5.

Children and wives are challenging the father's (male's) traditional authority. His culturally ascriptive power is under dispute. Achievement characteristics are demanded by the children who are more educated than their parents, have more skills and linguistic abilities, and mediate between parents and the host society. In addition, many wives were or are now earning income and have been exposed to the mass media, mass consumption and experiences of an urban society characterized by more egalitarian sex relations than those of rural Greece.

Table 4

Parents Responses to Attitudes Towards the Family

Items	Males (N=65)		Females (N=50)		Total (N=115)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Husband should be stricter with wives.	39	52	20	74	31	62
2. Husband's time his own business	34	62	16	78	18	69
3. Marriage is woman's best career	40	43	54	34	46	39
4. Woman should fit life to husband's	80	14	70	22	46	39

5. Husband should decide most things	49	48	34	64	43	54
6. Husband should decide money matters	39	55	24	74	32	63

Table 5

Children's Responses to Attitudes Towards the Family

Items	Males (N=69)		Females (N=110)		Total (N=179)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Husband should be stricter with wives	14	68	1	91	8	85
2. Husband's time his own business	24	55	2	90	11	7
3. Marriage is woman's best career	17	61	3	95	8	77
4. Woman should fit life to husband's	41	36	14	72	24	58
5. Husband should decide most things	30	56	9	89	17	76
6. Husband should decide money matters	22	78	7	90	13	81

III. DISCUSSIONS - CONCLUSIONS

The Greeks in Montreal are a closely knit ethnic group. The adults have intermarried (91%); have established ethnic institutions; are maintaining close ethnic ties; their friends are Greeks and their social lives are centered around Greeks exclusively. They attend mostly Greek affairs; eat Greek food; listen to Greek radio; expect their children to marry Greeks; expect non-Greek spouses to convert, and wish their children to learn Greek.

As strong as they are in their intention to maintain their ethnicity and cultural values and traditions, however, they cannot remain static in the currents and forces of the acculturation process. From the above presentation it is becoming evident that cultural changes are taking place. And whereas the majority of children learn to speak Greek, go to Greek school, are in favour of maintaining the Greek language, and maintain close Greek friends and ethnic ties, they nonetheless consider themselves Greek-Canadians rather than Greeks — which was the case in 1971 — and would like their children to be identified as such also. In addition, they use mostly English at home, and almost exclusively with their friends, although those friends are Greeks.

Increasingly, parents use English with their children and include English words in their Greek discussion. Statistics Canada reports that in 1981, 75% of the Greeks in Montreal reported Greek as the language spoken at home with another 22% reporting English and 3% French. In addition, parents allow more freedoms to their children than they themselves used to have, or consider it "culturally proper", and feel they do not really "fit" when they visit their villages in Greece. They have become "Greek-Canadians". Such a change has created feelings of ambivalence and guilt in the parents. The children, on the other hand, have given a different meaning to "Greekness". They acknowledge it in themselves; feel proud of it; will want to maintain the cultural aspect of it; but do not feel they have to behave in the "Greek way". They are very comfortable with their dual identity and Canadian manners.

Changes in the family structure are more evident than those of ethnicity. The industrialized, urban Canadian society challenges the culturally transmitted authority of the Greek male and parent. Educated children and working wives challenge the undisputed domi-

nance of the father. And whereas in Greece proper, the power position of the father enjoys cultural and social support, in Montreal, both society and the family challenge him and expect him to achieve that position.

Such challenges inevitably lead to conflict in the immigrant family. And although one could argue that conflict of cultural origin may neither be the only source of friction in the family nor its major cause, it is certainly to be found and it is affecting the family relations.

The position that is mostly threatened is that of the adult male. The larger society demands of him urban skills and abilities, knowledge and information which, because of historical, social and cultural reasons, he never acquired. On the other hand, the family challenges his ascriptive authority and demands achievement. He becomes a negative role model which he, himself, reinforces by urging his children "not to become like him but to make something better of themselves". As a reaction to these challenges and pressures, the Greek father becomes authoritarian, aggressive, absolute and sometimes illogical. He feels constantly threatened and frequently resorts to his only source of power, that of ethnicity and cultural ascriptions, which neither wives nor children accept any longer. This might explain to some degree — other factors must also be taken into consideration — why a significant proportion of men in this research (32%), of women (24%), and of children (25%) find it hard to maintain a pleasant atmosphere at home, and they report that the pleasures of the family have been overstated (men, 39%; women, 52%; children, 46%). In addition, one fifth (20%) of the children are constantly under stress at home, report that their parents expect too much of them (75%), that they cannot find enough understanding at home (34%), and that parents and children live in a different world (parents, 69%; children 56%).

To conclude then, the Greek family in Montreal is evidently undergoing cultural and structural changes. Such changes, however, are normal in the life of immigrants adapting to a "theoretically open" society wherever or whoever those immigrants might be. The Greek community in Montreal has the motivation and has established a strong community institutional network to support the cultural goals of the family. Education, one of the major factors to change, will also become a means for understanding and appreciation of the physical, social and psychological hardships that the immigrant parents went through to provide for their children and offer them a better opportunity than they themselves ever had. Such an awareness will gradually enable the Greek family to deal with changes and conflict and bring about cultural understanding and pride in the ethnic group.

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LA POPULATION DE LA GRÈCE EN 1983

Jean Catsiapis*

ABSTRACT

This study deals with Greece's demographic evolution from 1971 to 1983. It explains the general features of this evolution, such as natural increase, balance of migration and repatriation. It analyses demographic increase by region and by Department, and by urban and rural populations. The author argues that Greece, paradoxically, has many characteristics that are similar to those of underdeveloped countries, as well as others attributed to highly industrialized countries. Greece has the lowest per capita Gross National Product of the European community, a certain degree of illiteracy, a smaller work force in industry than in agriculture, and an exaggerated tertiary sector, all factors which tend to block economic development. On the other hand, life expectancy in Greece is now comparable to that of northern Europe. The author concludes that, without a significant revitalization of her population, Greece risks to compromise her economic development and to lose her standing among nations.

RÉSUMÉ

La présente étude traite de l'évolution démographique de la Grèce depuis 1971 jusqu'en 1983. Elle met en relief les caractéristiques générales de cette évolution, comme par exemple l'accroissement naturel, la balance migratoire et les retours de l'étranger. Elle analyse les taux de l'accroissement démographique par région et par département, puis ceux de l'évolution des populations urbaine et rurale. Ses conclusions sont que la Grèce, paradoxalement, possède certaines caractéristiques des pays proches du sous-développement, ainsi que d'autres auxquelles on reconnaît les sociétés hautement industrialisées: d'une part, le plus faible produit intérieur brut par habitant de toute l'Europe communautaire, un certain taux d'analphabétisme, une population active plus faible dans l'industrie que dans l'agriculture, un secteur tertiaire hypertrophié, sont autant de facteurs qui freinent le décollage économique; d'autre part, l'espérance de vie est présentement comparable à celle de l'Europe septentrionale. L'auteur conclut que sans une vitalité accrue de sa population, la Grèce risque, dans les prochaines années de compromettre son développement économique et de perdre le rang qui est le sien dans le concert des nations.

La population grecque au milieu de l'année 1983 était estimée à 9,9 millions d'habitants.[1] Il a donc fallu plus de soixante ans à la Grèce pour doubler sa population puisqu'en 1920 pour un territoire légèrement plus petit on comptait environ cinq millions de Grecs. L'histoire démographique de la Grèce est, en effet, pleine de variations anormales. Et les démographes qui énoncent des jugements définitifs sur les tendances d'évolution de la population grecque sont très souvent démentis ultérieurement par des faits difficilement prévisibles. C'est ainsi que la décennie 1971-1981 qui s'est écoulée entre les deux derniers recensements s'oppose sur bien des points à la décennie 1961-1971.

Tableau 1

Évolution intercensitaire**

Date du recensement	Population	Variation en nombre	en %	Territoire en km²
19.XII.1920	5 016 899			127 000
16.V.1928	6 204 684	1 187 795	23,68	129 281

* Université de Paris X.

** Ce tableau, comme tous ceux contenus dans cette étude, a été élaboré à partir du Statiscal Yearbook of Greece de 1981 et de l'étude intitulée «***Population de fait de la Grèce***» publiée en 1982 par l'Office National de Statistique de Grèce.

16.X.1940	7 344 860	1 140 176	18,38	129 281
7.IV.1951	7 632 801	287 941	3,92	131 990
19.III.1961	8 388 553	755 752	9,90	131 990
14.III.1971	8 768 641	380 088	4,53	131 990
5.IV.1981	9 740 417	971 776	11,08	131 990

Il ressort du tableau 1 que le taux brut de croissance annuelle de 1 % entre 1951 et 1961 s'effondre de moitié pendant la décennie suivante. Dans les années soixante on observe en effet une très forte émigration de Grecs vers l'Australie et l'Allemagne fédérale: la plus grande saignée démographique a eu lieu en 1963-1966 puisque les émigrants pour cette période se sont élevés à 409 604 contre un accroissement naturel de 335 996 personnes[2].

Cette modeste croissance démographique de la décennie 1961-1971 est très inégalement répartie. L'entassement de la population dans les deux grandes agglomérations d'Athènes et de Thessalonique a fait passer en dix ans la part de ces deux villes dans le total de la population grecque de 26,62 % à 35,32 %. Parallèlement cette décennie enregistre l'effondrement démographique des campagnes grecques: la population rurale décroît dans toute la Grèce, sauf dans le département d'Attique. Une analyse détaillée des premiers résultats du recensement du 5 avril 1981 permet de comparer et parfois d'opposer la décennie 1971-1981 à la décennie qui la précède.

I. LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES DÉMOGRAPHIQUES GÉNÉRALES

La Grèce comptait 9 740 417 habitants au recensement de 1981, soit près d'un million d'individus de plus qu'en 1971.[3] Cette croissance de 11,08 % en dix ans constitue l'accroissement démographique le plus important qu'a connu la Grèce depuis 1940. Pour apprécier cette évolution il convient d'examiner d'abord l'accroissement naturel puis la balance migratoire dans la décennie 1971-1981.

A. L'accroissement naturel

Le taux de natalité était en Grèce de 16 % en 1971, de 15,4 % en 1980 alors que le taux de mortalité passait de 8,4 % à 9 % pendant la même période. C'est donc à 7 % en moyenne que s'établit le taux d'accroissement naturel par an de la population grecque; l'excédent annuel des naissances sur les décès passant de 67 300 en 1971 à 60 800 en 1980. Cet affaissement de la natalité en Grèce est toutefois assez faible si on le compare à la chute des naissances dans la plupart des pays de l'Europe des Dix. Ainsi à la fin des années soixante-dix le taux d'accroissement naturel n'est que de 4,5 % aux Pays Bas, de 3,1 % en Italie, de 1,5 % au Danemark, de 0,3 % en Grande Bretagne, de 0,0 % au Luxembourg et de – 2,0 % en Allemagne fédérale. Seule l'Irlande avec un taux de 10,7 % dépasse l'accroissement naturel annuel de la Grèce.

Tableau 2

Accroissement naturel — Solde migratoire

Année	Accroissement de la population pendant l'année	Excédent des naissances sur les décès	solde migratoire (– = émigration + = immigration)
1971	51 800	67 300	– 15 500
1972	63 400	64 000	– 600
1973	17 400	59 900	– 42 500
1974	48 500	67 800	– 19 300
1975	120 700	62 200	+ 58 500
1976	120 600	64 700	+ 55 900
1977	122 100	60 000	+ 62 100
1978	130 800	65 000	+ 65 800
1979	107 100	65 600	+ 41 500
1980	111 000	60 800	+ 50 200

Si on se réfère à l'indice synthétique de fécondité, c'est-à-dire au nombre d'enfants par femme, la Grèce, avec un taux de 2,3 en 1981 est avec l'Irlande le seul pays du Marché Commun à dépasser le niveau de 2,1 considéré comme le seuil de renouvellement effectif des générations.

B. La balance migratoire

De 1971 à 1981 la Grèce s'est accrue de 971 776 individus. Si cette croissance provient pour les deux tiers de l'accroissement naturel de la population, le tiers restant est représenté par l'excédent de l'immigration sur l'émigration.[4]

Le tableau 2 indique que le solde de la balance migratoire qui était constamment négatif depuis 1940 devient très nettement positif à partir de 1975. En 1977 et 1978 le solde migratoire est même supérieur à l'accroissement naturel de la population. Le rapatriement des Grecs de l'étranger constitue, en effet, le phénomène le plus notable qui affecte, à compter du milieu des années soixante-dix, l'évolution démographique de la Grèce.[5]

- **le retour des émigrants grecs**

Les émigrants grecs ne désirent pas en général leur installation définitive à l'étranger. Ils ne s'expatrient que dans le but d'améliorer leur situation financière et ont toujours en vue leur retour au pays natal. Différentes mesures prises par les autorités helléniques expliquent les nombreux retours des émigrants grecs de ces dernières années. Sur le plan social ceux-ci bénéficient d'une assistance accrue. Et la loi 296/1976 favorise, au niveau fiscal et financier, la création d'entreprises en Grèce de la part des Grecs revenus de l'étranger. C'est toutefois la crise économique internationale qui explique principalement ce retour massif des émigrants. On note en particulier un renversement du mouvement migratoire entre la Grèce et l'Allemagne fédérale.

- **le rapatriement des Grecs de l'étranger**

La Grèce a accueilli, dans le passé, un grand nombre de Grecs de la diaspora, qui ont cherché refuge en territoire national libre, chassés par les gouvernements étrangers ou fuyant de très graves difficultés. C'est ainsi qu'à la suite des événements d'Asie Mineure de 1922 près d'un million et demi de Grecs ont été transplantés dans la Grèce métropolitaine. Au cours de la dernière décennie des milliers de personnes, membres des communautés helléniques de pays africains, de Turquie et de divers pays asiatiques se sont réfugiés en Grèce. Ce fut le cas, en particulier, des Grecs de Lybie, après la révolution du colonel Kadhafi de 1969, et qui se trouvaient dans ce pays depuis plusieurs générations. On doit aussi citer le rapatriement de 24 000 Grecs chypriotes qui ont quitté leur île natale envahie par l'armée turque au cours de l'été 1974.

- **le retour des réfugiés politiques**

Le rétablissement de la démocratie en 1974 a permis le retour de deux catégories de réfugiés politiques. D'abord retournèrent en Grèce les quelques milliers d'intellectuels qui s'étaient réfugiés dans différents pays européens pendant les sept années de la dictature des colonels. Puis fut accéléré le retour des Grecs d'URSS et d'Europe orientale qui s'étaient exilés dans les pays socialistes à l'issue de la guerre civile de 1946-1949. M. Papandréou dans un message au peuple hellène, le 25 décembre 1982, a annoncé qu'il levait les derniers obstacles qui s'opposaient au retour des 35 000 Grecs encore réfugiés dans les pays de l'est.

II. LA RÉPARTITION RÉGIONALE DE L'ACCROISSEMENT

Des dix régions qui composent la Grèce seules la région de la capitale et celle qui l'entoure (Grèce centrale) avaient progressé dans la décennie 1961-1971, respectivement de 37 % et de 1 %. Toutes les autres régions avaient vu leur population diminuer; certaines de plus de 10 % comme le Péloponèse, les îles ioniennes, l'Épire, la Thrace et les îles de la Mer Égée.

Tableau 3

Répartition régionale de l'accroissement

Régions	1981	1971	Taux de variation sur 10 ans en %
• Grèce (total)	9 740 517	8 768 641	11,08
• Région d'Athènes	3 027 331	2 540 241	19,17
• Le reste de la Grèce centrale et Eubée	1 099 841	992 077	10,86
• Péloponnèse	1 012 528	986 912	2,59
• Iles ioniennes	182 651	184 443	- 0,97
• Épire	324 541	310 344	4,3
• Thessalie	695 654	659 913	5,4
• Macédoine	2 121 953	1 890 684	12,23
• Thrace	345 220	329 582	4,74
• Îles de la Mer Égée	428 533	417 813	2,56
• Crète	502 165	456 642	9,96

La décennie 1971-1981, sur le plan de la répartition régionale de l'accroissement, diffère beaucoup de la décennie précédente. On observe d'abord que la progression de la région d'Athènes avec 19,17 % dépasse de loin les 11,08 % de progression de la population totale. Toutefois il semble que la croissance d'Athènes et de sa région amorce une certaine décélération. On remarque ensuite, en analysant le tableau 3, que toutes les régions de la Grèce, à la seule exception des îles ioniennes, connaissent une sensible progression, parfois même très importante comme c'est le cas de la Macédoine avec 12,23 %.

Certes cette répartition régionale de la croissance est très inégale: ainsi le Péloponnèse avec un accroissement de 2,59 % seulement demeure un réservoir pour l'émigration vers les grandes villes grecques ou vers l'étranger. Cependant le fait notable et nouveau est la réduction des disparités régionales au niveau de l'évolution démographique. Il semblerait que les émigrants de retour en Grèce s'installent davantage dans les petites agglomérations rurales que dans les grands centres urbains[6].

III. LA RÉPARTITION DÉPARTEMENTALE DE L'ACCROISSEMENT

Quarante deux des cinquante et un département grecs avaient perdu un pourcentage plus ou moins important de leur population entre 1961 et 1971. Dans la décennie 1971-1981 seize départements seulement ont vu décroître leur population. La tendance est donc complètement inversée.

Tableau 4

Répartition départementale de l'accroissement

Département	1951	1961	1971	1981	Évolution 1971/81 en %
A. Grèce centrale de l'est et Îles					
Région d'Athènes	1 378 586	1 852 709	2 540 241	3 027 331	19,17
Attique (sauf région d'Athènes)	177 443	205 265	257 608	342 093	32,79
Béotie	106 838	114 256	114 675	117 175	2,18
Phtiotide	148 322	160 035	154 542	161 995	4,82
Phocide	51 472	47 842	41 361	44 222	6,91
Eurytanie	39 678	39 716	29 533	26 182	- 11,34
Eubée	164 542	166 097	165 369	188 410	13,93
Cyclades	125 959	99 959	86 337	88 458	2,45

B. Macédoine centrale et occidentale					
Thessalonique	459 956	544 394	710 352	871 580	22,69
Chalcidique	69 391	67 356	52 264	80 508	54,04
Kilkis	89 475	102 812	84 375	81 562	- 3,33
Pierie	86 161	97 697	91 728	106 859	16,49
Emathie	96 439	114 515	118 103	133 750	13,24
Pella	119 969	133 224	126 085	132 386	4,99
Florina	69 391	67 356	52 264	52 430	0,31
Castoria	46 407	47 487	45 711	53 169	16,31
Kozani	142 527	152 809	135 709	147 051	8,35
Grevena	39 910	43 484	35 275	36 421	3,24
C. Péloponnèse et Grèce centrale de l'ouest					
Corinthie	113 358	112 505	113 115	123 042	8,77
Argolide	85 389	90 145	88 698	93 020	4,87
Achaïe	228 871	239 206	239 859	275 193	14,73
Elide	188 274	188 861	165 056	160 305	- 2,87
Messénie	227 871	211 970	173 077	159 818	- 7,66
Laconie	130 898	118 661	95 844	93 218	- 2,73
Arcadie	154 361	135 042	111 263	107 932	- 2,99
Zante	38 062	35 509	30 187	30 014	- 0,57
Céphalonie	54 644	46 314	36 742	31 297	- 14,81
D. Thessalie					
Larissa	202 003	230 769	232 226	254 295	9,50
Magnésie	155 266	163 834	161 392	182 222	12,90
Trikala	128 227	142 781	132 519	134 207	1,27
Carditsa	138 786	152 543	133 776	124 930	- 6,61
Etolie-Acarnanie	220 138	237 738	228 989	219 764	- 4,02
E. Macédoine orientale					
Kavala	136 337	140 751	221 593	135 218	11,20
Serrès	222 549	248 041	202 898	196 247	- 3,27
Drama	120 492	121 006	91 009	94 772	4,13
F. Epire					
Ioanina	153 748	155 326	134 688	147 304	9,36
Arta	72 717	82 630	78 376	80 044	2,12
Prévéza	56 779	62 523	56 586	55 915	- 1,18
Thesprotie	47 299	52 125	40 684	41 278	1,46
Corfou	105 414	101 770	92 933	99 477	7,04
Leucade	30 477	28 980	24 581	21 863	- 11,05
G. Crète					
Héraklion	189 637	208 374	209 670	243 622	16,19
La Canée	126 524	131 061	119 797	125 856	5,05
Lassithi	73 784	73 880	66 226	70 053	5,77
Réthymne	72 179	69 943	60 949	62 634	2,76
H. Thrace					
Rodhopi	105 723	109 201	107 677	107 957	0,26
Xanthi	89 891	89 594	82 917	88 777	7,06
I. Iles de la Mer Égée de l'est					
Lesbos	154 795	140 251	114 802	104 620	- 8,86
Dodécanèse	121 480	123 021	121 017	145 071	19,87
Samos	59 709	52 022	41 709	40 519	- 2,85
Chios	66 823	62 223	53 948	49 865	- 7,56

La Chalcidique, en perte de vitesse avant 1971, enregistre dans la décennie suivante un accroissement de plus de 54 %. La brutale croissance démographique de ce département, comme de celui de l'Achaïe (+ 14,73 %), s'explique par la mise en valeur touristique ou l'industrialisation. C'est à la proximité d'Athènes, rendue encore plus proche par le développement des communications, qu'est due l'évolution positive de la Corinthie (+ 8,77 %), de l'Argolide (+ 4,87 %) et de l'Eubée (+ 13,93 %), trois départements qui avaient vu décroître sensiblement leur population dans la période précédente. De la même manière les départements limitrophes ou proches de Thessalonique, tels la Pierie (+ 16,49 %) ou l'Emathie (+ 13,24 %), connaissent un appréciable accroissement de population.

