

# **ETUDES HELLENIQUES**

# **HELLENIC STUDIES**

**Tasos Kazepides**

Functionalism in Greek Education

**C. Veltman et Tina Ioannou**

Choix Scolaire et linguistique  
chez les Grecs de Montréal

**G. Kourvetaris and B. Dobratz**

Dominant Groups in Greek Politics

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Greeks in Canada:

A Researcher's Approach

**George Thaniel**

The Prefaces of Nikos Kachtitsis

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## FUNCTIONALIST ARGUMENTS IN GREEK EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Tasos Kazepides \*

### RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur effectue une brève analyse des arguments issus du fonctionnalisme qui ont prévalu dans les milieux politiques grecs en matière d'éducation, pendant un siècle et demi. L'auteur rejette l'affirmation selon laquelle l'enseignement de la religion orthodoxe est intimement lié à la survie de la société grecque et à celle de la religion elle-même. Il estime que l'éducation possède une valeur intrinsèque, abstraction faite des buts et des fonctions qu'on lui assigne.

### ABSTRACT

This article attempts a concise analysis of different functionally oriented arguments which appear to have prevailed among Greek educational policy-makers over the last century and a half. Focusing on the specific claim made by Greek educational policy-makers regarding the alleged survivalist function of teaching the Greek Orthodox religion to all young Greeks (for the survival of Greek society as a whole and of the religion per se), the author categorically rejects the soundness and the relevance of such arguments. In the same context he argues for the intrinsic value of educational pursuits, since education "cannot be placed in the category of things that have purposes or functions."

In this paper I intend to examine the nature and validity of the argument "X is educationally valuable because it is necessary for the survival of society" by discussing the specific claim made by Greek educational policy makers who maintain: "We ought to initiate all young Greeks into the Greek orthodox religion because it is necessary for the survival of Greek society".(1)

Such grandiose and vague claims have been made by the Greek Orthodox Church and its champions and have been supported directly or indirectly by all the conservative

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parties that governed Greece until 1981. Educational practice has been following official educational policy faithfully since Greece's liberation from the Turks: all Greek children attending public or private schools, from K-12, are systematically indoctrinated into the beliefs of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Elsewhere I have discussed the nature of indoctrination and its detrimental consequences not only for education but also for the quality of social life.(2) Here I shall examine the soundness of the above claim which is an example of what social scientists have called "normative functionalism" - it not only purports to explain the indoctrinatory practices in Greek education, it also aims at justifying them. These indoctrinatory practices are sanctioned by the Greek Constitution which prescribes as one of the aims of Greek education "the development of national and religious conscience"(3) in all young Greeks.

The prevailing view among Greek educational policy makers has been that there are no values specific to education, that education is primarily a means for the survival of Greek society. Their reasoning is not unlike that of Emile Durkheim who claims that "Education is only the means by which society prepares, within the children, the essential conditions of its very existence....Education consists of a methodical socialization of the young." (4) He argues that education has varied according to the needs of different societies: it was one thing in ancient Athens, another in Rome and still different again in the Middle Ages. The different emphases were determined by the distinctive character and needs of these societies. "The Christian societies of the Middle Ages," Durkheim claims, "would not have been able to survive if they had given to free inquiry the place that we give it today. There are, then, ineluctable necessities which it is impossible to disregard. Of what use is it to imagine a kind of education that would be fatal for the society to put it into practice?"(5)

This is exactly the logic of the argument used by Greek educational policy makers. But is it clear and sound? First of all, the argument rests on a presupposition which begs the question; it assumes that society is a biological system or a self-organizing and self-regulating system. Furthermore, it assumes that human societies consist of creatures who are completely controlled by impersonal forces of which they are unaware and which they are incapable of altering. This predetermined organic view of society, which perhaps could be plausibly applied to simple,

homogeneous primitive groups is quite inappropriate when it is applied to such a diverse, flexible and rapidly changing society as modern Greece.

Another a priori assumption, which also begs the question, is the belief that cultural objects (institutions, roles, belief systems, etc.) are interdependent, working toward some kind of normative integration of the whole society. This assumption neglects both conflict and coercion which are present in every human society. It would be more reasonable to accept the view that societies are characterized by a considerable degree of institutional autonomy and that they do not require reciprocal interaction and reinforcement of these cultural objects in order to survive.

A third objection concerns the claim that all cultural objects do have a function. I shall say more about this claim later in the discussion of the nature and value of education.

A second set of objections concerns the nature of the alleged survival function of religion. It is by no means clear what people mean when they claim that religion is necessary for or contributes to the survival of society. In the long-standing debate on the survival value of the Greek Orthodox religion none of the proponents of religious instruction consider religion merely as a useful means for the achievement of a worthwhile end. Such an admission would denigrate religion to the levels of a socially useful myth -- a view shared by some opponents of religious instruction.

Some defenders of religious instruction in the public schools of Greece seem to maintain that religion is a good thing by itself and as well has unintended beneficial consequences for society: it reinforces a positive attitude towards life and a more cooperative attitude towards other people, it reduces anxiety, etc.

These latter claims are, of course, empirical and must be supported by adequate evidence. Even if such evidence were available, however, it would not be sufficient to justify the claims made by the proponents of religious instruction. They must also show that the alleged desirable attitudes religion is supposed to reinforce cannot be developed by other institutions in society, such as the family, various cultural institutions, the schools, etc. I have not seen a shred of evidence that supports either of these claims. Finally, as will be argued later, education implies knowledge and knowledge implies that

something is the case. To the extent that public schools are educational institutions they cannot teach something simply because it is considered by some edifying for society.

The majority of those who support religious instruction in the public schools of Greece claim that the Greek Orthodox religion has an essential, indispensable, or vital function within modern Greek society. Just as the lungs are necessary to keep an animal alive, in a similar way the Greek Orthodox religion is indispensable for the survival of modern Greek society. The enemies of religion, therefore, are the enemies of Greek society! There is a big problem, however, with this impressive claim that makes the Greek Orthodox religion definitional of modern Greek society; it is a tautology. As Bernard Williams put it: "It is tediously a necessary condition of the survival of a group - with certain values that the group should retain those values." (6) It is true but trivial that modern Greek society will not survive as a Greek Orthodox society if it abandons Orthodoxy. Durkheim's "ineluctable necessities" are redundant tautologies.

The only instances where functionalist arguments are appropriate are cases in which certain institutions, values, beliefs, customs, etc., are so inextricably connected with the whole fabric of society that any sudden or violent change, suspension, or suppression of them could have much greater consequences for the people than might have been expected. "Such propositions, if established, would of course be of first importance in deciding what to do; but they cannot take over the work of deciding what to do." (7) Since the Greek Orthodox religion is in no such danger today, functionalist arguments are irrelevant.

The third set of problems concerns the ambiguous phrase "survival of Greek society". It is not clear whether the claim is about the individuals who make up Greek society or the various institutions, traditions, norms of social behavior, etc., that one finds in Greek society. If it is about the survival of the individuals then the claim is unfounded, because, as is well known, people can survive under all sorts of social structures. One could argue further that certain beliefs, habits, traditions, etc., are serious obstacles to survival and should be abandoned for the sake of survival. (8) If, on the other hand, the claim is made about the existing institutions, etc., in modern Greek Society, then it is a hollow tautology that aims at preserving the power that the Greek Orthodox Church has within modern Greek society.

Finally, survival, simpliciter, is never the goal of societies, institutions, policies, or programs; it is always a certain quality of survival that people want to attain or maintain. The fundamental issue that must be addressed by educational policy makers is about the nature of values that are specific to education and the quality of life they imply for the individual and for society. The vague talk about survival evades that important issue and confuses our thinking, as do all deceptive educational slogans.

As was mentioned earlier, the assumption of the functionalists that all cultural objects have a function or functions is questionable. There is no question that human institutions, policies, actions, etc., regardless of the goals of their agents, may have unintended consequences. The functionalist assumptions that they do begs the question.

Human beings pursue a great number of activities, some for their intrinsic value (i.e., for their own sake) and others for their extrinsic value (i.e., as means for the achievement of other ends). Educational activities are those that are principally pursued for what is in them rather than for some external purpose. There are several arguments that support this point.

The first argument for the intrinsic value of educational pursuits comes from the way we talk about 'education' and 'training'. We say, for example, that a person can be trained "as a doctor", "for a job", or "in medicine". None of these prepositions, however, can be used with the word education; we cannot say "he was educated for a job", etc. One can acquire "on the job training" but not education.

The second point is that education is not an activity and therefore cannot be placed in the category of things that have purposes or functions. As R. S. Peters (9) observed some time ago, education suggests certain criteria of knowledge and value on the basis of which we judge activities, programs and institutions. It is sad that this important point has not been understood by many who continue to confuse education with schooling, socialization, indoctrination, etc.

Although grammatical rules can not settle philosophical disputes they are often significant signposts. What the logic of the words 'education' and 'training' suggests is what we all know, namely, that human beings do pursue certain activities for their own sake and others purely as means. It would indeed be a very depressing and unbearable truth if people pursued activities only for their instru-

mental value; for, in that case, human life would become eternal slavery without respite. Training without education is the new form of tyranny that threatens our world today. With education, however, training can become a power that can guarantee the preconditions of good life.

FOOTNOTES

1. For such claims see Alexis Demaras, I Metarrythmisi pou den EGINE (The Reformation that never took place) Athens: Nea Elliniki Bibliothiki: vol. 1, 1973; vol. 11, 1974. For a defense of religious indoctrination and the survival value of the Greek Orthodox religion see K. Gregoriades "I Ellinorthodoxi Martyria gia tin agoge ton neon mas", in Logos ke Praxis, vol. 11, No. 8 (Spring, 1979), pp. 82-96 (especially p. 85). This essay is a long reply to an essay of mine that was published in the previous issue of the same journal.

2. See especially "Paideia, Dogmata ke Demokratia" in ANTI: A Bimonthly Political Review, Period B, No. 190 (16-29 October, 1981); "Educating, Socializing and Indoctrinating", Journal of Philosophy of Education, vol. 16, No. 2 (155-165); and "Is Religious Education Possible?" in the same journal vol. 17, No. 2.

