ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

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A Socialist Reform in Greek Education?

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1

ETUDES HELLENIQUES/HELLENIC STUDIES

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Études Helléniques est une revue interdisciplinaire bilingue (français-anglais) consacrée à la recherche: elle a pour objet l'étude de l'hellénisme tant de la Grèce que de la diaspora.

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ETUDES HELLENIQUES/HELLENIC STUDIES

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TABLES DES MATIERES/TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Les Grecs du Québec et les Médias ..... Stephanos Constantinides 9

The Early and Late Greek Immigrant: A Comparative Sociological and Socio-Psychological Profile ..... George Kourvetaris 23

Les Grecs de France ..... Jean Catsiapis 33

Attitudes of Parents Toward the Educable Mentally Retarded Greek Child as Influenced by their Socio-economic Status and the Sex of this Child ..... Demetrios P. Stasinos 40

Les Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Langue Grecque au Québec ..... Jacques Bouchard 53

Towards a Socialist Reform in the Greek Educational System ..... Leonidas C. Bombas 61

RECENSIONS/BOOK REVIEWS

Gouvernement du Québec, *Autant de façons d'être québécois,* par Alexis Lamaris 85

Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans,* by Leonidas C. Bombas 86

Gary Caldwell et Eric Waddell, *Les anglophones du Québec de majoritaires à minoritaires,* par Alexis Lamaris 88

NOTE DE LA RÉDACTION

La recherche dans le domaine des sciences sociales n'a jamais connu de développement sérieux en Grèce; même aujourd'hui, c'est un domaine sous-développé auquel on accorde peu d'importance. Il y a plusieurs raisons qui expliquent ce phénomène, mais l'explication principale réside dans le fait que les élites conservatrices qui sont depuis l'indépendance aux commandes de la société grecque ont toujours banni les sciences sociales, les considérant comme subversives. Ce n'est pas un hasard s'il n'existe pas au sein des universités grecques de département ou de faculté de sociologie, de psychologie ou d'éducation, alors que même en histoire et en sciences politiques les recherches ont été et restent toujours très limitées. D'aucuns soutiennent que les recherches et analyses approfondies sur les problèmes de la société hellénique furent exclues de propos délibéré. Les institutions spécialisées dans de telles recherches se font encore attendre. Par ailleurs, la Grèce est celui parmi les pays européens et les pays développés en général qui consacre le plus bas pourcentage de son produit national brut à l'investissement dans le domaine de la recherche: c'est encore un indice que la recherche dans le domaine des sciences sociales ne constitue pas une priorité.

De l'autre côté, il faut signaler l'existence d'une "autre Grèce" en dehors des frontières nationales, constituée par les Grecs de la Diaspora — Apodimoi Ellines —. Les Grecs de la Diaspora sont dispersés à travers le monde. On les trouve plus particulièrement dans les pays industrialisés, aux Etats-Unis, au Canada, en Australie, en Allemagne de l'Ouest, en Suède, pour ne nommer que quelques pays. La Grèce métropolitaine a jusqu'à maintenant manifesté peu d'intérêt pour la recherche en sciences sociales concernant les millions d'immigrants grecs; il n'existe qu'un petit nombre de raports descriptifs et non systématiques rédigés pour des raisons administratives. Les études existantes sur les immigrants grecs à travers le monde sont le travail exclusif de chercheurs grecs de la Diaspora, d'organismes relevant des immigrants eux-mêmes, ou même, dans quelques cas des chercheurs non-grecs travaillant dans le domaine des relations ethniques en général. Cette tendance de l'étude des différents paramètres ethniques s'est intensifiée durant les vingt dernières années au sein des sociétés d'accueil.

De cette façon, en faisant connaître les contributions positives des spécialistes grecs et non-grecs qui se sont penchés sur de telles questions, la revue ETUDES HELLENIQUES se propose de relever un défi de taille dans le domaine des sciences sociales. Les ETUDES HELLENIQUES inaugurent leur publication en se fixant comme but de devenir un forum académique international de dialogue et d'échange d'idées parmi les universitaires et chercheurs qui s'occupent des HELLINES à travers le monde. En plus, en publiant en français et en anglais les ETUDES HELLENIQUES vont favoriser la coopération internationale des experts des problèmes grecs. Dans nos prochaines livraisons il est possible que nous incluions un nombre limité d'articles en langue grecque.

Nous croyons que les ETUDES HELLENIQUES peuvent combler une lacune au niveau académique, et nous espérons qu'elles sauront répondre aux attentes des chercheurs. Nous sommes persuadés que cette revue sera une contribution positive à l'étude scientifique aussi bien des affaires grecques que des problèmes de notre société en général.

LES EDITEURS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Research and dialogue in the social sciences as such have never been in the forefront of the mainstream Greek society. A variety of reasons have been offered for this seemingly lack of interest in the social research field, the primary being some kind of "socio-political conspiracy" on the part of the conservative elites that have governed Greece almost exclusively since Independence. As a matter of fact, it is not accidental the very fact that neither sociology and psychology nor education faculties exist in Greek universities, whereas systematic research on political and historical issues has been minimal. Numerous scholars have pointed out that in-depth research and analyses of the different socio-personal issues prevailing in Greek society have been repeatedly avoided or even stifled altogether. Only very few instances exist where individual efforts have challenged this traditional indifference towards unraveling the mechanisms and processes underlying the very structures and functioning of the entire Greek social apparatus. In addition, the mere fact that Greece spends the least money (percentagewise) of its G.N.P. among all European and developing nations for research is one more indication of the low priorities placed on social sciences investigation.

On the other hand, as has been documented throughout the existing literature, almost "another Greece" exists outside Greece proper. The so-called **Apodimoi Hellines** or the Greek Diaspora may be found all over the globe, and more so in the large industrialized countries of the western world, namely the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, West Germany, and Sweden to name a few. Research and social interest about the millions of Greek immigrants on the part of the "metropolitan Greece" has been virtually non-existent, with the exception of a few and unsystematic descriptive accounts for mainly administrative purposes. Whatever studies do exist about the Greek immigrants around the world are the exclusive work of scholars and organizations of the Greek immigrants themselves, or even, in some instances, of non-Greek scholars working within the overall field of ethnic relations. And this trend, towards investigating the different ethnic parameters, has been intensified over the last twenty years or so among the immigrant receiving societies.

Thus, acknowledging and sharing the positive contribution of all efforts of Greek and non-Greek scholars who have been, in one way or another, involved in the studying of Greek issues around the globe, HELLENIC STUDIES aims at offering one more concrete challenge within the social sciences field. H.S. begins its publication with the sincere and ambitious aim of becoming the international academic forum of dialogue and exchange of ideas among all scholars dealing with the multifaceted issues prevailing among the **Hellines** of the entire world. Furthermore, this latest journal including articles and analyses in English and French, at both the theoretical and empirical level, will pursue the cooperation and contributions of the best experts on Greek issues inside and outside Greece proper — future issues of the H.S. journal will most probably include a limited number of articles in Greek as well.

It is our aim and belief that such an effort will fill an existing gap in the academic community and that H.S. will be welcomed by every Greek and non-Greek alike. We are convinced that this periodical publication will make its positive contribution towards a better understanding of general Greek issues and the larger societal issues as well.

The Editors

LES GRECS DU QUÉBEC ET LES MÉDIAS

Stephanos Constantinides*

RESUME

Cet article dresse le portrait de l'immigrant grec au Québec par rapport aux médias, tant hellénophones que francophones et anglophones. Dans un premier temps, l'auteur présente quelques notions préliminaires sur le pays d'accueil et l'émigration grecque. Dans un deuxième temps il présente les médias hellénophones avec leurs problèmes, leurs difficultés et leur influence. Par la suite il analyse le rôle et l'influence des médias qui viennent de la Grèce. Enfin, dans une dernière partie il analyse l'influence des médias francophones et anglophones sur l'évolution de la communauté grecque du Québec.

L'auteur met en évidence l'importance des médias hellénophones pour sauvegarder l'identité ethno-culturelle des Grecs du Québec, tout en notant par ailleurs que le taux de lecture ou d'écoute des médias francophones et anglophones constitue un indice de l'intégration des Grecs à la société d'accueil.

ABSTRACT

This article draws the picture of the Greek immigrant in Quebec by focusing on the media, so much of the hellenophone as the francophone and anglophone. First, the author presents some preliminary notions on the receiving country and the Greek immigration. Secondly, he presents the community's hellenophone media with their problems, difficulties and their influences. Then, he analyzes the role and the influences of Greek newspapers/magazines that arrive daily from Greece, and finally, in the last part of the article, the author considers the impact of francophone and anglophone media on the Greek community of Québec.

The author presents empirical evidence pertaining to the importance of the hellenophone media in preserving the ethno-cultural identity of the Greeks in Quebec, noting that the degree of reading or listening to the francophone and anglophone media constitutes an index of the integration of Greeks into the receiving country.

I. NOTIONS PRELIMINAIRES

A. LE PAYS D'ACCUEIL

Le Canada, puissance industrielle de l'Amérique du Nord, Etat fédéral divisé en dix provinces plus les territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Yukon, a une superficie qui est proche de celle de l'Europe avec 9.960.000 km^2, mais seulement 24.343.180 habitants.

Le Québec est la plus vaste des dix provinces de la fédération canadienne. Sa superficie totale atteint 1.540.681 km^2, se classant ainsi au seizième rang des quelque 150 pays du monde. Cependant sa population ne dépasse pas les 6.438.405.

Les Québécois forment une société distincte, majoritairement francophone, baignant dans un environnemnt anglophone. Selon le recensement de 1981, 82,4% de la population du Québec (5.307.010 sur 6.438.405) sont des francophones.

Colonisé par les Français sous le nom de la Nouvelle France (1534-1763), cédé aux Anglais après la défaite française par le traité de Paris (1763), devenu le Bas-Canada en 1791 par résolution du Parlement de Londres, le Québec forme une colonie avec le Haut-Canada, majoritairement anglophone, à partir de 1840. Secoué par une révolte en 1838 contre les Britanniques, il deviendra en 1867 une des quatre — à l'époque — provinces de la Fédération Canadienne.

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On sait que le Canada ne deviendra véritablement un Etat indépendant qu'après la première guerre mondiale, mais il jouissait bien avant d'une large autonomie avec des institutions libérales — gouvernement responsable devant le Parlement. Les liens institutionnels avec la Grande Bretagne sont restés jusqu'à maintenant, la reine de la Grande Bretagne étant toujours aussi la reine du Canada. Mais ses liens ont tellement évolué avec le temps qu'ils ne sont aujourd'hui que formels, faisant plutôt partie d'une tradition que d'une réalité politique.

Le Québec dispose à l'intérieur de la Fédération Canadienne d'une large autonomie, avec son propre gouvernement et son propre parlement.

A partir des années 60 on assiste à d'importantes réformes au Québec: c'est la révolution tranquille, comme on l'appelle. Le Québec est devenu une société moderne, urbanisée et industrialisée. L'Etat québécois étant aux mains d'une petite bourgeoisie, un important secteur économique public se développe pour contrer la domination de la bourgeoisie anglosaxonne.

Par ailleurs, les Québécois francophones ne cessent de lutter pour leur survie culturelle au sein d'un océan anglophone alors qu'un important mouvement nationaliste prône l'indépendance du Québec assortie d'une association économique avec le reste du Canada.

En 1976, le Parti Québécois qui prône cette sclution, arrive au pouvoir et en 1980 organise un referendum sur cette question. Une majorité de 59,6% rejette l'idée de l'indépendance du Québec. Cependant aux élections de 1981 le Parti Québécois garde le pouvoir. Le gouvernement du Québec, issu du Parti Québécois, introduit une série de mesures pour renforcer le caractère français du Québec. La constitution canadienne laissant aux provinces de larges sinon exclusives compétences en matière de langue, de culture, d'éducation et de ressources naturelles, le gouvernement québécois renforce au maximum les pouvoirs de la province dans ces domaines. Un conflit d'ordre constitutionnel reste ouvert entre le gouvernement du Québec et le gouvernement fédéral, depuis que ce dernier a rapatrié de Londres, unilatéralement selon Québec, la constitution canadienne.

Depuis 1977 le français est la seule langue officielle au Québec.[1]

Le conflit constitutionnel, l'existence toujours d'un puissant mouvement nationaliste qui favorise l'indépendance, l'effort de survie culturelle, créent des conditions particulières au Québec, auxquelles les communautées ethniques minoritaires ne s'adaptent pas facilement. Longtemps habituées à une première fidélité au Canada et à la société anglophone, elles se rendent maintenant compte que c'est avec une société francophone largement majoritaire au Québec qu'elles doivent traiter et qu'il faut vivre en français. D'autant plus qu'à côté d'un important secteur économique public contrôlé par les francophones s'est développée aussi une bourgeoisie régionale francophone, contrôlant une partie des activités économiques. La communauté grecque ne fait pas exception à cet état de choses. Il est évident que ce réajustement n'est pas facile à opérer.

Dans cet article on verra à quel point les Grecs du Québec sont proches de la société minoritaire anglophone, — ce qui s'explique par la domination économique du Québec par une bourgeoisie anglosaxonne — mais en même temps s'amorce un mouvement pour s'adapter à la société francophone.

B. LES GRECS DU QUEBEC.

L'émigration grecque vers le Canada est liée aux conditions socio-économiques et historiques qui ont prévalu en Grèce depuis l'indépendance et qui ont provoqué un exode des Grecs tout au long du 19ème siècle. A partir des années 1880, commence le grand

(1) La Constitution Canadienne fut consacrée par l'acte de l'Amérique du Nord voté en 1867 par le Parlement de Londres, au moment de la création de la Fédération canadienne. Elle restera à Londres jusqu'en 1982 et c'est seulement à ce moment que le Parlement britannique donne l'autorisation de la rapatrier au Canada, en apportant une dernière fois des modifications proposées par le gouvernement fédéral. Le rapatriement signifie que dorénavant le Canada ne sera pas obligé de s'adresser au Parlement de Londres chaque fois qu'il voudra apporter des modifications à sa constitution comme c'était le cas jusqu'à maintenant.

Il faut mentionner ici que toutes les provinces canadiennes, à l'exception du Québec, ont donné leur accord à ce rapatriement de la constitution.

courant migratoire vers les Etats-Unis. De 1900 à1920, 400.000 Grecs sur une population de 2.500.000 quittèrent le pays, dont 95% pour les Etats-Unis.

Comme notre but dans cet article n'est pas de faire l'historique de l'émigration grecque nous nous limitons à une remarque: que l'"esprit curieux" du Grec, même en filiation directe avec Ulysse, explique mal le déracinement des Grecs; comme si cette curiosité seule pouvait renvoyer aux quatre coins du monde des milliers de gens dans des conditions pénibles de déracinement.

En effet on ne pourrait pas expliquer le phénomène de l'émigration grecque sans se référer au processus de développement de forces productives à travers le monde, à une division internationale du travail et à un développement inégal entre les métropoles industrielles et les pays de la périphérie.

On ne saurait dire quelle est la date exacte d'arrivée des premiers immigrants Grecs au Québec. Il est fort probable que ce soient des marins qui ont abandonné leurs navires en remontant le fleuve St-Laurent, espérant trouver dans le nouveau pays de meilleurs conditions économiques.

Jusqu'à la deuxième guerre mondiale, l'émigration grecque vers le Canada et le Québec est liée, d'une façon ou d'une autre, à l'exode des Grecs vers les Etats-Unis.

Même si au début du 20ème siècle une petite communauté grecque se trouve solidement installée au Québec et plus particulièrement à Montréal, il faut attendre la deuxième vague d'émigration vers le Canada à partir de 1950 pour assister dans une trentaine d'années à la formation d'une communauté forte de 70 à 80 mille personnes, selon les estimations des leaders de la communauté elle-même. Selon le recensement de 1951 il n'y a au Québec que 3.338 Grecs. Le recensement de 1981 donne 38.970; mais ce chiffre ne correspond pas à la réalité étant donné que les Grecs de la deuxième génération qui ne déclarent plus le grec comme langue maternelle ne sont pas compris dans ce nombre.

Par rapport à d'autres communautés ethno-culturelles, les Grecs tiennent la cinquième place en importance, après les francophones, les anglophones, les Italiens, et les juifs. Il faut noter qu'actuellement il existe au Québec autour de 80 communautés ethno-culturelles, totalisant — y compris les anglophones — 17,6%. Sans les anglophones elles totalisent 6,6%. En effet, 82,4% des habitants du Québec sont des francophones, 11% anglophones et 6,6% les autres ethnies. Les Grecs constituent officiellement 0,7% de l'ensemble de la population. Si on se tient aux estimations officieuses, il s'agit plutôt de 1,3%. L'ensemble de la population du Québec est de 6.438.405. Les Grecs du Canada constituent une communauté forte de 122.995 officiellement. Officieusement ils sont estimés à 200.000.