Parmi les départements dont le déclin démographique s'accentue il faut citer ceux des îles de la Mer Egée: Lesbos (– 8,86 %), Samos (– 2,85 %) et Chios (– 7,56 %). Seul le département du Dodécanèse connaît un certain renouveau, dû pour l'essentiel à l'expansion touristique de Rhodes. Les îles de la mer Ionienne, à l'exception de Corfou, département lui aussi très touristique, sont frappées d'un déclin qui semble inexorable: Zante voit sa population baisser de 0,57 %, Céphalonie et Leucade subissent un recul respectivement de 14,81 % et de 11,05 %.

IV. VILLES ET CAMPAGNES

A. Les campagnes

La population rurale présente une diminution constante en Grèce depuis de très nombreuses années[7]. Elle représentait 77,1 % du total de la population en 1920, 67,2 % en 1940 et 62,3 % en 1951. Mais c'est surtout depuis une trentaine d'années qu'on enregistre la baisse la plus significative du nombre des ruraux en Grèce. La population rurale ne représente plus que 56,7 % de la population globale en 1961, 46,8 % en 1971 et 42,4 % en 1981. Il convient de souligner que la population rurale n'est pas entièrement constituée d'agriculteurs, de nombreux villageois étant employés à des activités non-agricoles (tourisme et commerce). Parmi les départements ruraux particulièrement touchés par l'exode rural on peut citer l'Arcadie, département montagnard où l'espace cultivable est chichement mesuré, mais aussi l'Elide, département de plaines.

B. Les villes

Alors que durant la décennie 1971-1981 de très nombreuses villes (vingt des cinquante-deux villes les plus peuplées) avaient connu le déclin, on n'observe dans la période suivante que trois cas notables de villes à avoir perdu une partie relativement importante de leur population: Arta, Chios et Missolonghi.

Outre l'accroissement spectaculaire d'Athènes et de Thessalonique qui gagnent en dix ans respectivement 487 090 et 148 820 habitants, on doit noter la croissance significative de Patras, d'Héraklion, de Volos et surtout de Larissa, capitale de la riche Thessalie. On remarque aussi avec le tableau 5 l'expansion de villes comme Serrès qui passe de 39 897 à 45 213 habitants, alors même que le département dont cette ville est le chef lieu connaît un déclin de 3,27 %.

La stagnation des villes de province que les démographes avaient notée en analysant les résultats du recensement de 1971 n'est plus vérifiée en 1981. Ainsi Florina, en recul de 3 % entre 1951 et 1961 et 7 % entre 1961 et 1971, possède aujourd'hui une population de 12 562 habitants grâce à une croissance de plus de 12 % au cours de la dernière décennie. De même les villes de Kalamata et de Drama qui accusaient en 1971 une notable diminution démographique font partie en 1981 des agglomérations urbaines en net redressement.

Au total la population urbaine passe de 53,2 % en 1971 à 57,6 % en 1981.

Tableau 5

Évolution des villes et des agglomérations urbaines

Villes	Recensement de 1981	Recensement de 1971	Recensement de 1961
Athènes[8]	3 027 331	2 540 241	1 852 709
Thessalonique[9]	706 180	557 360	380 648
Patras[9]	154 596	120 847	103 985
Héraklion[9]	110 958	84 710	69 983
Volos[9]	107 407	88 096	81 072
Larissa	102 048	72 336	55 931
La Canée[9]	61 976	53 026	50 789
Kavala	56 375	46 234	44 517
Serrès	45 213	39 897	40 063
Agrinion[9]	45 087	41 794	33 281
Chalkis	44 867	36 300	24 745
Ioanina	44 829	40 130	34 997
Kalamata[9]	43 235	40 402	41 340
Lamia	41 667	37 872	21 509
Trikala	40 857	34 794	27 876
Rhodes	40 392	32 092	27 393
Acharnès	40 185	24 621	11 290
Katérini[9]	39 895	30 512	30 095
Verria	37 087	29 528	25 765
Drama	36 109	29 692	32 195
Alexandroupolis	34 535	22 995	18 712
Komotini	34 051	28 896	28 355
Corfou	33 561	28 630	26 991
Xanthi	31 541	24 867	26 377
Kozani	30 994	23 240	21 537

CONCLUSIONS ET PERSPECTIVES

Si on veut caractériser la population de la Grèce on peut dire qu'elle possède certains traits communs aux populations de pays proches du sous-développement tout en ayant certains signes distinctifs des peuples de nations hautement industrialisées.

Avec un produit intérieur brut par habitant de 3 760 dollars EU en 1982 la Grèce se situe au dernier rang des États composant l'Europe communautaire dont elle constitue effectivement le pays le plus pauvre. Et le taux d'analphabétisme de la population agée de plus de 15 ans, estimé à 11,7 %, en 1980, par l'UNESCO[10], malgré les efforts considérables en matière d'éducation depuis près de dix ans, constitue un obstacle sérieux au développement du pays. La part relativement faible de la population active[11] dans le secteur industriel (29 %), qui est même inférieure à la proportion des agriculteurs (30,7 %), et le secteur tertiaire, anormalement important (40,3 %[12]) constituent les indices habituels auxquels on reconnait les pays qui n'ont pas effectué leur décollage économique. Par contre le vieillissement de la population avec 17,5 % de personnes âgées de plus de 60 ans en 1981 et l'espérance de vie, qui est très importante (73 ans), sont les caractéristiques des pays hautement développés d'Europe du Nord.

La Grèce se doit de pratiquer une véritable politique démographique, qui s'attache en particulier aux problèmes de la jeunesse, si elle veut éviter le déclin politique et économique qui semble affecter irrémédiablement certains pays d'Europe. L'hémorragie des forces vives de la nation due à l'émigration galopante de l'après-guerre n'a pas été encore surmontée. En effet les multiples tentatives, depuis 1974, de faire revenir en Grèce les intellectuels et universitaires établis aux États-Unis et en Europe occidentale, dans les années soixante, ont été toutes vouées à l'échec faute de préparation suffisante et à cause de

l'attitude hostile de ceux qui se sentaient menacés dans leur situation et dans leur rang par ces Grecs érudits de la diaspora. La Grèce continue donc à manquer des cadres compétents qui lui sont nécessaires.

Le gouvernement grec doit aussi par une politique audacieuse de décentralisation et d'aménagement du territoire éviter d'une part que des départements proches de la Turquie comme ceux de la Mer Égée se vident progressivement de leur population et d'autre part que près du tiers de la population totale soit concentré à Athènes et dans ses environs. Pour des raisons économiques mais aussi de défense nationale une répartition équilibrée de la population hellénique sur l'ensemble du territoire national est indispensable.

Sans une vitalité accrue de sa population la Grèce risque, dans les prochaines années, de compromettre son développement économique et de perdre le rang qui est le sien dans le concert des nations. L'histoire enseigne que le déclin démographique est toujours le signe précurseur auquel on reconnaît les peuples et les civilisations en décadence ou en voie de disparition.

NOTES

1. Ce chiffre est cité par la Revue ***Population et Sociétés*** (juillet-août 1983) qui reproduit les données du Population Reference Bureau de Washington.
2. Ce déficit de 73 068 personnes a été neutralisé par le rapatriement d'émigrants et de membres des colonies grecques de l'étranger.
3. La Grèce dénombrait, en 1981, 256,860 étrangers soit seulement 2,6 % de la population totale. Ce pourcentage est même excessif puisque les statistiques incluent dans le nombre des étrangers les 175 664 Grecs de citoyenneté étrangère et vivant en 1981 en Grèce où ils sont retournés pour une certaine période.
4. Les Grecs de la diaspora sont près de quatre millions dont la moitié se trouve aux États-Unis. Sur cette question voir notre ouvrage: ***«La Grèce, dixième membre des Communautés européennes»***. Paris la Documentation française 1980. pp. 139-144.
5. Voir l'article de S. Agapitidis. ***«Déplacements récents de population en Grèce»*** dans la revue ***Balkan Studies***. 1977, pp. 273-283.
6. Voir l'étude de S. Agapitidis déjà citée.
7. On inclut dans la population rurale non seulement les centres urbains de moins de 2 000 habitants mais aussi les localités qualifiées parfois de «semi-urbaines» dans les statistiques grecques et comprises entre 2 000 et 10 000 habitants.
8. Il s'agit du grand Athènes qui comprend la population du Pirée et des communes environnantes.
9. Pour cette ville on a aussi tenu compte de la population des communes environnantes.
10. L'analphabétisme affecte beaucoup plus les femmes (17,1 %) que les hommes (6 %).
11. La population active dont l'augmentation a été considérable ces dernières années, notamment sous l'effet d'une inversion des flux migratoires, était estimée à 3 678 000 personnes en 1982 et était affectée, cette année là, d'un chômage de 8,5 %. (Source: l'***Observateur de l'OCDE*** mars 1983).
12. Le secteur des services est en expansion en raison d'une administration hypertrophiée et du développement ininterrompu des activités touristiques.

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SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES OF MODERN GREEK AS SPOKEN IN MONTREAL

Theodoros Maniakas*

RÉSUMÉ

Il y a deux aspects du comportement linguistique qui sont très importants du point de vue social: la fonction du langage dans l'établissement des relations sociales et le rôle joué par le langage pour communiquer des informations sur le locuteur (Labov, 1966). On examine ces deux aspects appliqués à des locuteurs Grecs qui habitent à Montréal.

Le vocabulaire du Grec montréalais diffère de celui du Grec moderne standard en ce qu'il inclut un grand nombre d'emprunts à l'anglais. Ces emprunts sont examinés quant à leur structures. Certains de ces emprunts sont *nativisés*, c'est-à-dire qu'ils s'insèrent dans le système inflectionel du Grec; ce sont les *hybrides*. On essaie de montrer comment l'usage de ces hybrides est conditionné par certains facteurs socio-économiques et par le contexte linguistique de Montréal.

ABSTRACT

Two aspects of language behavior are very important from a social point of view: the function of language in establishing social relationships and the role played by language in conveying information about the speaker (Labov, 1966). These two aspects are examined as they relate to Greek-Canadian speakers of Modern Greek living in Montreal.

The vocabulary of Montreal Greek is partly different from that of Standard Modern Greek in that it includes a large number of borrowings from English. These borrowings are examined in terms of their structure; and one type of loanwords consisting of English words which are *nativized*, that is which enter the inflectional system of Greek, is described. They are referred to as *hybrids*. An effort is made to show how the use of these hybrids is conditioned by socio-economic factors and linguistic context.

INTRODUCTION

Language contact occurs when two monoglot speakers of two different languages i.e. Greek and English, have to and/or desire to communicate verbally with each other. Then, either one speaker learns the other's language and becomes a 'subordinate bilingual' (Paradis, 1978: 165) while the other remains monoglot, or both of them become subordinate bilinguals. A third case would involve lack of verbal communication because both speakers are monoglots and they have to employ 'sign language' in order to communicate.

In Canada as well as in the whole of North America the English speaker remains a monoglot while the immigrant has to achieve bilingualism at least at a primitive level. Such a contact between two languages gives rise to linguistic interference phenomena at all linguistic levels. The degree of interference is dependent upon many linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, including the degree of the speaker's commitment to one language or the other (Seaman, 1972: 19).

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It seems that there have been three major works dealing in general with the Greek language in the United States. No such study has been conducted in Canada. Lontos (1926) gave a list of lexical items, almost all of them loanwords from English, which were used by the Greeks in New York City at that time. Thirty years later Macris (1955) based his study on Lontos's work and wrote a dissertation on English loanwords in New York City Greek. He was mainly concerned with "the adaptation of English loanwords to the sound system of Greek". In 1972 Seaman wrote on Modern Greek and American English in contact. He examined this contact at all linguistic levels and arrived at general conclusions with reference to the Modern Greek language spoken in the United States. It is of interest to note that the first two studies were undertaken by first generation Greek-Americans (Lontos; Macris) whereas the third study was conducted by a non-Greek scholar.

Our study was an attempt to investigate and describe some of the characteristics of the Modern Greek language as it is spoken in Montreal. This variety of Modern Greek has been the result of the more general issue of 'languages in contact', as this issue has been defined by Weinreich:

> Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language using individuals are thus the locus of the contact" (Weinreich, 1953: 1).

The primary aim of this research was to examine the genesis of new lexical items — referred to as *hybrid forms* — which appear in Greek as a result of contact with English. Also possible differentiations in the usage of hybrid forms vis-à-vis four major socio-linguistic variables were examined. Furthermore, an attempt was made to examine some of the attitudes towards the existence of such English-Greek morphological mixtures in the vocabulary of Greeks living in Montreal.

A Brief Description of the Hybrid Forms

> In adjusting to their new linguistic and cultural environment the Greek immigrants have at least two different resources when faced with a new cultural concept or item to be named: (1) they utilize words from their own language to describe the new milieu (intra-linguistic adjustment), and (2) they turn to English as their source (inter-linguistic modification). The second is typical of the vast majority of the immigrants (Seaman, 1972, pp. 176-7).

The use of "nativized" loanwords, the hybrids, is a special case of the second resource noted by Seaman.

Hybrid forms are a kind of word mixture, the phonology of which is Greek; the morphology consists of features from the two languages, English words, though, being the morphological bases to which Greek affixes are attached. For instance, the English word 'carpet' becomes the hybrid form *karpet-o, -o* being a neuter noun ending in Greek.

Hybrid forms can belong to one of the following lexical categories: nouns, adjectives or verbs[1]. Here are some examples:

Nouns: *bank-a, bil-i, ghiardh-a* equivalent to the English 'bank', 'bill', 'yard'.

Adjectives: *ekspiri-os, salababits-is, biz-i, hap-i*, equivalent to the English 'experienced', 'son-of-a-bitch like', 'busy', 'happy'.

Verbs: *muv-aro, pres-aro, map-izo, brek-aro* equivalent to the English 'to move', 'to press', 'to mop', 'to have a break'.

Nouns are the most likely to become hybridized, as our collection of more than 350 hybrid forms has shown, English adverbs and prepositions can never be hybridized, that is, borrowed and morphologically modified to fit the Greek system, probably because an adverb in Greek is the nominative case of the neuter form of the adjective in the plural — a form which doesn't exist in English. Prepositions, on the other hand, do not carry inflectional morphemes in Greek.

As far as gender is concerned, hybrid forms are classified either as neuter, feminine or masculine according to the semantic relation that exists with the equivalent Standard

Greek words. For instance the English word 'car' is formed as a hybrid by adding the neuter Greek ending *-o*: giving the hybrid form *karo* (*n.*) because the Standard Greek word is neuter in *-o*: *aftokinito* (*n.*). Also to the hybrid form *marketa* from the English word 'market', the feminine ending *-a* is added, because the Standard Greek work for 'market' is feminine in *-a: aghora* (*f.*).

Hybrid forms are widely used in the Montreal Greek community. Some words are common to the whole community, for instance *ghiardha* 'yard' and *karpeto* 'carpet'. Other hybrid forms reflect the occupation of the speakers. Those 'occupational' hybrids like *stitsi* 'stitch' and *masini* 'machine' gradually enter the hybrid vocabulary of the entire Greek community.

Method

Based on personal observations and on a pilot study concerning the hybrid vocabulary among the Greeks in Montreal (Maniakas, 1981), 32 hybrid forms were finally selected to represent the general usage of the words made by the members of the Greek community in Montreal. These words were chosen so that each of them could be translated into Standard Greek. Care was taken to avoid hybrids which have no counterparts in Standard Greek like *hamburgas, handokadhiko*, 'hamburger maker' and 'hot dog stand' respectively.

The 32 hybrid forms which were selected to be examined in this research are given in Appendix I. The selection was made after observing everyday language situations between Greeks from various ages, socio-economic classes and from both sexes.

Concentrating on the problem-target of this research, three major hypotheses were formulated taking into account the relevant parameters of the Greek language in Montreal. These hypotheses postulated that:

1. The lower the social class (income and education being the most crucial variables for this social classification), the higher the degree of hybrid use.
2. The earlier the immigrants arrived, the more the hybridization of English words; or, the older the immigrants, the more hybrid forms used.
3. Male immigrants — irrespectively of age and education — use hybrid forms more often while female ones tend to be more careful speakers than male ones, sociolinguistically speaking.

The English language among Greek-Canadians, as well as among other linguistic communities, still has a great prestige[2]. This prestige attached to the English language is possibly transferred to the hybrid forms since English words are the base of the hybrid forms. That is, in their effort to speak the prestigious English language, Greek immigrants and mainly the older and less educated ones, realize their lack of necessary knowledge of English language structure and English vocabulary. So, they hellenicize English words preserving in a way a part of the prestige of English: instead of using English words like 'market' and 'bank', they prefer hybridizing them: *marketa* and *banka* respectively. Other speakers, usually younger and more educated, who are careful and try to speak 'correct' Greek, often express negative opinions toward hybrids and try to avoid them. Among these careful speakers are women.

Furthermore the written form of speech is generally considered more formal than the oral form of speech. When a person speaks he is not as careful as he is when he writes. It appears, then, logical to assume that this may be the case with the "hybrid speech" of the Greek population living in and around Montreal.

Based on the findings of previous research along similar lines (Denison, 1970; 1971; Fishman, 1967; Lambert, 1967b; Trudgill, 1974) age, education-occupation, and sex of the subjects were used as the independent variables of this study — the dependent variable being the number of hybrid words used throughout the experimental procedure.

The Sample

In order to study the use of hybrid forms, the speech of 24 Greek immigrant women and 24 Greek immigrant men living in the Montreal area was examined. According to their year of arrival to Canada, their present age, their level of education, and the type of their occupation (obtained via self-reports), all 48 Subjects were classified into one of the following three categories: 1) Class A; 2) Class B; and 3) Class C. More so, based on their age, two sub-groups of 24 individuals each (12 males and 12 females) were formed: a) The *Older Immigrants*, that is those who came to Montreal during the late 60's-early 70's and are today between 33-50 years old; and b) The *Younger Immigrants*, those who either were born in Montreal to Greek parents between 1955-65, or were brought to Montreal at the age of five or younger. The main distinction between those two groups was the way in which they had acquired and/or learned Greek and English[3].

As the diagram below shows, Class A and Class C consisted exclusively of *Older Immigrants* whereas, for the purpose of this study, Class B consisted of individuals from the *Younger Immigrants* sub-group.

	8 males and 8 females Class A	8 females and 8 males Class B	8 males and 8 females Class C
Older Immigrants	Level of education: primary school,		Level of education: University and College Graduates
	Occupation: Small Business owners, majority working in restaurants and — most women — in clothing factories.		Occupation: Mainly, Professionals
Younger Immigrants		Level of education: High school graduates, College and University students	
		Occupation: Those that are in the labor market work in white collar jobs.	

The Instrument

The *Interview Modules* developed by Labov (1981) were used as the basic material of this study for collecting all relevant data. In describing these modules, Labov has pointed out that,

> The conversational module is a group of questions focusing on a particular topic: i.e., children's games, premonitions, the danger of death, aspirations etc. The generalized set of such modules represents a conversational resource on which the interviewer draws in construction an interview schedule. (Labov, 1981, p. 9).