3. The Constitution of Greece, Article 16, para. 2.

4. Education and Sociology, (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 71.

5. Ibid., p. 64. Italics added.

6. Bernard Williams, Morality: An Introduction (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), p. 21.

7. Ibid.

8. Arnold J. Toynbee, for example, argues in his book Change and Habit: The Challenge of our Time (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) that in order to survive in our nuclear age nations must abandon their habit of going to war in order to settle their differences, and the habit of giving paramount allegiance to some national fraction of the human race and not to mankind as a whole. Likewise, R. Buckminster Fuller argues that in order to survive today we must get used to thinking in terms of our

whole planet rather than national boundaries (Critical Path, Hutchinson).

9 See, for example, his essays "Arms of Education: A Conceptual Inquiry" in Peters (ed.) The Philosophy of Education (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), and "Education as Initiation" in R.D. Archambault (ed.) Philosophical Analysis and Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).



## LE CHOIX EN MATIÈRE SCOLAIRE ET LINGUISTIQUE CHEZ LES GRECS DE MONTREAL

Calvin Veltman \* et Tina Ioannou \*\*

### RÉSUMÉ

L'adoption de la nouvelle législation linguistique québécoise remet en question le profil futur de la communauté grecque de Montréal. L'analyse du comportement linguistique des enfants grecs au niveau primaire, dans différents contextes sociaux, démontre une évolution intéressante en faveur du français, bien que la pratique de cette langue dans la vie quotidienne reste encore passive. Comme résultat, la législation linguistique québécoise semble avoir freiné l'anglicisation des jeunes grecs au profit, non pas du français mais de leur langue maternelle.

### ABSTRACT

The adoption of Quebec's new language legislation raises questions about the future language profile of the Greek community of Montreal. The analysis of the linguistic behaviour of the Greek children at the elementary level in different social contexts reveals an interesting evolution in favour of the french language although it's practice in every day life still remains limited. These findings suggest that the Québec language legislation has restrained the anglicisation of young Greeks in favour of the mother tongue rather than in favour of French.

### PRESENTATION

La communauté grecque de Montréal s'est toujours distinguée par le maintien de sa langue et de sa culture et par son orientation vers la communauté anglophone. Depuis la nouvelle législation linguistique québécoise cependant, de nouvelles règles de jeu se présentent à ses membres, comme à toutes les autres minorités linguistiques, dirigeant la majorité des enfants vers le réseau des écoles françaises. Ce phénomène n'est pas sans

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conséquences puisque tout le profil linguistique futur de ce groupe est mis en question. S'agit-il d'un virage plus favorable au français au dépens du grec ou de l'anglais? Quel rôle le choix de l'école peut jouer sur la pratique linguistique effectuée dans divers contextes sociaux? Les élèves de l'école Socrates parlent-ils mieux le grec que ceux qui fréquentent l'école française ou anglaise?

C'est justement ce genre de questions que nous tenterons d'aborder dans cet article, en mesurant le comportement linguistique des enfants au niveau primaire. Si, dans le temps, la langue d'usage change tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de la maison, nous assistons à un changement linguistique de première importance qui entraînerait des ajustements considérables dans la structure de la communauté grecque et dans son niveau d'intégration dans la société d'accueil.

## METHODOLOGIE

Pour évaluer l'impact de l'école sur la pratique linguistique, nous allons examiner les données cueillies lors d'une enquête subventionnée par les fonds FCAC et réalisée par notre équipe à l'INRS-Urbanisation entre le 1 juin et le 15 août 1983. Ayant tiré un échantillon aléatoire de logements dans le quartier Parc Extension, nous avons pu localiser 560 ménages grecs, dont 513 ont accepté de collaborer à notre enquête, soit 90,2 pour cent. La quasi-totalité des entrevues ont été réalisées dans la langue de la communauté. Les seules données que nous présentons ici sont celles faisant référence aux enfants de la famille nés dans la majorité des cas au Québec et inscrits au niveau primaire durant l'année scolaire de 1983-1984.

## RESULTATS

La législation québécoise n'a pas imposé de contraintes aux enfants grecs plus âgés de fréquenter les établissements de langue française. Parmi les 81 étudiants inscrits au CEGEP ou à l'université, 8,6 pour cent s'étaient inscrits dans un établissement de langue française, 9,0 pour cent sont des cégepiens et 6,4 pour cent des étudiants du niveau universitaire. Bénéficiant du régime de libre choix, les jeunes adultes grecs semblent avoir préféré le réseau d'institutions anglophones, suite logique de leur diplomation des écoles secondaires anglaises.

Cette orientation a été modifiée par la législation québécoise. Déjà, en 1983, le pourcentage des enfants inscrits à l'école française au niveau secondaire s'élevait à 29,3 pour cent, ce qui représente un changement marqué par rapport au niveau post-secondaire. Ce virage s'attribue à des effets de la législation parce que peu d'enfants ayant accès à l'enseignement en anglais se retrouvaient dans les écoles françaises. Par contre, 90,6 pour cent de ceux qui n'avaient pas droit à cet enseignement fréquentaient les écoles du réseau francophone.

Nous allons maintenant examiner les effets de la législation chez les enfants plus jeunes. Nous présentons au tableau 1 la répartition des étudiants du niveau primaire selon le réseau linguistique: écoles anglaises, françaises ou grecques. Dans les écoles grecques, la langue française figure comme langue principale de l'enseignement.

TABLEAU 1

Réseau scolaire selon l'admissibilité à l'enseignement en anglais, niveau primaire, quartier Parc Extension.

Type d'école	Admissibilité à l'école anglaise		
	oui	non	ensemble
Française	4,1%	59,0%	33,9%
Anglaise	94,9%	4,5%	39,1%
Socrates	1,0%	36,5%	22,9%
Ensemble	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
(N)	(97)	(156)	(253)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Ce tableau indique les effets de la législation sont encore plus marqués au niveau primaire, où 37,4 pour cent des étudiants fréquentaient l'école française, 39,1 pour cent l'école anglaise et 22,9 pour cent l'école Socrates. Un examen plus approfondi montre effectivement que plus les enfants sont jeunes, plus ils se retrouvent dans le réseau français. Les enfants admissibles à l'enseignement en

anglais, toujours selon les déclarations des parents, sont généralement inscrits à l'école anglaise, soit 94,9 pour cent. La majorité des enfants n'ayant pas droit à cet enseignement se retrouvent à l'école française, une minorité à l'école Socrates. La législation québécoise a donc, bel et bien, modifié le comportement scolaire des Grecs, dirigeant les enfants vers des écoles où le français est la langue principale d'enseignement.

Maintenant, essayons de savoir si le choix de l'école agit sur les connaissances linguistiques des enfants.

TABLEAU 2

Compétence linguistique des enfants du niveau primaire, quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Niveaux de compétence:	Langues parlées		
	Français	Anglais	Grec
Type d'école			
Française:			
Très bien	58,3%	39,6%	59,4%
Assez bien	31,3	37,5	38,5
Pas très bien	10,4	17,7	2,1
Pas du tout	0,0	5,2	0,0
Ensemble (n : 99)	100,0	100,0	100,0
Socrates:			
Très bien	42,4	45,8	69,5
Assez bien	33,9	27,1	27,1
Pas très bien	20,3	25,4	1,7
Pas du tout	3,4	1,7	1,7
Ensemble (n : 58)	100,0	100,0	100,0
Anglaise:			
Très bien	5,1	72,7	59,6
Assez bien	15,2	25,3	32,3
Pas très bien	45,5	2,0	8,1
Pas du tout	34,3	0,0	0,0
Ensemble (n : 99)	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Les données qui figurent au tableau 2 soulignent que les enfants inscrits à l'école française manifestent des niveaux de compétence en français plus élevés que les enfants inscrits dans les deux autres types d'école. Cependant, les élèves de l'école Socrates sont de loin plus compétents en français que ceux qui fréquentent l'école anglaise. De la même façon, ceux qui maîtrisent assez bien ou très bien l'anglais sont respectivement les élèves du réseau anglais, ceux de l'école Socrates et finalement ceux du réseau français. Ce dernier groupe est le seul à ne pas maîtriser mieux l'anglais que le français.

L'école Socrates se distingue des deux autres types d'écoles puisqu'elle favorise un niveau d'apprentissage intermédiaire des langues secondes. Elle présente des résultats en français bien supérieurs à ceux obtenus par les élèves du réseau anglais et des résultats en anglais quelque peu supérieurs à ceux obtenus par les élèves du réseau français. De plus, les seuls enfants qui maîtrisent mieux la langue maternelle que les langues secondes sont ceux inscrits à l'école Socrates, ce qui devrait retarder quelque peu la perte du grec comme langue d'usage.

L'école Socrates favorise également la conservation du grec parlé, le pourcentage d'enfants qui parlent très bien cette langue étant un peu plus élevé, soit environ dix pour cent. Cependant, le choix de l'école française ou anglaise ne semble pas affecter le niveau de connaissance du grec. C'est surtout sur les connaissances relatives de l'anglais et du français que ce choix pèse le plus.

A ce point de notre analyse, nous nous interrogeons sur l'effet des cours de samedi ou de l'après-midi sur le comportement linguistique des enfants inscrits dans les écoles françaises ou anglaises. Ces cours, également populaire dans d'autres minorités linguistiques, visent l'enseignement de la langue et de l'histoire du pays d'origine. Les élèves qui suivent ces cours ne parlent pas mieux le grec que les autres enfants grecs. Par contre, le premier groupe est caractérisé par une connaissance plus grande de l'anglais et du français. Or, il semble que les cours de grec empêchent une régression plus forte de leur connaissance de la langue maternelle.

Au tableau 3, nous retraçons l'impact de la fréquentation scolaire sur les transferts linguistiques effectués par ces enfants. La mesure employée consiste à mettre en rapport la langue d'usage et la langue maternelle.