Au Québec qui nous intéresse plus particulièrement, les Grecs sont concentrés à 99% à Montréal. Communauté relativement structurée, avec une prolifération d'associations, une Eglise dont la haute hiérarchie ne cesse de diviser la Communauté, des médias hellénophones, les Grecs du Québec constituent une de plus jeunes communautés de la diaspora, avec un dynamisme certain et sans jamais se couper de la mère patrie. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'ils font face à des problèmes multiples et difficiles, économiques, sociaux, culturels et linguistiques. L'aide de la Grèce est minime, quand il ne s'agit pas de l'indifférence.

Dans le combat pour sauvegarder leur identité ethno-culturelle, le rôle des médias hellénophones est très important. Par ailleurs, le taux de lecture des médias anglophones et francophones est un indice de leur intégration à la société d'accueil.

Le problème est assez complexe parce que l'immigrant lutte d'un côté pour sauvegarder son identité et de l'autre côté doit faire des efforts pour s'intégrer à la société d'accueil. C'est cette question que nous essaierons de cerner dans cet article[2] en dressant le portrait

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

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

de l'immigrant grec au Québec par rapport aux médias, tant hellénophones que francophones et anglophones. Dans un premier temps nous présenterons les médias hellénophones avec leurs problèmes et leurs difficultés. Dans un deuxième temps nous allons parler du rôle des journaux et des périodiques qui viennent de la Grèce ainsi que de certaines émissions radiophoniques qui sont transmises de Grèce. Enfin, dans une dernière partie, nous allons parler des médias francophones et anglophones et de leur influence sur l'évolution de la Communauté grecque du Québec.

II. LES MEDIAS HELLENOPHONES.

Pour une communauté ethno-culturelle, les médias jouent un rôle considérable soit pour conserver sa culture, sa langue et son caractère — dans le cas des médias de sa langue d'origine — soit pour son intégration quand il s'agit des médias anglophones. En fait, dans sa lutte quotidienne pour conserver son identité, l'immigrant trouve un allié chez les médias dits ethniques, alors que les médias du pays d'accueil favorisent son intégration à la société adoptive.

C'est pourquoi dès qu'une communauté ethno-culturelle se constitue, la création des médias dans sa propre langue — à côté des écoles — est un de ses premiers soucis. Il s'agit dans la plupart des cas de médias artisanaux, qui survivent avec beaucoup de difficultés, et se trouvent dans un état précaire.

La communauté grecque ne fait pas exception à cette situation. Cependant, si des efforts ont été faits pour établir des journaux en langue grecque tout au long du 20ème siècle, il faut attendre la période après la deuxième guerre mondiale, avec l'arrivée massive des nouveaux immigrants, pour réussir à établir un réseau de médias grecs d'une certaine importance.

A. LA PRESSE ECRITE.

La communauté grecque du Québec est desservie par un réseau de journaux de langue grecque. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'écrire l'histoire de la presse grecque au Québec; la communauté grecque a connu l'existence de dizaines d'hebdomadaires, de bi-mensuels, de mensuels, ou de simples bulletins, sans parler de tentatives de créer un quotidien[3].

Nous nous contentons donc de présenter brièvement la presse écrite qui est toujours en vie.

Il n'est pas cependant sans intérêt de mentionner que c'est à Montréal que le premier journal grec du Canada est apparu en 1924, sous le nom de Estia.

- **Ellinikos Tachydromos** (Le courrier grec).

  Fondé en 1958 c'est le journal le plus ancien parmi ceux qui se publient encore aujourd'hui. Hebdomadaire de caractère progressiste, il met l'accent sur l'actualité politique grecque, s'occupe des affaires communautaires et couvre dans un moindre degré l'actualité québécoise et canadienne. Il a mené une lutte acharnée contre la dictature militiare en Grèce (1967-1974).

- **To Ellinokanadiko Vima** (La Tribune grecque-canadienne).

  Fondé en 1964 cet hebdomadaire met l'accent sur l'actualité communautaire, tout en réservant une place à l'actualité grecque, québécoise et canadienne. C'est le deuxième journal en importance de la communauté grecque. Son taux de lecture d'après notre enquête est 23,36% (7,30 souvent, 16,06% quelquefois.)

- **Reportage.**

  Il fut fondé en 1973. Hebdomadaire d'un contenu mixte — actualité grecque, communautaire et canadienne —, est moins lu que les deux autres hebdomadaires de langue grecque. D'après notre enquête son taux de lecture atteint 12,41% (5,84% souvent, 6,57% quelquefois.)

- **Drassis** (l'Action).

  il fut fondé en 1971; mensuel de contenu mixte. Son taux de lecture d'après

(3) De 1925 à 1977 au moins 31 journaux de langue grecque sont apparus au Canada, dont 14 au Québec, soit 45,1%. De 1957-1977, 70% des journaux grecs ont survécu trois ans ou plus, 60% pour cinq ou plus et 42% pour dix ans ou plus. Cf. Peter D. Chimbos, The Canadian Odyssey; The Greek experience in Canada, McClelland and Stewart Ltd, Toronto, 1980. p.145.

notre enquête est 11,41% (4,38% souvent, 7,30% quelquefois).

-**Ergatika Nea** (Nouvelles ouvrières).

Il fut fondé en 1973 par l'Association des travailleurs grecs. Mensuel, il met l'accent sur les questions ouvrières et syndicales sans négliger la culture grecque et certains aspects de la vie communautaire. Son taux de lecture d'après enquête est de 10,95% (3,65% souvent, 7,30% quelquefois).

Notons enfin qu'un mensuel d'une certaine qualité, **O Metoikos** (Le Métèque) a cessé sa parution depuis un certain temps. Un nouveau mensuel, **Epiloges** (Selection) vient de paraître.

B. STATIONS RADIOPHONIQUES

Trois stations radiophoniques diffusent des programmes en langue grecque à Montréal: CFMB (AM), la station câble CHRC et Radio Centre-Ville (FM). Nous présentons ici brièvement ces trois stations sans nous référer à celles qui n'existent plus, car dans ce domaine comme dans celui celui de la presse écrite, il y a eu plusieurs efforts qui n'ont pas pu résister au temps.

-La Station CFMB.

Elle fut créée en 1962 et elle s'adresse aux différents groupes ethniques. Les premières émissions grecques ont commencé la même année. Aujourd'hui elle diffuse en grec tous les soirs de 9h à 10h30, du lundi au samedi, de 9h du matin à 12h30 tous les samedis, et dimanche de 9h à 10h du soir.

Il s'agit d'une station commerciale avec beaucoup de publicité, de la musique populaire grecque, un bref bulletin de nouvelles, et des émissions d'intérêt commnautaire. CFMB se veut "neutre" et "apolitique". Ses émissions grecques, à l'exception de celle du samedi matin qui en partie est en direct, sont préenregistrées.

Son taux d'écoute selon notre propre enquête est de 21,17%.

-La station CHCR.

Elle fut fondé en 1965 et son système câble commença d'abord avec Bell Canada avant de passer en 1974 à la cablevision Nationale.

C'est la seule station qui depuis 1977 fonctionne 24 heures par jour. Ses programmes sont d'un contenu varié: musique, nouvelles, affaires communautaires, programmes d'intérêt public, diffusion en direct de la messe gréco-orthodoxe. Par ses positions politiques, surtout son soutien au régime des colonels pendant la dictature en Grèce, cette station est entrée en conflit avec une importante partie de la communauté. Ses programmes sont aussi jugés appauvrissants tant par leur soutien que par leur forme.

Cependant CHCR est la station la plus écoutée par les Grecs, par le fait même qu'elle est la seule à émettre 17 heures sur 24. Elle constitue en quelque sorte un monopole renforcé par l'indulgence des autorités canadiennes (CRTC) qui n'exercent aucun contrôle sur le contenu appauvrissant de ses émissions. Ce qui est curieux, c'est le fait qu'elle est très écoutée même par ceux qui l'ont combattu, et cela peut-être à cause des controverses que certaines de ses émissions suscitent. Selon notre propre enquête son taux d'écoute est de 54,57%.

-Radio Centre-Ville.

Station communautaire, Radio Centre-Ville émet en plusieurs langues. En grec, elle émet du lundi au vendredi tous les soirs de 7h30 à 9hs et dimanche d'une heure à quatre heures. Les émissions grecques ont commencé en 1973. D'esprit progressiste, elle est au service de la communauté, les associations pouvant faire leurs annonces gratuitement ou même préparer leurs propres émissions dans certains cas. Le contenu de ses programmes est varié: musique grecque d'une certaine qualité, émissions éducatives et culturelles, affaires publiques, débats et nouvelles. Avec des moyens limités, elle a des difficultés pour survivre et son existence serait problématique sans le travail bénévole.

Son taux d'écoute, d'après notre propre enquête est de 18,25%.

C. LA TELEVISION

. Les émissions grecques à la télévision sont très limitées. Le coût d'antenne est très élevé et la communauté n'est pas en mesure financièrement de soutenir un effort dans ce domaine.

-L'émission la plus écoutée est celle de canal 12 réseau CFCF, de durée d'une demie heure

seulement, tous les dimanches matin de 10h à 10h30. Emission en partie commerciale pour couvrir son coût très élevé, elle s'occupe aussi des affaires communautaires, présente quelques variétés qui viennent de Grèce et de temps en temps une chronique des actualités grecques.

Selon notre propre enquête, le taux d'écoute du canal 12 chez les Grecs est de 72,99%; nous prenons donc comme acquis que le taux d'écoute de l'émission grecque est à peu près le même.

-L'autre émission de télévision en grec est celle du canal 9. Il s'agit de la cablevision et son taux d'écoute est limité; d'après notre enquête ce taux est 5,84%. Emission d'une heure par semaine avec reprise une fois par semaine.

D. CONSIDERATIONS GENERALES.

Dans notre enquête sur le terrain nous avons essayé de préciser quelle est la pénétration des médias hellénophones au sein de la communauté grecque.

Signalons tous d'abord qu'à la question générale "lisez-vous des journaux", 82, 48% — sur 137 personnes — ont répondu "oui". Il s'agit évidemment de la lecture des journaux hellénophones, francophones et anglophones. Le pourcentage des hommes est de 86,89% et celui des femmes est de 78, 95%. Ce pourcentage est proche de la moyenne de lecture des quotidiens au Québec. En effet, des enquêtes ont prouvé qu'en 1979 le taux de lecture des quotidiens au Québec était de 81,5%, alors qu'en 1971 il était de 86,2%. Cependant, si on se situe au niveau de la langue maternelle — français, anglais — le pourcentage des lecteurs anglophones est plus élevé: 94,3% pour 1979, 98,0% pour 1971; pour les francophones le pourcentage de lecture était 79,2% en 1979 et 83,0% en 1971. Le pourcentage des allophones — parlant une autre langue que le français ou l'anglais — qui lisaient un quotidien au Québec en 1979 était de 93,6%[4].

On constate donc que le taux de lecture des Grecs au Québec se situe entre celui des francophones et les anglophones. Quand on sait que les quotidiens qui viennent de Grèce et qui sont lus par 66,2% de personnes interrogées coûtent quatre fois plus cher que les quotidiens locaux, il faut conclure que ce taux est assez élevé.

Nous avons posé une première question sur la lecture des journaux locaux grecs qui nous a donné les résultats suivants: sur 137 personnes 45,99% lisent un journal hellénophone local. Ce taux est beaucoup plus bas que celui des journaux grecs qui arrivent de Grèce où le taux de lecture est de 66,42%. Notons cependant que les journaux venant de Grèce sont des quotidiens alors que les journaux locaux sont soit hebdomadaires, soit mensuels.[5]

Le tableau suivant nous montre le taux de lecture par journal.

TABLEAU I

TAUX DE LECTURE DES JOURNAUX HELLENOPHONES LOCAUX.
(échantillon composé de 137 personnes)

	Souvent	Quelquefois
Ellinikos Tachydromos	13,37%	15,33%
To Ellinokanadiko Vima	7,30%	16,06%
Reportage	5,84%	6,57%
Ergatika Nea	3,65%	7,30%
Drassis	4,38%	7,30%

Dans une autre optique nous avons essayé de savoir le nombre d'hommes et le nombre de femmes qui lisent ou écoutent les médias hellénophones. Les pourcentages obtenus sont les suivants:

(4) Cf. Sylvie Beauchamp, Pierre Bouchard, Le Français et les média, les habitudes des Québécois, Conseil de la langue française, Montréal, 1982, pp 24-25.

(5) Dans une enquête publiée en 1976, 56% de Grecs, au niveau canadien avaient répondu qu'ils lisaient un journal grec. Cf. O'Bryan, K.G. et al. Non-Official languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism, Ottawa, Thorn Press Limited, 1976, p.66.

TABLEAU 2

	Hommes	Femmes
Emissions de radio en Grec	62,29%	76,32%
Emissions de télevision	40,98%	64,47%
Journaux hellénophones locaux	52,46%	40,79%
Journaux hellénophones de Grèce	62,21%	65,79%

Nous constatons que pour les émissions de radio et de télévision les femmes arrivent en tête, alors que lorsqu'il s'agit de lecture des journaux ce sont les hommes qui précèdent. Ceci s'explique en partie par le fait qu'il y a plus de femmes qui restent à la maison, soit comme ménagères, soit travaillant à la pièce.

Dans une autre question, pour savoir le taux d'écoute des émission radiophoniques grecques, nous avons obtenu les résultats suivants: sur 137 personnes 52,55% ont répondu écouter souvent ces émissions, 17,52% ont répondu qu'ils les écoutent quelquefois, alors que 29, 93% ne les écoutent jamais. Si on se réfère à l'étude de K.G. O'Bryan citée plus haut, au niveau canadien, il y a 46% de grecs qui écoutent souvent ces émissions et 36% quelquefois.[5] On se rend compte que comme pour le taux de lecture des journaux le taux d'écoute des émissions grecques est plus élevé dans l'enquête de K.G. O'Bryan que dans notre propre enquête. Il faut tenir compte que l'étude de K.G. O'Bryan ne concernait pas seulement les Grecs, mais plusieurs minorités ethniques. Dans des études de cette étendue on a tendance à selectionner les gens qu'on interroge parmi les plus scolarisés, les plus actifs au sein de la communauté, alors que notre échantillon était le plus représentatif possible de la communauté grecque du Québec.

Par ailleurs, si on fait une comparaison avec les francophones, on constate que le taux d'écoute dans cette catégorie de la population — dans sa langue maternelle — est de 65%. Ce taux plus élevé s'explique facilement par la multitude des émissions de langue française sur les ondes tout au long de 24 heures, alors que les émissions grecques sont très limitées, à peine 2-3 heures par jour. D'ailleurs, les francophones écoutent moins souvent des émissions dans d'autres langues — 3,5% seulement en anglais, 31,5% dans les deux langues, français, anglais — alors que 63,51% des Grecs écoutent des émissions en anglais et 23,7% écoutent des émissions en français.[6]

Quant aux émissions grecques de télévision, nous avons posé la question de la façon suivante: "regardez-vous la télévision en grec?" Sur 137 personnes 40,15% ont répondu souvent, 13,87% quelquefois, et 45,99% jamais.

Il faut noter ici que pour l'essentiel l'émission grecque la plus regardée est celle du canal 12, une demie heure tous les dimanches matin. Nous n'avons pas posé une question directe sur ce point, mais nous en arrivons en nous basant sur le taux d'écoute du canal 12 qui est de 72,99%.

Les émissions "Planète" de Radio-Québec ne sont pas régulières et celles du canal 9 ne sont mentionnées que par un nombre très limité, 5,84%.

Notons que les émissions grecques de télévision étant très limitées, leur impact aussi sur la communauté reste limité, même si l'émission du dimanche matin du canal 12 est très regardée. D'ailleurs cette émission prend une importance particulière au moment des élections, soit à la Communauté Hellénique de Montréal, soit aux municipales, soit aux provinciales, car les partis visent les Grecs par une publicité télévisée. Vu le fait qu'il s'agit seulement d'une demie heure par semaine, il faut réserver longtemps à l'avance pour réussir à faire passer un message. Pour les élections fédérales, cet intérêt n'existe pas, d'abord parce que les Grecs suivent la tendance générale au Québec en votant libéral et en-

(5) Cf. O'Bryan, K.G., op. cit., p72.
(6) Pour le taux d'écoute des francophones voir Sylvie Beauchamp et Pierre Bouchard, Le français et les médias, op. cit., p. 108.

suite parce que jusqu'à maintenant il n'y a eu de candidats d'origine grecque au niveau fédéral.

III. L'IMPACT DES MEDIAS QUI VIENNENT DE GRECE.

Dans le passé, les distances et le coût de transport ne permettaient pas d'avoir au Québec la presse grecque, publiée en Grèce, sur une base commerciale. Cependant, des parents de là-bas envoyaient toujours à des Grecs d'ici des journaux ou des périodiques pour les garder au courant de ce qui se passait au pays. Ces journaux une fois arrivés ici, étaient lus dans les "kafenia" (cafés), lieux de rassemblement des Grecs, surtout pour les premiers immigrants.