These interviews consist of question-answer procedures, aiming at obtaining the desired forms of speech. For this study the aim was to elicit borrowings and particularly hybrid forms.

Many questions within a particular module have been shaped after employing — and thus testing — them in previous sociolinguistic studies (Maniakas, 1981 and 1982).

There are three criteria to be considered for the construction of the questions of these modules:

(a) Generalized foci of interest

From a range of topics those of greatest interest to the majority of the members of the specific speech community have been isolated. For example school, marriage, language.

(b) Format of the questions

Formulating questions is a crucial aspect. Questions must be given in a colloquial style[4], which may be further modified to fit the particular style of the interviewee and the current lexicon of the speech community. Also questions should take less than 8 seconds to deliver, otherwise they might sound complicated.

(c) Feedback

Formulation of the questions had to be from an outsider's point of view initially, as in: "Are there any churches around?". Then the question is transformed into one that looks to the particular issues of interest. In other words, the interviewer starts with a natural, general conversation and then, gradually, focuses on the interviewee him/herself.

The following modules proved to be more productive in the sense that they elicited more hybrid forms than other modules.

Module 1 : Demography — Personal information
Module 2 : Family
Module 3 : Marriage
Module 4 : School
Module 5 : Fights — Problems in the neighbourhood
Module 5A: Race
Module 6 : Peer-groups
Module 7 : Games
Module 8 : Language

In each of the modules (1-8) utilized in this research certain hybrid forms were expected to be produced by each interviewee during the conversation. For instance, in module 1. Demography — Personal Information, the following hybrid forms were expected: *kombania, muvaro, karo, marketa, boksi, stofa, basi.*

Almost all of the hybrid forms could be elicited through more than a single module. Furthermore, the three major factors found to influence speech behavior (Hymes, 1967; Gumperz, 1968), that is the participants, the topic of the discussion, and the setting or context of discussion were all carefully controlled.

Each Subject was interviewed individually and the occurences or non-occurences of the selected hybrid forms (32) were calculated. Each Subject was observed for his/her linguistic behavior concerning the 32 hybrid forms while, at the same time, the usage of either one of three alternatives for each hybrid form was examined and calculated — namely an equivalent word "in Greek", "in English" or no word at all ("nil"). In addition, an overall mean of individual scores for each item used, in the interview, was determined. All data obtained was statistically analyzed, correlation co-efficients calculated, and the chi square test was used to determine the level of statistical significance.

Results

Table 1 shows the mean scores of hybrid forms produced per class A, B, and class C. The mean score for class A (16.81) is considerably higher than the respective means for class B (6.06) and Class C (10.43). This finding seems to support the first hypothesis of the study that, the lower the social class (as measured by Education and Occupation) the more frequent the usage of hybrid forms. As the interviews have shown, Class B individuals had a mean score of 14.5 years of schooling compared to 6.2 for Class A and to 10.6 years of

schooling for Class C (Appendix II). It should be pointed out, however, that this is a combined (education-occupation) effect on the usage of hybrid forms since, due to the pronounced heterogeneity of the individuals consisting Class C, no separate effect could have been determined within the overall framework and the limitations of the study.

Furthermore, the results shown in Table 1 also seem to support our second hypothesis regarding age related differences: the older the Greek immigrant the more the hybrid forms used. In fact, a statistically significant difference at the 0.1 level was obtained when comparing the mean score of the hybrid forms elicited by Class A (Older Immigrant) and Class B (Younger Immigrant).

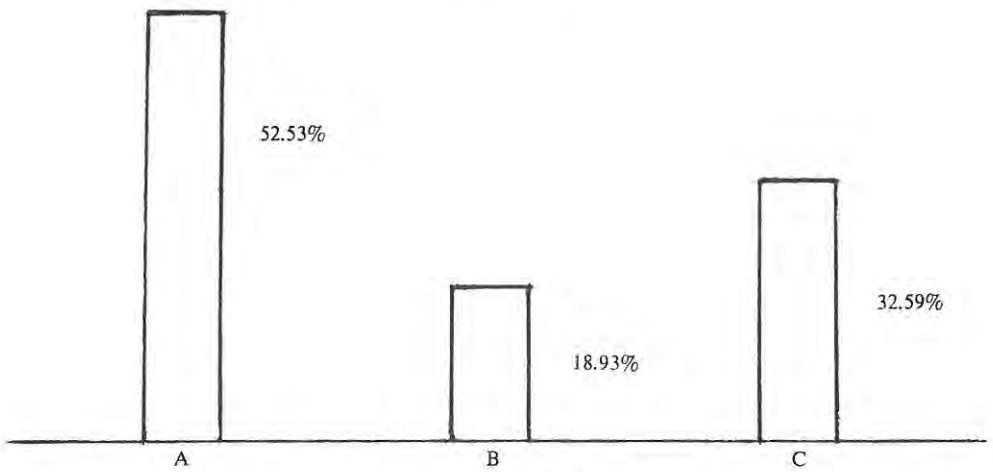
Table 1

Hybrids per class*

Class	Hybrids		English		Greek		Nil	
	Aver.	%	Aver	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%
A	16.81	52.53	0.06	0.18	9.25	28.90	5,87	18.34
B	6.06	18.93	2.81	8.78	14.56	45.50	8.56	26.75
C	10.43	32.59	0.93	2.90	14.12	44.12	6.50	20.31

chi-square = 10.326 significance level = 0.1 N = 48

Figure 1



What about Class C where we get the average 10.43 on the same Table 1? The variable of Education-Occupation may be the reason for this average intermediate between those of Classes A and B. Since Class C consisted of subjects who were older than subjects from Class B and who had higher income than subjects from Class A, the reason for the mean 10.43 which lies between those of Class A and Class B (A = 16.81 C = 10.43 B = 6.06) may be the combination of two factors:

I. an effort among subjects with higher income to speak more carefully than subjects from Class A;
II. association with educated people within Class C.

DISCUSSION

Alternatives to Hybrid Forms

Looking at Table 1 we see the average production of hybrid forms as well as of the other three alternatives, namely 'in English', 'in Greek' or 'nil'.

* The percentages are given in a two decimal approximation. Due to this rounding effect one cannot get 100% indications when adding up all percentage figures in a row.

Class A had the highest percentage of hybrid forms (52.53%) and gave the lowest percentage for 'nil': 18.34%. Similarly the percentage for alternative words 'in Greek': 28.90% was the lowest among the three Classes as well as the tiny percentage for the alternative 'in English' which was just 0.18 %, the lowest among the three Classes. As mentioned before, subjects from Class A used more hybrid forms than the other two did. The vocabulary of standard Greek words (equivalent to the hybrids examined here) tends to diminish. Due to various reasons presented below, (Conclusions) Class A subjects seemed to use either hybrids (52.53%) or far less Greek words (28.90%) or no word at all. Their Greek vocabulary has been enriched with hellenicized English words — the hybrid forms — which everybody in Class A uses fluently and naturally when speaking Greek.

Class B, which had the lowest percentage of hybrid forms, gave the highest percentage of 'nil': 8.56%. However, the use of Greek words proved to be high: 45.50%. Younger immigrants from Class B felt uncomfortable with the hybrid forms and tried to avoid them. In their effort to avoid the hybrids they preferred to use a paraphrase in standard Greek than to use a hybrid form, i.e. *to meros pouvanis lefta* 'the place where you put money' instead of either *banka* or *trapeza* — hybrid and standard Greek respectively for 'bank'. Sometimes they used a specific structure: *kano* + infinitive of the verb in English. For example: *kano move* instead of the hybrid form *muvaro* = 'to move'[5]. They also used more English words than the two other Classes. As subjects from Class B told me in the interview sessions, they feel more secure with English than with Greek. They preferred to use English words equivalent to possible hybrids or paraphrases in standard Greek instead of using a hybrid or risking a possibly wrong Greek word as they might not be sure of its meaning.

Class C lies between Classes A and B as far as 'nil' and hybrid forms production are concerned. The percentage for Greek words, though, (44.12%) was very close to the one of Class B: 45.50%. Class C subjects — financially homogeneous — showed a tendency to use almost as many Greek alternatives to hybrids as Class B subjects did. A possible explanation for this would be the existence of educated subjects in Class C who biased the results towards those of Class B. Educated subjects seemed to be more sensitive about hybrid forms than less educated or uneducated subjects. The percentage 32.59% referring to total hybrid forms production by Class C lies between those of Classes A and B, and closer to the percentage of Class B. This again shows that hybrids have less prestige among more educated speakers.

Hybrid Forms Production Per Sex

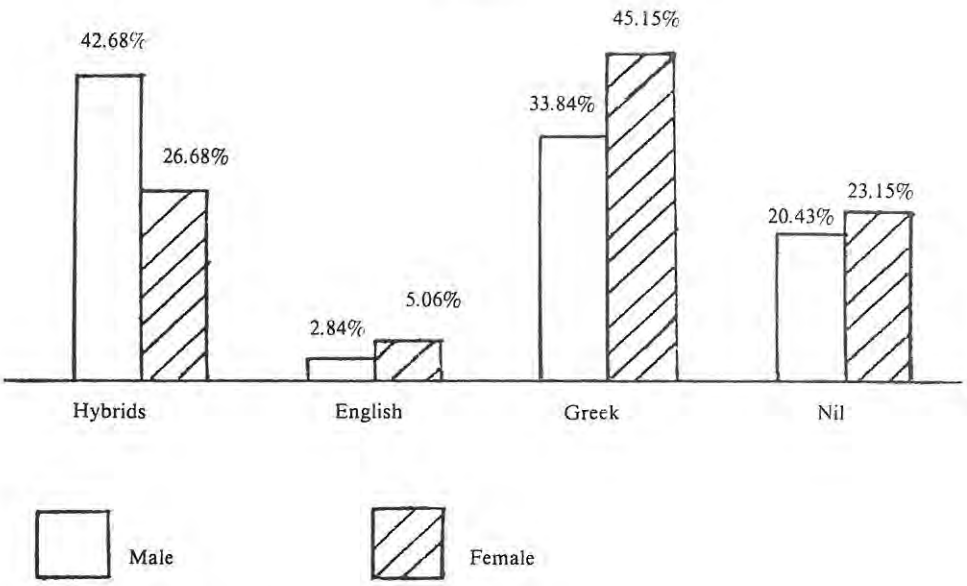
Looking at Table 2. *Hybrid forms per Sex*, we see that the average of hybrid forms used according to Sex irrespective of Class was 13.66 for the male subjects while it was only 8.54 for the female subjects. The difference of 5.12 speaks of itself.

Table 2

Hybrid Forms per Sex

	Hybrids		English		Greek		Nil	
Sex	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%
M	13.66	42.68	0.91	2.84	10.83	33.84	6.54	20.43
F	8.54	26.68	1.62	5.06	14.45	45.15	7.41	23.15
Dif.	5.12	16.00	0.71	2.22	3.62	11.31	0.87	2.72

Figure 2



This finding seems to support the third hypothesis of the Study which argued that,

> "Male immigrants — irrespectively of Age and Education-Occupation — use more often hybrid forms, while female ones tend to be more careful speakers than male ones, sociolinguistically speaking".

Hybrid Forms Production per Class and Sex

In Table 3 we have an overall presentation of the correlation of the hybrid forms with Sex and Class.

Table 3

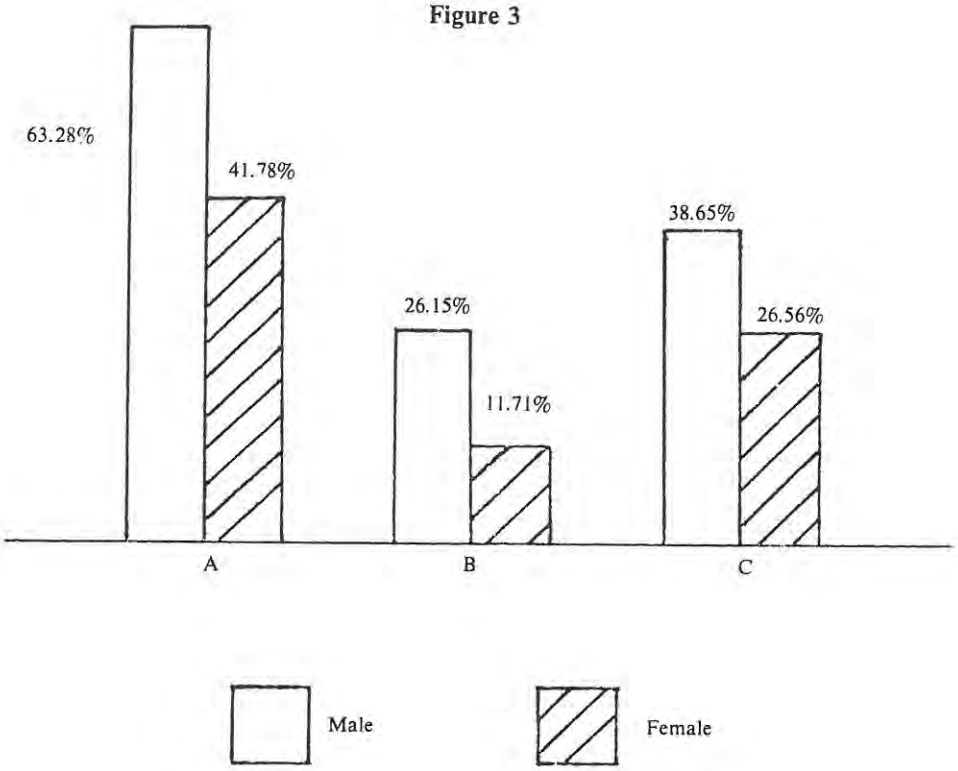
Hybrid Forms per Class and Sex

Class & Sex	Hybrids Aver.	Hybrids %	Engl. Aver.	Engl. %	Greek Aver.	Greek %	Nil Aver.	Nil %
FA	13.37	41.78	0.12	0.37	11.75	36.71	6.75	21.09
MA	20.25	63.28	0.00	0.00	6.75	21.09	5.00	15.62
FB	3.75	11.71	3.12	9.75	17.25	53.90	8.00	25.00
MB	8.37	26.15	2.50	7.81	11.87	37.09	9.12	28.50
FC	8.50	26.56	1.62	5.06	14.37	44.90	7.50	23.43
MC	12.37	38.65	0.25	0.78	13.87	43.34	5.50	17.18

We note that all male subjects in each Class produced more hybrid forms than female subjects. So we get:

	FA : 13.37	MA : 20.25
	FB : 3.75	MB : 8.37
	FC : 8.50	MC : 12.37
Mean:	F = 8.54	M = 13.66

Figure 3



Looking at Figure 3 referring to Table 3 we note the following: among the male subjects, those from Class A showed a higher degree (20.25) in the usage of hybrid forms than male subjects from Classes B (8.37) and C (12.37). Males of Class C, sub-Class MC (12.37) came second in the scale of hybrid forms used. This finding supports the fact that there are subjects in Class C who are influenced by the 'elite' academics but are not totally assimilated as far as their linguistic behaviour is concerned. These are the 'nouveaux riches' who sprang from Class A.

Sub-Class MB (8.37) falls far behind MA (20.25), as to hybrids used. MB subjects were the most careful speakers among all the three male sub-Classes. They felt uneasy about the way the 'old Greeks' hellenicized certain English words in their effort to communicate with their compatriots. It is quite a paradox that even though male subjects from sub-Class MB were aware of the non-acceptability of hybrid forms, they did use them in an average of 8.37 out of the 32 lexical items studied. As subject MB 6 told me in his interview: "... my cousins and our neighbours speak 'like that' all the time ... it's so funny, but it's unavoidable ... I'm being bombarded constantly with such words".

Table 3 and Figure 3 show a remarkable difference in the percentage of hybrids used by female and male subjects within each Class. Sub-Class FA subjects produced the most hybrid forms among female speakers (41.78%). FB subjects gave the lowest number of hybrid forms used (11.71%) and somewhere between FA and FB lies sub-Class FC = 26.56%.

Findings for sub-Classes MA, MB and MC also support the hypothesis of this study. Of all the three male sub-Classes, MA, which was the lowest one (variables Education-Occupation), appeared to use more hybrid forms than the other two.

$$MA = 63.28\% \quad MB = 26.15\% \quad MC - 38.65\%$$

Hence, combining hypotheses H 1 and H 3 one can see that male speakers from Class A were more productive of hybrid forms. It appears that male speakers, in general, tend to accept hybrids as well-formed Greek words.

Alternative to Hybrid Forms

One can see in Table 2 the difference in the degree of occurrence of alternatives to hybrids, namely 'in English', 'in Greek' and 'nil'. Female subjects irrespective of Age and Education-Occupation produced on an average almost twice as many words in English as the male subjects:

'English' : M = 2.84% F = 5.06%

This result is a consequence of data from the female subjects of Class B and Class C which biased, in a way, the average for all the female subjects (cf. Table 3). By producing on an average the largest number of English alternatives to the hybrid forms, females from Classes B and C influenced the overall production of all female subjects.

One could claim a similar phenomenon for the data dealing with the production of words 'in Greek' (Table 2). That is, female subjects from Class B and Class A, by producing on an average a high degree of words in Greek (cf. Table 3), biased the results towards the finding we see in Table 2.

'Greek' = M: 34.84% F: 45.15%

However, all female subjects irrespective of the Age and Education-Occupation variables produced more alternatives in Greek than male subjects did. In general, female speakers prefer to use English or, to a greater extent, Greek words rather than hybrids.

This claim can be true only if one is to accept the position that the use of standard Greek or English words instead of hybrids is a sign of the carefulness exhibited by the female subjects in this study.

The third alternative to each one of the observed hybrid forms is the 'nil', that is no word at all given. Looking at Table 2 and Figure 2 we can see that the difference between male and female subjects concerning the alternative 'nil' was 2.72% more 'nil' occurrences for the female subjects.

'nil' = M: 20.43% F: 23.15%

It is of importance to note (Table 3) that women of Classes A and C demonstrated higher percentages than men in the 'nil' category. In Class B the situation is reversed: women showed a lower percentage of 'nil' than men. It could mean that women of that Class are better educated in English and in Greek than the men of their Class.

Attitudes towards English and Hybrid Forms

As we have seen before, younger immigrants showed a preference to use English to any other language they may speak, usually Greek and/or French. On answering Question 7, Module 8 on 'Language': "Some of your words were an English-Greek mixture. Can you tell me why this happens and how?" subjects from Class B in their majority recognized the fact that their Greek is a bit strange and not appropriate. It seems that this might have been one of the reasons for their preference for English which they master very well. Other speakers were more tolerant. The following excerpts from the interviews with male speakers from Class A make vivid their feelings towards hybrid forms. Subject MA 3 said in answer to question 7 above.

MA 3: "...listen, friend, this happens all over the world. In the homeland we say *kontrolaro* 'to control' and *parkaro* 'to park'!! Are these Greek or not? Everybody uses them, though".

TM: "Here in Canada there are many more, aren't there?

MA 3: "No, I don't believe it! I think they are the sames ones" (!) A variety-shop owner, MA 3 comes from a small place in Greece and has been living in Montreal for 20 years now.

Another subject mentioned:

MA 6: "... of course, I'm 100% sure the word *stofa* (hybrid for 'stove') is Greek!! what do you think it is?..."

TM: What about *kuzina*? (standard Greek for 'stove')

MA 6: "Well, this is Greek, too, but *stofa* is different. May be in Greece they have different *stofes* (pl. of *stofa*) and they are called *kuzines*... Who knows?..."

CONCLUSIONS

The above excerpts point to a major result of languages in contact: there is a semantic adjustment in the vocabulary of the minority language. In most cases when two languages come in contact, two cultures are in contact and cultural innovations come to be mirrored in the lexicon. For instance, we have the case of the standard Greek word *kuzina* and the hybrid form *stofa*. Most probably because in Europe the burners of the stoves do not have a coiled shape but are flat and solid, the Greeks in Montreal assume them to be different kitchen appliances. So they call *stofes* the stoves in Canada and *kuzines* the ones in Greece. Similarly, the word *mapa* = the 'mop' was born as a result of the idiosyncratic sense of this very object. The dominant language — in our case English — plays its role: it influences to a great extent the subdominant language — Modern Greek in our case — particularly its vocabulary. The longer the immigrant resides in Montreal, the easier he accepts new hybrid forms. He considers them to be an important part of his vocabulary, which is actually true.