TABLEAU 3

Langue d'usage selon l'école primaire, quartier Parc  
Extension, 1983

Langues parlées	Réseau scolaire			
	Socrates	Français	Anglais	Ensemble
Grec	80,7%	74,5%	45,5%	64,4%
Grec et anglais	0,0	2,1	6,1	3,2
Anglais	15,8	19,1	46,5	29,2
Grec et français	0,0	1,1	0,0	0,4
Français	3,5	3,2	2,0	2,8
Ensemble	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
(n)	(59)	(94)	(99)	(250)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Ce tableau révèle que le grec est toujours conservé comme langue d'usage par la majorité des enfants du niveau primaire, soit 64,4 pour cent. Les transferts linguistiques profitent largement au groupe anglophone, 29,2 pour cent des enfants ayant fait de l'anglais leur langue d'usage. Le taux de transferts linguistiques au français se chiffre à 2,8 pour cent. La pratique du bilinguisme profite également au groupe anglophone.

Comme nous nous y attendions, les enfants de l'école Socrates conservent mieux le grec comme langue d'usage, suivis de très près par les enfants qui fréquentent l'école française. Des deux langues principales du Québec, l'anglais prédomine comme langue d'usage (15,8 pour cent à l'école Socrates; 19,1 pour cent à l'école française), fait attribuable sans doute, à l'importance de l'anglais dans la vie sociale de la communauté grecque. Si l'inscription dans le réseau français est plutôt associée à la conservation du grec qu'à des transferts linguistiques au français, l'inscription à l'école anglaise mène tout droit à l'anglicisation. Seulement 45,5 pour cent des étudiants conserve le grec comme langue principale tandis que 46,5 pour cent préfère l'anglais et 6,1 pour cent pratique le bilinguisme grec-anglais.

Si le choix de l'école française ou de Socrates semble avoir ralenti l'anglicisation globale des enfants, nous pouvons également nous demander quel a été son impact sur la pratique linguistique dans différents contextes sociaux. Au tableau 4, nous présentons la langue parlée lorsque les enfants s'adressent aux grands-parents. La partie supérieure du tableau présente les réponses obtenues des enquêtes, la partie inférieure un regroupement indiquant le pourcentage total des enfants qui parlent une langue, peu importe qu'elle soit la seule langue indiquée ou qu'elle figure dans une pratique bilingue ou trilingue.

TABLEAU 4

Langue parlée aux grands-parents, enfants de langue maternelle grecque du niveau primaire, Quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Langue parlée	Ecole Primaire			
	Socrates	Française	Anglaise	Ensemble
Grec	97,0%	98,7%	94,0%	96,6%
Grec-Anglais	0,0	0,0	6,0	2,2
Anglais	0,0	1,3	0,0	0,6
Autre	3,0	0,0	0,0	0,6
*****				
Grec (total)	97,0	98,7	100,0	98,8
Anglais (total)	0,0	1,3	6,0	2,8
*****				
Ensemble (N)	100,0% (33)	100,0% (67)	100,0% (78)	100,0% (178)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Selon ce tableau, presque tous les enfants parlent le grec aux grands-parents, soit 96,6 pour cent. Seulement quelques enfants du réseau francophone parlent normalement l'anglais dans cette situation tandis que quelques autres de l'école Socrates parlent une quatrième langue avec leurs

grands-parents. La mobilité linguistique la plus importante est celle des enfants du réseau anglophone. Six pour cent s'adresse aux grands-parents en anglais et en grec. Sans doute, la faible connaissance du français et de l'anglais chez les grands-parents exige la pratique du grec par leurs petits-enfants. En effet, nous constatons très peu de bilinguisme dans ce contexte social, ce qui fait que la partie sommaire du tableau ressemble fort bien à celle qui est plus détaillée.

Examinons maintenant la langue parlée par les enfants quand ils s'adressent aux parents. Les données pertinentes se retrouvent au tableaux 5 et 6.

TABLEAU 5

Langue parlée à la mère, enfants de langue maternelle grecque du niveau primaire, Quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Langue parlée	<u>Ecole primaire</u>			
	Socrates	Française	Anglaise	Ensemble
Grec	94,5%	92,5%	83,2%	89,3%
Grec-Anglais	1,8	6,4	12,6	7,8
Anglais	3,6	1,1	4,2	2,9
*****				
Grec (total)	96,4	98,9	95,8	97,1
Anglais (total)	5,4	7,5	16,8	10,7
*****				
Ensemble (N)	100,0% (55)	100,0% (95)	100,0% (94)	100,0% (244)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

TABLEAU 6

Langue parlée au père, enfants de langue maternelle grecque  
du niveau primaire, Quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Langue parlée	Ecole primaire			Ensemble
	Socrates	Française	Anglaise	
Grec	94,3%	87,4%	85,7%	88,3%
Grec-Anglais	3,8	8,0	11,0	8,2
Anglais	0,0	1,1	3,3	1,7
Grec-Français	0,0	2,3	0,0	0,9
Grec-Anglais- Français	1,9	1,1	0,0	0,9
*****				
Grec (total)	100,0	98,9	97,7	98,3
Français (total)	1,9	3,4	0,0	1,8
Anglais	5,7	10,2	14,3	10,8
*****				
Ensemble	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
(N)	(53)	(87)	(91)	(231)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Sur le plan de la conservation du grec dans l'unité familiale, ces tableaux révèlent qu'environ neuf enfants sur dix parlent le grec avec leurs parents. Ce chiffre monte à plus de 97 pour cent lorsque sont inclus les enfants qui pratiquent le grec dans un contexte du bilinguisme ou du trilinguisme (partie sommaire). Encore, l'école joue un rôle dans le choix des langues. Les élèves de l'école Socrates conservent plus souvent le grec que ceux du réseau francophone qui, à leur tour, parlent plus souvent cette langue que les étudiants du réseau anglophone. Dans les trois cas, la mobilité linguistique profite au groupe anglophone: le bilinguisme grec-anglais et l'utilisation de l'anglais viennent remplacer le grec comme langue de la famille. Si les élèves ne parlent jamais le français avec leur mère, quelques élèves du réseau francophone se servent du bilinguisme

grec-français ou du trilinguisme quand ils s'adressent à leur père, ce qui suggère que la connaissance du français est plus élevée chez les hommes. Dans l'ensemble, le sexe du parent ne figure pas comme variable importante pour le choix de la langue au sein du ménage.

Pour examiner la pratique linguistique qui caractérise la jeune génération, nous présentons au tableau 7 la pratique des enfants lorsqu'ils s'adressent aux frères et soeurs aînés. Selon ce tableau, le grec n'est plus la langue privilégiée au sein de la famille. Encore là, l'école détermine dans une certaine mesure les choix linguistiques des enfants.

TABLEAU 7

Langue parlée aux frères et soeurs plus vieux, enfants de langue maternelle grecque du niveau primaire, Quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Langue parlée	Ecole Primaire			
	Socrates	Française	Anglaise	Ensemble
Grec	13,6%	18,6%	7,0%	11,8%
Grec-Anglais	27,3	32,6	19,7	25,0
Anglais	40,9	30,2	67,6	51,5
Grec-Français	0,0	9,3	0,0	2,9
Français	0,0	2,3	0,0	0,7
Anglais-Français	9,1	2,3	2,8	3,7
Grec-Anglais-Français	9,1	4,7	2,8	4,4
*****				
Grec (total)	50,0	65,2	29,5	44,1
Français (total)	18,2	18,6	5,6	11,7
Anglais (total)	86,4	69,8	93,0	84,6
*****				
Ensemble (N)	100,0% (22)	100,0% (71)	100,0% (43)	100,0% (136)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

En ce qui a trait à la conservation du grec, les enfants du réseau français pratiquent davantage le grec avec la fratrie plus âgée, suivi des enfants de l'école Socrates. Seulement 7,0 pour cent des étudiants du réseau anglophone se sert du grec dans ce contexte. Si nous ajoutons les enfants qui utilisent le grec en combinaison avec d'autres langues (la partie inférieure du tableau), il appert que les enfants inscrits aux écoles françaises utilisent plus souvent le grec que les élèves de l'école Socrates, soit 65,2 pour cent versus 50,0 pour cent. Ces deux groupes emploient beaucoup plus souvent le grec que les étudiants du réseau anglophone, soit 29,5 pour cent.

Les élèves du réseau francophone et de l'école Socrates emploient plus souvent le français dans ce contexte que ceux qui fréquentent le réseau anglophone. Si seulement 2,3 pour cent des élèves du secteur français l'utilise comme langue principale, un autre 16,3 pour cent l'emploie en alternance avec l'anglais, le grec ou les deux, soit un pourcentage total de 18,6. Ce même tableau montre que 18,2 pour cent des élèves de l'école Socrates emploie le français comme une des langues de conversation avec des frères ou soeurs plus vieux, toujours en alternance avec l'anglais. Seulement 5,6 pour cent des étudiants inscrits à l'école anglaise en font autant.

Evidemment, ce dernier groupe emploie beaucoup plus souvent l'anglais dans ce contexte. En fait, 67,6 pour cent se sert uniquement de l'anglais, un autre 19,7 pour cent du bilinguisme grec-anglais. Selon la partie sommaire du tableau, un total de 93,00 pour cent se sert de l'anglais dans ce contexte. Une forte majorité des élèves des deux autres réseaux emploient également l'anglais dans leurs conversations avec leurs aînés. 40,9 pour cent des élèves de l'école Socrates emploie uniquement l'anglais, un autre 27,3 pour cent le bilinguisme grec-anglais tandis que 18,2 pour cent l'emploie comme une des langues utilisées dans ce contexte, soit un total de 86,4 pour cent. Si le pourcentage d'enfants qui se sert seulement de l'anglais est plus faible chez les enfants inscrits au réseau français, soit 30,2 pour cent, un total de 69,8 pour cent l'emploie dans ce contexte.