Depuis plus de vingt ans, la presse grecque arrive ici régulièrement sur une base commerciale; quand la compagnie nationale d'aviation Olympic Airways faisait quotidiennement la ligne Athènes-Montréal, on avait à Québec, avec le décalage horaire, les quotidiens grecs le même jour qu'ailleurs en Grèce. Les Grecs de Montréal avaient même leurs quotidiens avant certains de leurs compatriotes dans les régions éloignées de la mère patrie. Maintenant que la ligne d'Olympic Airways sur Montréal est supprimée, la presse grecque transige via New York et les Grecs reçoivent leurs journaux avec un jour de retard.

Notre enquête sur le taux de lecture de ces journaux a montré que 66,42% des Grecs les lisent. C'est un taux à peine inférieur au taux de lecture des journaux anglophones et francophones par les Grecs — 67,88%.

Le tableau suivant nous donne le taux de lecture par journal:

TABLEAU 3
TAUX DE LECTURE DES JOURNAUX HELLENOPHONES DE GRECE

NEA	32,85%
VRADINI	10,95%
ELEFTHEROTYPIA	10,22%
APOGEVMATINI	8,76%
ETHNOS	5,84%
VIMA	4,38%
KATHIMERINI	4,38%
AKROPOLIS	4,38%
ATHLITIKI	2,92%
RIZOSPASTIS	1,46%
AVGI	0,73%
N'IMPORTE LEQUEL	0,73%
AUTRES	2,19%

Il est à noter que le quotidien du soir **TA NEA** qui arrive en tête, a ausi le plus haut taux de lecture en Grèce. Il s'agit d'un journal situé politiquement au Centre et qui appartient au groupe Lambrakis, le plus important groupe de presse en Grèce, avec une influence politique considérable.[7]

Une autre question de notre enquête portait sur la lecture des revues grecques, provenant de la Grèce. Sur 137 personnes, 47,44% répondent qu'elles lisent de telles revues. Par rapport à la lecture des revues anglaises ou françaises, — 27% seulement — ce taux est assez élevé.

A côté de la presse écrite il faut noter l'existence depuis quelque temps des émissions

(7) Sur l'influence politique du groupe Lambrakis "faiseur des rois", voir entre autres le témoignage d'Andréas Papandreou, actuellement Premier Ministre grec, in Democracy at Gunpoint, The Greek front, Penguin books, London, 1973, pp.168 et suivantes.

Même si à l'époque, Papandreou était critique face au groupe Lambrakis, aujourd'hui au pouvoir, il a composé avec lui et plusieurs de ses cadres importants occupent des postes soit au gouvernement, soit à la tête des organismes publics.

radiophoniques — essentiellement des bulletins des nouvelles — retransmises par des stations locales aux heures qu'elles émettent en grec. Ces émissions sont enregistrées dans un premier temps à New York avant qu'elles ne soient acheminées vers les communautés grecques de l'Amérique du Nord.

Il est certain que la lecture de la presse écrite grecque a un impact sur la socialisation des grecs du Québec, sur la conservation de certaines valeurs, sur les liens qui se développent avec la mère patrie et sur la survie culturelle même du groupe. Pendant longtemps par exemple les Grecs se sont passionnés pour la vie politique de la Grèce, et quand ils discutaient politique c'était pour l'essentiel de la politique grecque. Ce n'est que depuis peu qu'ils commencent à montrer un intérêt pour la politique du pays d'adoption. Evidemment si pour la survie culturelle du groupe cette présence de la presse grecque est un facteur positif, il en va tout autrement pour son intégration. Mais il faut dire que ce sont les Grecs de la première génération qui lisent la presse grecque.

IV. LES GRECS ET LES MEDIAS ANGLOPHONES ET FRANCOPHONES.

L'hypothèse selon laquelle les Grecs constituent un groupe anglophone est très répandue; elle est vérifiée par quelques indices dont nous disposons et s'est confirmée par notre propre enquête. Cependant il faut nuancer cette affirmation, car s'il est vrai que le groupe reste anglophone, le fait français progresse aussi.

L'écoute des médias électroniques francophones et la lecture de la presse francophone, sont révélatrices de cette tendance.

Ainsi sur 137 personnes 89,77% regardent la télévision en anglais (dont un taux de 36,50% va aux canaux américains) et 33,58% en français. Certes, regarder la télévision en anglais ou en français ne signifie pas obligatoirement connaissance de la langue, mais il n'en reste pas moins un indice important.

D'ailleurs, quand on pose la question s'ils écoutent la radio, le taux d'écoute en anglais tombe à 63, 51% et en français à 23,76. Evidemment l'indice sur la langue du groupe est encore plus important car il ne s'agit pas de regarder les images comme à la télévision mais d'écouter seulement, ce qui signifie une certaine maîtrise de la langue. Cependant, là encore il y a un certain nombre de personnes qui écoutent tout simplement la musique sur un poste français. Les réponses obtenues à la question s'ils lisent la presse anglophone et francophone sont encore plus significatives. En effet, le pourcentage de lecture est plus bas que l'écoute de radio. Il y a 43,07% qui lisent **The Gazette** (seul quotidien anglophone de Montréal) et 15,33% qui lisent les trois quotidiens francophones, **Le Devoir** (7,30%), **La Presse** (8.03%) et le **Journal de Montréal** (4,38%). Notons pourquoi le pourcentage d'ensemble pour les trois quotidiens ne correspond pas à l'additon de pourcentages de chacun.

Par ailleurs, sur 21 personnes lisant la presse francophone, 76,19% (16 personnes) lisent un seul journal francophone, 19. 05% (4 personnes) lisent deux journaux francophones et 4,76% (1 personne) lisent trois journaux.

Sur 137 personnes, il y a 10,22% qui lisent à la fois un journal francophone et un journal anglophone.

On remarque que le taux des Grecs qui lisent la presse francophone par rapport à ceux qui lisent la presse anglophone représente une analogie à peu près de 1 à 3, analogie qui plus ou moins ne change pas quant à l'écoute de la télévision ou à l'écoute de la radio.[8]

A cette progression du fait français il y a cependant une ombre, quand on pose la question sur la lecture des revues anglophones et francophones. En effet, les Grecs ignorent pratiquemment les revues francophones (taux de lecture 1,46%). Cependant, ce n'est pas le facteur langue qui est déterminant dans leur choix, mais plutôt le contexte nord-

(8) Le progrès du français est constaté dans notre enquête par une autre question plus directe, sur les langues parlées et écrites: 35,77% des informateurs déclarent parler le français et 12,41% déclarent l'écrire.

Même si nous n'avons pas introduit dans notre enquête des niveaux de connaissance du français, les différents indices combinés dont nous disposons — lecture des journaux, écoute de télévision et de radio — nous permettent d'affirmer une progression du français.

Certes ces chiffres sont relatifs comme d'ailleurs pour l'anglais; qui dit parler une langue, signifie dans plusieurs cas tout simplement se débrouiller tant bien que mal dans sa vie quotidienne, surtout dans son travail. Il s'agit donc de notions générales et non pas d'une véritable connaissance de la langue.

américain; d'ailleurs, ils ne boudent pas seulement les revues francophones, mais aussi celles de langue anglaise publiées au Canada, (taux de lecture 2,92%), en favorisant les revues américaines (taux de lecture 23,74%). Dans l'ensemble, le pourcentage de ceux qui lisent des revues en français ou en anglais (y compris les revues américaines) est relativement bas, par rapport à la lecture des journaux (27% sur 137 personnes). Le magazine américain **Time** arrive en tête avec un taux de lecture de 14,60%.

Le phénomène n'est pas étonnant quand on est au courant du débat autour de l'influence culturelle américaine sur le Québec et le Canada. Les Grecs ne sont pas une exception quant à l'influence et l'attrait exercés par les revues américaines, d'autant plus que les revues francophones sont mal connues, même par les francophones eux-mêmes.

Les tableaux qui suivent nous présentent plus en détail certaines tendances quant à la lecture de la presse francophone et anglophone aussi bien qu'au taux d'écoute des médias électroniques.

TABLEAU 4
TAUX DE LECTURE DE LA PRESSE ANGLOPHONE ET FRANCOPHONE DE MONTREAL

THE GAZETTE	43.07%
LA PRESSE	8.03%
LE DEVOIR	7,30%
LE JOURNAL DE MONTREAL	4.38%

TABLEAU 5
TAUX DE LECTURE DES REVUES ANGLOPHONES ET FRANCOPHONES

TIME	14.60%
LIFE	3.65%
McCLEANS	2.19%
NEWSWEEK	1.46%
PEOPLE	1.46%
COSMOPOLITAN	1.46%
CHATELAINE	0.73%
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING	0.73%
WOMAN'S DAY	0.73%
VOGUE	0.73%
PENTHOUSE	0.73%
ARCHITECTURAL DIGEST	0.73%

TABLEAU 6
TAUX D'ECOUTE DE LA TELEVISION EN ANGLAIS ET EN FRANCAIS

	Souvent	quelquefois
Anglais	49.63%	40.14%
Français	10. 95%	22.63%

TABLEAU 7
TAUX D'ECOUTE DE DIFFERENTES STATIONS DE TELEVISION

CFCF — Canal 12 (anglais)	72.99%
Stations américaines (anglais)	36.50%
Radio-Canada-Canal 6 (anglais)	26.28%
Radio-Canada-Canal 2 (français)	14.60%
Cablevision Nationale-Canal 9 (français et autres langues)	5.84%

TABLEAU 8
PROGRAMMES DE TELEVISION PREFERES

NOUVELLES	58.39%
COMEDIES	37.96%
PROGRAMMES DRAMATIQUES	27.73%
PROGRAMMES EDUCATIFS	22.63%
PROGRAMMES ATHLETIQUES	22.63%
BONS FILMS	1.46%

TABLEAU 9
TAUX D'ECOUTE DE STATIONS RADIOPHONIQUES

	Souvent	Quelquefois
Anglais	33,58%	29,93%
Français	11,68%	11.68%

Nous avons essayé dans une autre optique, de savoir quel était le nombre des hommes et des femmes qui lisaient la presse écrite anglophone et francophone ou écoutaient la radio et la télévision. Les réponses obtenues sont les suivantes: pour **The Gazette** le taux de lecture est de 44,26% pour les hommes et 38,16% pour les femmes; pour **le Devoir** il est de 11,48% pour les hommes et 3,95% pour les femmes; pour **la Presse** il est de 13,11% pour les hommes et 3,95% pour les femmes; pour **le Journal de Montréal** la totalité de ceux qui le lisent sont des hommes, soit 9,84% sur un ensemble de 61 hommes; pour l'écoute de radio en anglais nous avons eu 67,21% des hommes et 61,84% pour les femmes; pour l'écoute de la radio en français nous avons eu 40,98% des hommes et 27,63% des femmes.

Nous constatons que d'une façon générale, les hommes arrivent en tête tant pour la lecture des journaux que pour l'écoute des émissions radiophoniques et télévisées.

Il y a un autre aspect qu'il faut considérer quant à la lecture des journaux: c'est la scolarité. Nous l'avons considéré par rapport aux quotidiens francophones et anglophones, et voilà ce que nous avons obtenu.

TABLEAU 10

Journaux	Scolarité				
	0—6	7—12	13—14	15 et plus	Total
LE DEVOIR	0%	20%	220%	60%	100%
LA PRESSE	18,18%	18,18%	27,27%	36,36%	100%
LE JOURNAL DE MONTREAL	33,33%	33,33%	0,0%	33,33%	100%
THE GAZETTE	44,64%	32,14%	8,93%	14,29%	100%

On remarque que les lecteurs de la presse francophone ont une scolarité plus poussée, plus particulièrement les lecteurs du **Devoir**, par rapport à la **Gazette**. Ainsi 60% des lecteurs du **Devoir** ont une scolarité de 15 ans et plus, alors que seulement 14,89% des lecteurs de la **Gazette** ont une scolarité de 15 ans et plus. On remarque aussi que 44,64% des lecteurs de la **Gazette** déclarent avoir une scolarité de 6 ans maximum alors qu'aucun des lecteurs du **Devoir** n'a une scolarité de 6 ans ou moins. Il est clair que les Grecs francophones appartiennent aux couches les plus éduquées.

Quand on regarde la région d'origine des Grecs francophones, on constate qu'un nombre considérable vient de l'Egypte ou de Constantinople; il s'agit des Grecs de la périphérie, qui installés en Grèce métropolitaine aujourd'hui, sont les polyglottes. Il ne faut pas oublier que des foyers culturels importants se sont développés autrefois en dehors de l'Etat grec, comme ce fut le cas d'Alexandrie en Egypte. On sait que l'élément grec dans ces régions constituait une bourgeoisie moyenne compradore et disposait des moyens financiers pour le développement culturel.

Une remarque importante qu'il faut faire, concernant le taux de lecture des journaux hellénophones tant ceux venant de Grèce que les journaux locaux, est liée à la fréquence de lecture. Nous croyons qu'un grand nombre de gens qui ont répondu qu'ils lisent souvent ces journaux ne les lisent en réalité qu'occasionnellement au magasin du coin, au café, chez le médecin grec, chez un ami.

En effet, quand l'enquêteur insistait pour clarifier à quelle fréquence l'informateur lisait un journal, s'il l'achetait ou s'il le lisait ailleurs, il constatait qu'il s'agissait dans la plupart des cas de lecture occasionnelle, dans les conditions plus haut signalées.

Une autre remarque concerne la presse anglophone et francophone. Là aussi, pour les mêmes raisons, il s'agit dans plusieurs cas de lecture occasionnelle. En plus, il s'agit souvent d'une lecture superficielle pour telle ou telle partie du journal — les sports par example ou les petites annonces — et la compréhension est en partie limitée à cause de la langue.

Conclusion

Que conclure de tout ce qui précède?

Remarquons d'abord que les médias hellénophones tiennent une place importante dans la vie de la communauté. Cette place serait encore plus importante s'ils ne manquaient pas de ressources, vu que le marché est très restreint. Cette faiblesse des médias hellénophones est en partie corrigée par la venue de la presse de la Grèce. Cette presse tient aussi une place très importante dans la vie des Grecs du Québec.

Sans aucun doute la lecture de la presse ou l'écoute de la radio et de la télévision, remplace plusieurs autres activités pour le Grec, étant donné son isolement relatif par rapport à la société d'accueil.

Signalons aussi les difficultés accentuées des Grecs du Québec dans ce domaine, étant donné le contexte politique actuel, contexte qui les oblige de tenir compte que le Québec

constitue une enclave francophone dans un territoire nord-américain où prédomine la langue anglaise. Il est évident que ce même contexte est stimulant et enrichissant d'un autre côté, mais pour des immigrants qui luttent pour leur survie matérielle, cet aspect est moins attirant.

Quant à la presse héllénophone locale et aux émissions de la langue grecque, elles constituent un aspect important de la vie communautaire. Non seulement au plan purement de l'information, mais plus peut-être au plan cultuel et linguistique. C'est un rempart face au danger permanent de l'assimilation.

Le taux de lecture ou d'écoute des médias francophones constitue par ailleurs, un indice de l'intégration des Grecs à la société d'accueil.

Il est évident que cette étude soulève plus de questions qu'elle n'apporte de réponses. D'où la nécessité de poursuivre les analyses des comportements des Grecs du Québec, tant dans ce domaine que dans d'autres si on veut mieux savoir comment ils évoluent en tant que groupe ethnique, si on veut mieux déterminer des politiques qui les concernent comme communauté ethno-culturelle, si on s'intéresse à l'avenir de la communauté grecque comme composante qui par sa particularité apporte un enrichissement culturel à la société d'accueil.

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THE EARLY AND LATE GREEK IMMIGRANT: A COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIO—PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE

George Kourvetaris*

ABSTRACT

In attempting a social and social-psychological profile of the early and the late Greek immigrants in the United States, this analysis describes and discusses a number of differences and similarities that characterize the two groups. Briefly, the overall background and the life in the new country of these two Greek groups in America are presented, and the author enlists a number of characteristics as a way of comparing the two groups. In concluding, the author notes that the observed differences between the early and the late Greek-Americans may be better explained in the context of continuous changes and modernization of the U.S. society over the years than due to deep-rooted (esoteric) differences between the two groups, groups which are made up from the same "cloth", as the author himself notes.

RESUME

Dans un effort de dresser le profil social et socio-psychologique des immigrants Grecs de vieille et de nouvelle souche aux Etats-Unis, cette étude décrit et analyse un certain nombre de différences et de ressemblances qui caractérisent ces deux groupes. L'auteur expose brièvement l'origine et la vie dans le nouveau pays de ces deux groupes de Grecs d'Amérique et fournit un certain nombre de caractéristiques qui permettent l'établissement d'une comparaison entre les deux. En conclusion, l'auteur note que les différences observées entre les premiers et derniers courants d'immigration grecque aux Etats-Unis peuvent être mieux expliquées dans le contexte de mutations continues et de la modernisation de la société américaine au cours des années, plutôt qu'à des différences profondes entre les deux groupes.

The purpose of this paper is to give a social and social psychological profile of the "early and late Greek immigrants." When I say early I mean all those Greeks who came prior and around World War I roughly between 1890's to 1920's. By sociological and socio-psychological I mean a description and analysis of social, economic, psychological, and demographic characteristics — such things as: problems of adjustment, work and occupational experiences, health, communities, and the like.