A number of important questions arise: "Are hybrid forms replacing little by little the standard Greek vocabulary in Montreal?" "Is standard Greek on the verge of becoming forgotten?" The data analysed in this article points towards a positive answer for both the above questions. Also there seems to be a sort of prestige which is being attached to the hybrid forms[6]. By using them in formal conversations, in newspaper announcements and in radio broadcasted messages, hybrid forms are unconsciously considered standard Greek words. The majority of Greeks feel secure when using some of the common hybrids. They understand each other perfectly, they can communicate precisely and almost always unambiguously[7].

An effort was made to show that there is a differentiation among Greeks in Montreal as far as their use of hybrid forms is concerned. Data analyses indicate that use of hybrids is inversely proportional to the use of standard Greek words, that the younger the immigrant the more he prefers to speak in English and to avoid both Greek and hybrid forms. Also there is a quite obvious correlation between the Education - Occupation variable and the production of hybrids. In addition female speakers proved to be the careful speakers supporting in that case the results of previous similar sociolinguistic studies.

The analysis of the above data showed that there is an indication of a strong tendency among subjects from Class B (younger immigrants) to be integrated into the broader Canadian society. On the contrary, Class A subjects want to preserve their 'Greekness' at any cost and transfer it to their children. Somewhere between these two Classes one can place Class C, the members of which revealed a more open-minded disposition than the other two Classes. Due to the fact that they associate with people from other ethnic groups — not living in the ghetto — they feel obliged to follow the main cultural stream of Canada. As MC 7 put it: "We cannot help being Canadians of Greek origin, not Greek permanent visitors to Canada".

The impact of the various Greek language schools on the satisfaction - integration - assimilation process of Greek Canadians and especially youngsters in the province of Quebec requires lots of research. Epigrammatically one can say that Greek language afternoon schools make a great effort to keep alive the standard Greek language among young immigrant children. Through the Greek language all the cultural inheritance of Greece together with the Orthodox Christian faith will be preserved for a longer time.

Moreover, if the standard Greek language largely or even completely loses its traditional status in Canada, this doesn't mean that the variety of Greek in Montreal enriched with hybrid forms is not considered Greek. I have mentioned before the new sense that is attributed to the term 'Greekness'. One may argue that the Greeks in Montreal, the Greek-Canadians and the Canadians of Greek origin preserve their idiosyncratic

Greekness. Linguistic change among ethnolinguistic minorities are in the form of the melting pot and parallel linguistic assimilation — implying the loss of subordinate mother tongues — or as in the case of Greek in Canada in the form of linguistic accommodation - implying change or compromise but not necessarily loss of a mother tongue. We are probably heading towards more changes in the Greek language but I am optimistic that the Greek language is going to thrive for the next decade.

NOTES

(1) Similar hybridization phenomena occur in almost all minority languages when they come in contact with the official language of any country. Here are some examples from relevant references (Dias, Lathrop and Rosa (1977), Vasilikos (1973), Anderson, A.B. (1976) as well as personal discussions of this issue with people of Ukranian and Italian origin.

Luso-American	*English*	*Standard Portuguese*
tiquete	'ticket'	boleto
basqueta	'basket'	cesto
closeta	'closet'	armario
grosaria	'grocer's'	mercearia
marqueta	'market'	supermercado
W. German Greek	***German***	***Mod. Greek***
firma	'firma'	eteria
kontrato	'kontrakt'	simvoleo
preparizo	'preparieren'	etimazo
faro	'fahren'	taksidhevo
kelneros	'Kellner'	servitoros
Ukranian-Canadian	***English***	***Ukranian***
aeroplan	'aeroplane'	litak
astronavt	'astronaut'	kosmonavt
baisik	'bicycle'	velosiped
Italian-Canadian	***English***	***Italian***
storo	'store'	negozio
joba	'job'	lavoro
turnare	'to turn'	voltare
basketa	'basket'	cesto
tiketo	'ticket'	biglietto

(2) "Bien que le français soit la langue de la majorité au Québec, l'anglais a toujours été associé à un prestige, aussi bien dans les milieux francophone et anglophone que dans les autres communautés linguistiques". (Daoust, 1982, pp. 16).

(3) Language acquisition is considered as an informal creative language construction process, implying no conscious learning of grammar rules. On the other hand, language learning is thought of as a process occurring in formal context with testing of consciously learned grammar rules.

(4) For instance, a very important issue in my research was the usage of either the 2nd person singular (informal speech) or the 2nd person plural (formal speech) of both verbs and pronouns when addressing questions to my subjects.

(5) In Standard Greek there are many verbs having the morphological characteristics of the hybrid form ***muv-aro***.

stop-aro 'to stop', ***sok-aro*** 'to shock'.

The Greek verbal suffix ***-aro*** is quite productive. It goes back to the Byzantine times and was formed from Italian infinitives in ***-are***. (Triantafyllides, 1952).

(6) Hybrid forms are very popular. For instance, one can hear on the radio (CFMB August 8, 1983) a City Councillor saying naturally the following sentence among others:

"O demos prepi na stelni ***ta bilia*** ke ***ta forms jia ta taksis*** sta englezika...
(The City must send 'the bills' and the 'tax forms' in English...)

Or, you can read in newspapers:

"***Apartima*** 4½, ***me stofa ke friza***. Pola ***extra***. Ste Bloomfield. Tel._____".
(A 4½ apartment, with stove and fridge. Many extras. On Bloomfield. Tel._____).

"Polite: ***Frutaria-ghrosaria se sopin-senter***".
(For sale: Fruit-grocery shop in a shopping center).

(7) It is "almost always unambiguously" because there exists a possible ambiguity in some hybrid forms. For instance:

tiketo can be either 1. 'a bus, railroad or air ticket' or 2. 'a summons issued for a traffic or parking violation'. ***bili*** can be either 1. 'a written statement, a law' or 2. 'a statement of money owed for goods or services supplied'.

APPENDIX I

The hybrid forms used for the research

1. marketa (f.)	'market'	aghora
2. bosis (m.)	'boss'	afentiko
3. karpeto (n.)	'carpet'	hali
4. televizio (n.)	'television'	tileorasi
5. ghiardha (f.)	'yard'	avli
6. flori (n.)	'floor'	patoma
7. kasi (n.)	'cash'	metrita, lefta
8. tseki (n.)	'check'	epitaghi
9. eleveta (f.)	'elevator'	asanser
10. banka (f.)	'bark'	trapeza
11. boksi (n.)	'box'	kuti
12. karo (n.)	'car'	aftokinito
13. basi (n.)	'bus'	leoforio
14. bili (n.)	'bill'	loghariazmos
15. masini (n.)	'machine'	mihani (-ma)
16. steki (n.)	'steak'	brizola
17. bildi (n.)	'building'	ktirio
18. deliveri (n.)	'delivery'	dhianomi
19. bizi (adj.)	'busy'	apasholimenos
20. pei (n.)	'payment'	misthos
21. muvaro (v.)	'to move'	metakomizo
22. kliner (m./f.)	'cleaner'	katharistis
23. stofa (f.)	'stove'	kuzina
24. blu (adj.)	'blue'	ble
25. vakesio (n.)	'vacation'	dhiakopes
26. apart(i)ma (n.)	'apartment'	dhiamerizma
27. goverma (n.)	'government'	kivernisi
28. kombania (f.)	'company'	eteria
29. faktori (n.)	'factory'	erghostasio
30. saina (f.)	'sign'	tabela, epighrafi
31. tiketo (n.)	'ticket'	isitirio
32. restora (n.)	'restaurant'	estiatorio

(n.) = neuter
(f.) = feminine
(m.) = masculine

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CANADIAN POLICY IN CYPRUS

Bill Schabas*

RÉSUMÉ

Le Canada a joué un rôle secondaire mais significatif par rapport à la "question chypriote" depuis l'arrivé de ses troupes à Nicosie pendant le conflit intercommunautaire de 1964. Le Royaume Uni voulait envoyer une force de l'OTAN ou du Commonwealth, mais une présence si ouverte était écartée par la République de Chypre et d'autres pays. On s'est entendu sur une force de la paix de l'ONU avec une forte participation de l'OTAN. Sur la scène internationale, le Canada plaide souvent en faveur de la neutralité à cause de son rôle de gardien de la paix, mais à plusieurs reprises le Canada a démontré qu'il privilégie les intérêts de l'OTAN. En 1978, le "Western framework", rédigé par les États-Unis, le Royaume Uni et le Canada, fut jugé inacceptable par le gouvernement de Chypre, parce que la formule favorisait les visées territoriales turques, et proposait un projet de constitution qui donnerait à la minorité turque un pouvoir exagéré eu égard à son importance. Récemment, lors des sessions de l'ONU, le Canada a démontré que, si on lui donne le choix entre son rôle de gardien de la paix et celui de membre de l'OTAN, c'est ce dernier que le gouvernement d'Ottawa va choisir.

ABSTRACT

Canada has played a secondary but significant role in the "Cyprus question" since its troops took up positions in Nicosia during the intercommunal strife of 1964. Britain had hoped to send a NATO or Commonwealth force, but such an overt presence was ruled out by the Republic of Cyprus and others. The compromise was a UN peacekeeping force with a strong NATO component. In international fora Canada has frequently pleaded "neutrality" because of its peacekeeping function, but on several occasions has shown it places NATO's interests foremost. A 1978 "Western framework" authored by the US, the UK and Canada was unacceptable to Cyprus because it favoured Turkey's territorial ambitions and proposed a constitutional arrangement that gave the Turkish minority political power out of all proportion to its importance. In recent UN voting, Canada has shown that offered the choice between its "NATO function" and its "peacekeeping function", the former will prevail.

INTRODUCTION

At first glance, the two countries could hardly have less in common. Yet history has brought Canada and Cyprus together. Both, of course, are former British colonies and current members of the Commonwealth. Canada, however, acquired virtual autonomy as a privileged "white" Dominion, while Cyprus remained a "Crown colony" until anti-colonial fighters wrestled from London a possession it had once said it would never give up. Canada and Cyprus have both savoured the joys of federalism, though here similarities could be exaggerated. In Canada's case, federalism was a means of both protecting and eventually assimilating the French-speaking nation. In Cyprus, on the contrary, federalism was imposed by London as the price of decolonization, and gave undue power to the Turkish minority. Nor was Cypriot federalism based on geographic divisions. Rather it was a form of "personal" federalism with each community formally represented in the state administration.

Canada became intimately involved in Cyprus during the 1963-1964 intercommunal strife, brought on by the unworkability of its notorious federal constitution. Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson relished his role as an international peacemaker, and

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jumped at the chance to help Britain police the island it had "liberated" only three years earlier. Canadians went as *casques bleus*, under the control of the United Nations. But what was seen as a temporary mission has evolved, and twenty years later Canadians still patrol a "Green Line" that is as unstable as ever. The troops were sent in reaction to Turkish threats to invade the island, and they have always been perceived as necessary protectors of Greek-speaking Cypriots from irridentist Ankara. Were they to leave, as Canadian politicians have from time to time threatened, the result would be more suffering for Cyprus. Yet it would be wrong to perceive Canadian troops as altruistic peacemakers: they have, for twenty years, performed a role for NATO that neither the US nor the UK could themselves accomplish.

BACKGROUND TO THE "CYPRUS PROBLEM"

Though a Greek-speaking island since the Acheans settled there in the 13th century B.C., because of its exposed and highly strategic geographic position, Cyprus has been the victim of a long succession of conquerors. The Ottomans ruled the island from 1571 until 1878 when they handed it over to the British in return for protection from Czarist Russia. The Cypriots had little to say in the change of rulers. They had sought to be part of revolutionary Greece since the early nineteenth century, but like many of the islands, including Crete and Rhodes, independence would follow a different timetable.

The British coveted Cyprus for its strategic position, and though military tactics have changed since 1878, the value of such an outpost in the Eastern Mediterranean has, if anything, increased. As late as 1954, in the heyday of decolonization, the British Minister of State for the Colonies, Henry Hopkinson, would say of Cyprus: "It has always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent."[1]

Hopkinson's "never" precipitated an anti-colonial struggle by the patient Cypriots, and within a few years EOKA's bombs had already reduced it to a "maybe". The courageous Cypriots quickly convinced world opinion that independence was inevitable. The British, however, as they had successfully done in India and other ex-colonies, tried to mitigate the damage by inciting racial warfare. Their tool was the Turkish minority, 18% of the island's population. When Britain took Cyprus from Turkey in 1878, it had kept much of the Ottoman colonial administration in place, and even in 1950s most of the island's policemen were still Turks. Turkey itself, though it had abandoned all legal claims to Cyprus with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, still nurtured hopes of recovering this lost part of "greater Anatolia". Against EOKA, then, Britain sent a Turkish minority that preferred partnership with the colonizers to the prospect of life in a newly independent democracy. Perhaps there is no greater confirmation of this than the personality of Rauf Denktash, currently the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. In the 1950s, Denktash was the British Crown prosecutor who sent Michael Karaolis and other Cypriot nationalists to the gallows.

As the revolutionary Cypriots fought on, Britain sought a compromise that would ensure the spirit, if not the letter, of Hopkinson's famous "never". In 1959, Archbishop Makarios, the political leader of the struggle, reluctantly accepted the "independence" that London, with the cooperation of NATO partners in Athens and Ankara, had cooked up. The London-Zurich agreements imposed a cumbersome federalist constitution. Cyprus was divided into two communities on the basis of ethnic origin: the president, by law, would be a Greek-Cypriot, while the vice-president would be a Turkish-Cypriot. The vice-president possessed a veto on important legislation. Turkish Cypriots, though only 18% of the population, would hold 30% of civil service positions and make up 40% of the police force and army. The president of the High Court was a foreign jurist (in fact, one of the first was a Canadian, John C. Wilson, formerly of the Ontario Supreme Court).[2] The Treaty of Guarantee also established the UK, Turkey and Greece as "guarantor powers", with the right to intervene if the constitutional framework were ever threatened. Finally, Britain's military presence on the island was assured. Not only would it keep two sovereign base areas, but Her Majesty's troops would have unrestricted access to the island's

highways, use of the international airport and a variety of other concessions that helped make Cypriot independence more of an illusion than a reality.[3]

The Greek Cypriots soon realized that they had been sold a bill of goods. Rather than being a stepping stone to full sovereignty, as no doubt Makarios had hoped, the London-Zurich agreements cut short a promising liberation struggle, and imprisoned the Cypriots in a political *cul-de-sac*. Still, Makarios did his best to make the bizarre constitution work; in 1963 when he proposed amendments that would remove some of the more obstructive Turkish vetoes, the vice-president declared that the Republic of Cyprus had ceased to exist and withdrew from the government. The week before Christmas, 1963, there was fighting in the streets of Nicosia.[4]

CANADIAN PEACEKEEPERS TO CYPRUS

A conference of the three guarantor powers was convoked in London on January 15, 1964. The UK's initial solution, submitted after consultations with the US, was to occupy temporarily the island with a NATO force.[5] From the standpoint of Washington and London, this was a NATO problem, because two key NATO powers, Greece and Turkey, as well as important military bases, were involved. Yet Cyprus was not a NATO member. Archbishop Makarios, who was also President, had already made abundantly clear his anti-imperialist sentiments and his association with the non-aligned world. The Cypriot government declared that "peacekeeping" by a NATO force was unacceptable.[6]

Britain's next proposal was a Commonwealth force, but the suggestion was dropped when only Canada was prepared to contribute troops.[7] British Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home visited Ottawa in early February, 1964. That Britain was counting on Canadian soldiers to police a Cyprus ceasefire was already common knowledge, and Canada had indicated its sympathy to the idea. Lester Pearson, Nobel Peace Prize winner, was Canada's Prime Minister. Since the mid-1950s Pearson advocated the creation of a permanent U.N. peacekeeping force, so he provided a sympathetic audience when the dispatch of troops to Cyprus was first suggested.

The English-Canadian press was enthusiastic about the proposal, and *The Globe and Mail* urged that Canada be "well to the front" of an international peacekeeping effort.[8] For a Quebec well in the throes of its quiet revolution, however, sending Canadian soldiers to help the British smacked of colonialism and brought memories of the Boer War. Ottawa was "never so happy", said *La Presse*, as when it was asked "to concern itself with conflicts that are none of its business".[9] The editorial in *Le Devoir* was entitled "De la guerre des Boers à la crise de Chypre":

> "Devons-nous engager ainsi dans une complication inquiétante de la guerre froide pour tirer le gouvernement anglais d'une situation embarrassante? Nous pouvons sympathiser ou non avec la minorité turque-chypriote qui recourt à la violence et à l'émeute pour défendre des droits qu'elle juge menacés par la majorité grecque; mais est-ce bien le rôle du Canada de s'aventurer dans ce conflit? Notre principal motif serait d'aider Londres, mais nous ne sommes plus à l'époque ou Laurier envoyait des troupes canadiennes en Afrique du Sud."[10]

Le Devoir distinguished between NATO or Commonwealth forces, and a peacekeeping body that would come under the aegis of the United Nations. The distinction was made elsewhere as well: if England wished to send troups back into Cyprus, three years after independence, they would require a modest level of international credibility. Canada was the perfect "peacekeeper", as it could be equally at home in a NATO, Commonwealth or U.N. force.

The United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was created by a Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964.[11] The government of Cyprus gave its consent to a mandate that was to last three months. (The mandate would be renewed in June, and thereafter until the present at regular intervals.) The Secretary-General, at the time U Thant, was to determine the peacekeeping force's composition, in consultation with the three guarantor powers and Cyprus herself.

Formation of the force was hastened by a Turkish ultimatum on March 11 that threatened intervention. Cyprus considered an invasion to be imminent, and called on the Security Council to take prompt action. Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Paul Martin met U Thant in New York, and then personally undertook the recruitment of the force's member nations. It has been said that had Martin been less concerned, the force would not have been formed, and Turkey would indeed have invaded the island.

A telephone call from US president Lyndon Johnson gave Martin and Pearson some encouragement: "We're told that the Turks are embarking troops to invade Cyprus," Johnson is reported to have told Pearson by telephone. "Unless some kind of United Nations force gets there in the next few days, there might be war. You're the only country that could possibly get your men there in time. Can you do it?"

Pearson told Johnson what he wanted to hear. "We'll have our troops airborne by tonight."[12] At 6.30 PM on March 13 Pearson made good his commitment, and a reconnaissance party of Royal Canadian Dragoons left the airforce base in Trenton, Ontario for Cyprus. By March 27, the 1st batallion of the Royal 22nd Regiment (the "Van Doos") was operational, and the HMCS *Bonaventure* arrived on March 30 with supplies. The Swedish and the Irish were also active participants in the early days of UNFICYP.

Canadian troops took on some of the most difficult missions, including the strategic Nicosia-Kyrenia road and the Nicosia "Green Line" which divided the Turkish enclave from the rest of Cyprus. The Canadian soldiers were commended in the Western press for their maturity and tact. Before the close of 1964, Cyprus was a household word in Canada, "the Cyprus force had become...part of Canadian life."[13]

The Canadian force had also become part of life in Cyprus. "The Greek Cypriots became rapidly disillusioned with the UN when they found it was neither prepared to disarm the Turks nor to take over the Nicosia-Kyrenia road from them by force," according to historian Nancy Crawshaw.[14] Keep the peace it would, but the UN forces were also perpetuating the status quo, supervising the transition of a ceasefire line into a virtual international boundary. The net effect of UN peacekeeping was to police the Zurich-London accords and the developing division of the island, something the Turks and the British had always sought and the Greek Cypriots had always resisted.

INVASION AND PARTITION

The 1967 overthrow of the elected Greek government threatened to bring more trouble to Cyprus. Makarios, a progressive whom Kissinger would later dub "the Castro of the Mediterranean", was no friend of the Athens junta. The Greek colonels soon began stimulating a right wing terrorist opposition to President Makarios. The group was called "EOKA B", exploiting the prestige of the original EOKA, and of its leader, General Grivas. When Grivas died in early 1974 it was hoped tensions within the Greek Cypriot community would be relaxed. But instead pro-junta forces, encouraged by the colonels in Athens, undertook a coup d'état on July 15, 1974. The Turkish government seized upon the coup as a pretext to invade Cyprus and accomplish the partition it had sought since the 1950s.

On July 20, 1974, 40,000 Turkish troops, aided by air and naval forces, invaded the island. Over the month that followed, while Turkey consolidated its positions, the UN Security Council[15] called for a ceasefire and troop withdrawals, as well as Turkey's respect of agreements it signed at a late-July meeting of the three guarantor powers in Geneva. Turkey, however, launched a second invasion on August 14 that brought 40% of the island's territory under its control.