Cette analyse nous permet de constater que l'anglais domine nettement le dialogue adressé aux frères et soeurs plus âgés. Par contre, les enfants de l'école française conservent le plus longtemps le grec et emploient le plus souvent le français. Ceux inscrits à l'école Socrates ont une pratique qui se situe à mi-chemin entre ceux des deux autres réseaux. Ils privilégient davantage l'anglais que ceux inscrits au réseau français mais ils sont plus

portés à conserver le grec et à employer le français que ceux inscrits au secteur anglais.

Les données nous permettant d'examiner l'effet de l'école sur le dialogue adressé aux frères et soeurs plus jeunes sont présentées au tableau 8.

TABLEAU 8

Langue parlée aux frères et soeurs plus jeunes, enfants de langue maternelle grecque du niveau primaire, Quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Langue parlée	Socrates	Ecole primaire		
		Française	Anglaise	Ensemble
Grec	64,1%	56,5%	17,1%	47,2%
Grec-Anglais	17,9	21,0	29,3	22,5
Anglais	10,3	14,5	53,7	24,6
Grec-Français	0,0	1,6	0,0	0,7
Français	0,0	1,6	0,0	0,7
Anglais-Français	5,1	1,6	0,0	2,1
Grec-Anglais-Français	2,6	3,2	0,0	2,1
*****				
Grec (total)	84,6	82,3	46,4	72,7
Français	7,7	8,0	0,0	5,6
Anglais	35,9	40,3	82,9	51,3
*****				
Ensemble (N)	100,0% (39)	100,0% (41)	100,0% (62)	100,0% (142)

Source: Veltman et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Notons d'abord que le bilinguisme ou le trilinguisme est moins pratiqué, probablement en raison d'une plus faible connaissance de l'anglais et du français chez les plus jeunes enfants. Comment parler avec eux une langue qu'ils ne connaissent pas? Ensuite, observons qu'environ la moitié des enfants emploie le grec dans ce contexte,

environ un quart l'anglais et un autre quart le bilinguisme grec-anglais.

Selon ce tableau, l'école exerce encore une fois une influence importante sur la pratique linguistique. 64,1 pour cent des élèves de l'école Socrates parle le grec avec leurs cadets, 56,5 pour cent des étudiants du réseau français mais seulement 17,1 pour cent des élèves du secteur anglais. Pendant que 10,3 pour cent et 14,5 pour cent respectivement des élèves inscrits à l'école Socrates ou française emploient en exclusivité l'anglais dans ce contexte, ce chiffre s'élève à 53,7 pour cent chez les étudiants du réseau anglophone. La part du bilinguisme grec-anglais est également plus importante chez ces derniers.

Ce tableau montre clairement le rôle anglicisant de l'école anglaise par rapport aux autres types d'écoles, qui ont comme effet principal la plus grande conservation de la langue maternelle. En effet, l'école française est peu francisante, les enfants qui s'y retrouvent privilégiant plutôt l'anglais comme langue de rechange contre le grec, comme nous le montre la partie sommaire du tableau.

Il nous reste à considérer le contexte linguistique qui, à notre avis, est le plus important, la langue d'amitié. Puisque les parents n'exercent que peu d'influence dans ce contexte, la langue d'amitié révèle très bien les orientations linguistiques privilégiées par les enfants eux-mêmes. Les données pertinentes sont présentées au tableau 9. A quelques exceptions près, ce tableau ressemble fort bien au tableau 7. C'est à dire, la langue d'amitié s'apparente à celle employée dans les conversations avec les soeurs et les frères aînés. Les exceptions sont au nombre de trois: la part du grec est plus faible ici, celle de l'anglais est plus importante (surtout l'emploi exclusif de cette langue) et la part du français est quelque peu plus importante.

TABLEAU 9

Langue parlée entre amis, enfants de langue maternelle grecque du niveau primaire, Quartier Parc Extension, 1983.

Langue parlée	Ecole primaire			Ensemble
	Socrates	Française	Anglaise	
Grec	13,8%	5,2%	3,1%	6,4%
Grec-Anglais	27,6	22,9	12,5	20,0
Anglais	44,8	45,8	77,1	57,6
Grec-Français	0,0	8,3	1,0	3,6
Français	0,0	2,1	3,1	2,0
Anglais-Français	6,9	7,3	3,1	5,6
Grec-Anglais-Français	6,9	7,3	1,0	4,8
*****				
Grec (total)	48,3	43,7	17,6	34,8
Français (total)	13,8	25,0	8,2	16,0
Anglais (total)	86,2	83,3	93,7	88,0
*****				
Ensemble (N)	100,0% (58)	100,0% (96)	100,0% (96)	100,0% (250)

Source: Veltmant et al., INRS-Urbanisation

Encore dans ce contexte, l'école joue un rôle important. Plus des trois quarts des enfants inscrits à l'école anglaise parlent exclusivement cette langue avec leurs amis et seulement 17,6 pour cent emploie le grec sous quelque pratique que ce soit. Les enfants de l'école Socrates emploient le plus souvent le grec comme langue d'amitié mais 44,8 pour cent utilise l'anglais comme langue principale et 27,6 pour cent pratique le bilinguisme grec-anglais. Environ les trois quarts se dirigent clairement vers la pratique de l'anglais et 86,2 pour cent utilise l'anglais dans les conversation d'amitié. La

situation chez les enfants inscrits à l'école française diffère quelque peu. Si le pourcentage d'enfants qui emploient l'anglais ou le bilinguisme grec-anglais s'apparente à celui constaté pour l'école Socrates, la part du français y est plus importante. D'abord, 8,3 pour cent des enfants pratique le bilinguisme grec-français, 2,1 pour cent parle normalement le français et un total de 25,0 pour cent se sert de cette langue dans les rapports d'amitié.

## CONCLUSION

Considérant le niveau d'anglicisation avancé qui a caractérisé la communauté grecque de Montréal avant 1976, notre analyse montre une évolution intéressante en faveur du français. La jeune génération parle de plus en plus le français, fait directement attribuable à l'impact de la législation québécoise sur le choix de l'école. Envoyer les enfants à l'école française, à l'école Socrates ou à l'école anglaise n'est pas dépourvu de conséquences.

Cette analyse nous montre également que l'importance relative d'une langue varie selon le contexte social. Le grec est largement conservé comme langue de communication avec les grands-parents et les parents. Par contre, l'anglais domine nettement tous les rapports d'amitié ou de contact entre membres de la même génération, y compris ceux de la famille nucléaire. Les contraintes introduites par la législation linguistique n'ont pas complètement changé l'orientation vers la communauté anglophone chez les Grecs.

Malgré l'importance de l'anglais dans la vie des enfants, l'imposition de l'école française ou de l'école grecque de langue française a modifié directement le comportement linguistique des jeunes enfants. Notre analyse montre que l'école anglaise favorise l'anglicisation des enfants, qui à leur tour, favorisent l'anglicisation de leur milieu familial. Par contre, l'école française ne semble pas, du moins à ce jour, promouvoir une intégration linguistique aussi poussée. Tout comme l'école Socrates, elle privilégie la conservation du grec dans l'ensemble des contextes sociaux examinés dans ce texte. En même temps, l'école française produit des enfants qui connaissent beaucoup mieux le français que les élèves de l'école anglaise, bien que la pratique de cette langue dans la vie quotidienne ne semble pas très bien implantée.

Les enfants qui pratiquent le français dans leur vie quotidienne sont encore trop jeunes pour nous permettre d'esquisser une prévision de l'utilisation éventuelle de cette langue. Si la vie informelle des enfants n'a pas été aussi transformée que leurs compétences linguistiques, rien n'empêche une implantation de plus en plus solide du français dans un avenir rapproché. La législation a déjà freiné l'anglicisation des jeunes enfants. G. Mathews (1984) suggère que les effets de l'école française, notamment sur la compétence écrite d'une langue, ne commencent qu'à se faire sentir. De plus, les contraintes du marché du travail font valoir de plus en plus la connaissance du français. Dans ce contexte, le choix de l'anglais d'un jeune enfant, qui ne lit ni écrit pourtant bien cette langue, est loin d'être définitif.

#### NOTE

(1) Georges Mathews, L'importance démographique des francophones au Québec de 1951 à 2.001, texte ronéotypé non-publié, INRS-Urbanisation, Université du Québec à Montreal, 1983.

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## PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE INFLUENCE OF DOMINANT GROUPS ON POLITICS IN ATHENS GREECE

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### RÉSUMÉ

Cet article traite de l'influence des groupes dominants sur la vie politique grecque. On a compilé une liste de 19 groupes parmi les plus importants de la société hellénique et on a interrogé un total de 712 résidents d'Athènes à propos de leur influence sur les élections générales de 1974. Les résultats confirment aussi l'opinion que les gens attribuent une grande influence aux groupes qu'ils n'aiment pas. Le "clientélisme et le patronage" semblent être au centre de la politique grecque, là où les groupes dominants continuent de jouir des privilèges spéciaux au sein de la société grecque.

### ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the influence of dominant groups in Greek national politics. A list of 19 major groups in Greek society was compiled and a total of 712 residents of Athens were asked to evaluate the amount of influence exercised on the outcome of the 1974 general elections. The results of this study showed that, on the whole, political personalities were perceived to have greater influence than all other factors considered. The results also confirmed the idea that people ascribe a great deal of influence to groups they dislike. "Clientistic or patronage relations" seem to be the norm in Greek politics; the various dominant groups continue to enjoy special privileges within Greek society.

The influence of dominant groups in shaping national and international political decisions has been a subject of interest to political sociologists and political scientists alike. In this paper we focus on only one aspect of the influence of the dominant groups, namely the Athenian perceptions of the amount of influence of dominant groups in national politics. For the purpose of this analysis dominant groups will be defined as all those groups which exert influence on the political processes,

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particularly on the outcomes of national elections. More specifically, we will focus on the 1974 election -- the first since the restoration of democracy in Greece.