More specifically, I will try to answer a number of questions such as: What was the world of the immigrant like? Who were the immigrants? When did they come? Why did they come? What kinds of work experiences did they have? How did they adjust to the problems and difficulties of a strange land? What were some of the problems they encountered? In what ways were the two groups similar and/or different?

In trying to answer questions like these, my purpose, as a social scientist, is not to "stereotype" one group as "the good guys" and the other as the "bad guys" or one group was "right" and the other was "wrong". The social scientist is not interested in the ways in which people stereotype each other but rather what can a sociologist say about a social group in a more objective and detached way. In other words, we must separate the social facts from the personal opinion. The myth from the reality, the "what is" from what one "would like or desire it to be", the ideal from the real.

Much of the misunderstanding between the two groups lies in the unwillingness of both groups to understand each other's point of view, to get to know each others' social world

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better. The older generation sometimes is very critical of the younger generation for the lack of respect, etc. The young accuse the old of being too strict or too conservative.

I will try to draw some similarities and differences between these two groups of Greek immigrants who came to America in different periods. By doing so I hope to shed some light on the causes of conflict and misunderstanding between the two groups.

The problem becomes more complicated because we have only a few in depth analyses of Greeks in America. Most of the studies we have are about early Greeks — those who came around the turn of the century and their progeny but very few about the newcomers — those who came after World War II in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's and beyond.

I. WHO WERE THE IMMIGRANTS: OLD AND NEW.

U.S. is considered a multi-ethnic and multi-racial society. In the words of the late President Kennedy the U.S. is a nation of immigrants. It has been estimated by the immigration services that between 1820-1973 approximately 46 million immigrants came to America. The majority of these immigrants came from Europe (35 million). The rest came from the countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Those who came prior to the 1880's are considered "old immigrants". They came by and large from North Western Europe and they were Anglo-Saxon Protestant such as British, Scotch, Irish, Scandinavian, German, Dutch, etc. Those who came after 1880 are considered new immigrants or new immigration. They came primarly from Southeastern European countries such as Italy, Greece, Russia (mostly Jews), Poland, Hungary, and other Slavic countries. The majority of them were Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Eastern (including Greek) Orthodox.

The earlier immigrants (Anglo-Saxon) made the rules and laws, subdued the Indians, brought the slaves, and in general tried to master the new continent. Prior to 1880 the U.S. was mainly an agricultural country. Most of the old immigrants settled in small towns, seaports, and farming communities. Many became farmers, small tradesmen, craftsmen and they were quite religious people. The new immigrants by and large settled in urban and industrial centers. Most of them worked as laborers in the railroads, in factories and mines.

Most immigrants came to America for economic reasons. They came from the lower socio-economic classes and agricultural communities mostly from Europe. They faced many problems of adjustment in the new world, suffered may hardships, and many thousands of them returned to their coutries. Most immigrants, old and new, came to America without families. With the exception of the Irish who the majority were women, the rest of the immigrants were primarily men. They planned to return to their homelands. For exmaple 95% of the early Greeks and 78% of the Italians were men. In contrast, many Jews came as families and did not return to their adopted countries. Looking at Table 1 below is a comparative analysis between early and late Greek immigrants.

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TABLE 1. EARLY AND LATE GREEK IMMIGRANTS

	EARLY ARRIVALS	LATE ARRIVALS
WHO WERE THE GREEK IM-MIGRANTS? A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAP-HIC CHARACTE-RISITCS		
1. Popula-tion	No exact number of early Greeks is known; Various estimates including those of Saloutos between 1901 to 1930 about 403,000 Greeks exclusively from Greece were admitted to the U.S.	Again no exact number of Greek newcomers is known. Saloutos estimates from 1946-1975 a total of 200,000 came to the U.S. exclusively form Greece. One might add that since 1957 over 30,000 Greeks have jumped off ships and disappeared somewhere in the U.S. Since 1966 over 4 out of 5 Greek immigrants came to the U.S. because of some relative.
	The quota system of 1924 favored more immigration from NW Europe.	The immigration law of 1965 changed the selection procedure of new immigrants. No more than 20,000 from any country annually and a ceiling of 170,000 immigrants for the Eastern hemisphere.
2. Rural vs. Urban Origins	Most early Greek immigrants came from agricultural and village communities.	In contrast, a substantial number of newcomers came from small towns and cities.
	Had very little exposure to city life - very little knowledge of the U.S.	Had more exposure to city life and better knowledge of the U.S.

	U.S. around the turn of the century attracted people from villages who could do menial jobs.	World War II brought many Americans to Europe and Greece (Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine). Accounts of travellers, stories of early Greek immigrants, newspapers, letters from relatives, movies, etc.
	The beginnings of urbanization and industrialization	U.S. by 1950's and 1960's was industrialized. Very little need for unskilled labor. It was a service oriented society (banks, restaurants. department stores, and the like.)
3. Regional Origins	Prior to World War I most early immigrants came from Peloponnesos (esp. Arcadia and Laconia)	In the post World War II period, Peloponnesians were not the predominant. Those who came from Peloponnesos, Messenians ranked first, Laconians second, the Illians third, and Arcadians fourth.
4. Age	Most early arrivals came young between the ages of 14 to 44	Most past World War II arrivals were 20 to 29 years of age (male and female), 30 to 39 (males), 10 to 19. Also a substantial number of older people in their 40's, 50's., 60's, and even 70's came.
5. Sex ratio	In the pre-World War I period, most arrivals regardless of nationality were males. Over 95% of the early Greeks were males. Later the patterns changed somewhat.	Beginning in 1958 there was more balanced ratio between the sexes. As many women as men came to the U.S. In fact between 1961 and 1965 the incoming females outnumbered the incoming males but beginning in 1966 the trend was reversed — more males than females.
	Indecisiveness and unwillingness to settle down was the major problem.	Many families came with little children and settled to the U.S.

6. Education	Early Greeks were not educated 27% were illeterate, couldn't read or write. (26.7% those from other Southern or Eastern countries)	The new Greeks were by far more educated. In addition to immigrants, many thousands of students and professionals came to the U.S. Greece is one of the few countries that has a serious problem of "brain drain." No statistics are available on how many Greek immigrants were educated.
7. WHY DID THEY MIGRATE? Reasons for migration	Most came for economic reasons. They were poor, unemployed, the problem of overpopulation, draft (esp. those from Asia Minor or Turkish controlled Greek territories)	Mostly economic or similar reasons as the early. A large group, however, came for higher studies — as students or professionals. Some came for political reasons. many came from Egypt or Turkey due to policies of those countries unfavorable to the Greeks.
8. WHAT DID THEY DO? WORK AND OCCUPATION	Most early Greeks were unskilled laborers	From 1958 through 1974 about 81,000 of 150,00 admitted to the U.S. were housewives, children, and others with no reported occupation.
	Worked in the mines, railroads, factories etc. Many owned shoe shine stores, grocery stores, push cars, ice cream parlors, candy stores, fruit stores, etc. Later opened hot dog stands, taverns, and restaurants.	

	Among the new by far were many craftsmen, foremen, operatives professionals, and managers. A large proportion of the newcomers followed similar patterns of work and occupation as the early Greeks restaurants, pizzas, beauty shops, taverns, etc.
A few hundred were educated or went to school and became doctors, lawyers, chemists, teachers, etc.	Many thousands of newcomers come as continued college and university. Many professors, doctors, chemists, engineers were among the late arrivals who either came as professionals or were educated in the U.S.
Pioneer Greeks did not plan to settle in the U.S, and establish roots. They were birds of passage. That is why many did not go into the professions or for the majority it was beyon their reach.	
Most early Greek women stayed home. They did not work	Most women especially those of blue collar background worked outside the homes. Many ladies work in light industry. Thousands of newcomers worked as grillmen and cooks in Greek owned snack shops or became restauranteurs themselves. In addition, many newcomers became proprietors of tailor shops, shoe repair shops, dry cleaners, taxi cabs (N.Y.). In New York (esp) vendors of ice cream, frankfurters, sandwiches, chestnuts, etc. Some went into painting.

II. GREEKS IN THE US: PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS

Most of the early and late Greek immigrants settled in cities East of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers (e.g., Chicago, Boston, New York, Detroit, Pittsburg, Columbus, etc.)

The early Greeks did not come to stay in the U.S. They wanted to amass their fortune and go back. Because of indecisiveness they were reluctant to become American citizens. This however began to change around the 1920's (AHEPA) (Americanization and the coming of the second generation). In contrast the newcomers became naturalized citizens much faster. Two out of 3 Greek born immigrants were naturalized citizens in 1970. Many thousands of early Greeks returned to Greece. Similar patterns have been followed by newcomers. But by and large the majority of old and the new remained in this country. At present due to american economic crisis and inflation for the first time in Grek immigration, there are more Greeks returning to Greece than leaving the country.

A. PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

By adjustment is meant the social and social psychological adaptation to the American environment. It includes material and non-material adjustments, i.e., food, weather, climate, people, habits, attitudes, feelings of well being, happiness, feelings of alienation and uprootedness, mental and physical health and the like.

Thousands of immigrants both early and late suffered from problems of adjustment. Indeed, many were physically here but mentally and emotionally in the old country. Many thousands of immigrants never managed to make the adjustment. Those who came at a younger age found it easier to adjust than those who came at and older age. Those who came from the cities were better equipped to make the adjustment than those who came from villages. The social world of the immigrant was a limited one. His family and his work were his main concerns. Later when he was secure in his job, made the adjustment, and decided to get married, he began to organize in communities, started organizations, churches, schools, etc.

Under problems of adjustment one must include mental health problems such as depressions, anxieties, feelings of loneliness and isolation, nostalgia, uprootedness, sadness, and the like. Work was an antidote to loneliness and isolation. Many problems emerged because of social mobility and change. A clash of values between the traditional and modern values (the old and the new) was inevitable. Many immigrants could not make the changes. Others broke down — some refused, others returned to Greece.

The warmth and strength of the early family kept the members together. The coming of the second and later generations changed that. Many conflicts emerged. Similar problems between late Greek immigrant families and their children — divorce, intermarriage, mental illness, delinquency, and many more problems were common among the late Greek immigrants. One of the serious problems of early and late Grek immigrants was gambling. Many families and fortunes were destroyed because of that.

B. PROBLEMS OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

The early Greeks suffered a lot from the earlier European immigrants who discriminated against them and considered them to be inferior. In general, every new group coming to the U.S. was a target of prejudice and discrimination by those who preceeded them. There were many anti-foreign and racist organizations (K.K.K.) especially in the South. The purpose of these racist organizations was to persecute the minorities and ethnic groups such as Blacks, Catholics, Jews, and the Orthodox Christians, especially the Greeks.

The late Greeks experienced similar kinds of prejudice and discrimination but of different nature. In some instances the early and late Greeks had many more conflicts and problems between themselves than the late Greeks had with American society in general.

C. GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Theoretically new and old Greeks were members of the Greek-American community (koinotita). The central focus of the Greek-American community life is the church and its auxilliary structures. In reality, however, about or so 10% of the Greeks in the U.S. are paying members of the Greek-Orthodox Church.

1. Religion vs. Nationality.

The old Greeks accuse the New Greeks of being anti-religious, atheists, etc. The new Greeks see a Greek Orthodox Church and Greek culture in general diluted beyond recognition. They accuse the old timers and their offspring of being anti-Greek (anthellenes). **It is a fact** that if it was not for the new Greek immigrants, hellenism and modern Greek culture would never be maintained to the extent that it is maintained today. The old stressed religion and na-

tionality. Their offspring, the second and subsequent generations, followed more readily the organizational church and were less interested in maintaining the Greek language and Greek ethnic identity.

2. Jealousies and Conflicts.

Ideally all Greeks old an new represent an extended family — after all Greeks are a cohesive ethnic group with strong family and social ties — yet in reality we find more than passing jealousies and conflicts between the old and the new Greeks. The causes of these conficts and problems are many. Some of them are: a. **Jealousies** — the new Greeks tend to make it faster than earlier Greeks. b. **Stereotypes and prejudice** — the stereo types are also part of the lexikon of second and third generation Greeks. The old used to call the new Greeks D.P.'s (displaced persons), "pushy", "too calculating", "socialist", "communists", "atheists", "immoral", "unthankful", "anti-American", etc. The new Greeks on the other hand called the old timers: "dishwashers", "bootblacks", "peasants", "illiterates", etc.

3. Problems of the Greek senior citizens.

America is a youth and child centered society. No meaningful roles have been devised for the elderly. Greeks are no exception. In the past — older Greek men married younger women — sometimes by 20 or more years difference.This led to many more widows than widowers. New Greek couples however are more symmetrical in age between husbands and wives. Many single old timers moved to Greece, some stay with their children, others live alone, and many moved to homes for the aged.

The major problems of the aged are: loneliness, isolation, depression, physical health, etc. Greeks have not established reading habits nor do they do civic activities outside the Greek church and their home town societies. Both groups tend to be ethnocentric. Most Greeks work hard but don't seem to enjoy life. They worry how much property and cash they will leave to their children. Many worked all their lives without any worthwhile goals other than making money which does not always give them happiness.

III. EARLY AND LATE GREEKS: CONVERGENCES.

So far we have pointed out the differences and the problems among the two groups. I would like to briefly present what is common among them not what separates them. I can think of 10 convergencies between the two. Which I would list without further elaboration. These are:

1. Both shared an ethnic identity — They were proud of their richness of Greek heritage and had a sense of community.
2. Both had a work ethic and a basic conservative ethos in family and personal matters.
3. Both were ethnocentric — to a lesser or larger extent (strong in-group loyalties).
4. Both shared a strong motivation to succeed in American society (mobile).
5. Both had a yearning for **patrida, nostalgia, philotimo,** goodness, generosity, patriotism, **philoxenia**. (hospitality).
6. Both groups espoused an american individualistic and entrepreneurial ethos.
7. Both had feelings of **megalomania** — acting bigger than they really were.
8. Both nourished an idealized picture of Greek culture. In many ways they became informal ambassadors of Greece.
9. Both felt the **xenetia** — a frequent word used in conversation with the Greek immigrants — songs, dances, etc.
10. Both groups were competitive and possessed the Protestant ethic of industriousness, savings, and thriftiness.

All in all early and late Greeks were very much made from the same cloth. It was social change and modernization that made the difference — the world of the 1900's, 1920's, 1930's was quite different from the world of the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's.

We live in a transient and changing world. People, ideas, values, etc. have changed. But despite all these changes, the basic human quality of good nature of the Greek immigrant, has remained.

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LES GRECS DE FRANCE

Jean Catsiapis*

RESUME

Cette étude retrace l'histoire des Grecs de France à compter du XVème siècle. Après l'historique de l'émigration grecque vers la France, l'auteur se réfère à l'organisation des Grecs dans ce pays, en présentant les structures des diverses communautés helléniques de France. Par ailleurs, il dresse un tableau des personnalités gréco-françaises et ensuite il analyse le poids politique des Grecs de France. Après avoir par la suite dressé le tableau des problèmes de l'hellénisme de France, l'auteur considère que le désintérêt manifeste des autorités grecques d'Athènes ou de Paris constitue une erreur grave. En faisant la comparaison avec la communauté turque de France qui s'est considérablement étendue ces dernières années, il conclut que "lorsque le droit de vote aux élections municipales sera accordé aux travailleurs étrangers, ce qui est prévisible à moyen terme, le poids politique des Turcs immigrés et donc de la Turquie deviendra considérable et s'exercera aux dépens des intérêts grecs. Il sera alors bien tard pour le gouvernement grec et ses services diplomatiques de réparer les erreurs dues à leur imprévoyance".

ABSTRACT

This study traces the history of Greeks in France beginning with the fifteenth century. After a presentation of the immigration history of Greeks to France, the author describes the organization of the Greeks in that country and discusses the structures of the different Hellenic communities in France. On the other hand, he draws a picture of Greek-French personalities and, then, he analyzes the political weight/influence of Greeks in France. After having pointed out the problems of Hellenism in France, the author considers the indifference shown by the Greek authorities in both Athens and Paris, an indifference that constitutes a serious error. By comparing the Greek with the Turkish community of France (which has been considerably increased over the last few years) the author concludes that "as soon as the right to vote in the municipal elections is accorded to the foreign workers, something that is not very far in the future, the political influence of the Turk immigrants and therefore that of Turkey will become considerable and that influence will operate at the expense of Greek interests. It will be, then, quite late for the Greek government and its diplomatic services to correct the errors resulting from their improvidence."

La communauté hellénique de France constitue une des minorités les moins importantes de ce pays. Sur plus de quatre millions d'étrangers en France on compte environ 35 000 Grecs et Français d'origine grecque[1]. Ce chiffre est très faible si on le compare au million d'Algériens, aux 900 000 Portugais vivant en France ou encore aux 750 000 Français d'origine juive et aux 350 000 Français d'origine arménienne.