Turkey's intentions had been declared as recently as February 1974, only five months prior to the invasion. Following a government crisis that resulted from the 1973 general elections, Premier Bulent Ecevit's coalition government signed a protocol declaring that only federation could be accepted in Cyprus.[16] But federation was hard to accomplish in an island with such a heterogeneous population; the two peoples had lived side by side for

decades. War and accompanying terror enabled Turkey to drive the Greeks in the northern half of Cyprus from their homes, and create distinct national boundaries.

Canadian soldiers were in the middle of much of the fighting. When Turkey attempted to seize the Nicosia airport on July 24, Canadian soldiers held off the attack, and are credited with saving the airport. Canadian Defence Minister James Richardson later said that the Canadian troops should have surrendered to the Turkish forces, rather than attempt to defend the airport against Turkish tanks when they were not adequately equipped.[17]

On July 21, in an official statement, Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp said Canada had played an active role in preventing armed conflict, particularly after the Turkish invasion. He confirmed that nine Canadians had sustained minor injuries.[18] On July 25, responding to requests from the UN Secretary-General, the Canadian government decided to increase the size of its UNFICYP contingent to the capability of an infantry batallion, roughly doubling the number of soldiers stationed in Cyprus, to approximately 950. Sharp and Richardson also announced that Canadian peacekeeping troops would be equipped with heavier weapons, including 101-millimetre recoilless rifles, M72 anti-tank rocket launchers, M113 armoured personnel carriers equipped with .50-calibre machine guns, N577A1 command-post carriers, 84-millimetre Carl Gustav anti-tank weapons and Lynx command and reconnaissance vehicles.[19]

Canada was active on the diplomatic front during the 1974 invasion. Sharp insisted that Canada had a special interest in the Cyprus question, despite the fact it was not then a member of the Security Council. He announced that Canada's permanent representative to NATO was actively participating in consultations with other NATO governments on the question.[20] In August more Canadian troops were sent to Cyprus, "a reflection of the importance we attach to preventing open conflict" in the area, said Sharp's successor, Allan MacEachan.[21]

On February 13, 1975 Turkey announced that it was establishing "the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". The move was denounced by most countries, including Canada. In a statement released on February 19, 1975, MacEachan said Canada had "learned with concern" of Turkey's plans. He noted that Canada has sought to avoid taking sides in the dispute between the two communities while trying to encourage representatives of both sides from undertaking meaningful negotiations. MacEachan said it was "difficult to avoid the conclusion that they (the negotiations) have received a serious setback by the recent unilateral action of the Turkish Cypriot administration. MacEachan also "noted with satisfaction the Turkish-Cypriot statement that their action is not intended to constitute partition of the Island nor to create a separate independent state."[22]

Several rounds of frustrating and fruitless negotiations over the years that followed attempted to find some solution to the "Cyprus problem". In 1977, in an attempt to break the impasse, Makarios offered to meet Denktash under the auspices of the United Nations. The Cypriot government even agreed to "a major and painful concession", acceptance of a confederal Cyprus in which a Turkish state would have full autonomy over matters within its competence.[23] The Turks replied to Cypriot concessions with accelerated threats of a UDI — "unilateral declaration of independence".

THE "WESTERN FRAMEWORK"

Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Donald Jamieson travelled to Cyprus in June, 1978, for a meeting with President Kyprianou. Press reports said Jamieson was sceptical about a solution to the Cyprus problem, as both sides seemed "entrenched". However, the atmosphere during Jamieson's visit cannot have been helped by the fact he had arrived following a cordial visit to Ankara. While in Turkey, Jamieson told the Turkish government he expected it to play "a full, viable, and totally active role" in NATO. Jamieson expressed Canada's agreement with a NATO communique of May 1978 that stated it was essential Turkey be provided with adequate military supplies and equipment. While in Ankara, Jamieson also suggested that Canada was getting tired of its peace-keeping role in Cyprus. He said "we are beginning to feel that we are now part of the problem instead of being part of the solution.»[24]

The following October, in his annual speech to the UN General Assembly, Jamieson called for a Western initiative to resolve the Cyprus problem. The "Western framework" was produced by Canada, the US and the UK, and submitted by Washington to the Cyprus government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership in November 1978. The plan called for resumption of intercommunal talks, but also provided an outline for a solution of the Cyprus problem. It proposed a bicommunal federal state with two constituent regions, one to be inhabited by Greek Cypriots, the other predominantly by Turkish Cypriots. The new constitutional structure was to be negotiated based on the Makarios-Denktash declaration of February 1977, relevant elements of the 1960 constitutions, and UN resolutions. The "Western framework" provided for a bicameral legislature, with the upper chamber representing the two communities on a basis of equality, and the lower chamber elected in proportion to the population. Turkish communal representatives would hold 30% of the ministerial portfolios. In the event the requisite majority in the upper house could not be obtained, a bill could pass with a two-thirds vote in the lower chamber, provided it had the support of at least three-eighths of the representatives of each community.[25]

The Canada-US-UK proposal was sharply criticized by the Cyprus government. It pointed out that the plan relegated the UN resolutions to a secondary role in the solution of the Cyprus problem. The plan addressed in detail the constitutional proposals, an area of interest to the Turks, but passed briefly over recovery of territory in the occupied zone, the preoccupation of the Greek Cypriots. Nor did it provide any effective means of resettlement for refugees displaced by the war. The elaborate voting procedure proposed in the "Western framework" did little more than reinstitute the Turkish veto that had been enshrined in the 1960 constitution, and that had led to the breakdown in 1963. Finally, the document conflicted with UN resolutions on a number of points, including the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The General Assembly had called for immediate withdrawal of all foreign military presence, but the Canada-US-UK document indicated that some foreign forces might remain in Cyprus, even after resolution of "the problem".[26]

As a general rule, Canada and the Western powers mitigate the role of the United Nations in international affairs, and the Cyprus case is no exception. UN Resolutions are dismissed as pious sentiments, of little value compared with a bilateral agreement or conference under the stewardship of some Western state. Even within the UN, the West prefers to marginalize the General Assembly, a fundamentally democratic body in which it is, however, the minority, in favour of the Security Council, which it can more often control, and the Secretary-General, who must dutifully defer to the "realities" of international relations.

There are nuances to be made within Canada concerning attitudes towards the Cyprus question, as the surprise election of Conservatives in 1979 demonstrated. With the exception of Joe Clark's brief reign in 1979-1980, the Liberal Party has held power throughout Canada's association with the "Cyprus problem". The Conservatives had some original theories about Canadian foreign policy: Joe Clark soon made Canada a laughing stock with his proposal to move Canada's Israel embassy to Jerusalem, something even Israel's most steadfast Western allies had refused to do. Soon rumours were circulating that Canada wanted to review its participation in the Cyprus peacekeeping force. Clark's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Flora MacDonald, claimed that the Canadian government was tired of spending money on peacekeeping in Cyprus. "There does come a point when you wonder whether or not your presence has not just become a security blanket, a reason for the disputants to the situation turning their backs on having to realistically deal with the problem, trying to come to some solution," she told the Standing Committee on External Affairs.[27]

Upon their return to office in early 1980, the Liberals reassured Canadians that withdrawal of the peacekeeping troops was not being seriously considered. The new Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mark MacGuigan, said that "...through the United Nations we have made attempts to bring about a settlement of the issue. Every indication we have is that the issue is not ripe for settlement and that our withdrawal would really precipitate more problems." MacGuigan said that an ultimatum to withdraw the Canadian

troops, in the hopes it would provoque a settlement, was unlikely to "produce the desired results. I suppose there is only one way to find out for sure, but I would rather not take the risk."[28]

MISSING PERSONS AND THE THIRD COMMITTEE

Canada's role in the Cyprus conflict has been characterized by considerable ambiguity: a neutral peacekeeper, on the one hand, but a loyal member of NATO on the other. With the Conservatives in office, the soup has perhaps a little more NATO and a little less "peacekeeper", but causes the same indigestion in both major political parties. This ambivalence was effectively demonstrated in Canada's response to a recent UN resolution on missing persons in Cyprus. There are still 2,000 persons whose whereabouts since the invasion in 1974 cannot be determined. Some of them have been identified in photos appearing in Turkish newspapers, indicating they were taken prisoner, but the Turkish government refuses to account for them.

In November, 1982, the UN Third Committee was presented with a resolution on the subject. With the hopes of achieving broad support among member nations of the UN, the proposers of the resolution toned down its contents. Argument broke out in the Third Committee over the status that representatives of the Turkish Cypriots should be accorded. The Cypriot government successfully convinced the UN body that the Turkish delegation should not be given status at the conference, as it did not represent a legal government. Canada did not agree, however, and abstained during the vote in the Third Committee (99 voted in favour, four against and 18 abstained.) According to Julie Loranger, director of the UN Social and Humanitarian Affairs Division of Canada's Department of External Affairs, "Canada had to maintain its balanced bilateral relations with two NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, and in particular had to underline its credibility and impartiality as the second-largest peacekeeping contributor in Cyprus."[30] Canada later joined the consensus which adopted the resolution in plenary.

The question of status for Turkish Cypriot representatives is a difficult one for the Canadian government. The Turkish administration is illegal by any definition of international law,[31] having been imposed by armed invasion. Yet even in its most sympathetic light, it is a secessionist government seeking to create a new "confederal state" and rewrite an existing constitution. Largely because of nationalism in Quebec, the Canadian government has traditionally been in the forefront of states that maintain members of a federation have no status in international relations. Such, at any rate, was its position during the Vienna Conference on the Law of Treaties, during which Canada successfully led a campaign to refuse members of a federal state a role in treaty-making.[32] Thus, the behaviour of Canadian diplomats during the Third Committee seems to contradict one of the tenets of Canada's international outlook.

Nor is the concern about Canada's credibility as a peacekeeper a convincing argument. The Resolution in the Third Committee won the support of every state contributing to UNFICYP — Australia, Austria, Denmark, Eire, Finland and Sweden — with two exceptions, the UK and Canada. According Julie Loranger of the Department of External Affairs, "Only Canada, the UK and Denmark among Western countries had both the NATO and the peacekeeping angles to consider in their vote in the Assembly committee. The UK reached the same conclusion to abstain as Canada, while Denmark was presumably much less constrained by its much smaller peacekeeping commitment."[33]. The distinction with Denmark defies logic: presumably a "much smaller peacekeeping commitment" would make Denmark less sensitive to "the peacekeeping angle", not more so. Nor is, in reality, Denmark's contribution that different from Canada's. Denmark has 341 soldiers in Cyprus compared with Canada's 515, and the UK's 761. The real explanation for Canada's behaviour in the Third Committee is that, given the choice between the "NATO angle" and the "peacekeeping angle", the former will prevail.

A comparable voting pattern was repeated in the General Assembly's most recent Resolution on the Cyprus question. Adopted on May 13, 1983, it called for "the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from the Republic of Cyprus", and for "meaningful,

result-oriented, constructive and substantive negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General." The Resolution was adopted with a majority of 103, five voting against and 20 abstentions, including Canada. The five opposed were Turkey, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan and Somalia. The abstainers included Canada, West Germany, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Japan, the US and the UK.[34]

CONCLUSION

"Peacekeeping" is often a mighty euphemism, and Cyprus can consider itself fortunate to have avoided "peacekeepers" like those who have descended upon Beirut or Grenada. Still, many Cypriots quite justifiably ask if UN troops have merely policed the Turkish and British objective of a divided Cyprus. When the first *casques bleus* arrived in 1964, the "Green Line" defined a relatively small enclave with a substantial Turkish population. Yet already the principle of a geographic division in an island that had hitherto had a heterogeneous population was established. Twenty-five years after the anti-colonial war, Britain and Turkey have cut the island in two and fulfilled by war the redistribution of populations that they could never have achieved by negotiation.

Canada has helped to accomplish this. The Canadian government has enabled NATO to survive a crisis that for more than 20 years has threatened its vulnerable southern flank. No doubt, many Canadian soldiers have behaved with courage and considerable sympathy towards the Greek Cypriots. Their actions during the 1974 war, specifically their defence of the Nicosia airport when they were badly outgunned, earned them much respect. A sudden withdrawal of UN troops would only further expose the Republic of Cyprus to Turkish aggression. But even large-hearted missionaries may objectively perform quite another function.

Canada's fundamental loyalty to the NATO-British-US view of Cyprus was underscored by its participation in the 1978 "Western framework". Canada linked itself with a sterile and unfair "solution" of the Cyprus problem, largely a rehash of the disastrous 1960 constitution, combined withan entrenchment of Turkish territorial sovereignty over a piece of Cyprus far greater than its share of the total population would warrant. During recent UN sessions, Canada has shown that, forced to choose between NATO and the neutrality that is expected of a "peacekeeper", NATO comes first.

The Cyprus problem is so complicated that even most Greek Cypriots see with difficulty any realistic and respectable solution in the short term. If the clock could be set back to 1959, few today would accept the wisdom of Makarios' reluctant compromise in London. The Zurich-London agreements and the constitution that consolidated them cut short the anti-colonial war. Cypriots have been paying for it ever since. Canada's role in Cypriot politics has been a secondary though significant one. Garbed as a neutral peacekeeper, it has in reality served the strategic imperatives of London and Washington in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. In that sense, Prime Minister Trudeau unintentionally hit the nail on the head when he said, during his August 1983 visit to Athens, that perhaps Canada "was part of the problem, rather than part of the solution."[35]

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SECTEURS D'ACTIVITÉS ET CONDITIONS DE TRAVAIL DES GRECS DU QUÉBEC

Stephanos Constantinides*

ABSTRACT

This text provides a socio-professional profile of the Greeks of Quebec. The author presents the results of field work that show that the great majority of Greeks work in the garment, restaurant, cleaning and construction industries. Relying on these results, and on other information, the author observes that the working conditions of Quebec's Greeks are below average, that they are both under-employed and over-exploited. He explains that they have been inadequately protected by legislation, and that their average earnings are below the national average.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article dresse le portrait socio-professionnel des Grecs du Québec. L'auteur présente les résultats d'une enquête sur le terrain qui montre que la grande majorité des Grecs est constituée de travailleurs dans les secteurs du vêtement, des services d'entretien, de la restauration et de la construction. En se basant sur les mêmes résultats, tout en les comparant avec d'autres données disponibles, l'auteur observe que les conditions de travail des Grecs du Québec sont en dessous de la moyenne, un grand nombre de ceux-ci étant sous-employés et sur-exploités. Il note aussi que la protection accordée par les lois est insuffisante et que leur revenu moyen est en dessous de la moyenne nationale.

INTRODUCTION

On savait d'une façon générale, soit à partir d'estimations individuelles[1], soit à partir d'études partielles, que les Grecs étaient concentrés dans certains secteurs d'activités tels les industries du vêtement, de l'entretien des bâtiments, la restauration, la construction et les services. Certes, les professionnels des différents secteurs, les enseignants aux différents niveaux de l'éducation, les entrepreneurs, les commerçants et toute une série d'autres professions ne manquent pas chez les Grecs; mais on savait qu'il s'agissait de secteurs très minoritaires, alors que la majeure partie de la population d'origine grecque est constituée essentiellement de travailleurs non qualifiés.

Une enquête sur le terrain nous a permis de confirmer plus ou moins ces hypothèses, même si à partir des informations fragmentaires dont nous disposons, nous pouvons dire que le groupe grec évolue; il y a d'abord les gens de la deuxième génération, chez qui la mobilité sociale est beaucoup plus significative; il y a aussi le fait qu'un certain nombre d'immigrants grecs récents ont une scolarité plus élevée et une certaine qualification; on signale en particulier le courant des immigrants «politiques» au moment de la dictature en Grèce. Enfin, des étudiants décident de ne pas retourner en Grèce après leurs études et restent au Québec.

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Cet article est issu d'une étude plus vaste sur les Grecs du Québec. À plusieurs reprises nous faisons état des résultats d'une enquête; il s'agit d'une enquête quantitative sur le terrain avec échantillon, complétée par une enquête qualitative. La méthodologie suivie sera exposée dans un livre sur les Grecs et qui comprendra les résultats de notre enquête. Notons cependant que l'échantillon de l'enquête quantitative comprenait 200 personnes et que 137 personnes ont accepté d'y répondre. Les autres ont soit refusé de participer à l'enquête, soit ils étaient absents pendant la période de son déroulement, soit ils avaient entre temps déménagé.

L'auteur tient à remercier le Secrétariat d'État pour avoir en partie financé cette étude, menée par le Centre de Recherches Helléniques.

Quelques études du ministère de l'Immigration du Québec sur les travailleurs immigrants et leur répartition sectorielle, contiennent des éléments fragmentaires sur les Grecs qui vont dans le sens de ce que nous mentionnons plus haut[2].

Nous savons, et tout le monde en parle, que les conditions de travail des travailleurs immigrants sont pénibles. Ces travailleurs se trouvent en grande majorité dans les secteurs défavorisés de l'économie, ce qui signifie: horaires coupés, semaine de travail non garantie, travail de nuit, temps supplémentaire, congés non-payés, absence de congés de maladie, congédiements sans préavis, etc. Les travailleurs grecs ne font pas exception[3]. En plus, avec la crise économique actuelle, leur situation se détériore et ils font face à un taux de chômage très élevé, dépassant de loin le taux moyen au Québec[4].

On sait que l'immigrant en arrivant dans un pays, a dans la plupart des cas comme préoccupation majeure d'améliorer ses conditions de vie et de travail. Dans son pays d'origine, les problèmes économiques et sociaux sont tels qu'ils ne lui permettent pas cette amélioration. Il choisit généralement son pays d'adoption en prenant principalement en considération des facteurs économiques.

Il est aussi à noter que l'immigrant provient en règle générale des couches de la population les plus défavorisées de son pays d'origine. De ce fait, en plus de l'amélioration de son niveau de vie, l'immigrant cherche aussi à obtenir dans le pays d'accueil une certaine promotion sociale. Cette promotion sociale se traduit en général par la réussite au niveau purement économique puisque dans les autres domaines c'est beaucoup plus difficile, pour des raisons de culture, de langue, d'éducation et en définitif, par la difficulté de s'intégrer complètement à la société d'accueil.

Ces généralités s'appliquent plus ou moins à la plupart des immigrants dans tous les pays du monde. Bien entendu, dans chaque pays et pour chaque groupe ethnique, il y a des problèmes spécifiques liés à la réalité du pays d'origine et du pays d'accueil, surtout en ce qui concerne les conditions de travail où les différences sont énormes d'un pays à l'autre.

Le groupe ethnique grec au Québec a sa propre histoire et ses caractéristiques particulières, mises en lumière par quelques travaux récents[5]. Pour ce qui est du travail, après ces quelques généralités, nous présentons ici les résultats de notre enquête sur le terrain.

I. Secteurs d'activités

Pour que nous puissions faire des comparaisons avec les métiers que les Grecs exercent ici au Québec actuellement et voir leur évolution socio-professionnelle, on a posé la question suivante: "Quel travail faisiez-vous en Grèce? (ou dans le pays d'où vous avez émigré, pour les Grecs qui n'ont pas eu la Grèce comme dernière résidence)". Selon les réponses obtenues 13,82 % étaient des agriculteurs, 12,19 % des travailleurs indépendants (ou artisans) et assimilés, 11,38 % des chômeurs (ou sans travail), 10,57 % des ménagères, 10,57 % des travailleurs du vêtement et assimilés, 8,94 % des étudiants ou élèves, 6,50 % des travailleurs de la construction et assimilés, 4,07 % des employés de bureau et assimilés, 4,07 % des travailleurs dans la restauration, 2,44 % des marins, 1,63 % des propriétaires de petits commerces, 1,63 % des membres de professions libérales, 4,88 % divers (avec 7,32 % de non réponse). A la question: "Si vous travaillez, dites où et quel travail vous faites?", on a eu les réponses suivantes: 25 % travailleurs du vêtement ou assimilés, 20,37 % ménagères, 11,11 % travailleurs dans les services d'entretien, 10,19 % travailleurs dans la restauration, 10,19 % propriétaires de commerces, 5,56 % travailleurs indépendants et assimilés, 3,70 % travailleurs dans la construction et assimilés, 3,7 % étudiants, 2,78 % employés de bureau et assimilés, 3,71 % divers, 1,83 % travailleurs dans les services de santé, et 1,85 % professions libérales. Ici il faut noter que les catégories «ménagères» et «étudiants» ont été rajoutées puisque les personnes concernées ne considèrent pas ce statut comme un métier.[6]

Tableau 1

Métier exercé en Grèce

N 123

Agriculteurs	**Travailleurs indépendants (ou artisans) et assimilés**	**Chômeurs (ou sans travail)**	**Ménagères**	**Travailleurs du vêtement et assimilés**
13,82 %	12,19 %	11,38 %	10,57 %	10,57 %
Étudiants et élèves	**Travailleurs de construction et assimilés**	**Employés de bureau et assimilés**	**Travailleurs dans la restauration**	**Marins**
8,94 %	6,50 %	4,07 %	4,07 %	2,44 %
Petits commerçants	**Professions libérales**	**Divers**	**Refus de répondre**	
1,63 %	1,63 %	4,88 %	7,32 %	

Tableau 2

Métier exercé au Québec

N 108

Travailleurs du vêtement et assimilés	**Ménagères**	**Travailleurs dans les services d'entretien**	**Travailleurs dans la restauration**
25,00 %	20,37 %	11,11 %	10,19 %
Propriétaires de commerces	**Travailleurs indépendants et assimilés**	**Travailleurs dans la construction et assimilés**	**Étudiants**
10,19 %	5,56 %	3,70 %	3,70 %
Employés de bureau et assimilés	**Divers**	**Travailleurs dans les services de santé**	**Professions libérales**
2,78 %	3,71 %	1,83 %	1,85 %

Première remarque importante qu'on peut faire en comparant les deux tableaux, c'est la disparition complète de la catégorie de personnes déclarées comme agriculteurs quand ils étaient en Grèce. En choisissant de s'installer dans une grande ville, ces personnes ont renoncé à la possibilité d'exercer leur métier. Cela nous montre que la catégorie des immigrants grecs la plus importante du point de vue numérique, évolue vers d'autres secteurs de l'activité économique ici au Québec.