In the literature on mass politics and political elites, we can identify two major theoretical and conceptual orientations. One is more conservative/aristocratic and two, a more radical approach. The former looks at the masses as apathetic and incapable of ruling themselves. Supporters of this view have a basic distrust of the masses' ability to influence social and political events. In the conservative view dominant groups and their leaders are by nature and necessity more important in making the crucial decisions and influencing politics and social change than are the masses.

In the case of Greece we find a dearth of studies of dominant groups particularly with respect to the public's perceptions concerning their leaders. Indeed a number of students of Greek politics and society (Legg, 1969; Pollis, 1965; Kourvetaris, 1977) have suggested that the problem of Greece as an unstable western democracy lies not so much in the nature of its people but in the processes of recruitment and composition of its leaders. In other words, it is more of a problem concerning the top rather than a problem of the bottom of the social and political structures.

The dominant groups have been one of the major problems of Greece since its inception as an independent nation in the mid 19th century. The modern political and social history of Greece is replete with frequent military interventions, coups, counter coups, revolts, civil wars, and political crises in general.

Recently, there has been an effort to empirically study social and political leaders in Greek society. Alexander (1964) studied the Greek industrial elites, Kourvetaris (1971 a,b, c) the military, Legg (1969) the political leaders, Carmocolias (1974) the perceptions of educational and occupational elites in Patras concerning political communications (especially the newspapers); and Meynaud (1966) a variety of political forces in Greece.

The frequent military interventions and the breakdown of democratic regimes in the past have in part contributed to the negative perceptions of the people toward the effectiveness of their political system and the legitimacy of their leaders. Negative public perceptions of leaders may weaken the effectiveness of the political system and challenge the legitimacy of its leaders.

Greece's setting can be used to test a number of hypotheses concerning the influence of dominant groups in Greek society. For example: Why do people attribute greater influence to some groups than to other? What can we learn from people's perceptions about dominant groups' influence in politics?

In this analysis we will consider the social and political correlates of those who identified certain political groups. Perceptions of dominant groups will provide us with some idea of how the people feel about those who are ruling them. Public opinion surveys contribute to our understanding of how people perceive the politicians and the way that the political system works. Such perceptions may influence regime support and commitment to that system. A sense of legitimacy and support for the implementation of policy and decision-making may result.

Form and Rytina (1969) noted that perceptions of elites were related to social class or status. Dye (1962) found that members of the majority party were more apt to believe decision-making is democratic and open to the influence of a variety of groups than are members of the opposition. Klorman (1978) found only very limited support for Form and Rytina's hypothesis that perceptions of institutional power structures are closely linked to one's stratification position. He did, however, find support for Dye's idea that the political majority and minority evaluate groups differently. Klorman (1978:786) suggested that the perceived distribution of power is contingent upon one's "affective orientation towards the group stimulus." There may be a particular tendency to attribute great influence to a groups that one dislikes.

#### DATA COLLECTION, RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND HYPOTHESES

The data were collected during the spring and summer of 1977. Sociology students from Pierce-Deree College, an American sponsored institution, and University of Athens students were trained to administer the interview schedule. A random sample of 80 blocks in the Greater Athens area was drawn with the cooperation of the National Statistical Service of Greece (similar to the U.S. Census Bureau). In each block ten households were chosen for the interviews based on a specified interval between houses. Interviews were completed with 712 people.

As part of our interview schedule, we devised a list of 19 major groups in Greek society. Using a reputational method of sorts we asked a number of persons to name the dominant groups which exert influence in politics. Based

on their responses we compiled this list that reflected the makeup and diversity of the Greek society. (Table One provides a list of all these groups.) We asked each respondent to evaluate how much influence each group had on the outcome of the 1974 election. Respondents could reply no influence (0 points), a little (1 point), some (2 points) or a great deal (3 points). Means were calculated to determine the average amount of influence each dominant group had. We combined certain variables to make indicators of three broad types of groups. More specifically, the industrialists, multinationals, bankers, and shipowners formed the capitalist dominant group while the newspapers, radio, and TV composed the mass media, and the rural and urban police forces and military made up the security forces. In this paper we deal primarily with the combined dominant groups and only secondarily with the other forces.

Following Klorman's notion that a person perceives groups he dislikes as having lots of influence, we tentatively suggest the following general proposition: People who possess certain social characteristics which predispose them to be conservative are more likely to support the pluralist conception of influence and thus not see influence concentrated in the hands of conservative groups such as the capitalist dominant group, the church, and the security forces.

Socio-demographic characteristics predisposing one to be conservative are older age, being female, birthplace in the Peloponnese (southern region of Greece), and higher socioeconomic status (SES). Groups considered to be conservative in Greek society are industrialists, bankers, shipowners, multinational corporations, the military, the police, the CIA, church, bureaucracy, farmers, and civil servants. Groups considered to be left are the trade unions and students. The mass media--newspapers, radio, and television--were not considered either left or right although the TV stations in Greece are state controlled. The major Athenian papers represent a variety of political opinions. Merchants, political personalities and political programs were not considered left or right also. Merchants are normally small owners and are caught between the forces of the right and the left (see Wright, 1977). Political personalities and programs could represent any ideological persuasion although parties of the right and center are more often associated with the personalistic and clientelistic aspects of politics (Legg, 1969) while the parties of the left may be more concerned with the objective aspects of party platforms.

The specific hypotheses we are most interested in are the following: Those belonging to the higher SES and those with a conservative sociodemographic background will be less likely to perceive the capitalist dominant groups and other conservative forces as exerting much influence in society. Those of higher education and SES are more likely to attribute influence to political personalities. (For example, the more educated will tend to resent a politics based on charisma rather than on rationality and thus will attribute to political personality important influence.)

Those who perceive a threat to democracy from the right are more likely to attribute greater influence to conservative dominant groups. Conversely, those who perceive a threat to democracy from the left are more likely to attribute greater influence to leftist groups. Concerning the political leadership, those who perceive a threat to democracy from the right tend to attribute greater influence to political personalities while those who perceive a threat to democracy coming from the left tend to attribute greater influence to political programs. We can also compare relationships between perceptions of political influence and voting. More specifically we would expect to find a positive correlation (not necessarily a causal relationship) between attributing influence to conservative groups and voting leftist. Both of these indicators are manifestations of dislike for conservative forces. For a brief description of the operationalization of the social stratification and political variables used in the analysis, see the appendix.

## FINDINGS

Respondents' Perceptions of Dominant Groups. Below are the means of our 19 groups and the combined indicators of the capitalists (industrialists, shipowners, bankers, and multinationals), the mass media (newspapers, TV, and radio), and the Greek military and paramilitary forces (the officer corps of the armed forces and police).

Political personality had the greatest amount of influence on the outcome of the election of 1974. According to t-tests of means, it was significantly greater than all other groups. TV which ranked second was not significantly different from the influence of industrialists, the entire mass media or newspapers. The industrialists were not significantly different from the influence of newspapers, radio, TV, and the entire mass media. In other words, the next five factors were very closely related to each other.

TABLE 1

MEAN SCORES OF PERCEIVED POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF DOMINANT GROUPS

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Pol. Personality	2.286
Television	2.095
Industrialists	2.088
Mass Media	2.051
Newspapers	2.039
Radio	2.016
CAPITALISTS	1.860
Shipowners	1.847
Political Programs	1.812
Military	1.790
Multinationals	1.785
Bankers	1.718
MILITARY AND PARA-	
MILITARY ELITES	1.694
Police	1.598
Bureaucracy	1.593
CIA	1.507
Farmers	1.433
Church	1.397
Civil Servants	1.291
Merchants	1.287
Students	1.219
Trade Unions	1.100

The political personalities had greater influence than all other factors including political programs. The mass media in general had greater political influence than the capitalist group. Within the capitalist group it was the industrialists followed by the bankers that seemed to have great influence.

We identified those who were at or near the top as the most dominant groups. Those high-ranking groups were the politicians (especially the personality or charismatic aspects), the mass media, and the capitalists. The supportive groups were made up of the security forces, the bureaucracy, and the politicians' political programs. The military, the police, and the bureaucracy carry out the wishes of the dominant groups. The party programs were the formal strategies of the politicians suggesting how to improve the Greek social and political scene. While they

did not have the greatest amount of influence, they were still important in the Greek realm of politics. The other groups (in Table 1) played minor roles in politics. According to the people's perceptions these included the merchants, civil servants, farmers, CIA(1), labor unions, students; and the church.

#### Social Correlates of the Perceptions of Dominant Groups.

We used Pearson correlation coefficients to show the associations between perceptions of influence of dominant groups and the social and political characteristics of the respondents. We hypothesized that the higher the socioeconomic status, the less the tendency to view economic and other conservative forces as having political influence. Overall the correlations strongly support this hypothesis. People with higher income, education, occupation, prestige and subjective class are less likely to view the capitalists as having political influence. The correlations of capitalists with income, education, and prestige are above .20 while with occupation it is .19 and .18 with subjective identification. Also the higher the SES, the less the perceived influence of the church, the bureaucracy, the military, police, CIA, civil servants, farmers, and merchants. Occupational prestige and education are most strongly related to the influence of these groups. There is a weak to moderate relationship between the socioeconomic variables and the influence of political personality. Occupational prestige (.11) and education (.11) are positively related to perceiving political personalities as influential in politics. The socioeconomic characteristics are not related to the perceived influence of the mass media, party programs, or trade unions.

Regarding the sociodemographic characteristics, having one's birthplace in Athens is somewhat negatively related to viewing the capitalists (-.08) and the police (-.07) as having political influence, but it is positively related to the belief that the mass media (.09) (especially the TV) has political influence. People born in the Peloponnese region are somewhat less likely to believe the TV is influential in Greek politics (-.09). This may in part be because not everyone has had equal access to the television in Greece and the migrants to Athens are probably less exposed to TV than the Athenians. Birth in Athens is positively associated with the belief that political personalities (.13) and political programs (.09) are influential in Greek politics. More direct exposure to the major politicians would be greater for those who lived all their lives in Athens. Native-born Athenians are less

likely to view merchants (-.20), civil servants (-.12), farmers (-.13), and trade unions (-.09) as politically influential while those born in the Peloponnese are slightly more likely to view merchants (.08) and trade unions (.08) as having political influence.