La communauté hellénique de France est aussi cinq fois moins importante que la communauté hellénique de Grande Bretagne et dix fois plus petite que la communauté hellénique d'Allemagne fédérale. On ne doit pas toutefois sousestimer le poids spécifique de la minorité grecque dans le cadre de la communauté nationale française. Malgré leur petit nombre, les Grecs de France ont toujours occupé une place non négligeable dans la vie politique, économique et sociale du pays qui les a accueillis.

(1). Le ministère français de l'Intérieur avait délivré, en 1980, 10 992 cartes de séjour à des ressortissants grecs. Si on ajoute à ce chiffre les 25 000 Français d'origine grecque (naturalisés) et les Français dont les parents sont Grecs on obtient ainsi une communauté hellénique de près de 35 000 membres.

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I. Les Grecs de France du XV ème au XVIII ème siècle.

Dans le cadre de cette étude on se bornera à retracer l'histoire des Grecs de France à compter du XV ème siècle. Mais on ne doit pas, bien sûr, oublier que vers 600 avant Jésus Christ plusieurs villes du Sud de la France, ou plutôt de la Gaule, comme Marseille (Massalia), Antibes (Antipolis) et Nice (Nikaia) furent fondées par des Grecs venus de Phocée, cité ionienne d'Asie mineure. Pendant plusieurs siècles, ces villes dont les vestiges archéologiques portent encore témoignage de la présence grecque ont été des centres de diffusion de la civilisation hellénique dans l'occident européen, avant de connaître de nombreuses invasions étrangères. Et comme on le verra ci-dessous, les communautés helléniques qui habitent de nos jours certaines villes du sud de la France constituent la descendance de Grecs d'immigration beaucoup plus récente.

Depuis la prise de Constantinople, c'est-à-dire depuis le 29 mai 1453, la France a accueilli de nombreux fugitifs grecs dans l'armée, à l'université et dans le négoce. Parmi ces émigrés se trouvaient des membres des familles impériales de Constantinople, commes les Lascaris et les Paléologue, qui vécurent de pensions que leur distribuait le roi Charles VII.

1. Les Grecs dans l'Armée Française.

Georges Bissipat Paléologue fut un des réfugiés hellènes les plus notoires du XVème siècle. Le Roi de France l'utilisa à de nombreuses reprises comme soldat ou comme marin. En 1460 son nom figure dans un acte comme chevalier, conseiller et chambellan du Roi, vicomte de la Falaise. En 1477 Bissipat, après sa naturalisation, entre dans la marine. Louis IX gravement malade, le charge, deux mois avant sa mort, d'une mission secrète aux îles Saint-Jacques du Cap Vert. Le Roi, en effet, avait appris que les grosses tortues de mer qui abondaient sur les côtes de ces îles avaient le pouvoir de guérir la lèpre. Les nombreux Hellènes qui eurent à combattre dans les forces armées françaises ne constituèrent pas, au début, un corps spécial. C'est sous Louis XII qu'apparaissent dans les armées royales des régiments "d'estradiots", formés de Grecs venus de Naples et d'Albanie. Les Grecs, comme tous les mercenaires au service de la France, s'établirent alors définitivement dans leur pays d'accueil grâce à la naturalisation qu'ils obtenaient facilement surtout sous le règne de François Ier.

2. Érudits et Universitaires Grecs

Parmi les Grecs qui avaient réussi à s'enfuir de Constantinople on comptait de nombreux savants et érudits. Certains d'entre eux se retirèrent en Italie où le Cardinal Bessarion leur assura leur existence matérielle. A la mort de leur protecteur plusieurs de ces réfugiés quittèrent l'Italie et vinrent à la Cour de Charles VIII où ils devinrent les protégés de Thomas de Coron, médecin grec du Roi.

Le plus célèbre des savants grecs attachés à la Cour de France a été Jean Lascaris qui continua à servir sous Louis XII et François Ier. J. Lascaris parcourait, pour ceux-ci, l'Orient à la recherche de manuscrits grecs qui accrurent le fonds royal de la collection de Fontainebleau. D'autres érudits grecs enseignèrent à Paris à l'université. Ainsi Grégoire Typhermas reçut l'autorisation du recteur de l'université d'enseigner les lettres grecques. Hermonyme de Sparte, qui faisait commerce de manuscrits grecs qu'il écoula à divers personnages notables, enseigna la langue et la littérature grecques. Il fut la maître de Guillaume Budé. C'est grâce à ces savants grecs exilés que se développa en Europe le goût des lettres anciennes. L'héritage de la Grèce Antique conservé par l'Empire byzantin fut ainsi transmis aux Européens dont la civilisation s'affermit et se regénère avec, au XVIème siècle, le mouvement de la Renaissance.

3. Les commerçants grecs

Les Hellènes ont toujours trouvé bon accueil en France quand ils se sont adonnés au commerce. Louis IX avait établi quelques-uns d'entre eux à Tours lorsqu'il s'efforça de

développer dans cette ville l'industrie de la soirie; Marie de Médicis, pour sa part, créa, au début du XVII ème siècle, à Paris un atelier de broderie qui tissait pour elle de riches étoffes et où travaillèrent deux Grecques Adrienne Téodorant et Marguerite Thamany.

Avec les ressources multiples qu'offrait aux négociateurs une ville comme Marseille où se traitaient la majeure partie des affaires avec le Levant, des courtiers, des commissionnaires, des exportateurs grecs eurent de tout temps de nombreuses facilités pour développer leur ingéniosité commerciale. Colbert, lorsqu'il décida en 1669 de transformer Marseille en port franc, réussit à attirer dans cette ville de nombreux étrangers, parmi lesquels une importante population grecque qui constitua les premiers éléments d'une colonie qui s'accrut avec les années. Ainsi, les commerçants grecs, à condition d'épouser des Françaises, ou sous réserve d'acquisition d'immeubles se virent octroyer les mêmes droits et privilèges que les bourgeois marseillais.

4. Les Grecs de Cargèse

L'étude historique de l'immigration des Grecs en France comprend nécessairement une mention particulière sur la communauté hellénique de Cargèse. Beaucoup de Grecs de l'Empire byzantin s'étaient retirés dans la région de Maîna, située dans l'ancienne Laconie, mais s'accomodaient mal de leur situation de vaincus et d'annexés. Aussi vers l'an 1612 les chefs de ces familles maînotes commencèrent à s'agiter et sollicitèrent du Roi de France puis du Duc de Nevers d'entreprendre une croisade pour libérer leur pays. Mais la *milice chrétienne*, difficilement mise sur pied, fut finalement dissoute et les Maînotes renoncèrent à leurs rêves d'indépendance. Constantinople resta aux mains des Turcs.

En 1676 les Maînotes qui subissaient une pression ottomane de plus en plus intolérable décident de s'expatrier définitivement et demandent à la république de Gênes des terres pour s'y établir. Le gouvernement gênois leur en concéda en Corse dans les domaines de Paomia et Ruvida, non loin du lieu où est aujourd'hui Cargèse. Gênes voyait avec faveur de nouveaux sujets s'établir au milieu des Corses dont la fidélité n'était pas sûre. Sept cent cinquante Maînotes au terme d'un long voyage arrivèrent à Paomia. Leur industrie, leur habileté à cultiver la terre excitèrent la jalousie des habitants de l'île. Et lorsque ceux-ci se soulevèrent contre les Gênois, les Maînotes refusèrent de les aider. Les Corses saccagèrent les habitations et les cultures des Grecs, dont certains s'établirent à Ajaccio et dont d'autres immigrèrent en France.

Lorsqu'en 1769 la Corse passe sous domination française les Grecs demandèrent un nouvel établissement et on leur assigna le territoire de Cargèse, qui, à l'époque du Directoire, était habité par huit cents Maînotes. Parmi ceux-ci il y avait des représentants des grandes familles byzantines des temps anciens, notamment les Comnène; une jeune fille de ce nom épousa le général Junot et devint par la suite duchesse d'Abrantès. La duchesse d'Abrantès, fille de Marie-Louise Comnène consacre les deux premiers tomes de ses mémoires aux Maînotes et à leur histoire à Cargèse. Selon elle, Napoléon Bonaparte, dont elle a été l'amie d'enfance, aurait eu dans ses veines du sang grec car il comptait dans ses ascendants un Caloméros, fils de Constantin Comnène. Celui-ci, après avoir résidé en Toscane revint s'établir en Corse et y fonda la famille des Bonaparte.

Au XIXème siècle, lors de la conquête de l'Algérie par la France, la ville de Sidi-Mérouan dans la province de Constantine fut fondée par des familles grecques venues de Cargèse. Pendant un temps Sidi-Mérouan fut même appelée la Nouvelle Cargèse. Aujourd'hui Cargèse n'a pas oublié ses origines helléniques ainsi qu'en témoigne une église grecque construite en 1860. Des cérémonies importantes, en 1976, en présence de l'Ambassadeur de Grèce en France, ont marqué à Cargèse le tri-centenaire de l'arrivée des Maînotes en Corse.

II. Les Grecs de France au XIX ème siècle.

Lorsque Bonaparte débarque en Égypte pendant l'été 1798 une partie de la population l'accueille en libérateur. Les Grecs en particulier s'enrôlent dans l'armée du général français. Bonaparte, par un ordre du 6 Brumaire an VII, nomma le Grec Nicolo Papas Oglou commandant d'une compagnie hellène organisée au Caire et qui compta jusqu'à

mille cinq cents hommes. Lors de l'évacuation de l'Égypte Nicolo passe en France avec trois cents soldats qui formèrent sous sa direction et jusqu'à la fin de l'Empire le bataillon des Chasseurs d'Orient. D'autres Grecs d'Égypte vinrent s'installer en France avec leurs familles, fuyant la persécution des Turcs. Le gouvernement de l'Empereur donna aux réfugiés grecs les moyens nécessaires pour subsister: allocations journalières aux femmes et enfants, bourses d'études pour les jeunes étudiants. L'expédition d'Égypte a influé sur le développement des colonies orientales en France: Marseille et d'autres villes du Midi ont recueilli un très grand nombre de ces réfugiés d'Égypte parmi lesquels se trouvaient beaucoup de Grecs.

La colonie des Grecs uniates de Marseille était d'ailleurs suffisamment importante pour qu'en 1822 l'évêque de Myre, Maximus Maglum, fit construire pour eux l'église Saint Nicolas de Myre. Les Grecs orthodoxes de Marseille, beaucoup plus tard seulement, eurent l'autorisation d'ouvrir des églises de leur culte.

1. La coopération militaire franco-grecque

Les Français, qui avaient occupé les îles Ioniennes de 1797 à 1799, les occupèrent à nouveau de 1807 à 1815 après le Traité de Tilsitt. Les généraux Berthier et Donzelot ainsi que le colonel Minot organisèrent dans ces territoires un bataillon de Souliotes dont le commandement fut confié à Botzaris et Fotto Tzavella. La majeure partie des officiers grecs qui luttèrent pour l'indépendance de leur patrie à compter de 1821 avaient été les élèves de Minot et de Donzelot.

L'aide apportée par la France à la guerre d'indépendance hellénique entraîna en Grèce au XIXème siècle un profond mouvement philhellène qui s'est traduit en particulier par l'enrôlement de volontaires grecs dans l'armée française pendant la guerre franco-allemande de 1870. Au cours de cette guerre devait combattre avec des fortunes diverses le général Charles Bourbaki (1816-1897), fils d'un colonel grec tué dans la guerre d'indépendance. Vaincu, Bourbaki, qui commandait la garde impériale, tenta de se suicider. Il reprit du service sous la Troisième République et fut finalement versé dans le cadre de la réserve en 1881.

2. Les écrivains français d'origine grecque

C'est dans le domaine de la littérature et de l'université que se distinguèrent de nombreux Grecs venus s'installer en France au cours du XIXème siècle. Deux noms doivent être ici cités: Jean Moréas et Jean Psichari.

Jean Moréas (Yiannis Papadiamandopoulos), né à Athènes en 1856, vint s'établir en France assez jeune et fut des membres les plus éminents du mouvement symboliste [1]. Les dictionnaires le désignent comme "*un poète français d'origine grecque*" tant ses attaches françaises étaient solides. Moréas devait mourir à Paris en 1910.

Jean Psichari (1854-1929) né à Odesa passa la plus grande partie de sa vie en France où il joua un rôle considérable dans l'enseignement du grec. Gendre d'Ernest Renan, auteur en 1888 de "*Mon Voyage*", premier ouvrage litéraire de prose écrit en langue démotique, Jean Psichari succéda en 1909 au célèbre helléniste Émile Legrand à la chaire de grec à l'École nationale des Langues Orientales vivantes. Le souvenir de son fils Ernest Psichari, officier et écrivain (1883-1914), tué par l'ennemi pendant la première guerre mondiale, est toujours fidèlement conservé dans l'armée française encore de nos jours[2].

Deux autres Français célèbres du XIX ème siècle, le poète André Chénier, et l'homme politique, auteur de livres d'histoire, Adolphe Thiers sont d'origine grecque et appartiennent grâce à elle à la même famille. En effet, Élisabeth Santi-Lomaca, grecque d'origine, était la mère d'André Chénier qui naquit à Constantinople; sa soeur fut la grand-mère maternelle de Thiers[3].

(1). Moréas écrivit un célèbre **Manifeste du Symbolisme** qu'il publia dans le **Figaro** en 1886.
(2). A l'École Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr la bibliothèque porte le nom de "*Lieutenant Ernest Psichari*".
(3). Adolphe Thiers, natif de Marseille, fut Président de la République de 1871 à 1873.

III. Les Grecs de France au XX ème siècle.

1. Les Grecs Alliés de la France

La Grèce a été l'alliée de la France au cours des deux guerres mondiales. De plus, selon une tradition bien établie, comme on l'a dit plus haut, de nombreux volontaires grecs combattirent dans les rangs de l'armée française.

La guerre de 1914-1918 provoqua une émigration grecque en France de deux types. On compte d'abord 3614 volontaires de nationalité grecque engagés dans l'armée française auxquels s'ajoutent 836 autres volontaires grecs, originaires de Chypre, de Turquie, et de Roumanie. Ainsi sur cinq millions et demi de Grecs il y eut 4450 engagés. Cette proportion est énorme en regard du nombre de volontaires d'autres nations engagés dans l'armée française [1]. Ces volontaires grecs se sont illustrés sur tous les champs de bataille, en Artois, dans la Somme, à Verdun et aux Dardanelles. D'autre part pour travailler dans les usines françaises qui manquaient de bras, 13,000 Grecs ont été recrutés par les autorités consulaires françaises en Grèce. De fait, cette main-d'oeuvre hellénique a fourni un appoint décisif à un moment où aucune main-d'oeuvre n'était disponible pour assurer le plein rendement des usines d'armement.

La seconde guerre mondiale a été une autre occasion pour les Grecs de servir dans des unités militaires françaises. De nombreux engagés volontaires grecs de la guerre de 1914-1918 furent de nouveau incorporés dans les troupes françaises en 1939. La colonne Leclerc, fer de lance de la résistance gaulliste, devait même comprendre une vaillante et pittoresque unité grecque: le troisième escadron sacré presque uniquement composé d'officiers et équipé de dix-huit jeeps hérissées d'armes, que commandait le colonel Cigantès.

Des français d'origine grecque participèrent à des actions héroïques. Ainsi le jeune Socrate Pétrochilo, né à Paris en 1918 de parents grecs, embarqua, dans les Forces Française Libres, sur le sous-marin **La Minerve**, la Corvette **Roselys**, et le Torpilleur **La Combattante**[2]. D'autre part, durant cette dernière guerre de nombreux Grecs originaires du Dodécanèse alors occupé par les Italiens sont venus s'établir en France.

2. Les Grecs de l'Exil

En 1922 après l'expulsion de la communauté hellénique d'Asie mineure, des milliers de Grecs s'exilèrent en France. C'était pour la plupart des artisans (tailleurs, coiffeurs, chausseurs, fourreurs) qui trouvèrent à Paris ou à Marseille une terre d'asile. C'est cette émigration de 1922 qui constitue encore de nos jours l'élément le plus important de la communauté hellénique de France. Les enfants et les petits-enfants de ces émigrés sont aujourd'hui avocats, médecins, architectes et font partie des cadres de la société française.

Pendant la guerre civile qui ensanglanta la Grèce entre 1946 et 1949 des centaines de Grecs s'exilèrent en France. Parmi ceux-ci, dont beaucoup furent déchus de leur nationalité par les autorités helléniques, on peut citer le nom du professeur Nicolas Svoronos.

Entre 1967 et 1974, durant la dictature des colonels, une autre émigration grecque, celle-ci temporaire, se dirigea vers la France. Ces réfugiés politiques, au nombre de trois mille cinq cents, intellectuels pour la plupart, jouèrent un rôle capital auprès de l'opinion publique française et internationale[3]. Michel Stylianou, à la tête des émissions grecques de l'O.R.T.F.[4], et Richard Somériti avec son agence Athènes Presse-Libre menèrent un combat inestimable pour contrer la propagande des puissants services d'information du gouvernement hellénique[5].

(1) A titre d'exemple, les volontaires italiens engagés dans l'armée française furent au nombre de 6042 pour une nation de 45 millions d'habitants.