Une autre remarque beaucoup plus générale que celle-ci montre que les Grecs se retrouvent principalement dans l'industrie du vêtement, dans la restauration, les services d'entretien, et aussi dans le commerce. Dans ces secteurs on retrouve les Grecs soit comme travailleurs, soit comme propriétaires d'établissements. Une nette augmentation du pourcentage a été observée dans ces quatre secteurs. Surtout en ce qui concerne les propriétaires de commerces, qui sont cinq fois plus nombreux qu'au départ de la Grèce. Par contre, là où il y a une diminution sensible du pourcentage, c'est dans le secteur de la construction et aussi dans la catégorie des travailleurs indépendants.

Signalons enfin un phénomène apparemment paradoxal; il s'agit de l'augmentation du nombre de ménagères. De 10 % environ en Grèce, elles passent à 20 % au Québec. Le phénomène s'explique du fait que beaucoup de femmes sont venues au Québec célibataires, et qu'elles étaient donc actives à ce moment-là. Actuellement pour des raisons familiales elles ne

sont pas sur le marché du travail et elles se déclarent donc ménagères. Malgré tout on ne peut pas parler d'un phénomène de «retour au foyer» de la femme grecque; elle est au contraire de plus en plus présente dans les secteurs de l'activité économique, beaucoup plus ici qu'en Grèce.

Pour améliorer ses conditions de vie, l'immigrant grec espère bien entendu trouver au Québec un travail meilleur que celui qu'il avait en Grèce. Il n'y arrive évidemment pas toujours. Pour savoir si l'immigrant grec a trouvé le travail voulu, on a posé cette question: "Avez-vous trouvé le travail que vous désiriez exercer ici au Québec?" Sur 124 personnes, 39,52 % ont répondu oui. Par contre, 50 % ont répondu négativement et une petite minorité, 1,61 % ont répondu de façon mitigée. Enfin, 8,87 % ont refusé de répondre à cette question. Ces résultats nous montrent clairement que la majorité des immigrants grecs n'ont pas trouvé le travail escompté ici au Québec.

Les réponses à la question suivante sont assez étonnantes et en contradiction avec celles de la question précédente; puisque quand on a demandé: "Êtes-vous satisfaits du travail que vous faites ici au Québec?" une large majorité de 63,96 % disent oui, et seulement 15,32 % disent non. Enfin, 20,72 % ont refusé de répondre. Comment peut-on expliquer le fait que la majorité des immigrants n'ont pas trouvé le travail désiré et soient malgré tout satisfaits du travail qu'ils font? Peut-être peut-on supposer que les gens se résignent à la situation assez difficile qui prévaut actuellement et qu'ils finissent par s'escompter chanceux de pouvoir travailler. On peut encore supposer que parmi ceux qui ont refusé de répondre, 20,72 %, la majorité sont insatisfaits.

Dans le contexte socio-économique actuel, et avec la montée assez spectaculaire du chômage, on a voulu savoir le pourcentage de Grecs qui ne travaillent pas, et aussi la raison pour laquelle ils ne travaillent pas. La question suivante a été posée: "Si vous ne travaillez pas, quelle en est la raison?" Sur un total de 137 personnes, il y a 40,15 % qui ne travaillent pas. Sur cet ensemble il y a 27,27 % qui sont au chômage, 25,45 % qui ne travaillent pas pour des raisons familiales, 12,73 % pour des raisons de santé, 12,73 % qui sont à la retraite, 7,27 % qui font des études, et 5,45 % pour diverses autres raisons. Enfin, 9,09 % n'ont pas donné la raison pour laquelle ils ne travaillent pas. On constate effectivement que le chômage est la raison qui vient en tête pour ceux qui ne travaillent pas.

Tableau 3

Personnes qui ne sont pas sur le marché du travail

	N 55
Chômage	27,27 %
Raisons familiales	25,45%
Raisons de santé	12,73 %
Retraités	12,73 %
Études	7,27 %
Divers	5,45 %
Refus de répondre	9,09 %

Bien entendu toutes ces personnes qui ne sont pas sur le marché du travail ont des besoins matériels et il faut qu'elles trouvent des moyens pour assurer leur survie. Pour savoir comment ces gens se débrouillent la question suivante a été posée: "Si vous ne travaillez pas, recevez-vous de l'aide de quelque part? et si vous recevez de l'aide d'où vient-elle?" Sur l'ensemble des personnes qui ne travaillent pas, 38,18 % ont répondu qu'elles reçoivent une aide, 40 % ont répondu non et enfin 21,82 % n'ont pas répondu du tout à la question. Parmi ceux qui reçoivent une aide, 16,36 % reçoivent l'assurance-chômage, 12,73 % la pension de vieillesse, 3,64 % sont au bien-être social et 5,45 % reçoivent une aide de sources diverses (famille, loyer, assurance, etc.). En effet, on voit que la majorité de gens qui ne travaillent pas déclarent qu'ils ne reçoivent pas d'aide, ou ne répondent pas à la question posée. On peut penser que c'est par fierté que les gens refusent de dire qu'ils reçoivent de l'aide.

II. Les revenus

En ce qui concerne les salaires, dans la plupart des cas les gens gagnent le minimum prévu par la loi ou un peu plus. Selon notre enquête il y a très peu de gens qui gagnent plus de 20 000 dollars par année. Notre question à ce sujet à été formulée ainsi: "Combien gagnez-vous?" Sur 82 répondants, 1,22 % gagne jusqu'à cinq mille dollars par année; 31,71 % gagnent entre cinq et dix mille dollars par année; 17,7 % gagnent entre dix et quinze mille dollars par année; 10,97 % gagnent entre quinze et vingt mille dollars; 3,66 % gagnent entre vingt et vingt-cinq mille dollars; et enfin 1,22 % gagne plus de trente mille dollars par année[7]. Il y a encore 28,05 % qui ont refusé de préciser combien ils gagnent. Effectivement, ces salaires sont très bas en général. Même si les Grecs ont parfois tendance à refuser de divulguer leur véritable revenu, nous pouvons constater que le salaire moyen dans le groupe grec est inférieur à la moyenne nationale. Évidemment on peut supposer que parmi les 28,05 % des gens qui ont refusé de nous révéler leur revenu se cachent de hauts salaires. Même si cela était en partie vrai, on voit mal comment ce fait pourrait modifier sensiblement la situation. Il faut aussi noter que dans plusieurs cas, un nombre considérable de travailleurs grecs, surtout ceux qui travaillent dans l'industrie du vêtement à l'unité, sont obligés de travailler en-dessous du salaire minimum.

Tableau 4

Salaires en dollars par année

	N 82
0,00 - 4 999	1,22 %
5 000 - 9 000	31,71 %
10 000 - 14 999	17,70 %
15 000 - 19 999	10,97 %
20 000 - 24 999	3,66 %
25 000 - 29 999	6,10 %
Plus de 30 000	1,22 %
Refus de répondre	28,05 %

Dans la société contemporaine, la femme mariée entre de plus en plus sur le marché du travail, et contribue ainsi à l'augmentation du revenu familial. Dans le cas des immigrants, le travail de la femme devient parfois une nécessité absolue pour la famille. Même les enfants, dans certaines familles, travaillent pour pouvoir s'en sortir. Dans notre enquête, on a voulu savoir le nombre de personnes qui travaillent dans chaque famille. La question était la suivante: "Combien y a-t-il de membres de votre famille qui travaillent"? Sur un total de 106 familles concernées il y en a 56,60 % où travaillent l'homme et la femme, 41,51 % où travaille seulement l'homme, et 1,89 % où travaille seulement la femme. Dans 14,15 % des familles, il y a aussi un ou plusieurs enfants qui travaillent. Sur le même ensemble de familles, si on prend les hommes à part, on obtient le pourcentage de 98,11 % qui travaillent. Pour les femmes ce pourcentage s'élève à 58,49 %[8].

III. La langue

Nous disposons de statistiques qui montrent les difficultés que les immigrants grecs éprouvent à s'exprimer dans une des deux langues officielles du Canada.[9] Malgré tout, il y a une tendance assez claire parmi les Grecs à apprendre et utiliser l'anglais dans leurs communications, même ici au Québec où la grande majorité des gens sont francophones Cela s'explique par le fait que jusqu'à ces dernières années la langue utilisée au travail était principalement l'anglais, à cause justement de la domination économique du groupe anglophone ici au Québec et surtout dans la ville de Montréal. Les immigrants grecs ayant compris cette domination des anglophones s'efforçaient de s'intégrer presque exclusivement à ce groupe. Ce n'est que depuis quelque temps que les Grecs commencent petit à petit à apprendre aussi le français, surtout après les mesures prises en faveur de la langue

française par le gouvernement du Québec. Bien sûr, cette évolution vers un équilibrage des deux langues prendra du temps, puisque ce sont surtout les nouvelles générations d'immigrants grecs qui apprennent le français, avec la scolarisation obligatoire en français. Actuellement, pour la langue utilisée au travail, notre enquête nous démontre une prédominance de la langue anglaise. Les réponses à la question: "Quelle langue parlez-vous au travail?", nous donnent les résultats suivants: sur un total de 110 réponses obtenues il y a 33,64 % qui utilisent seulement l'anglais au travail. Le grec est utilisé par 16,36 % et le français par 3,64 % de répondants. Il y a encore 10 % qui utilisent l'anglais et le français ensemble; le pourcentage de ceux qui utilisent le grec et le français ensemble est de 2,73 %; les trois langues ensemble sont utilisées par 5,45 %. En plus de cela il y a 10,91 % qui utilisent une langue autre que le grec, le français ou l'anglais.

Tableau 5

Langue utilisée au travail

	N 110
Anglais	33,64 %
Grec	16,36 %
Français	3,64 %
Anglais-français	10,00 %
Grec-français	2,73 %
Grec-anglais-français	5,45 %
Autre (italien, portugais, arabe, espagnol, etc.)	10,91 %
Refus de répondre	7,27 %

Parmi les autres langues utilisées on peut noter l'italien, le portugais, l'arabe, l'espagnol, l'allemand, etc. Évidemment, ce pourcentage nous paraît excessif et on suppose que les gens qui nous ont déclaré utiliser ces langues ne les utilisent pas vraiment. Peut-être utilisent-ils quelques éléments, mots et phrases surtout quand ils communiquent avec les gens de ces groupes ethniques. Enfin, il y a 7,27 % qui ne nous ont pas donné la langue utilisée au travail. Ces résultats sont assez clairs. La domination de la langue anglaise est incontestable. Les immigrants grecs donnent la priorité à l'acquisition de l'anglais et même ceux qui sont bilingues considèrent le français comme étant d'une importance secondaire.

IV. La syndicalisation

Un fait très caractéristique de l'immigration grecque de Montréal c'est le taux de syndicalisation assez bas. Dans notre enquête, à la question: "Êtes-vous membres d'un syndicat?", une forte majorité de 68,81 % des répondants disent non. Il y a seulement 12,84 % qui disent qu'ils sont membres d'un syndicat et 18,35 % ont refusé de répondre à la question. Bien entendu, il y a plusieurs éléments pour expliquer ce phénomène. En premier lieu, les Grecs travaillent en général dans de petites entreprises, avec des effectifs limités, où le fonctionnement d'un syndicat s'avère très difficile. La pression patronale sur les travailleurs dans ce cas est constante. Les travailleurs, par peur de licenciement, s'abstiennent de former un syndicat. Un autre élément important qui joue contre la syndicalisation des immigrants grecs c'est leur ignorance des buts visés par les syndicats. Évidemment, pour beaucoup de gens les contacts avec les syndicats sont très difficiles, puisqu'ils ne connaissent suffisamment aucune des deux langues officielles du Canada. À cause de cela aussi, les immigrants se marginalisent et ne s'intègrent pas à la société canadienne. De ce fait, ils ne peuvent pas s'identifier à la classe ouvrière du pays et prendre part à sa lutte. Ils restent toujours des étrangers soucieux de gagner le maximum possible d'argent en peu de temps. Il y a aussi une autre partie des immigrants grecs qui sont très méfiants à l'égard des syndicats. Une partie de ces gens reprochent aux syndicats leur politisation exagérée, alors qu'une autre leur reproche leur manque de soutien efficace aux revendications des travailleurs.

V. L'accès aux services

Les Grecs de Montréal, quand ils restent sans travail, ne s'inscrivent pas massivement à l'assurance-chômage. Tels sont en tout cas les résultats obtenus par notre enquête. À la question "Est-ce que vous vous inscrivez à l'assurance-chômage quand vous restez sans travail?" 46,72 % des participants à l'enquête ont répondu oui, 29,51 % ont répondu non et 23,77 % ont refusé de se prononcer. Évidemment, on peut se demander pourquoi un pourcentage si élevé de gens ne réclament pas d'assurance-chômage quand ils sont sans travail. Ou encore on peut se demander si vraiment ces gens nous ont dit toute la vérité ou si, pour une raison quelconque, ils veulent nous la cacher.

À la question suivante, on a demandé aux gens comment ils trouvent du travail. Les résultats nous montrent que 42,96 % trouvent du travail seuls, 18,52 % avec l'aide d'amis et de parents, 5,18 % par l'intermédiaire du Centre de main d'oeuvre et 10,37 % par d'autres moyens. (22,96 % ont refusé de nous répondre à la question). Dans les 10,37 % qui trouvent du travail par d'autres moyens, ces moyens sont la radio, les journaux, les syndicats, etc... En effet, on voit très clairement que les Grecs se débrouillent très bien seuls pour trouver du travail et dans une moindre mesure ils demandent aussi une aide à des amis ou parents. Par contre, très peu de gens trouvent du travail par le Centre de main d'oeuvre, malgré le fait que cet organisme gouvernemental soit là pour les aider dans leurs démarches.

Les immigrants grecs ne connaissent pas très bien les lois concernant les conditions de travail. Cela a été démontré par la question suivante: "Connaissez-vous les lois concernant les conditions de travail, le salaire, etc...?" Selon les réponses obtenues, 46,97 % ne connaissent pas du tout ces lois, 5,40 % les connaissent très peu, 21,97 % ne connaissent pas du tout ces lois et enfin 25,76 % ont refusé de répondre. Évidemment, sur des sujets si importants pour tous les travailleurs, ces pourcentages ne sont pas très satisfaisants. On a à peine un peu plus de 50 % de répondants qui disent avoir une connaissance des lois régissant leurs conditions de travail et de salaire.

Il est évident que ce manque de connaissance des lois a pour conséquence une exploitation accrue de ces travailleurs. Surtout en cette période de crise économique grave dont tous les salariés subissent les conséquences avec des coupures de salaire, augmentation des heures de travail et diminution des avantages sociaux. Bien sûr pour les gens qui ne connaissent pas leurs droits, la situation doit être sûrement pire. Selon nos informations, par exemple, les travailleurs du secteur de la confection sont surexploités puisqu'ils acceptent de travailler à la maison — à la pièce — avec un salaire minime et sans aucun autre avantage ni protection sociale.

Comme on l'a vu précédemment, les immigrants grecs sont très faiblement syndiqués. De ce fait, la grande majorité d'entre eux ne sont pas en mesure de demander l'aide d'un syndicat puisqu'ils ne connaissent pas non plus quelle aide ce syndicat peut leur apporter.

Par contre, en plus des syndicats il y a d'autres organismes qui peuvent aider les travailleurs à résoudre leurs problèmes. Pour savoir si les Grecs font appel à ces organismes ou syndicats la question suivante a été posée: "Demandez-vous l'aide d'un syndicat ou d'autres organismes (si oui lesquels) sur ces sujets? (Recherche d'un travail, conditions de travail, salaire, etc.)". Comme on pouvait s'y attendre il y a seulement 24,53 % qui demandent une aide quelconque, 30,19 % qui ne demandent rien et 45,28 % qui ont refusé de nous donner une réponse. Les organismes mentionnés par les répondants sont: l'Association des Travailleurs Grecs du Québec qui totalise 50 % des demandes d'aide. Ensuite viennent d'autres syndicats et corporations professionnelles avec 23,33 % des demandes, suivis par les organismes gouvernementaux et communautaires avec 16,67 % des demandes. En dernière place, on retrouve le Comité paritaire avec 10 % des demandes d'aide.

L'Association des Travailleurs Grecs du Québec est de loin l'organisme qui arrive en tête dans les préférences des gens qui ont besoin d'assistance. Cela s'explique par le fait que les gens reçoivent toutes les informations dans leur langue et la communication est beaucoup plus facile. Il est aussi vrai que cette association offre des services très diversifiés qui

dépassent le cadre d'un syndicat, services touchant tous les domaines de la vie quotidienne. Par ailleurs elle est à peu près le seul organisme à offrir de tels services, surtout depuis que les services sociaux de la Communauté Hellénique de Montréal sont pratiquement supprimés.

Les autres syndicats et organismes ne sont pas tellement sollicités par les travailleurs grecs; même les organismes gouvernementaux dont la vocation est aussi de servir les travailleurs et régler leurs problèmes en ce qui concerne les conditions de travail, le salaire etc., ne sont pas souvent consultés. Pour beaucoup de gens, comme on l'a déjà dit, le contact avec ces organismes est très difficile à cause de la langue.

VI. Les conditions de travail

Dans une période de crise économique grave, comme c'est le cas de nos jours, il y a une tendance à faire payer les travailleurs. L'histoire nous montre clairement que dans ces périodes les conditions de travail se détériorent et les travailleurs sont victimes de toutes sortes de pressions pour arrêter leurs revendications. Surtout actuellement où le chômage bat tous les records, cette situation est utilisée pour imposer des réductions de salaires, augmenter les heures de travail, couper des avantages sociaux, et autres acquis. Les travailleurs, devant cette éventualité du chômage, et surtout quand ils ne sont pas bien organisés, cèdent et acceptent des conditions de travail inférieures, seulement pour préserver leur emploi.

Bien entendu parmi les premières victimes de cet état de fait se retrouvent les immigrants. En ce qui concerne les immigrants grecs leurs conditions de travail, selon notre enquête, ne sont pas pour tous excellentes. À la question "Quelles sont vos conditions de travail?", 44,56 % des répondants nous ont dit qu'elles sont bonnes, 33,66 % trouvent ces conditions moyennes et 12,87 % les trouvent mauvaises. Il y a aussi 8,91 % qui ont refusé de nous donner leur avis sur le sujet. Nous pouvons considérer que les gens qui trouvent bonnes leurs conditions de travail sont minoritaires. En effet, nos enquêteurs ont constaté que les gens considéraient bonnes leurs conditions de travail dès qu'ils avaient un emploi stable; ceux qui trouvaient leurs conditions de travail moyennes, ne voulaient pas les caractériser mauvaises par un sentiment de fierté, ou parce que leurs critères d'évaluation ne sont pas les mêmes que ceux des travailleurs québécois ou canadiens. On sait en effet que les travailleurs immigrants qui le plus souvent avaient des conditions de travail beaucoup plus dures dans leurs pays d'origine, ont tendance par comparaison à considérer bonnes leurs conditions dans le pays d'accueil; les mêmes conditions considérées «moyennes» par les immigrants seraient jugées mauvaises par des travailleurs originaires du pays.