Political Characteristics and Perceptions of Dominant Groups. People who vote left are much more likely to see the capitalists (.28), the multinationals (.31), the security forces (.30), the church (.19), the bureaucracy (.20), and the CIA (.43) as having strong influence on politics. Also those who see the threat to democracy coming from the right are more likely to attribute influence to the capitalists (.18), the security forces (.24), the church (.14), the bureaucracy (.19), the multinationals (.24), and the CIA (.30). The correlations with voting are generally stronger than the correlations with threat from the right. The CIA, police, and multinationals have the highest correlations with vote and perceived threat from the right. Leftist voters are less likely to believe that the students and political programs have influence in politics. There is no significant difference between voting left and perceptions of the mass media or political personalities.

Those who see the threat as coming from the right are more likely to see the mass media (.10) as influential in politics. (The correlation is stronger for television and radio than for newspapers.) Those who view the threat as coming from the left are less likely to view the capitalists (-.11) and the security forces (-.19) as influential. The students (.11), political programs (.09), and the labor unions (.09) have somewhat more influence according to those who fear threat from the left. In general there is support for the hypotheses with the correlations tending to be strongest between vote and perceptions of dominant groups. Those who perceive threat from the right or those who vote left attribute influence to the conservative forces in Greece. This tends to confirm the idea that people ascribe a great deal of influence to groups they dislike.

## DISCUSSION

We believe that the views of Athenians regarding the dominant groups are consistent with our view of the reality of Greek society during the 1970's. The data were collected in 1977 and thus reflect the attitudes prevailing at that time. In 1981 the socialist party PASOK led by

Andreas Papandreu came to power. The interpretation of the data must be seen in the context of the prevailing attitudes of the Athenians in the 1970's.

Legg (1969:110-111) has pointed out that there is constant communication between bankers, publishers, ship-owners, state officials, and politicians. The politicians or state officials need political support while the other groups need governmental favors. Greek politics is still strongly influenced by clientelistic or patronage relations. The major Greek deputies normally have important family political ties and personal clients. They concentrate on satisfying unaggregated individual demands and their concern with the issues is usually minimal (Legg, 1969:273). Since the victory of PASOK, politics are becoming more issue oriented however.

Deputies in the parliament need the mass media in order to become known to the public. In his study of political communication in Greece between 1965-1967, Carmocolias (1974) felt the Athenian newspapers were the most important source of political information. (The influence of television was minor because at that time there were few televisions in Greece.) He concluded that most Athenian newspapers were bellicose and politicized especially in periods of crisis. The mass media was basically dysfunctional in linking the ruled and the political rulers. Our findings support this somewhat for we see a great distrust of the Athenian dailies. Twenty-six per cent of the Athenians did not believe any of the Athenian papers accurately portrayed reality and another 8% didn't know or didn't answer.

According to Mouzelis (1978:121-125) foreign capital, working closely with Greek capital and the state, has reinforced a growing degree of capitalist concentration. The state has granted especially enormous benefits to foreign capital. At the same time, however, a large number of small industrial units with family-oriented values continue to exist. This results in a dominant capitalist mode of production still linked to the simple commodity mode of production (small industry and small farms). Great inequalities are present both within the capitalist sector (e.g. between wage earners and owners) and the simple commodity mode sector and between the two. For example, McNall (1980:118) has pointed out that the Greek shoe industry is dominated by small family firms. These firms, however, do not sell their shoes directly to U.S. stores such as Macy's or K-Mart but rather to a middleman who may often be a buyer for international corporations. The Greek entrepreneur becomes in many ways like a wage-laborer for

the multinational corporations.

The Greek state and foreign investors have developed capital-intensive areas in part because the local capitalists were not attracted to investments in iron, coal, and oil because they lacked access to world markets. Greece encourages investment of foreign capital and has created a virtual "free trade zone" for multinationals in part to create jobs for many Greeks (who often have migrated from the rural areas to the urban ones) (McNall, 1979). Forty-six of the largest 150 companies in Greece are multinationals. They employ over 113,000 Greeks (The Vima Newspaper, March 6, 1977).

Shipping interests have received special considerations because it is "crucial to Greek politics" (Legg, 1969:113). Members of parliament receive free transportation on domestic lines and politicians from the islands need connections with major shipowners not only to transport themselves but also voters from the mainland to their home constituencies. Shipping has received important tax benefits in part because as Mouzelis (1978:120) notes, the international aspects of shipping could move elsewhere if the Greek state places too many restrictions on the shipping interest. The use of Greek seamen help reduce unemployment and provide an important source of foreign currency when they send money back home.

The two major banks, the National Bank of Greece and the Commercial Bank of Greece, have been especially involved in Greek economic development. Each banking group has had persons associated with the major political parties and has its own group of industries affiliated with it (Legg, 1969:111). Banks tend to favor large companies when they give long-term industrial loans (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968:375). Mouzelis (1978:118) points out that since World War II and the Civil War, the two major banks, working closely with the state, "played a major role in the growth and direction of the productive forces."

The dominant groups which we identified (the personalities of politicians, the mass media, and the capitalist class) have considerable political power in Greece. The political party programs of politicians are also important but are more likely to be associated with leftist politicians. The bureaucracy and the Greek security forces also play a supportive role.

The bureaucracy in Greece is shaped by clientelism which essentially refers to a political relationship or exchange which involves economic or political favors (e.g. jobs)

from a politician or notable in return for that person's loyalty and support (e.g. vote). Rousfeti, a colloquial term for such political pull, has been called the "monster of bureaucracy" and the "curse of the nation" (Eleftherotypia Newspaper, 1967:7). Bakogainnis (1977) did research on major appointments to banks and large public bureaucracies and concluded that the criteria of selection and promotion were based on political expediencies. Haralambopoulos (1976), PASOK's minister of foreign affairs, believes rousfeti is used by the establishment to intimidate the people and thus maintain its power. Mouzelis (1978) believes political clientelism goes hand in hand with Greek underdevelopment.

In our survey, the people distinguished between the bureaucracy and the civil servants by giving the complex institution significantly more political power than the civil servants. Skiadopoulos (1976) has suggested that the bureaucracy makes the civil servants and the citizens enemies of each other. According to him, both the civil servants and the people suffer from the problems of bureaucracy. Often the rules are vague so that the civil servant has broad discretion in decision making. People may have to return several times before a decision is reached.

Since Greece has experienced five international wars, two civil wars, ten military revolts, and three periods of military/authoritarian rule in the twentieth century (Coulombis, 1980:24), it is not surprising that the military is important. The military perceives itself as a cultural preserving institution with strong elements of nationalism and anti-communism (Kourvetaris, 1971 a,b,c; Campbell and Sherrard, 1968). At the same time it is clear that the military and police have been repressive forces as well (Clogg and Yannopoulos, 1972; Amnesty International, 1977; Mouzelis, 1978; Petras, 1977; Clogg, 1979). Clogg (1979:191) notes the important role of the security and military police in breaking up resistance groups and any mass-based opposition during the military rule.

In the past both the military and police have been instrumental in helping create files (records) on many individuals of perceived questionable character. These files may be used to identify suspicious or left-leaning individuals and can cover several generations of families. Chances for acceptance or advancement within the bureaucracy and officer corps are greatly influenced by the contents of the files.

Even when the military withdrew from politics in 1974,

it was they who invited Karamanlis to return from his self-imposed exile in France and form the restoration government. A slogan heard at the time of the 1974 election was "Karamanlis or the tanks" suggesting that if the left parties instead of Karamanlis gained too much support, the military could again take over.

The Greek perception of its dominant groups is not all that different from the American one with one exception. In Greece trade unions appear to have little influence. For the U.S. Klorman (1978) found that big business, politicians, labor unions and newspapers were the most influential while the military ranked seventh. Other studies consistently show big business and labor unions are both highly ranked (Form and Rytina, 1969; Rose, 1976). Overall, Jecchiniis (1978) suggests that the influence of trade unions in Greece has been negligible. The government has dominated trade union policies throughout time. Trade unions have played only a minor role in introducing legislation for improving the situation of the workers. The ineffectiveness of trade unions has been due to both internal disunity and to the political patronage system as well as major historical events including dictatorships and wars. In 1975-76, new labor legislation was introduced which limited the workers right to strike (Petras, 1977; Petropoulos, 1977--interview with John Katris) and thus restricted the power of workers.

## CONCLUSION

The various dominant groups identified in Greece enjoy special privileges. For example, the high ranking military officers have special private resort areas, reduced prices for traveling, and very favorable retirement programs. They often live in exclusive areas of residence. Other groups receive special visiting privileges to see members of parliament. According to Legg (1969) the powerful Union of Journalists had been granted an annual lottery which provided an important source of revenue for their pensions. Journalists have been able to bring in foreign cars without paying the high surcharges. Thus occupying a high ranking position, who you know, and to which political personality you are loyal are often major considerations for getting ahead in Greek society.

It seems reasonable to us that the average person would attribute power and indeed privilege to the dominant and supportive groups we have mentioned. These groups are quite separate and distinguishable from the masses. As we

have tried to show, it would not be surprising that part of this evaluation of the dominant groups is based on dislike of the various groups who have considerably far more power and privilege than the average person. The power structure (like that of many other countries) does not work to the advantage of the "common man".

FOOTNOTE

1. Although the CIA was not given a great deal of influence in Greek society, we should note that the no answer and don't know response rate for the influence of the CIA was almost 14% higher than the average refusal rate for all the other groups. This suggests that many more people either found this groups difficult to assess or were unwilling to evaluate it.

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### APPENDIX: MEASUREMENT OF MAJOR VARIABLES

For the measurement of our major variables we employed the following procedures:

Stratification Variables: Respondent's occupational prestige was coded according to Treiman's (1975) international scale. Education was given for number of years of schooling completed. Income was based on total monthly family income (in drachmae) and the respondent was asked to select one of thirteen different income categories. For occupation we used four levels--upper white collar, lower white collar, skilled and semi-skilled workers, and unskilled workers.