(2). Socrate Pétrochilo, ingénieur de l'École Navale, dont les exploits sont rapportés dans de nombreux livres consacrés à la résistance gaulliste (voir en particulier **Le Choix** de Jean Noli, Paris, 1972) a terminé sa carrière dans la marine, il y a peu de temps, avec le grade de Vice-Amiral, Commandant de l'Escadre de l'Atlantique.

(3). Parmi les artistes il faut mentionner Mélina Mercouri et Mikis Théodarakis et pour les universitaires les professeurs Manessis, Ténékidès et Végléris.

(4). O.R.T.F.: Office de Radio-Télévision Française.

(5). Richard Somériti, déjà installé depuis longtemps en France, était entouré d'une équipe de réfugiés politiques dont son père Stratis Somériti.

Constantin Caramanlis, après Charilaos Tricoupis et Éleuthère Vénizélos, qui tous deux s'éxilèrent en France où ils devaient mourir, s'était fixé à Paris dès 1963. C'est de la capitale française qu'il devait mener son combat d'opposition au régime des colonels.

3. L'organisation des Grecs en France

Comme c'est le cas dans de nombreux pays où se trouve une émigration grecque la colonie hellénique de France est organisée en de nombreuses communautés locales rassemblées autour des églises orthodoxes. On compte ainsi des communautés à Paris, Lille, Bordeaux, Strasbourg, Nantes, Nice, Toulon, Lyon, Grenoble, Saint Étienne, Pont de Chéruy, Monaco, Marseille, Port de Bouc, Port Saint Louis du Rhône, salins de Giraud; chacune de ces villes disposant d'au moins une église orthodoxe grecque[1].

Deux journaux, l'un en langue française, **L'Indépendance**, l'autre en langue grecque, **To Ethnos**, rendent compte chaque mois des activités de ces différentes communautés et fournissent également des informations sommaires sur les événements se déroulant dans la mère-patrie.

Les étudiants grecs inscrits dans les universités françaises étaient au nombre de 3719 à la rentrée de 1981 et se trouvent, pour la plupart, à Paris, Aix-Marseille, Caen, Montpellier et Strasbourg. Ces étudiants, comme les ouvriers et les commerçants grecs de France se rassemblent dans différentes organisations. Il y a aussi de nombreuses associations qui regroupent des Grecs selon leur province d'origine: par exemple, il existe une importante association de Crétois de France.

Une Association des Chypriotes de France fut créée très récemment à la suite de l'arrivée, à partir de 1974, de deux à trois cents Grecs de Chypre, qui, pour la plupart, ont ouvert des restaurants.

On doit aussi indiquer qu'il existe deux associations d'anciens combattants engagés volontaires dans l'armée française, qui chaque 25 mars raniment la flamme du Tombeau du Soldat Inconnu à l'Arc de Triomphe et célèbrent le souvenir de leurs morts au monument qui leur est consacré au cimetière du Père Lachaise.

Il faut enfin citer l'activité prodigieuse de l'Association des Amis de la Grèce, présidée par Mme Doron, une Française très attachée à l'hellénisme. Cette association, qui rayonne sur plusieurs régions, constitue sans doute le meilleur instrument de propagande de la culture grecque en France, que ne saurait promouvoir à lui seul le modeste Centre culturel hellénique animé par plusieurs dames de l'Ambassade, ou très proches d'elle.
l'Ambassade, ou très proches d'elle.

4. Les personnalités gréco-françaises

Il serait très difficile de prétendre énumérer ici tous les Grecs établis en France au cours de ces dernières années et qui se sont distingués aux yeux de l'opinion publique. On se bornera donc simplement à citer ceux d'entre eux qui sont connus d'un vaste public. Avant de parler de ces personnalités gréco-françaises, il faut mentionner le nom de deux juristes grecs qui ont passé une très grande partie de leur vie en France où ils sont morts: Nicolas Politis et Antoine Frangulis.

Nicolas Politis (1872-1942), reçu premier en 1901 au concours d'agrégation en droit public des facultés de droit de France a été Professeur à l'Université de Paris (1910-1914) et Ambassadeur de Grèce en France (1924-1927). Cet homme qui a aussi été ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Vénizelos (1917-1920) consacra toute sa vie à l'amitié franco-grecque.

Antoine Frangulis (1888-1975), délégué de la Grèce à la S.D.N., auteur de très nombreux ouvrages de droit international, devint Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Diplomatique Internationale à Paris, charge qu'il occupa jusqu'à sa mort.

Le monde des arts et des lettres compte en France de nombreux Grecs qui ont choisi Paris pour résidence principale. Costa-Gavras, nommé Directeur de la Cinémathèque Française en 1981, Nicos Papatakis et Michel Cacoyiannis sont devenus des cinéastes autant français que grecs. Nana Mouscouri, chanteuse connue dans le monde entier est sans doute la vedette de la chanson la plus populaire de France. Mikis Théodorakis, qui a fait

(1). La communauté hellénique de France, forte de 35 000 membres est surtout localisée à Paris et ses environs (15 000) ainsi qu'à Marseille (12 000).

ses études musicales en France où il s'est aussi exilé de 1970 à 1974, partage sa vie entre Athènes et Paris. Candilis et Xénakis sont deux architectes de réputation internationale, le second étant aussi renommé pour son oeuvre musicale, qui vivent en France depuis des dizaines d'années. Cyprien Katsaris, né à Marseille de parents chypriotes, est non seulement un pianiste célèbre mais également un jeune compositeur dont les premières oeuvres sont prometteuses.

Nicos Poulantzas, mort récemment, universitaire et sociologue marxiste s'est distingué par plusieurs ouvrages majeurs sur la crise du capitalisme.

Pour terminer cette énumération des Grecs en France d'une certaine notoriété, il faut évoquer la figure d'André Mentzelopoulos, né à Patras en 1915 et mort à Paris en 1980. Peu connu du grand public, Mentzelopoulos a été un homme d'affaires très puissant dont la fortune a souvent été comparée à celle des Rothschild. "L'ogre alimentaire" ainsi surnommé par certains journaux, en raison de ses nombreux intérêts dans l'alimentation (il avait acheté la chaîne de magasins Félix Potin), s'était rendu acquéreur à la fin de sa vie de la moitié des actions du quotidien **L'Aurore** dont il partageait la propriété avec Robert Hersant, le magnat de la presse. Le célèbre cru de Bordeaux Château Margaux a constitué également une de ses dernières acquisitions.

5. Le poids politique des Grecs en France

La communauté hellénique de France, peu nombreuse et mal organisée, ne saurait constituer un lobby politique. Les moeurs politiques des Français, au demeurant, sont telles qu'aucune minorité nationale ou religieuse ne peut former au niveau de l'État un véritable groupe de pression. En revanche, au niveau local la minorité grecque de France est en mesure d'exercer une influence certaine. C'est le cas en particulier à Marseille où les 12 000 Grecs, en liaison avec la puissante communauté arménienne forte de 80 000 membres [1] ont pu ces dernières années promouvoir la cause de Chypre auprès des parlementaires et des élus locaux [2].

Très conservatrice dans sa large majorité, la communauté hellénique de France, dont les liens avec l'Église orthodoxe sont puissants, a bien accepté le régime des colonels. Plusieurs de ses dirigeants étaient régulièrement invités par le gouvernement de la Junte à visiter la Grèce. Les réfugiés politiques grecs ne connurent d'ailleurs guère d'aide et d'assistance de 1967 à 1974 de la part des organisations officielles de la communauté hellénique de France.

De 1958 à 1973 Jean Coumaros, médecin grec né dans la région de Corinthe, a été député gaulliste de Frobach. Son passage à l'Assemblée Nationale où il présida le groupe amitié France-Grèce ne lui permit pas toutefois d'agir efficacement en faveur de la Grèce ou de la communauté hellénique de France. Un collaborateur de longue date du Président Mitterand Stélio Farandjis, qui échoua quatre fois à la députation dans le douzième arrondissement de Paris n'a jamais été en mesure d'influer en faveur des intérêts grecs. Henry Canacos, maire communiste de Sarcelles et ancien député à l'Assemblée Nationale n'a pas oublié ses origines grecques mais ne s'exprime pas publiquement, en général, sur les affaires helléniques.

6. Les problèmes de la communauté hellénique de France

Dispersée à travers toute la France la communauté hellénique connaît de nombreux problèmes dont le plus important est celui d'un manque de cohésion et de solidarité. Malgré de nombreux efforts pour la création d'une Union des communautés grecques de France chaque communauté locale vit repliée sur elle-même. Le conservatisme, la fidélité au régime des colonels entre 1967 et 1974, ou plus simplement le manque de dynamisme de cetaines communautés locales ont éloigné de ces organisations de nombreux Grecs et Français d'origine grecque. Tout ceci explique que s'est créée à Marseille une Communauté grecque animée par le dynamique avocat Georges Fotiadès et qui fait concur-

(1). La ville de Marseille compte moins d'un million d'habitants.

(2). Michel Pezet, Président du Conseil Régional de Provence Côte d'Azur et conseiller municipal de Marseille est le Président des Amis de Chypre en Provence.

rence à l'Union des Grecs de Marseille, plus ancienne et beaucoup plus traditionnelle. A Paris, l'architecte Zizikas a pris la direction de la Communauté hellénique tombée en pleine léthargie et essaie, depuis 1981, d'animer la Maison de la Grèce, un modeste local acheté en 1963 par le gouvernement grec et qui pendant dix-huit ans n'a eu aucune activité.

les intellectuels et les étudiants hellènes de France sont, pour la plupart, en marge des différentes communautés helléniques et ne participent pas véritablement aux activités de celles-ci. De temps à autre les services de l'Ambassade de Grèce s'efforcent, bien maladroitement, de contrôler les différentes organisations qui rassemblent les Grecs de France; le plus souvent ils se désintéressent totalement d'elles. C'est ainsi que les Grecs de Marseille ont dû attendre près de trente ans pour recevoir la visite de leur ambassadeur.

Ce désintérêt manifeste des autorités grecques d'Athènes ou de Paris à l'égard de la communauté hellénique de France constitue une grave erreur. Le philhellénisme traditionnel de la France, s'il n'est pas soutenu par un puissant mouvement des Français d'origine grecque et des Grecs immigrés, risque fort de s'étioler alors que l'hellénisme grec et chypriote traverse de grandes épreuves. A l'inverse, la communauté turque de France, qui s'est considérablement étendue ces dernières années, est parvenue à constituer une force considérable. On a déjà dit que les Grecs immigrés étaient au nombre de 10 992 en 1980 [1]. Les Turcs de France à la même date étaient de 78 639 alors que leur nombre n'était que de 7628 en 1968 et 43 907 en 1977. En 1982 après la régularisation de la situation des travailleurs étrangers clandestins la communauté turque de France comptait officiellement 118 073 membres [2] et officieusement plus de 150 000. Les travailleurs turcs immigrés bénéficient, comme les autres travailleurs étrangers dont la communauté est numériquement importante, d'émissions à la Télévision dans leur langue et en langue française, qui, sous couvert de culture et d'information, font la promotion de la politique générale des autorités d'Ankara. Puissamment encadrés par les syndicats de gauche CGT et CFDT, les Turcs immigrés pèsent déjà d'un certain poids sur la politique extérieure de la France, qui depuis plusieurs années tient davantage compte des intérêts turcs.

Lorsque le droit de vote aux élections municipales sera accordé en France aux travailleurs étrangers, ce qui est prévisible à moyen terme, le poids politique des Turcs immigrés et donc de la Turquie deviendra considérable et s'exercera aux dépens des intérêts grecs. Il sera alors bien tard pour le gouvernement grec et ses services diplomatiques de réparer les erreurs dues à leur imprévoyance.

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(1). Depuis 1981 le nombre des Grecs immigrés n'est plus recensé puisque depuis l'adhésion de la Grèce au Marché Commun (1 janvier 1981) les citoyens hellènes n'ont plus besoin de solliciter de permis de séjour pour venir travailler en France. Toutefois on peut estimer qu'en 1982 le nombre des Grecs de France a peu varié par rapport à 1980.

(2). Ce chiffre est celui du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Voir **Le Monde**, 3 décembre 1982.

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ATTITUDES OF PARENTS TOWARD THE EDUCABLE MENTALLY RETARDED GREEK CHILD AS INFLUENCED BY THEIR SOCIO—ECONOMIC STATUS AND THE SEX OF THIS CHILD*

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ABSTRACT

This study evaluated the attitudes of parents toward their educable mentally retarded (EMR) Greek child as influenced by their socio-economic status and the sex of the child. It was hypothesized that attitudes of parents were: less favorable toward their EMR child as compared to those toward their normal child, more favorable toward their EMR child as compared to those toward other EMRs, and significantly related to the socio-economic status of parents and not to the sex of the EMR child. Eighty three parents having at least one EMR child were used as the subjects of the present study. A 42-trait names scale adapted form the Bills' Index of Adjustment and Values (1951) was used to evaluate the parents attitudes. The results confirmed these hypotheses except that concerning parents' social class. Implications for EMR child's mental hygiene and for creating more skillful parent counseling services in Greece were discussed.

RESUME

Cette étude évalue les attitudes des parents envers leurs enfants arriérés mentaux capables de recevoir une éducation, EMR, en rapport avec leur statut socio-économique et le sexe de l'enfant. Les hypothèses de travail étaient les suivantes: les attitudes des parents seraient moins favorables envers leur enfant EMR qu'envers leur enfant normal et plus favorables envers leur enfant EMR qu'envers d'autres enfants EMR.

Le statut socio-économique des parents influencerait de façon significative les attitudes envers un enfant EMR. Par contre le sexe de l'enfant n'aurait pas d'influence significative sur ces attitudes. L'échantillon de cette étude a été composé de quatre-vingt trois personnes ayant au moins un enfant EMR. Pour évaluer les attitudes des parents nous nous sommes servi d'une échelle de 42 noms caractéristiques que nous avons adaptée et qui a été tirée du Repertoire Bill's Index of Adjustment and Values (1951).

Les résultats de cette étude ont confirmé ces hypothèses sauf celles qui se rapportent à l'influence de l'origine sociale des parents. Dans cette étude ont aussi été analysées les implications sur l'hygiène mentale des enfants EMR et a été proposée la création pour les parents des services de consultation plus qualifés.

INTRODUCTION

An overview of the literature dealing with mental retardation reveals that there has been an abundance of material discussing the mentally retarded (MR) child as an individual. On the contrary, although it is a truism that the tragedy of a MR child is always greater for the parents than for the child, it is rather surprising that comparatively little has been written concerning the attitudes of parents toward such a child. In addition, much of what has been published is purely anecdotal in character or else based on mere impressions. One cannot ignore, however, the important fact that the societal climate has become more favorable since the mid 1950's; this has allowed for better acceptance by communitites of the MR children and their families. The current approach of community — based care of the MR child has placed considerable importance on the family unit. Modern social welfare, while focusing on the needs ot the MR child, appears to shift its concern toward

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thinking of the MR person in his family and the family in a social setting starting thus to be primarily family-centered and community-concerned, respectively. Kelmnan (1958, p. 37) has described the significance of the family of the retarded in writing "the retarded child must be viewed as an integral part of the family's group and as having distinct relationships to its members." The impact of retardation on the family is, according to the literature, stressful and traumatic to one degree or another and adds to the family's vulnerability in coping with life problems. Such an impact on parents has resulted in heavy emphasis on parent counselling. Evidence indicates that the attitudes and adjustment of the siblings as well as of the retarded member of the family are in major part determined by reactions and attitudes of parents toward that member and his disability (Heilman 1950, Maroulis and Balaes 1978). Viewing thus the family as a system in which the common needs and purposes are met through role interactions of its members, the need for a family approach to mental retardation seems self-evident. Such an approach appears to be, besides, in accord with Steven's view (1964) that mental retardation should be viewed as a family problem since "The presence of a retarded child in a home presents a variety of complex problems involving all facets of family life and all family members" (p. 6). Also, this approach appears to be in accord with Adam's view (1966) that mental retardation has to be seen as "a total family handicap because of its adverse social consequences" (p. 3).

On the other hand, the way in which a society discharges its responsibility to the MR individual is directly influenced by the attitudes of its members toward this individual. With regard to the family-oriented approach to the problem, Begab (1963) emphasizes that "how efficiently the family can adapt to and handle the problem determines to a large extent how much responsibility society will need to assume in the care, management and treatment of the retarded individual"(p. 35).

There is evidence that the attitude parents have about mental retardation are highly individualistic (Begab 1963, Cohen 1962, Schild 1964, Wolfensberger 1967) and multidimensional (Jaffe 1967) varying widely among and between them and decisively affected by a variety of dynamic factors: individual personality, nature of the marital relationship, parental aspirations, feelings about deviancy, parental roles, socio-cultural-economic statuses, parental belief etc. Despite the wide range of feelings of parents described in the literature, some are noted to be more prevalent than others: inadequacy, bereavement, shock, guilt, embarrassement, ambivalence, disappointment, frustration, anger, shame and sorrow (Graliker et al. 1959, Kramm 1963, Schild 1964). According to MacKeith (1973), these feelings may produce "maternal" behavior in both the mother and father, rejection of the child, depression and lack of confidence, aggressive behavior toward those who are trying to help the parents, disbelief and a succession of consultations at other clinics in the search of better news as well as withdrawal from the social contacts and consequent social isolation.