Il est aussi à noter qu'un certain nombre de répondants rendent responsable la crise économique actuelle quand leurs conditions de travail ne sont pas bonnes, alors que d'autres pensent que les employeurs utilisent la crise actuelle pour imposer aux travailleurs leurs conditions et par conséquent augmenter aussi leurs profits. En effet, pour ce qui est des immigrants grecs nous pensons que le faible taux de syndicalisation, l'ignorance de lois concernant les conditions de travail, les salaires et les droits des travailleurs en général et aussi la difficulté de s'exprimer en anglais ou en français, tous ces facteurs, jouent dans le sens de l'aggravation de leur situation.

VII. Les autres activités du groupe

Nous nous sommes arrêtés aux conditions des travailleurs parce qu'ils constituent la grande majorité de la population d'origine grecque. Il est évident que l'apport du groupe s'étend aussi dans plusieurs autres domaines: il y a des universitaires d'origine grecque, des médecins d'une grande renommée, des artistes, quelques hommes d'affaires et des professionnels dans divers domaines[10]. Dans certains cas, cette élite grecque, intégrée à la société d'accueil reste coupée de la communauté. Il y a cependant une partie de ce groupe qui s'intéresse aux problèmes quotidiens de la communauté et apporte son soutien pour faire face à ses multiples et complexes problèmes.

Quant à la présence grecque au niveau des institutions de la province, elle est très limitée; dans certains cas elle est inexistante.

Au niveau de la fonction publique québécoise, la présence grecque est symbolique. Selon une étude réalisée en 1979, il y avait seulement 16 Grecs travaillant pour la fonction publique. Une étude de même nature en 1982 a donné pour les Grecs exactement le même nombre. Notons, pour fins de comparaison, que les Italiens sont représentés par 134 personnes, les Portugais par 27 personnes et les Haïtiens par 67 personnes.[11]

Il faut noter qu'il s'agit en plus de postes subalternes; il n'y a par exemple aucun sous-ministre d'origine grecque, aucun président d'organisme gouvernemental, aucun haut fonctionnaire grec.

Quant à la fonction publique fédérale même si nous ne disposons pas de chiffres officiels, nous soupçonnons que la situation est encore pire; en effet les indices dont nous disposons nous confirment que la présence grecque dans la fonction publique fédérale est pratiquement inexistante.

Nous avons déjà noté une certaine présence de médecins grecs dans les hôpitaux de Montréal, quelques professeurs dans les Universités, surtout anglophones, et un nombre limité d'enseignants au primaire et au secondaire.

Quant au secteur économique, à une ou deux exceptions près, on ne peut pas parler d'implication d'une certaine envergure dans la vie économique de la province. La même situation prévaut aussi au niveau canadien.

CONCLUSION

En conclusion, nous pouvons affirmer que les conditions de travail des Grecs du Québec sont en-dessous de la moyenne; un grand nombre de Grecs sont soit sous-employés, soit sur-exploités, en particulier les femmes. La protection accordée par les lois est insuffisante, sinon inexistante dans plusieurs cas[12]. Dès lors il n'est pas étonnant que le revenu moyen des Grecs soit en-dessous de la moyenne, alors qu'un nombre considérable vit pratiquement au seuil de pauvreté.

NOTES

1. Estimations des leaders de la communauté et plus particulièrement de l'Association des Travailleurs Grecs.
2. Cf. Normand Proulx, ***La répartition sectorielle des travailleurs immigrants au Québec***, Études et documents no 8, Montréal, Ministère de l'Immigration, 1979.
3. Cf. U.T.I.Q. (Union des Travailleurs Immigrants du Québec), ***Les conditions de travail d'un groupe de travailleurs immigrés de Montréal***, Montréal, ronéoté, 1979, p. 51. Association des Travailleurs Grecs du Québec, Mémoire présenté au Ministre du Travail du Québec, M. Pierre Marois, 1981.
   Danielle Dionne, ***Rapport sur les travailleurs immigrants***, Conseil consultatif des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1982.
4. Selon l'Association des Travaillleurs Grecs le taux de chômage chez les Grecs se situe autour de 30 %. Notre propre enquête sur le terrain nous donne 27,27 %. Cependant sur la population active ce pourcentage est de 18,29 %, le 27,27 % étant calculé sur l'ensemble de la population qui n'est pas sur le marché du travail.
5. Voir entre autres:
   — Stéphanos Constantinides, ***Les Grecs du Québec***, Montréal, Éditions O Metoikos-Le Métèque, 1983.
   — Tina Ioannou, ***La communauté grecque à Montréal***, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. 1983.
   — Jacques Bouchard, "Les débuts de l'Imprimerie en langue grecque au Québec", ***Études Helléniques***, Vol. I, N°1, 1983.
   — Léonidas Bombas, ***A Profile of the Successful Greek Immigrant Student in Montréal***, M.A. thesis, Faculty of Education, Concordia University, 1981.
   — Efrosini Gavaki, ***The Integration of Greeks in Canada***. San Francisco, R and E Research Associates, 1977, 116 p.
6. Ces chiffres correspondent à peu près à ceux que nous donne Statistique Canada pour 1981, données tirées du recensement de cette année.
7. Ces chiffres correspondent à peu près à ceux que nous donne Statistique Canada pour 1981, données tirées du recensement de cette année. Les Grecs sont classés avant-derniers parmi les douze groupes ethniques les plus importants, les premiers étant les Juifs et les derniers, les Chinois.

8. Sur la condition féminine, voir: Stéphanos Constantinides, ***Les Grecs du Québec***, op. cit., chapitre relatif. On constate que la femme grecque gagne beaucoup moins que l'homme; 65,79 % gagnent moins de dix mille dollars par année et 34,21 %, moins de sept mille.

9. Cf. Stéphanos Constantinides, ***Les Grecs du Québec***, op. cit., chapitre Langue et culture.

10. Il faudrait étudier en particulier le secteur du petit commerce — alimentation, restauration — pour savoir plus sur la situation professionnelle des Grecs; les propriétaires des restaurants d'origine grecque tentent dernièrement de s'organiser en association; le comité provisoire qui s'occupe de la mise sur pied de cette association avance le nombre de 8 000 propriétaires de restaurants d'origine grecque à travers le Québec. Ce chiffre nous semble exagéré; la population d'origine grecque au Québec, selon le recensement de 1981 est de 49 420 et les estimations des porte-parole de la communauté avancent 70 à 80 mille personnes. Dès lors, s'il y a 8 000 propriétaires de restaurants d'origine grecque, cela signifierait que plus de la moitié de la population active grecque est dans ce secteur; or, même si il y a une prolifération de restaurants grecs, les statistiques dont nous disposons, aussi bien que notre enquête sur le terrain, ne le confirment pas. Certes, on pourrait nous objecter que le personnel de ces restaurants n'est pas obligatoirement d'origine grecque; mais, malgré tout, une grande partie de celui-ci est normalement d'origine grecque selon ce que nous observons en général chez les Grecs, où la tendance est d'employer des gens de la même origine, soit à cause de la langue, soit pour des raisons d'ordre culturel. Sans compter qu'un grand nombre de ces restaurants constituent de petites entreprises familiales. Cf. Thalia Constantinides, ***Le commerce d'alimentation chez les Grecs du Québec***, travail en cours, Montréal, McGill University.

11. Gouvernement du Québec, Développement culturel, Conseil Exécutif, ***Les Communautés culturelles et la fonction publique Québécoise***, notes et documents 16, Conseil de la langue française, 1982, (étude réalisée en 79 et publiée en 1982).
Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de la Fonction publique, ***Les communautés culturelles et la fonction publique du Québec***, 1983.

12. Cf. Danielle Dionne, op. cit.

A PROFILE OF GREEK AUSTRALIANS THROUGH THEIR LITERATURE

George Kanarakis*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article trace les origines et le développement de la littérature grecque en Australie depuis les premiers pas jusqu'à nos jours. Même si cette littérature s'est développée de la même façon que dans d'autres pays d'accueil, elle possède néanmoins son caractère propre et sa propre histoire. L'on peut la diviser en quatre périodes: 1) les "premières années", qui n'ont produit aucun écrivain de qualité véritablement littéraire, malgré l'importance historique et sociologique de leurs efforts; 2) les "années de l'avant-guerre" (2e guerre mondiale) qui ont témoigné de l'émergence des premiers écrivains grecs importants, dans l'oeuvre desquels on constate un attachement profond aux sujets traditionnels de l'expérience immigrante, le retour au pays natal, etc.; 3) les "années de la guerre", qui, les thèmes traditionnels mis à part, ont vu la naissance d'une tendance nationaliste comme le reflet de la lutte de la résistance nationale en Grèce pendant la guerre; et 4) la période des "développements contemporains", depuis les années 50, marquée par l'avènement de plusieurs poètes et écrivains dont certains avaient déjà publié des oeuvres dans leur pays d'origine et qui se sont établis par la suite en Australie. Cette étude présente aussi un bilan de la contribution des Grecs écrivant en anglais de la première et de la deuxième génération, parmi lesquels bon nombre se sont déjà taillés une place dans le monde des lettres australiennes.

ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the origin and development of the literature of the Greeks in Australia from the first efforts to the present. Although it has developed along the general lines found in other host countries, it has its own unique character and history. It can be divided into four periods: 1) the "Early Years" which did not produce any writers of literary merit in spite of the historical and sociological significance of their attempts; 2) the "Pre-(Second World) War Years" which saw the first noteworthy Greek writers whose work exhibited a deep attachment to traditional themes of the immigrant experience, return to the birthplace, etc.; 3) the "War Years" which, apart from the always present traditional themes, gave rise to a nationalist trend in response to the struggle and resistance of Greece during the war; and 4) the period of "More Recent and Contemporary Developments" since the mid-1950's which saw the advent of many poets and prose writers, some of whom had already been publishing in their places of origin and have become established in this country. This study also briefly presents the contribution of the first and second generation Greeks who write in English, most of whom have already gained a place in the Australian letters.

INTRODUCTION

Today there are over three and one half million Greeks who have made other countries their second homeland.[1] Impressive numbers of Greeks live in Australia, the United States, Canada, South America, Eastern and Western Europe, and South Africa, not to mention those Greeks scattered in small pockets, in *parikies* or *kinotites* in many other parts of the world as well. Of all these countries in which the Greek immigrants hold a prominent position, either from the viewpoint of numbers or from the viewpoint of their more essential contribution to the intellectual, social and economic life there, the Hellenism of Australia has not yet been researched comprehensively and in depth, as regards its current state and its development and history.

In Australia, a country with a total population of more than fifteen millions in 1983,[2] there are about 500,000 people of Greek origin (first and second generations). Greeks are scattered throughout the entire country, although almost half of the Greek population is

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settled in Victoria, whose major city Melbourne some claim to be the third largest city in number of Greek residents, after Athens and Thessaloniki.[3]

No matter to which part of the world the Greeks have emigrated, they have always carried with them not only the deeply rooted elements of their language, culture and religion, but also the tradition of literary expression, both oral and written, as well as the love and appreciation of the art of literature itself — a most representative and genuine element of the Greek character, which has always been maintained by the Greeks who have immigrated to Australia. The Greek literary presence in Australia finds expression in the works both of those Greeks who write in Greek and of those first and second generation Greeks who write in English.

Although the literary production of the Greeks in Australia can be seen as an uninterrupted stream flowing from its beginnings until today, for methodological purposes in this study the literary production of the Greeks can be viewed as falling into four periods. This is not to say that each period can be totally isolated from the others, for, on the contrary, each of them emerges from the preceding period and, in turn, flows into the following one. After all, many writers bridge more than one period. Furthermore, the writers themselves are classified according to their early contributions to the field, although not necessarily according to their first attempts at writing. And for those few writers whose works appeared in the literary circles of Greece prior to their emigration to Australia, that early recognition is taken into consideration for their classification. In addition, the writers who are not included in this study are those Greeks who are in Australia because they have been sent here by their superiors or governing bodies, and who, therefore, can be recalled at any time. For them, Australia is only a temporary home.

THE EARLY YEARS

Greek immigration to Australia is quite old when compared to the short history of the new nation. There is evidence that the first Greeks arrived in Australia in the first decades of the nineteenth century, although the exact date of their arrival is unknown and the information we have about them is fragmentary.[4] As there was little official demographic work done in Australia in those early years of settlement and as most of the first Greek arrivals were primarily seamen and adventurers, rather than permanent settlers, information about them is largely undocumented and in many cases oral.

A similar situation exists with regard to our knowledge of the early literary efforts of the Greek communities in Australia. Little information has come down to us about the literary activities of the Greeks of those early years of immigration. This factor contributed to the belief which was held, even in academic circles, until the end of the 1960's that there was no body of literature produced by the Greeks in Australia.

The other factors which gave rise to this fallacy are obvious. First, most of the Greek writers were, and still are, writing in their mother tongue. Before the 1960's, with few sporadic exceptions, the Greeks felt more secure expressing their ideas and sentiments in the language which they could handle with ease and confidence. For them English was a second language which they used only out of the confines of the Greek community in professional, business or other necessary contacts with Australians.

Second, the Greek writers were writing not for the Australian reading public, but for other Greeks who could understand the bitter experiences of immigrant life and share their nostalgia for the homeland. After all, how could they feel motivated to write for the Australian society of pre- and post-war times since it had created a negative stereotype of them as uneducated and unassimilable foreigners and which considered them as unacceptable elements of the population.[5]

Third, most of this literature, because of the language in which it was written and the audience to which it was addressed, appeared solely in the Greek newspapers of Melbourne and Sydney. These newspapers provided the only open forum available to any sort of writer and, moreover, quite a few of the Greeks who tried their hand at poetry or prose writing

were journalists or columnists of the Greek newspapers of the large urban centres. Needless to say, it was only natural that this situation made Greek literature even more inaccessible to the Australian public as few, if any, Australians had any knowledge of the Modern Greek language.

Fourth, even if some Australians had been able to come into contact with the literary work of the Greek community, no doubt the subject matter would have proved uninteresting, if not irritating, since most of the writers dealt with the difficulties of immigrant life in Australia, expressed bitterness towards the attitudes of the Australians, and set the Odyssean dream of return to the homeland and death in the native village as their ultimate goal.

Greek literary production in Australia, therefore, has emerged and developed along the familiar lines encountered in the experience of immigrant groups in many other host countries.[6]

Although exact details are lacking, the first known literary attempts of the early Greek immigrants occurred in the first decades of the twentieth century. A main characteristic of this period is that the efforts of these early times seem to have been limited to oral verse which was mainly satirical in nature and intended as entertainment or social comment rather than as serious literary endeavours. Even if these early attempts had been written down, they could not have been published since the facilities for printing in Greek did not exist then, at least in the early years. Moreover, to publish at those times was an undertaking beyond the social and financial means of the average Greek immigrant. In later times, however, when printing facilities were more readily accessible, some of these verses appeared in newspapers and journals of the Greek community. It is worth noting, though, that none of these earlier versifiers ever published their works in book form, another characteristic which distinguishes this period from later ones.

The Greeks, especially those from the islands and the villages, coming from an environment with a strong oral tradition, naturally cultivated it here. These oral efforts, although of dubious quality, are valuable nevertheless because of their historical and sociological importance and also because they constitute the beginnings of the Greek literary presence in Australia. It would be an error of judgment to overlook them as they represent a stage in the history of the progress towards a body of literature. Little of these early efforts remains, and only traces of them have survived until today, and these in the memories of some of the oldest members of the Greek communities.

The best known figure of these times seems to have been *Nikos Kallinikos* (1885-1976), who is still remembered by the older Greeks of Melbourne. According to the scanty amount of information which exists about him, Kallinikos, who was from the small Ionian island of Ithaca, arrived in Australia before 1910 and settled in Melbourne. Like many Ionian islanders he had a satirical outlook on life and possessed a natural gift for spontaneous folk-type of rhyming. He used this talent for versification to satirize particular members of the Melbourne Greek community and certain patterns of Greek life there. We do not know, though, whether any of his rhymes were ever published in any of the Greek newspapers of his day. After all, no newspapers had yet been started in the first years of his life in this country. Another of these early Greek immigrants who had this skill of easy versification was also an Ithacan, *Nikos Paizis* (1887-1958), who immigrated to Melbourne in 1911. After more than forty-five years in Australia, however, Paizis returned to his island to spend his last days there.

In contrast, more has come down to us about the Greek publications which appeared in Australia during those times. The first Greek-language publications were the weekly newspapers *Okeanis* (The Ocean) and *Afstralia* (Australia). *Okeanis* was a short-lived four-page weekly which was founded in Adelaide in 1914. Later the same year, the paper's owner George Nikolaidis transferred it to Sydney, making it the first Greek newspaper in that city. It ceased publication in 1916. On the other hand, *Afstralia* was printed for the first time in Melbourne in 1914, only a few months after the founding of *Okeanis*, but about 1920 its publisher, Efstratios Venlis, transferred the four-page weekly to Sydney. Later in 1922 the paper was sold, and its new owners, the Marinakis brothers, changed its name to

To Ethnikon Vima (The National Tribune). The paper appeared under its new name for the first time on December 15, 1922, and it holds the distinction of being the second oldest surviving foreign-language paper in Australia.[7]

From the viewpoint of books, in spite of the small number of Greek immigrants and the difficult social and financial situation which they faced, nevertheless, quite amazingly in 1916 in Sydney the first book in the Greek language appeared under the title *I zoi en Afstralia* (Life in Australia).[8] Wholly set up and printed in Australia, it was published under "the generous care of the compatriot John D. Kominos (Honorary President of the New South Wales Greek Community) and in collaboration with the brothers Kosmas and Emmanuel Dom. Andronikos and George E. Kentavros" (sic). This publication, subtitled "an encyclopaedic book" was not really a literary work. Rather it was a book of general information about Australia and the Greeks in the country, including demographic statistics, the system of government, a tradesman's guide, 215 short biographies of members of the Greek community in Australia, photographs, etc.

Later books also fell into the same category of reference books and guides to prospective immigrants. The second book appeared in Sydney in 1920, published in Greek for the Sydney Greek community under the title *Odigos tu Ellinos en Afstralia* (Greek Guide to Australia). It contained commercial and legal advice, immigration and naturalization laws, workmen's compensation acts, rules of health and conduct, and information on banking, education, religion, agriculture, etc. The author was Oscar E. Georgoulas, an agriculturalist and member of the Royal Horticultural Society of England.

The third book, the *International Directory of 1927*, was published partly in English and partly in Greek, with a short section about Australia in French, by the International Publishing Company in Adelaide in 1927.[9] It included sections on industry, commerce, science, history, poetry, etc., in addition to statistical information, some biographies and photographs of Greeks in Australia.

THE PRE-WAR GENERATION

The first generation of writers of literary merit appeared during the two decades preceding the Second World War. The literature of this period was characterized mainly by specific traditional themes, such as love for Greece, the problems resulting from the immigrant experience, the difficulties of life in the foreign land, and longing for the homeland and for final return to the birthplace. Quite naturally, it reflected a nostalgia for Greece and presented a romantic view of the life and places which had been left behind. Gradually, however, the literature was enriched by new subjects, such as nature, eros, travel, and love for life.

A distinguishing characteristic of this period, in contrast with the earlier one, is that the literary production far surpasses it both in terms of quantity and quality. The people who contributed to this development were now writers, even if by interest rather than by profession, and furthermore, all the writers of this period actively published in the newspapers and journals of the Greek community, and several of them even went on to publish books in later years. In addition, almost all of them contributed significantly to the social as well as to the intellectual life of the community.

Of all the writers who belong to this period, six figures stand out: *Theodore Georgantopoulos* (Theo Georgeson) (1905-1978), poet, prose writer and translator of British poetry; *Kostis Malaxos-Alexander* (1900-1975), a poet with a philosophical tendency who wrote both in Greek and English; the journalist and prose writer *Michael Malachias* (1901-1957); *James Galanis* (1910-1970), who published short stories and articles for over thirty years in the Greek and Australian newspapers and journals of his time; the stage director *George* Payzis (1890-), the man who has dedicated most of his life to the Greek community theatre of Sydney, but who has also contributed short lyrical poems in traditional style; and the prose writer *Alekos Doukas* (1900-1962)[10], who is admittedly the most gifted writer of this period, his works having appeared successfully in literary journals of Greece as well of the Diaspora.