Subjective class identification was measured by asking a Center's type question with the close-ended answers of upper, middle, working and lower classes. (Respondents were also asked to distinguish levels within the middle and working class, e.g., upper middle class, lower working class, etc.)

Political Variables: Voting preferences were based on the responses to the question of which party the respondent would vote for if the elections were held that day (when interviewed). Since we are trying to predict left vote, responses of Papandreou's Socialist party PASOK, EDA (United Democratic Left), and the Communist Parties of the Interior and Exterior were all coded one. Replies of New Democracy, Union of the Democratic Center, and pro-royalist parties received a zero.

We asked the respondents if they believed that democracy was threatened more from the extreme right or extreme left. Two hundred sixty-one persons said from the right while only 79 said from the left. The others either said there was no threat from either side, there was an equal threat from the right and the left, or gave no answer. We created two dummy variables--one with the threat to the right coded one and all other responses coded zero and the other with threat from the left coded one and all others coded zero.



## GREEKS IN CANADA: A RESEARCHER'S APPROACH

Leonidas C. Bombas \*

### RÉSUMÉ

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

### ABSTRACT

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

Data presented in this paper was gathered as part of the Minority Education Research Project. This project is located in the Faculty of Education, McGill University. It is funded by the basic research granting agency of the Direction Générale de l'Enseignement Supérieur, Ministère de l'Education du Québec, the Fonds F.C.A.C. The views presented here are the author's and are not necessarily shared by other project members, McGill University or the Ministère de l'Education du Québec.

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## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

## GREEKS IN CANADA: AN HISTORICAL NOTE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Hellenism:

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

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

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

### THE EXISTING STUDIES ON CANADA'S GREEKS

An extensive two year search between 1980 and 1982

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 1

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

TABLE 2

Language of Publication/Presentation

	<u>Gr./Fr.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Gr.</u>	<u>Gr./Eng.</u>	<u>Fr/Eng.</u>
Books	1	2	7	2	1	--
Articles	--	8	19	--	--	--
Ph.D. Theses	--	1	--	--	--	--
MA Theses	--	--	12	--	--	--
Reports/ Papers	--	9	9	3	2	1
<hr/>						
Total	1	20	47	5	3	1

Gr./Fr. : Greek/French  
Fr. : French  
Eng. : English

Gr. : Greek  
Gr./Eng. : Greek/English  
Fr/Eng. : French/English

TABLE 3Publication/Presentation Period

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

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TABLE 4

## Studies dealing with the issue of.....

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

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TABLE 5

## Studies dealing with Greeks in.....

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## THE PREFACES OF NIKOS KACHTITSIS

George Thaniel \*

Cet article est une communication faite le 4 juin 1983 à un panel sur "La préface en tant que genre littéraire" au congrès annuel de l'Association Canadienne de Littérature Comparée, à l'Université de la Colombie Britannique, à Vancouver. Nikos Kachtitsis, un auteur Grec parmi les plus représentatifs de la période d'après guerre, écrivit toute son oeuvre de la maturité à Montréal, où il vécut de 1956 à 1970, année de sa mort. Une grande partie de son oeuvre a été publiée en Grèce. Ses écrits en anglais - une courte nouvelle et quelques poèmes - ont été traduits en grec et publiés en édition bilingue, avec trente lettres qu'il avait adressées à l'auteur de l'article. Le volume intitulé *O Lepidopterologhos tis Agonias*, Nikos Kachtitsis, Athina, Editions Nefeli, 1981, comprend aussi un essai d'introduction ainsi qu'une bibliographie et des photos.

A roman à clef is a form where facts are disguised as fiction(2). At the other end of the spectrum, there are many ways in which a writer can disguise his fiction as fact, give a ring of historicity to his product of imagination. The motives may vary. In Frankestein Mary Schelley was probably sincere in her efforts to make her fearsome story more acceptable to bourgeois readers. Several letters supposedly written by a seaman, R. Walton, addressed to his sister in England, bracket and cushion the thriller, a story supposedly heard by Walton from a

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mysterious guest on his ship. All this is preceded by a preface explaining what started the writer on her work and containing references to Darwin as well as Homer, Shakespeare and Milton.

Similarly, the nineteenth century Greek writer Emmanuel Royides attached to his witty medieval romance Pope Joan (3) two long, learned essays in an effort to convince his readers about the veracity of his story which involves a female pope. Royides fictionalized and obscured legend which he found in both the small print of the official history of the Vatican and in popular tradition.

Horatio Gilbert Parker also relied somewhat on older material that came into his hands when he wrote his best-selling novel The Seats of the Mighty, subtitled "Being the Memoirs of a Captain Robert Moray, Sometime an Officer in the Virginia Regiment, and Afterwards of Amherst's Regiment." (4) In his brief prefatory note, Parker took pains to explain why his "piece of fiction" was not "out of harmony with fact".

The tradition of such prefaces seems to reappear in some writers of the twentieth century but mostly as parodies of the genre. Beneath the playfulness of such prefaces, however, one can detect serious intent. On the whole, they are ambiguous. On the one hand, the preface sets or pretends to set the record straight. On the other hand, the preface is itself fiction, or meant to be appreciated as fiction. The preface may, on occasion, rival the main work, besides exciting interest in it.

The prefaces of the novella O Exostis (The Terrace) (5) and of the novel O Iroas tis Ghandhis (The Hero of Ghent) (6) by the Greek Canadian writer Nikos Kachtitsis (1926-1970) fall into this category of "old-fashioned" prefaces. The preface of The Terrace is, like Parker's preface of The Seats of the Mighty, brief and most effective in arousing interest in the story that follows. I am quoting the whole preface in translation:

I found the pages that follow, moulding with a tropical must, together with a lot of useless papers food for burning, in the basement of a bookstore where I was working once as a classifier. They are the chronicle of someone who has to give an accounting of his actions.

Before I deliver them, in the form of a book, to the attention of readers, I feel obligated also to thank publicly, with these palin lines, the former

nurse and present officer of the Salvation Army in a foreign land, Mr. Réal Deslauriers, for the help which he gave me with the translation from the Flemish, the original language of the manuscript. Here and there, wherever I considered it necessary, I made slight amendments, or added or deleted things.

Lastly, I should note that my efforts, in the course of many years, and my contacts with a certain colonial power, as well as with another state of Northern Europe, to uncover the real name of the writer, have remained fruitless. It seems that he will remain forever anonymous. I am saving also other papers by the same author for publication, which lie, unsorted, in my drawers.

The preface of The Hero of Ghent is much longer and elaborate. The "editor" Kachtitsis argues that his initial inability to identify the diarist of The Terrace, whom he has only known from his initials, S.P., and the imperfect state of other papers which he has in his disposal, have been rectified. An elderly gentleman, who happened to read the previous book, has sent him some material relating to the younger days of S.P. together with a letter of explanation. These he publishes under the ironic title The Hero of Ghent.

Kachtitsis could have stopped here, but instead, he goes on to describe, in several pages, the appearance and the state of the envelope which he received from the elderly gentleman as well as the contents of the envelope, inferring from these the personality of the sender:

We regret having to point out, as well, that our correspondent, being obviously too conscious of what he was writing (and of the manner in which he was writing), had allowed his writing style to grow worse, rather than what he had wished, to grow better. Thus, apart from the fact that his script was not even, a wave of letters sloped toward the east, another toward the west, one this way and another that way, so that the manuscript gave us, on first view, the impression of grass swept by a mad carnival wind.

This made us conjecture that, perhaps, he suffered from arthritis (something which he himself hinted anyway), but always held, from old habit, his little finger stretched on the paper as a firm support for his hand that traced the lines of his words.

.....

Yet, although he had succeeded writing in somewhat parallel lines, his writing style betrayed hypochondria to the point of madness, someone who held the fountain pen tight (.....) whose shoulders were hunched over. You would think that some whirlpool in the paper was sucking down his face, twisting it into the muzzle of an animal chewing his cud. You could imagine him muttering the words one by one as they were flowing from the tip of his pen, and that his ear, tuned to the place from where the scratching came, felt an intense sensual pleasure on hearing it.

The conjectural portrait of the elderly gentleman becomes the focus of the preface, while S.P., the subject of the novel recedes in the background, at least until we finish reading the preface and start the first chapter, that is, the elderly gentleman's letter. Thus, the preface of The Hero of Ghent can stand on its own. Moreover, in view of the fact that this work by Kachtitsis presents, as a whole, some defects of plot, we can say that the preface rivals the main story.

Kachtitsis loved paradox and appears to have relished drawing, in his preface, the portrait of his elderly correspondent before letting him speak in the main part of the book. But there is a more serious, if subconscious, intent beneath the playful surface of the preface of The Hero of Ghent and, to a lesser degree, of the preface of The Terrace. Being the "editor" of another's manuscript, the writer cannot be held personally responsible for many defects of plot or characterization in the story. Thus the preface is a kind of protective shield which the writer lifts before himself against possible censure of his work.

In the preface of Richard B. Wright's Farthing's Fortunes (7), the reader is openly warned about the "rough" nature of the memoir which he is going to read.

Over the course of the next several months, Mr. Farthing spoke about his life and times into a Klear-Tone 132 tape recorder. What you are about to read are his actual words. We have eschewed fastidious editing in the hope of capturing the texture and color of the man. This has resulted in obvious contradictions, which may trouble some readers.....

Kachtitsis is certainly subtler in his two prefaces. Yet, his dual purpose, to play with the reader (parodying

this type of preface which he had noticed in his readings of older books)(8), and, at the same time, protect himself against possible accusation as to the content or manner of his story, transpires through his lines.

Henry James noted in Partial Portraits (1888)(9) that explanations by a writer of his creative work are most effective when brief. James certainly meant theoretical or learned discussions with which nineteenth century prefaces abounded. But his statement cannot be valid for prefaces, such as Kachtitsis' preface to The Hero of Ghent, which, in the pseudo-documentary character, establish preface as a separate genre.