An overview of the literature dealing with attitudes of parents of MR children indicates that there is an almost unanimous agreement among psychologists, counselors and social workers that parents are resistant to accepting the fact that the child is mentally defective. Sheimo (1951) viewed parental denial of the mental deficiency as "to be an important element in their defensive mechanism and very necessary in the maintenance of their self-esteem". He also believed parents of MR children seek a negative answer to the question "Is our child's mental retardation due to his heredity?". Stone (1948), on the other hand, noted that some parents refused to recognize that certain types of behavior in their children were abnormal and that mental retardation was responsible for deviations in their child's behavior. Other parents, according to Thorne and Andrews observations (1946), reacted negatively by seeking to place the child in an institution and also by making no further effort to contact the child. In fact, studies demonstrated that the attitudes of parents were more important in determining speed of institutionalization that was the child's handicap or his behavioral problem, (Eyman et al. 1966). They also indicated that there was a significant correlation between mother's attitudes and reading achievement or performance in arithmetic of their retarded children (Ohlson 1968, Sundstrom 1968).

An overview of the comparative studies dealing with the topic of attitudes and categories of mental retardation indicates also that parents of educable and trainable MR

children had more favorable attitudes toward their children than they did toward such children in general (Blumberg 1965); that mothers of mildly retarded children had more protective child-rearing attitudes than parents of severely retarded children (Dingman et al. 1963); that parents were not influenced by the sex of the retarded child while those coming from low socio-economic statuses tended to have child rearing attitudes associated with defensiveness, aggressiveness, dominance, authoritarianism and rejection of their children (Barber 1963), and that there was a low but positive correlation between religious belief and maternal acceptance (Zuk et al. 1961). As far as intervention procedures are concerned, there is evidence that such issues may differentially affect different components of attitudes (Jaffe 1967) and that attitude change may be differentially affected for different ethnic groups (Mandel 1968) and by age of subjects (Cleland and Cochran 1961, Kimbrell and Luckey 1964).

From the above review of the psychological literature it appears that, although the current approach of community-based care of the MR child has placed considerable importance on the family unit emphasizing the contributing role of the attitudes of parents in the forming of the retardate's feelings and acts, almost the whole clinical and empiririca information related to the nature of parental attitudes per se as well as to the conditions under which these attitudes vary appears to derive from small sample-based studies and also to be relatively scattered. In other words, there does not seem to be a consistent line of research. It also appears that although numerous studies have beeen reported between various measures of socio-economic status and intelligence in MR children, surprinsingly, few of these have been concerned with the relationship between parents' social class and their attitude toward theses children. It further appears that parental attitude toward the MR child has not received considerable attention by professional people and researchers in Greece. One research done in our country was that of Maroulis and Balaes (1978) in which family attitudes toward Down's syndrome children were studied. Presumably, the basic reason behind this situation is associated with the prejudice which appears to prevailing among professionals as well as in the public about the potential of the MR individual for success in his life and for his normal integration in Greek society.

These considerations inspired us to attempt to evaluate the acceptance-rejection patterns held by parents toward their educable mentally retarded (EMR) child and also to investigate whether such patterns are influenced by their socio-economic status and by the sex of this child. The main working hypothese proposed for investigation were:

(1) Parents have less favorable attitudes toward their EMR child than they do toward their normal.
(2) Parents have more favorable attitudes toward their EMR child than they do toward EMR children in general.

The supplementary hypotheses proposed for investigation were:

(1) Parents from low socio-economic classes have less favorable attitudes toward the EMR child than parents form middle socio-economic classes do toward this child.

(2) No significant relationship exists between parents attitudes toward the EMR child and the sex of this child.

Since a direct measure of parental attitude toward EMR children might be distorted by the defense mechanisms aroused in the parents of the retardate, it was decided to use an indirect technique derived by the work of Rogers and Dymond (1954) on self-concept. Thus the assumption underlying the present investigation was that the discrepancy between the parents's evaluation of their own EMR (and normal) child and of the "ideal" or of most other EMR children would be associated with parental rejection of the child.

METHOD

The sample

The parents of 67 families (60 mothers and 23 fathers; total: 83) having at least one EMR child (N=67; males 38, females 29 being within the age range of 7-16 years; mean 10 years) were used as the subjects of the present study. Whenever possible, both the mother and the father were asked to make evaluation. The 83 parents of the present sample were randomly selected from the urban areas of Athens, Piraeas and Ioannina of Greece where their EMR children were receiving a primary school education in 7 special state schools operated in these areas at the beginning of the school year 1982-1983 (September 1982). Parents were within the age of 25-51 years (mean: 37.6) and they were coming from low and middle socio-economic statuses, according to National Statistical Service of Greece (1975a)*. In three of the families cooperated the EMR child was fatherless while three mothers were divorced. In 9 of the families the EMR child was an only child. In 54 of the families there were normal children. In four of the families there were two EMR children and a normal sibling while in one of them there were two EMR children only. Where there were normal siblings in the family, parents were asked to evaluate at least one of them as well as their EMR child. The control group consisted of 55 normal children. Thus by requiring the same parent to rate both his or her normal and retarded child, differences in reactions of parents which would arise from using families with only normal children were eliminated.

The instrument

The instrument used in this study was a rating scale from the Bills Index of Adjustment and Values (Bills et al. 1951). This Index originally was designed to measure the self-concept of the individual by evaluating the attitude the individual has toward himself as well as the values toward which he is striving. The Index was adapted and slightly modified by the investigator for the present study to measure: (1) the attitudes of parents toward their EMR (and normal) child, (2) the concept of the "ideal" child held by parents, (3) the attitudes of parents toward other EMR children.

Thus the discrepancy between parents' attitudes toward their own child and the parents' concept of the "ideal" child yielded an indirect measure of their acceptance-rejection patterns. Also, the discrepancy between a parent's evaluation of his own child and his idea of that of other EMR children yielded another indirect index of acceptance.

The present scale consisted of 42 trait names; 40 of them were selected from Allport and Odbert's work (1936) as well as from the literature on mental retardation while two of them were added by the author of the present study. The following traits were selected: aggresive, alert, ambitious, annoying, anxious, busy, calm, competitive, confident, confused, considerate, cruel, defiant, demanding, dependable, destructive, docile, dominating, fearful, friendly, hostile, inquisitive, jealous, meddlesome, merry, nagging, negative, nervous, patient, possessive, reckless, selfish, self-sufficient, sensitive, spoiled, stable, tic, timid, truancy, ungrateful, well-mannered, withdrawal. The two traits added by the investigator were those of tic and truancy as related to Greek child's behaviour problems defined and studied in our country by Paraskevopoulos et al. (1970 and 1971) using however samples from a normal child population. The words were arranged randomly in a vertical list and each word was followed by three columns. At the top of each of the three columns appeared these sentences:

*The level of the socio-economic status of parents was determined by employing the criteria of parental educational level, occupation of fathers, total family income as well as housing conditions (personal estimation); the occupation categories of fathers were defined according to the procedure followed by the National Statistical Service of Greece (1975a). Fifty six of the parents (67.47%) had received a primary school education, 8 of them (7.23%) had attended some secondary school classes, 18 of them (21.69%) were secondary school graduates, and only one of them (1.2%) was a university graduate. With regard to fathers' occupation, 15 of them (65.2) were unskilled or skilled workers falling thus into the first two occupation categories defined by this statistical service, and 8 of them (34.79%) were professionals or merchants falling into the 3rd and 6th occupation category, respectively.

Column I, My child is...
Column II, I wish my child were...
Column III, Most EMR children are...

Opposite each trait, the numbers 1-5 were printed in each of the columns. These numbers were designated how much of the time the trait was applicable. Number 1, signified never, 2-seldom, 3-sometimes, 4-usually, 5-always.

When the subjects were contacted, the experimenter explained the purpose of the study as an attempt to evaluate the attitudes of parents toward EMR children as influenced by their socio-economic status and by the sex of the child. The scale was distributed to the parents and the following instructions were read:

> We would like to obtain a more clear idea of how parents see their children and the EMR children of others. Accompanying these instructions is a list of 42 words. Take each item separately and try to use it to complete the sentence at the top of Column I. The sentence read: My child is... The first word is jealous, so the sentence would read: My child is jealous. Then decide how much of the time this statement is applicable to your child and rate him on a scale of 1 to 5 according to the following key: (1)Never, (2)Seldom, (3)Sometimes, (4)Usually, (5)Always.

The same instructions were given for Column II (Ideal) and Column III (Other EMR). Whenever possible, parents were asked to rate separately their EMR child and at least one of the normal child in their family as well.

The ratings of parents on the trait scale were analysed statistically. Especially, the means and the standard deviations of the ratings of parents associated with their socio-economic status as well as with the sex of the child were calculated. The t-criterion was applied for testing the significance of discrepancy between the parents' evaluation of their own child and of the "ideal" or of EMRs in general. The t-test was also applied for testing the significance of differences of the means related to the parents' rating of male and female children. It was decided to use the t-test since there were two independent groups (males and females) consisting of different number of subjects and also coming from a homogeneous population (children) (Paraskevopoulos 1973). The relationship, on the other hand, between social class of parents and their attitudes toward the EMR child was investigated by computing the Pearson r Correlation Coefficient.

RESULTS

(1)Measures of acceptance-rejection patterns of parents

The trait scale yielded three indirect measures of acceptance-rejection patterns held by parents toward their EMR child: ratings on their child in Column I; discrepancy between the ratings on their own child and "ideal" child (I-II) as well as discrepancy between own EMR child and other EMR children (I-III). It was assumed that: (a) the more negative the parent rated his child, the greater the rejection; (b) the more the parent perceives his child as deviating form the "ideal" child, the less is his acceptance on this child.

The traits of the scale were both positive and negative. Therefore, it was necessary to reverse the ratings on the negative traits (or the positive traits) before summing ratings in Column I. Two judges were asked to rate the 42 items in the scale as positive or negative. Agreement was obtained on all of them ($r = 94$). The sum of scores in Column I yielded a measure of the positive attitude parents had toward the child, the sum of differences between Columns I and II, item for item, yielded discrepancy scores between the "ideal" and the EMR or normal child while the algebraic sum of the differences between Columns I and III provided a measure of the discrepancy between the EMR child of parents and other EMR children. The algebraic discrepancies between I and III columns were significant since the sign of the deviation indicated whether the parent perceived his child as bet-

ter or worse than other EMR children. Table 1 presents the distributions of the sums of the ratings by the parents on the 55 normal and 67 EMR children (I), on the "ideal" child (II), and on the other EMR child (III).

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of ratings by parents on EMR child, normal child, child-ideal and other EMR children.

Score	Own EMR	Normal	Ideal	Other EMRs
200	...	...	4	...
190	...	...	24	...
180	1*	2	25	1
170	4	4	11	...
160	6	10	3	...
150	17	17	..	1
140	12	14	...	3
130	7	8	...	22
120	1	...	...	18
110	7	...	...	11
100	2	...	...	9
90	...	...	...	2
N	67	55	67	67
Mean	141.19	156.94	186.89	124.82
SD	18.89	21.13	9.55	14.33

*The figures in each column indicate the number of ratings falling in each 10-point step interval of the scale from 90 to 200 points. F.e. the figure 1 on the own EMR column that one rating was only falling in the step interval between 179.5 and 189.5.

Inspection of this table indicates that parents rated their owm EMR child far below their normal. The difference of 15.75 between the means of the normal and EMR child was significant in the predicted direction far beyond the .0005 level (T-ratio of 8.31; df = 54). The difference in the ratings of the two groups was more evident when comparisons were made of the number of each group that fell below a "cut-off" score of 139.5. Only 8 of the normal children (14.5%) fell below this point while 27 of the EMR children (40.3%) fell in this category.

Regardless of the number of children (EMR or normal) in the family, the parental ratings of both the "ideal" and other EMR child were the same for each child in the family. In other words, there was, as Table 1 shows, one rating by each parent on the "ideal" and other EMR child for each of the families cooperated in the present study.

The mean of 186.89 for the "ideal" child was significantly higher than the means of the ratings of the EMR and normal child. In addition, the SD of 9.55 shows that there was greater agreement among parents on what traits are applicable to the "ideal" child while the distribution of the ratings was highly skewed negatively with 49 of the 67 ratings falling in only two step intervals.

With regard to the ratings of parents on most other EMR children, Table 1 shows that, on the average, parents rated their EMR child 16.37 points higher (in the positive direction) than other EMR children. This difference was, surprisingly, quite similar to that found between the ratings of parents on their EMR and normal children (it was a 15.75 point difference). The difference of 16.37 between the means of the parents EMR child and of other EMR children was significant in the predicted direction far beyond the .0005 level (t-ratio of 8.78). In other words, the parents rated their EMR child , much less positively than their normal seemed to compensate by their almost equally low evaluation of other EMR children.

Table 2 shows the distribution of discrepancy scores between ratings by parents on child-ideal, for their own EMR and normal child and for other EMR children.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of discrepancy scores between ratings by parents on child-ideal for the EMR child, normal child, and for other EMR children.

Discrepancy Score	Own EMR	Normal	Other EMRs
120	...	...	1*
110	...	...	...
100	...	...	2
90	1	...	...
80	1	...	8
70	7	...	9
60	10	2	18
50	10	4	15
40	11	19	7
30	8	10	4
20	11	5	2
10	7	12	1
0	1	3	...
N	67	55	67
Mean	45.70	34.27	62.86
SD	19.55	15.42	18.8

Inspection of this table indicates that the mean discrepancy of 45.70 of the EMR from the "ideal" child was much higher than the mean discrepancy of 34.27 of the normal child from the "ideal". The mean difference of 11.43 yielded a t-ratio of 4.43 which was significant in the predicted direction far beyond the .0005 level. The difference between the two groups was more evident when comparisons were made of the number in each group that fell above a score of 59.5; while in the normal group only 2 of the 55 cases (3.63%) fell above this point, in the retarded group there were 19 of the 67 cases (28.4%) falling in this category. Also, the mean discrepancy of 62.86 of the other EMR child from the 'ideal" child was significantly higher than the mean discrepancy of 45.70 of their EMR children. The mean difference in discrepancy between the two groups yielded a t-ratio of 6.37 which was significant far beyond the .0005 level of confidence. In other words, parents were significantly more favourable to their own EMR child than they did to other EMR children.

(2) Relationship between socio-economic status of parents and their attitudes toward the EMR child.

Table 3 presents the distribution of ratings by low an middle class parents on their EMR and normal child, the child-ideal and other EMR children.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of ratings by low and middle class parents on their own EMR child, normal child, child-ideal and other EMR child.

Score	Own EMR		Normal		Ideal		Other EMRs	
	Low	Middle	Low	Middle	Low	Middle	Low	Middle
210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
200	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
190	...	...	...	...	19	5	...	...
180	...	1	2	1	18	7	...	1
170	2	1	2	1	6	5	...	...
160	3	3	8	2	3	...	...	...
150	14	3	12	5	...	...	...	1
140	8	4	12	2	...	...	2	1
130	6	1	4	4	...	...	18	4
120	8	3	...	...	...	...	11	7
110	5	3	...	...	...	...	8	3
100	2	...	...	...	...	...	8	1
90	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
N	48	19	40	15	48	19	48	19
Mean	140.31	143.42	154.02	152.73	187.08	186.42	124.56	125
SD	18.9	20.33	22.76	13.96	9.25	10.07	12.52	17.75

Inspection of this table indicates that the level of socio-economic status of parents (low, middle) was not in fact related to their attitudes toward their EMR and normal child, the "ideal" child as well as to other EMR children. The statistical analysis of these data showed that the correlation between the social class and the attitudes of parents was not significant ($r = .27$, $df = 17$ for their own EMR child; $r = .34$, $df = 17$ for the ideal; $r = .36$, $df = 13$ for the normal; $r = .34$, $df = 17$ for other EMR children).

(3) Relationship between the sex of the EMR child and the attitudes of parents toward this child.

Table 4 shows the distribution of discrepancy scores between ratings per sex by parents on child-ideal for their EMR and normal child and for other EMR children as well.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations of discrepancy scores between ratings per sex by parents on child-ideal for their EMR child, normal child and other EMR children.

Score	Own EMR		Normal		Ideal		Other EMRs	
	M*	F*	M	F	M	F	M	F
200	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...
190	...	...	...	...	16	8	...	...
180	...	1	1	2	16	9	...	1
170	2	1	2	1	5	6	...	...
160	3	3	7	3	1	2	...	...
150	11	6	8	9	...	...	...	1
140	6	6	11	3	...	...	2	1
130	5	2	6	2	...	...	13	9
120	8	3	...	...	...	...	10	8
110	5	3	...	...	...	...	9	2
100	1	1	...	...	...	...	6	3
90	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
N	41	26	35	20	41	26	41	26
Mean	140.07	142.96	152.11	156.2	188.45	184.42	122.5	128.46
SD	18.24	19.72	8.9	16.99	8.86	10.25	12.25	16.6

*M stands for males and F for females.