THE WAR YEARS

The outbreak of World War II in Greece signalled the beginning of a new period in the Greek literary production of Australia. During the war and post-war years, the literature produced by the Greeks in Australia reflected a refreshed and intensified nationalist dimension, which in addition to the traditional one, has always been present in the literature both of metropolitan Greece and of the Diaspora.[11] It gave rise to new themes such as the struggle for liberty, the heroic deeds of the Greek soldiers, the Greek resistance movement, etc., but in focusing upon the great trials of the war and the sufferings of the people, it also established a tradition which related specifically to the events of World War II. The war years definitely left their traces on many of the writers who lived during those times and persisted to influence the work of a number of writers even of the next period.

The author who has contributed work most representative of this nationalist trend is *Stathis Raftopoulos* (1921-). A type of folk poet, Raftopoulos has written five volumes of poetry, one of which appeared during the war with all its poems expressing deeply patriotic feelings. In his work, however, one can also clearly see his attachment to the traditional subjects of the family, love, society, etc., and more specifically of *xenitia*. These subjects also appeared in the works of other writers of this period, including the short stories of the journalist *Thanos Nikolaidis* (1916-1978) and especially the works of *Yannis Lillis* (1916-1969) who published prose and peotry of notable quality both in Greece and in Australia.

It is worth mentioning that in the works produced during the beginning of this period, the nationalist emphasis is more intense, whereas the more the period progresses, the more the traditional themes gain momentum and come to the fore.

MORE RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

The decade of the 1940's was a period of conflict, destruction and bitterness in Greece. The tremendous pressures of post-war socio-economic conditions made numerous Greeks turn to emigration as a solution for themselves and their families, both those who would eventually follow and those who would remain behind. Chain migration to Australia which had been suspended during the war years revived, but many Greeks who were seeking the opportunity to emigrate were still unable to leave for want of passage money. It was the assisted passage agreement between Australia and Greece in February of 1952 which gave a significant impetus to Greek emigration to Australia. In addition, these years also saw large numbers of Greeks arriving from different parts of the Greek Diaspora, specifically Egypt, Constantinople, Roumania, and elsewhere.

This new influx of Greek immigrants brought new vitality to the Greek communities, particularly insofar as this period saw more educated groups arriving in Australia. The significant point is that many of the new arrivals had already completed high school and some even had university education. Many of them brought within themselves both the desire and the inclination to express themselves through writing, and this was realized as soon as they had overcome the early difficulties of settlement and adjustment and had become economically more secure and independent. Their creativity was supported by the availability and readiness of a significant number of Greek newspapers and journals and by more accessible printing facilities. The newspapers, both those already in existence and those newly established, presented them with a forum for their works and the opportunity to become known in the Greek communities of Australia. On the other hand, in addition to the much improved printing facilities of the newspapers, privately-owned print shops began to appear. As a result, this period started witnessing new literary trends as new themes and ideas were introduced and blended with the host culture creating a new dynamic force in the Greek literary presence in Australia.

More work, poetry and prose, was beginning to be translated into English; more writers were being encouraged to write, and their activities started receiving encouragement and support through grants awarded by the official organizations of the Australian government. Additionally, a new generation of Greek writers started producing bilingual editions

to reach a larger audience than just the Greek-speaking members of the Australian community. Little by little, more Australians began showing interest in the works of the Greek writers, and greater recognition was accorded their efforts.

The quality of the work of some of these writers is such that they have attracted the attention and recognition not only of the Greeks of Australia, but also of the mainstream of Greek letters in Greece where some have already had their works published by noted publishing houses in Athens (Ikaros, Estia, Gutenberg, etc.) and Thessaloniki (Nea Poreia, etc.), and a few have been awarded prizes by literary associations in Greece. Furthermore, some of these Greek writers have received considerable attention in Australian literary circles, to the extent that translations of their works have even been included in anthologies of Australian literature.

This period, even until now, has given us by far the largest number of writers (whose works have either been published or still remain unpublished) because of the very length of the period and also because they are the most active and productive of any previous period.

Examining the poetry and prose of this period, one can see that the picture which the writers now paint is multi-dimensional and broad in scope. For the first time, we encounter, both thematically and stylistically, almost the entire spectrum of these genres, spanning from the traditional to the avant-garde. Either in book form or in unpublished works, themes range from the traditional subjects of *xenitia*, love, nature, etc., all the way to symbolic interpretations of life and society, as well as works of a metaphysical nature expressed in terse and elliptical language.

Of those Greeks who reached Australian shores in the huge migratory wave of the 1950's, there have been several individuals who have contributed significantly to the Greek literary movement of Australia. One could mention, among others: in Perth, the poetess and prose writer *Vasso Kalamara*; in Melbourne, the poets *Dimitris Tsaloumas*, *Nikos Ninolakis* (1923-1982), *Christos Fifis, Georges Michelakakis*, and *Andreas Triantaphyllopoulos*, the poetess and short story writer *Dina Amanatidou*, and the prose writer *John Vassilakakos*; and in Sydney, the poets *Costas Stamatiadis, George Kazouris, Yota Krili-Kevans*, the novelist *Erasmia Papageorgiou*, and the short story writer *Dimitris Stathopoulos.*

During this time, significant achievements were made not only in prose and poetry, but also in theatre. Although the first efforts in this genre were made by *Anargyros Fatseas* in the early fifties, the real foundations in playwriting in Australia were set in this period by *Lambis Paschalides* and *Theo Patrikareas*. These two writers have several points in common. Both had been educated in large urban centres of Hellenism, Paschalides in Cairo, and Patrikareas in Athens. Both had already started writing even before emigrating, and both had brought with them the cosmopolitan and intellectual air of the Hellenic centres which they came from, creating therefore a fresh atmosphere and renewing the enthusiasm for Greek theatre in Australia.

Except for the efforts of Paschalides and Patrikareas, there were no other significant endeavours in the writing of Greek theatre until the decade of the seventies. That is not to say there were no theatrical productions, but the plays staged were imported from Greece and occasionally even performed by Greek companies on tour in Australia.

Among those who have been writing plays within recent years are *John Vassilakakos* and *Lambis Kalpakidis* in Melbourne, *Vaggelis Mygdalis* in Sydney, and *Vasso Kalamara* in Perth. Both Kalpakidis and Mygdalis wrote on the subject of the Greek immigrant in Australia, from the humorous point of view, and both have now repatriated to Greece. The most successful Greek playwrights to this time, whose talent has not only been established in the Greek communities of Australia but is already breaking the confines of this country and is spreading overseas, are John Vassilakakos and Vasso Kalamara.

So far, we have seen that the majority of Greek writers have been composing their works in the Greek language. Although the phenomenon of Greeks writing in English is not as contemporary or as recent as one might think, going back even to the times before World War II, after the 1950's the few intermittent cases began to increase, and now we have reached the point to witness the phenomenon of a significant number of people of Greek

origin writing in English. A comparison of these two groups reveals the interesting point that the earlier writers not only were decidedly fewer in number, but also that several of them were writing in both languages. The second group, on the other hand, is much larger in number, and, moreover, is writing only in English, an interesting phenomenon from the literary perspective as well as the linguistic and sociological aspects.

The defining characteristic of this second group is that they are either first generation immigrants, who were born out of Greece, like *Aristides Paradissis* who came from China and *Antigone Kefala* from Roumania via New Zealand, or they came to Australia during their early childhood like *P.O. (Peter Oustabasidis)*, or they are the Australian-born children of Greek parent(s), like *Angelo Loukakis, Nick Athanasou, Timoshenko Aslanides, Zeny Giles*, and others.

Of this group of writers, Timoshenko Aslanides, and Aristides Paradissis have devoted themselves to writing poetry, Angelo Loukakis, Nick Athanasou and Zeny Giles to writing prose, and Antigone Kefala has made contributions of both. It is to their credit that most of these writers have already made a name in the literary circles of this country and that their works have been published by established Australian companies. Furthermore, an indication of the recognition which their literary talent has achieved is the fact that several of them have been awarded important prizes and grants, as, for example, Timoshenko Aslanides who received the 1978 Commonwealth Poetry Prize for his book of poetry *The Greek Connection* (published privately), and Angelo Loukakis, winner of the 1981 New South Wales Premier's Literary Award, for his volume of short stories *For the Patriarch* (University of Queensland Press).

In this study I have attempted to outline the origin and development, from the first efforts to the present, of the literary activities of the Greeks (first and second generations) in Australia, who have expressed themselves either in Greek or in English, and in a very few cases in both languages. What appears clearly is the indisputable fact that the vitality of the Greek element in this country, in its history of over one and a half centuries, has not restricted itself to superficial cultural activities, but it has made an essential contribution to the intellectual life of the country. Although it is undeniable that if, for any reasons, immigration from Greece does not rise again (something anticipated), literary production in Greek in this country will diminish and eventually may die away. Nevertheless, the literary contribution of the Greeks in Australia who write in English will continue for much longer, not only because of the growing ranks of second generation Greeks in this country, but also because of the higher education which they pursue. Moreover, there is a well-founded conviction that their work will continue to mature and will further enrich the steadily growing and diversifying body of literature created by the Greeks in Australia.

NOTES

1. There are no official statistics to provide the accurate number of Greek emigrants throughout the world today. Unofficial estimates bring the number up to 3,720 in some 760 communities (***Greece: A Portrait***, Research and Publicity Centre, Kede Ltd., Athens, 1979, pp. 187-190). Figures higher than this seem rather exaggerated. Nonetheless, compare the number of Greeks living abroad with the number living in Greece, i.e. 9,268,478, the mid-year estimate for 1977 (***Statistical Yearbook of 1978***, National Statistical Service of Greece, Athens, p. 16).

2. Australian Bureau of Statistics, ***Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly*** (December Quarter, 1982, Advance Release.) Catalogue No. 3103.0, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 8 June 1983, p. 1.

3. Some claim that either Chicago or Astoria, New York are larger than Melbourne in terms of Greek population, i.e. about 300,000 Greek residents each. The subject is open to debate, however, due to the lack of accurate statistics.

4. See A. Goomas, "O philelinismos stin Afstralia" (Philhellenism in Australia), ***Krikos*** (Krikos) 79-80 (1957), p. 79; ***Hydraika Nea*** (The Hydra News) E, No. 50 (June, 1972), p. 2 and Nos. 51-52 (July-August, 1972), p. 1; Hugh Gilchrist, "Australia's First Greeks", ***Canberra Historical Journal***, March 1977.

5. Cf., for example, "The Caucasian — Played Out", ***The Bulletin***, 20 August, 1892; K.H. Bailey, "Public Opinion and Population Problems" in F. Eggleston, ed. ***The Peopling of Australia: Further Studies***, Mel-

bourne: Melbourne University Press, 1933, pp. 80-81; E. Lyng, ***Non-Britishers in Australia***, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1935, pp. 141-143; Social Education Materials Project, ***Ethnic Voices***, Richmond, Victoria: Heinemann, 1978, pp. 14-16, 36; Social Education Materials Project, ***A Melting Pot? New Reality***, Richmond, Victoria Heinemann, 1980, pp. 22-37.

6. Cf. Theodore Saloutos, ***The Greeks in the United States***, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964; George Vlassis, ***The Greeks in Canada***, Ottawa: privately printed, 1955; E. Mantzaris, ***The Social Structure and the Process of Assimilation of the Greek Community in South Africa***, University of Cape Town (unpublished M.A. thesis), 1978; J. Zubrzycki, ***Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment***, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965; etc.

7. The oldest surviving foreign-language newspaper is the French-language publication of Sydney, ***Le Courier Australien***, which was first published in April, 1892. It was printed weekly until 1973 when it became a monthly.

8. Although in 1916 there were estimated to be less than 4,600 Greek immigrants in the whole of Australia (cf. Charles Price, ***Southern Europeans in Australia***, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 11 and M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" in ***Greeks in Australia***, C. Price, ed., Canberra: A.N.U. Press, 1975), ten thousand copies of the book were published, most of which were sent free to the various Greek authorities in Australia and elsewhere.

9. In the same year this directory was also published in French and English.

10. Alekos Doukas was the younger brother of Stratis Doukas, a major figure in metropolitan Greek letters, whose book ***I istoria enos ehmalotu*** (Story of a War Prisoner) is considered a classic of Modern Greek literature.

11. For a recent survey of the literature of the Greek Diaspora since the mid-nineteenth century, see George Kanarakis, "I logotechnia tu apodimu ellenismu ke i thesi tis sta Neoellinika Grammata" (The Literature of the Greek Diaspora and its Place in Modern Greek Letters), ***TOMES***, Vol. 6, Nos. 64-65 (1980), pp. 39-48.

ACTIVITÉS ACADÉMIQUES/ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

Pancanadian Conference of Greek Teachers and Parents

Organized by the Greek Teachers Association of Toronto, under the auspices of the Greek Community of Metro Toronto, the annual Pancanadian Conference of Greek Teachers and Parents was held in downtown Toronto, May 20-22, 1983. The Conference attracted speakers from all over Canada and some parts of the U.S.A., speakers who, for the most part, have been involved with the teaching of Greek language and culture in different North American cities.

In all, 26 speakers presented their respective papers on topics pertaining to the existence, the operation, and, hopefully, the improvement of Greek schools in Canada and the U.S.A. The focus of the entire Conference, however, was on the Canadian context, and more specifically Toronto and Montreal. The papers presented during the two days of the Conference covered a wide variety of topics ranging from the crucial issues of "bilingualism/diglosia" and "curriculum" considerations to "computers in education" and "recognition of the years of service and pension plan". After the workshops and a number of Greek cultural events (Greek folk dances, a theatrical performance by the students of one of Toronto's Greek schools), there was a panel discussion. The Conference closed with a series of resolutions. It seems that the most concrete and, as was pointed out emphatically during the conference, the most urgent matter is the need to develop books for use in the Greek schools of Canada[1]. In fact, the Greek Teachers Association of Toronto and its counterpart in Montreal undertook to find the needed resources in each city for the eventual production of "Canadian-made" Greek books for schools operating throughout the Greek-Canadian communities.

Aside from those serving as "Chairman" for each particular workshop, Michalis Vitopoulos was the Chairman of the entire Conference. The Pancanadian Conference 1983 was sponsored by the Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto Inc. It was held in downtown Toronto at "The Holiday Inn", 89 Chestnut street, Toronto, Ontario[2].

Leonidas Bombas

NOTES

1. All books that are in use in the Greek community schools in Canada are the ones that are also in use in the public educational institutions of Greece proper. These books, as is the case with all other Greek immigrant communities, are sent free by the Greek State each year, via the Greek Consulate and the Greek cultural attachés stationed in Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa. The "inappropriateness" of these books and their lack of "Greek-Canadian environment/experiences" have been discussed and criticized for many years now. Still the problem remains unsolved and there is no apparent solution, except perhaps wishful thinking of one or the other kind and orientation.

2. For those interested in the individual topics and the speakers in each particular workshop here is the full programme of the Conference (the workshops only), including the Panel Discussion.

1. "Bilingualism and Diglosia" (T. Maniakas)
2. "Teaching as a Profession: Issues and Answers" (John Batsos)
3. "The Teaching of the Verbs" (E. Hourzamanis)
4. "Thematic Units" (J. Priftakis)
5. "Models of Bilingualism and Neuro-linguistic Considerations" (E. Kechagia)

6. "Recognition of Years of Service and Pension Plan" (E. Papadopoulou)
7. "Parents Proposals" (E. Simos)
8. "Greece or Canada? Some Observations" (F. Kaloterakis)
9. "Use of Teaching Aids" (S. Kyriazidis)
10. "The Development of Greek Mass Media in the Communities of North America" (N. Metallinos)
11. "Design and History of Greek National Costumes" (B. Metallinou)
12. "The Curriculum, Teaching aids and Methodology of the Greek Schools of the Orthodox Archdiocese" (E. Hatziemmanouel)
13. "The Monotonic System of Accentuation, History and Application" (S. Volonakis)
14. "The Greek Identity and Greek Education" (J. Hatzinikolaou)

Panel Discussion with the general theme: "Books and Curricula for the Teaching of Greek"

The Sixth Biennial Conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association

The Sixth Biennial Conference of the Canadian ethnic studies association was held in Thunder Bay, Ontario on October 19-22, 1983. The Conference was co-sponsored by the THUNDER BAY MULTICULTURAL ASSOCIATION and the papers presented during the three days of the conference covered a wide range of topics within the ethnic relations field.

Under the general theme "Greek Canadians..." two papers dealing with Canada's Greeks were presented:

1) "Explaining Ethnic Occupational Specialization: The Case for Greek Canadians" by Carol Agocs of the Faculty of Social Science, University of Western Ontario;
2) "Ethnicity and Family Structure: Cultural Continuity and Change" by Efie Gavaki of the Sociology Department, Concordia University (Montreal).

Le VIIe Congrès international des néo-hellénistes

Le VIIe Congrès International des néo-hellénistes des universités francophones s'est tenu à Paris, à l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III) du 19 au 21 mai 1983.

Le thème général du congrès était: «L'hellénisme hors des frontières de la Grèce». Les participants venant de Belgique, de France, du Québec et de Suisse — mais aussi de Catalogne, de Grèce, d'Italie et de Norvège — ont pu entendre 22 communications, réparties sous les rubriques suivantes:

- «Littérature et Société»
- «Littérature, linguistique et pédagogie»
- «Besoins présents de l'enseignement et de la recherche en grec moderne».

J. Bouchard

Colloque sur l'hellénisme

Le Centre de Recherches Helléniques et la Section d'études néo-helléniques de l'Université de Montréal ont organisé, le 20 mars 1983 à l'Université de Montréal, un colloque en langue grecque consacré à la recherche qui se fait actuellement au Québec sur l'hellénisme moderne. Huit communications scientifiques traitant de sociologie, de pédagogie, d'histoire, de littérature et de sémiologie ont été lues par des chercheurs de l'Université de Montréal, de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, de l'Université McGill et de l'Université de Sherbrooke.

J. Bouchard

Activités du Centre de Recherches Helléniques

Le Centre de Recherches Helléniques, en collaboration avec la Communauté Hellénique de Montréal, a organisé, le 24 avril 1983, une table ronde sur les questions suivantes: la famille grecque, la communauté grecque, les Grecs et l'école publique, les Grecs et les médias.

Participants: Efie Gavaki, Tina Ioannou, Léonidas Bombas et Stéphanos Constantinides.

Le Centre de Recherches Helléniques et la Communauté Hellénique de Montréal ont aussi organisé, le 30 novembre 1983, une conférence donnée par Tina Ioannou et Calvin Veltman sur: Étude socio-linguistique de la communauté grecque de Montréal, quartier Parc Extension.

J. Bouchard

Greek Studies: Symposium in New York

The Symposium sponsored by the Modern Greek Studies Association in New York, October 27th to 30th, 1983, presented as its theme "Modern Greece in the European Context". Presentations of interest to readers of Modern Greek included studies on specific authors, individual works and general trends in the genres of poetry and the novel in the European context. Subjects pertaining to Economics, Politics and Greek History dealt with domestic and international issues of contemporary and historical interest. Topics of a socio-cultural nature pertained to greek minorities within the European frame-work.

The MGSA's objective of promoting "the study of modern Greece in the United States and Canada" received new impetus with the support and participation of observers and delegates from various nations who attended the Symposium.

Magdalene Georgiades

BOOKS RECEIVED/LIVRES REÇUS

The Death Rituals of Rural Greece

by Loring M. Danforth (photography by Alexander Tsiaras)
Published by Princeton University Press (1982)
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
prices: cloth, $30.00
paper, $12.50

Philologiki Kypros
Published by the Hellenic Cultural Association of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus (1983)

Report on Aspects of Land Tenure in Cyprus
by George Karouzis
Published by the Ministry of Agriculture and National Resources, Nicosia, Cyprus (1980)

Pnevmatiki Kypros (journal)
Editor: Kypros Chrysanthis
Issues received; nos: 265, 266-267, 268-269

ERRATUM: Due to a number of typographical errors in the article published in our previous issue under the title "Attitudes of Parents Toward the Educable Mentally Retarded Greek Child as Influenced by Their Socio-economic Status and the Sex of this Child" (Dr. Demetrios P. Stasinos), this article has been reproduced. Reprints are available on request.

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Greeks in Canada

(an annotative Bibliography)

Leonidas C. Bombas