#### NOTES

1. The paper was read, on June 4, 1983, at the panel discussion "Preface as genre", part of the annual meeting of the Canadian Comparative Literature Association, at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. Nikos Kachtitsis, one of the most representative Greek writers of prose, of the post-war period, wrote all of his mature work in Montreal, where lived from 1956 to 1970, the year he died prematurely. Most of his works have been published (and some of them reprinted in one volume) in Greece. His English writings -- a short narrative and a series of poems -- were edited, translated into Greek, and published bilingually, together with thirty of his letters to the present writer, an introductory essay as well as bibliographies and photos, in the volume, O Lepidopterologhos tis Aghonias, Nikos Kachtitsis (The Lepidopterist of Anxiety, Nikos Kachtitsis) (Athens: Nefeli, 1981)
2. For instance, James I. Merrill, The (Diblos) Notebook (New York: Atheneum, 1965), a novel which fictionalizes a period in the writer's life spent in Greece, in the company of Kimon Friar and other real characters.
3. Available in paperback in an English translation by Lawrence Durrell (London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1971).
4. The novel first appeared in 1896. There is a fairly recent edition (1971) by McClelland & Stewart.
5. Published in Athens, Greece, by "Proti Ili", in 1964.
6. Published in Montreal, by "Lotofaghos", in 1967.

7. Published in Toronto, by MacMillan, in 1971.
8. Kachtitsis might have also read the Greek novel by Stratis Myrivilis, I Zoi en Tapho (Life in the Tomb), available in an English translation by Peter Bien (University of New England Press, 1977). This is an anti-war Greek classic, in whose preface Myrivilis poses as the editor of a manuscript left behind by a Greek sergeant who had died in the Balkan wars of 1912-1913.
9. In his discussion of Guy de Maupassant. James's words have served as epigraph in the book Anthologie des préfaces de romans français du XIXe siècle. Présentation de Herbert S. Gershman et B. Whitworth, Jr. (Paris: Julliard, 1947).

**BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS**

Tina IOANNOU, La communauté grecque du Québec, Coll.: "Identité et changements culturels" n. 4, Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1983, 333p.

Stephanos CONSTANTINIDES, Les Grecs du Québec, Coll.: Identités ethno-culturelles, (Montréal), Éditions O Métoilos-Le Métèque, 1983, 248 p.

La communauté culturelle des Grecs du Québec a longtemps passé pour l'une des moins étudiées, donc des plus méconnues tant du public que des organismes gouvernementaux. S'il en était ainsi, l'année 1983 marque un revirement complet de la situation. Outre plusieurs articles scientifiques parus dans des revues spécialisées, on constate la publication quasi-simultanée de deux monographies sur ce sujet. Malgré un certain nombre de données communes, ces deux études sont à ce point différentes l'une de l'autre qu'il est indiqué de les examiner toutes les deux de manière "contrastive".

La monographie de Tina Ioannou est un livre chaleureux et palpitant de témoignages personnels. Il se compose de six chapitres intitulés comme suit: 1. L'histoire des Grecs du Québec; 2. Aspects démographiques (rédigé par G. Caldwell); 3. Conditions économiques; 4. La structure familiale; 5. La vie culturelle; 6. L'intégration des Grecs dans la société d'accueil. A la suite de la conclusion, on trouve en annexe une description des principales institutions, leur adresse, ainsi qu'une liste des media (presse, radio, télévision) de la communauté grecque du Québec. La présentation est agréablement rehaussée de nombreux tableaux, figures et cartes, ainsi que d'illustrations pertinentes (photos d'époque, etc.). On remarque un double parti-pris --tout à fait légitime-- de la part de l'auteur: Tina Ioannou a délibérément fait porter son analyse sur la condition de la masse laborieuse qui forme la majorité des immigrants d'origine grecque. De plus, elle a voulu mettre en évidence le monde des artistes et des écrivains de la communauté grecque de Montréal, plutôt que celui des professionnels et des hommes d'affaires grecs. Un intérêt non négligeable de son livre est que l'auteur cite par leur nom beaucoup de pionniers de la communauté, fait la biographie sommaire

de nombreux artistes et écrivains. On y trouvera aussi un véritable "bottin" des associations et organismes grecs de Montréal. Ajoutons que l'étude de Tina Ioannou fournit une riche bibliographie sur le sujet. La première moitié du livre est constituée par le texte français, la seconde par la traduction grecque de ce dernier, une traduction soignée, due aux bons soins de Athanase Athanassiou.

L'étude de Stephanos Constantinides est d'une tout autre nature, malgré certains chapitres qui rappellent nombre de données fournies aussi par le livre de Tina Ioannou. Il s'agit d'une analyse plus abstraite, plus "froide" de la même réalité. Constantinides utilise concurremment les méthodes de la sociologie, de l'histoire et des sciences politiques pour cerner son objet et l'analyser tout en lui conservant sa complexité. L'impassibilité du discours scientifique permet à l'auteur de faire lucidement l'anatomie d'un corps social organisé et de tirer de son analyse des conclusions pour le présent et l'avenir proche de la communauté grecque. A la différence de la précédente monographie, celle-ci ne mentionne que très peu de noms de personnes. Par ailleurs, autre différence d'un point de vue méthodologique, on constate qu'une partie importante de l'étude de Constantinides se fonde sur une enquête sur le terrain: celle-ci permet d'illustrer les développements socio-historiques de certains chapitres, et d'étayer encore plus solidement les conclusions finales. Cette monographie se divise en 17 chapitres qui s'intitulent comme suit: 1. Question de méthode; 2. Le pays d'origine: la Grèce moderne; 3. L'émigration grecque; 4. Bref historique de la communauté grecque; 5. Milieux d'accueil et lieux d'établissement; 6. La structure de la famille grecque; 7. L'Eglise et son rôle dans la communauté; 8. Les institutions et organismes de la communauté grecque; 9. Les écoles grecques; 10. Les médias; 11. Secteurs d'activités et conditions de travail des Grecs du Québec; 12. La condition féminine; 13. L'éducation des enfants; 14. Langue et culture; 15. L'avenir du groupe: données démographiques; 16. Mobilité sociale et intégration; 17. En guise de conclusion. De nombreux tableaux accompagnent le texte. En annexe, on peut lire in extenso le questionnaire utilisé lors de l'enquête, la copie d'une lettre de Mgr Iakovos au ministre Lise Payette, et enfin une abondante bibliographie sur l'ensemble du sujet.

En guise de conclusion, on peut inférer que les deux études se recoupent sur plusieurs points, mais diffèrent assez pour qu'on puisse affirmer qu'elles se complètent mutuellement, se rendant l'une à l'autre utiles, voire

nécessaires. Pourtant, on se prend à espérer qu'une autre étude -- peut-être des deux auteurs cités ici -- viendra bientôt mettre en lumière les réalisations de cette nouvelle classe dynamique de professionnels, de marchands et d'hommes d'affaires grecs qui ont façonné l'apport des Grecs à la société québécoise, tant socio-économique que culturel, et qui ont doté la communauté grecque d'un poids politique réel et -- les politiciens le savent -- éminemment digne de considération.

**Jacques Bouchard**

ACTIVITÉS ACADÉMIQUES/ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

**Le VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des  
néo-hellénistes francophones**

Le VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des néo-hellénistes des universités de langue française s'est tenu à Montpellier du 10 au 12 mai 1984. Il avait pour thème général "la contribution de Chypre à la civilisation néo-hellénique". L'Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III, où madame M.P. Masson dirige la Section d'études néo-helléniques, accueillait les congressistes venus de Belgique, de France, du Québec et de Suisse. Les communications scientifiques étaient regroupées autour de trois sujets principaux: 1) Le milieu socio-culturel et la littérature populaire chypriotes. Ont pris la parole: monsieur Y. TARABOUT, "Recherches sur les traditions des fêtes religieuses populaires à Chypre"; monsieur B. BOUVIER et madame D. LAZARIDIS, "L'improvisation poétique à Chypre: une journée avec les poètes populaires de Kokkinokoria"; mademoiselle A. NICOLAOU, "Richard Coeur de Lion et Chypre". 2) Linguistique. Ont pris la parole: monsieur S. STANITSAS, "Les gallicismes et les provençalismes dans les Assises de Chypre et les Chroniques de Machairas et de Boustron en comparaison avec ceux de la Chronique de Morée"; monsieur H. TONNET, "Les Assises de Chypre et l'histoire de la langue grecque moderne"; monsieur Y. IOANNOU, "Problèmes de langue à Chypre aujourd'hui". 3) Littérature chypriote moderne. Ont pris la parole: madame A. JACOVIDES, "La poésie chypriote de la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> s. à nos jours (1878-1984)"; monsieur J. BOUCHARD, "Sotiriou, Patsalidis et Constantinides: trois poètes chypriotes montréalais"; madame M. RISVA, "Chypre, lieu d'inspiration des poètes grecs Cavafy et Sféris"; monsieur Y. EMIRIS, "Les nouvelles de N. Nikolaidis"; monsieur G. DELIYANNIS, "Les silences de N. Nikolaidis....et le silence autour de son oeuvre"; mademoiselle E. KOULOUMBRI, "N. Nikolaidis"; monsieur G. DRETTAS, "Le modèle chypriote dans la littérature dialectale". En outre les congressistes ont pu visiter les expositions suivantes: "Cavafy et Chypre", photos présentées par madame M. Risva; "Louis Roussel et ses relations avec les écrivains grecs", par madame M. P. Masson; "Quelques manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de Médecine de Montpellier", par mademoiselle Plantier, Conservateur.

Le congrès a donné aux participants l'occasion d'apprécier plus justement l'originalité de l'apport de Chypre à l'hellénisme moderne; il est en conséquence loisible de croire que la littérature chypriote trouvera à l'avenir la place qui lui revient dans les programmes universitaires d'études néo-helléniques.

**J. Bouchard**

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