Inspection of this table indicates that the ratings of parents of their EMR and normal child, child-ideal and of other EMR children were not varying according to the sex of these children. The statistical analysis of these data showed that the differences per sex of the means of the ratings of parents were statistically significant ($t = .6$, $df = 65$ for their own EMR child; $t = 1.68$, $df = 65$ for the ideal; $t = 1.15$, $df = 53$ for the normal; $t = 1.66$, $df = 65$ for other EMR children).

DISCUSSION

The results of the present study showed that, on the average, parents rated their EMR child significantly less favorably than the normal child on personality traits; that they perceived their EMR child as deviating significantly farther from their concept of an "ideal" child; that they evaluated most other EMR children significantly less favorably than their EMR child; that the level of parents socio-economic status was not significantly related to their attitudes toward their EMR child and other EMR children, and finally that their attitudes toward their EMR child as well as toward other EMR children were not significantly varied according to the sex of these children.

Thus the present findings support the two main hypotheses proposed in the investigation concerning the greater parental rejection of the EMR child. The findings support also the supplementary hypothesis predicting lack of variability in parents ratings according to the sex of the EMR child. The only hypothesis not confirmed by the present findings was that concerning variability in the ratings of parents of the EMR child according to the level of their socio-economic status. The fact that the study showed rejecting attitudes of parents was not surprising since Worchel and Worchel (1961) demonstrated the same issue when they found that parents were rejecting of their retarded as compared to nonretarded. Also, Blumberg (1965) found that parents of educable and trainable retarded children had more favorable attitudes toward their children than they did toward such individuals in general.

The rejecting attitudes of Greek parents toward the EMR child may arise, at least in part, from the fact that the public in our country appears to be not fully (if not adequately) cognizant or well understanding of the nature of mental retardation and especially of the intellectual limits and the rate of personal development of the EMR child. The fact also that parents saw their EMR child significantly more favorably than other EMR children may be seen as an evidence that parents either were overcompensating or deliberately hiding their real evaluations. However, the ratings on the "ideal" child indicated their evaluations were not in fact defensive or distorted since the ratings on the EMRs and "ideal" were not practically overlapping. On the other hand, the amount of difference in the means of the ratings by parents on their EMR child and of those in most other EMR children, which was almost equal to the difference appearing between the ratings of parents for their EMR and normal child, may be seen as an indication that parents were more or less overcompensating in their ratings for their EMR child's personality traits.

The more favorable attitudes of Greek parents toward their EMR child as compared to those toward other EMR children may also be seen as an evidence that parents in our country were able to accept in one way or another the EMR child. In fact, looking only at attitudes of parents toward their EMR child may present a completly different picture than when attitudes toward retarded and nonretarded are compared. On the other hand, the more negative attitudes of parents toward other EMR children possibly indicate the projection of their disappointing feelings; on this issue it should be pointed out that by perceiving other EMR children negativaly parents may diminish their anxiety or guilt associated with the presence of deficiency in their child.

The finding also that parents showed more favorable attitude toward their normal child than toward their EMR child indicates that their negative attitude toward the EMR child was not a result of a generalized negative attitude on the part of themselves.

The finding further that attitudes of parents of the EMR child were not significanlty influenced by the socio-economic status of the family may be seen as an evidence that either the presence of a retarded child in a Greek family is equally vulnerable to the low and middle class parents or their expectations about the child are equally low and unrealistic in urban areas of our country. However, this finding was in agreement with that reported by Takeguchi (1967); he found that parents of educable and trainable retarded children had similar conceptions of "mental retardation", "educable mentally retarded" and "my own child", regardless of social class.

Finally, the result of the study showing that attitudes of parents of the EMR child were not significantly varied according to the sex of this child is in agreement with those reported by Barber (1963) on this issue. Such a finding could be interpreted as an indication that sex might not be a determining factor as far as those attitudes are concerned. It means further that parents may not differ in assigning higher scores on personality traits to either males or females.

From the above discussion one may conclude that parental attitude toward their EMR child are not favorable in Greece and that these unfavorable attitudes can only add to the retardate's problems. Presumably, a stereotyped thinking appears to prevailing among parents as well as in the public regarding the EMR child's potential for success and for his integration into the Greek community. Such a thinking may cause parents to have low and unrealistic expectations about this child that may add to his self-devaluation.

Community, therefore, through public education, should attempt to support the families of EMR children by creating a variety of more adequate and skillfull parents counseling services throughout the country as well as by developing a more positive public awareness and tolerance for the mentally retarded. Such an attempt can do much to ease the emotionally ladded problems of families as well as to provide opportunities for maximizing the potential of retardate's for productive satisfying lives and for developing reasonably acceptable behavior patterns on the part of themselves. In fact, for the community there are economic benefits to be gained from giving full support and help to the parents of the EMR child, but, more important, this is a compassionate and necessary part of the care of the retarded person and his family.

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LES DÉBUTS DE L'IMPRIMERIE EN LANGUE GRECQUE AU QUÉBEC

Jacques Bouchard*

RÉSUMÉ

Alors que la presse journalistique de langue grecque est reliée à l'évolution de l'immigration hellénophone au Québec, l'apparition du livre grec fut d'abord le fait des maisons d'enseignement francophones. Le premier livre totalement imprimé en grec fut un manuel scolaire anonyme intitulé: **Eklekta Mythistorias** (Morceaux choisis de mythologie), Montréal, 1837. Il fut suivi d'une **Grammaire grecque**, à l'usage du Collège de Montréal, Montréal, 1837. Il appert que l'auteur des deux livres, un sulpicien irlandais du nom de John Larkin (1801-1858), n'ignorait pas le grec moderne. Ces deux manuels ont une place privilégiée dans l'histoire des études grecques au Québec; celles-ci ont préparé favorablement les mentalités à la réception de l'immigration grecque au Québec.

ABSTRACT

While the Greek-language journalistic press is linked with Greek immigration to Québec, the earliest publication of books in Greek was undertaken by French-language educational institutions. The first volume to be printed entirely in Greek was an anonymous text-book entitled **Eklekta Mythistorias** (Mythological Excerpts), published in Montreal in 1837. It was followed later that year by a grammar of classical Greek for use of the Collège de Montréal. The author of these two volumes, an Irish Sulpician named John Larkin, most probably had some knowledge of Modern Greek. These two texts occupy an important place in the history of Greek studies in Québec; they helped lay the groundwork for a favourable public perception of Greek immigration.

L'essor de la presse de langue grecque au Québec est directement lié à l'affluence de l'immigration hellénophone; il en va cependant tout autrement des premiers livres imprimés entièrement ou en partie dans cette langue.

A l'exception de quelques cas isolés, qui remontent pourtant aux débuts de la Nouvelle-France[1], la présence et la promotion de la langue grecque au Québec furent intimement liées à l'évolution des études classiques dans les maisons d'enseignement. Parent pauvre des humanités au XVIIIe siècle — si l'on compare les études grecques aux études françaises et latines d'alors — c'est au XIXe siècle que le grec s'impose aux esprits studieux au point de constituer le fondement et l'ornement nécessaires d'une culture universelle[2].

C'est dans ce milieu d'études que voit le jour le premier imprimé de langue grecque du Québec — et probablement du Canada. Il s'agit d'un petit livre anonyme dont la page de titre se lit comme suit[3]:

1. Champlain rapporte qu'il employait, en 1628, "vn ieune homme truchement de nation grecque" dans ses relations avec les Indiens: **Les Voyages de Champlain**, (Laverdière, éd. 1870), Montréal, Editions du Jour, 1973, p. 170-171. C. Tanguay signale la présence au XVIIe si. d'un Thomas de Crisafy, d'un Antoine de Crisafy et d'un Romain Phocasse: **Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes**, vol. 1, 1871 (rééd. Montréal, Elysée, 1975), p. 150 et 481.

2. Voir O. Maurault, **Le Collège de Montréal 1767-1967**, Montréal, 1967 (2e éd.), p. 59-60. Cf. H. Pronovost, "La rentrée du grec au Séminaire de Québec", **Revue de l'Université Laval**, vol. X, n° 10 (juin 1956), p. 921-924.

3. Les descriptions existantes de cet imprimé sont incomplètes et inexactes; cf. F.M. Staton & Marie Tremaine, **A Bibliography of Canadiana**, Toronto, The Public Library, 1934, p. 407, n° 2100. Par ailleurs, il n'apparaît pas dans: D.S. Ghinis et V.G. Mexas, **Ἑλληνική Βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863**, Athènes, 1939.

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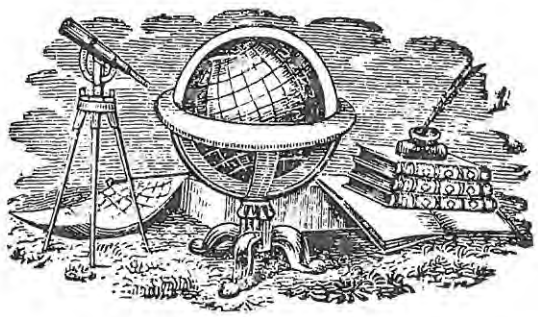
ΈΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ,

οὕτως ἁρμοσθέντα καὶ διαταχθέντα, ὥστε

ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑΚΟΙΣ

ὁδὸν τέμνειν ἐπὶ τὴν

ΈΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ.



ΈΝ ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙ·

Παρὰ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰωνέσῳ.

ΑΟΛΖ·

Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Θώμα Γεωρίνου

ΈΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ, / οὕτως ἁρμοσθέντα καὶ διαταχθέντα, ὥστε / ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑΚΟΙΣ / ὁδὸν τέμνειν ἐπὶ τὴν / ΈΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ. / (gravure) / ΈΝ ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙ· / Παρὰ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰωνέσῳ. / ,ΑΟΛΖ'/ Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπουργείου τοῦ Θώμα Γυερίνου.

On pourrait traduire: Morceaux choisis de Mythologie, adaptés et arrangés pour l'apprentissage de la langue grecque[4], Ville-Marie, Chez John Jones, 1837, De l'imprimerie de Thomas Guérin.

Ce qui frappe d'abord le lecteur helléniste, c'est l'usage quasi désinvolte que fait l'auteur de la langue ancienne, comme s'il s'agissait d'une langue vivante: en effet, l'auteur s'est complu à transposer en grec le toponyme **Marianopolis** du latin ecclésiastique, de même que le nom des imprimeurs John Jones et Thomas Guérin[5]. Mais l'helléniste s'étonne encore plus de constater que l'emploi de plusieurs termes n'est pas classique; en premier lieu, celui du mot μυθιστορια , qui n'est apparu qu'à l'époque romaine[6], dans le sens d'"histoire fabuleuse"; puis celui de στοιχειακός , un terme tardif signifiant "littéral, alphabétique" chez Eustathe, commentateur d'Homère du XIIe siècle, que l'auteur semble avoir pris pour στοιχειώδης , "élémentaire", attesté chez Aristote. Mais il y a plus: paraissant ignorer le néologisme τυπογραφεῖον pour "imprimerie", l'auteur forge de son cru le composé τυπουργεῖον , peut-être formé à partir de τυπουργια de Grégoire de Corinthe, grammairien du XIIe siècle.

Ce petit livre, de 16,2 X 9,7 cm, compte 54 pages; il comporte au verso de la couverture que nous venons de décrire la mention suivante en français: "District de Montréal. Bureau des protonotaires. Le neuvième jour de Janvier, 1837. Qu'il soit notoire que le neuvième jour de Janvier, dans l'année mil huit cent trente-sept, Messire Joseph Vincent Quiblier, Prêtre et Supérieur de MM. les Ecclésiastiques du Séminaire de Montréal, a déposé dans ce Bureau le titre d'un livre dans les mots suivans, savoir «ΈΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ, οὕτως ἁρμοσθέντα καὶ διαταχθέντα, ὥστε τοῖς στοιχειακοῖς ὁδὸν τέμνειν ἐπὶ τήν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν·» Au sujet du quel il réclame le droit de propriété. Enregistré conformément à l'Acte Provincial, intitulé, "Acte pour protéger la propriété littéraire." L.S. MONK & MORROGH, P.B.R." Sur la même page, plus bas: John Jones, Imprimeur.

Le texte couvre les pages (3) à 54; il est divisé en 18 chapitres d'inégales longueurs, allant du plus court au plus long. Pour le contenu, il est fort probable que l'auteur a puisé dans divers épitomés d'origine européenne, en les adaptant. En bas de page du texte grec, on lit en note des explications en français sur la morphologie, la syntaxe et la mythologie grecques. Etant donné le but de ce manuel, on comprend que l'auteur ait séparé d'un tiret le radical et la terminaison des verbes. On constate cependant que l'imprimeur ignorait le code typographique en vigueur pour l'impression du grec, ancien ou moderne, et qu'il coupe les mots en fin de ligne au petit bonheur: ἐκέλ-/ευσε, Ἀκτ-/αιονα, ἀρχιτέκ-/των, etc. Signalons enfin que l'imprimeur disposait d'une assez grande variété de caractères grecs, en capitales et en minuscules, de diverses grandeurs, et même d'italiques. L'impression du texte est soignée, de même que l'accentuation — pierre d'achoppement des typographes.

Quelques mois plus tard parassait un livre rédigé en français et en grec, et qui devait accompagner le précédent; il s'agit de l'ouvrage anonyme suivant:

GRAMMAIRE GRECQUE, / A L'USAGE / DU / COLLÈGE DE MONTRÉAL. / (réglet) / PREMIÈRE ÉDITION. / (réglet) / MONTRÉAL: / DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE JOHN JONES. / (réglet) / 1837.

Au verso de la page de titre, on lit un copyright semblable à celui des Morceaux choisis, daté du sixième jour de juillet 1838, et déposé par le même Joseph Vincent Quiblier.

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4. Mot-à-mot: "adaptés et arrangés de manière à frayer, au moyen des rudiments, la voie vers la langue grecque."

5. Peut-être par interférence de l'anglais, on a accentué Θώμα au lieu de Θωμᾶ.

6. Capitolinus Macrinus, I. Voir les précisions de A. Coray sur ce mot dans ses Prolégomènes de l'édition des Ethiopiques d' Héliodore (1804); cf. C.T. Dimaras, **Ὁ Κοραῆς καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του**, (Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 9), Athènes, 1958, p. 102.

C'est un livre de 321 pages, de 21,3 X 13,5 cm. A la page 321, on lit: De l'imprimerie de C.P. Leprohon.

Ce manuel scolaire est la première grammaire de la langue grecque à avoir été imprimée au Québec. Elle mérite un examen attentif: on reste étonné de trouver autant de science philologique, mais plus encore de découvrir que son auteur connaissait le grec moderne et que cette connaissance lui donnait une aisance évidente dans le maniement de la langue ancienne. Dès le début de sa grammaire, l'auteur note la "prononciation ordinaire", les dénominations alphabétiques "alpha, vita", etc., ainsi que "la prononciation selon les Grecs modernes" (p. 5), dont il précise les actualisations phonétiques combinatoires av/af, ev/ef, etc. en note (p. 6). Il signale en outre aux étudiants de grec ancien une assimilation régressive usuelle en grec moderne: "Les anciens changeoient les consonnes finales: τήμ μητέρα, κατὰ πόλιγ καί.» (p. 9 note). Que l'auteur ait eu à l'esprit quelque application pratique de sa grammaire scolaire, cela ne fait aucun doute; au chapitre de l'accentuation, il ajoute: "Les accents sont utiles pour distinguer des mots qui s'écrivent de la même manière, mais qui ont des sens différents, et pour distinguer la quantité de certaines syllabes: nécessaires pour parler avec les Grecs." (p. 12). A propos de morphologie, il marque: "Dans des auteurs Grecs plus modernes, on trouve un parfait, ἕστακα... " (p. 63 note). Ailleurs, concernant les verbes contractes, il indique que "Les Grecs modernes ont conservé cet usage Dorique pour les verbes en ὁω: σκοτονω, χρυσονω, θυμόνω pour σκοτόω, etc." (p. 87 note).

Quant aux exemples de grammaire, ils sont tirés des auteurs classiques et postclassiques. Mais l'auteur a pris le parti encore une fois de démontrer des applications modernes de la langue ancienne; il donne les exemples suivants: "Je pars pour l'Angleterre, ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τήν Ἀγγλίαν» "Je vais auprès de Londres. Ἀπέρχομαι πρός τήν (sic) Λονδῖνον»; "Il est parti d'Amérique, ἀποκεχώρηκεν ἐξ Ἀμερικῆς " (p. 80). Ailleurs, on lit: "Je vais en Angleterre où je verrai le Roi,εἰς τήν Βρεταννίαν ἀποδημήσω, ὅπου τόν βασιλέα ὄψομαι» (p.234); "les Philosophes tant anciens que modernes, οἱ φιλόσοφοι οἵ τε παλαιοὶ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι» "(p. 285). A la fin de son manuel, l'auteur esquisse un tableau des variantes dialectales de la langue ancienne, ainsi qu'un bref historique; il termine son exposé en ces termes: "A Constantinople, on admit peu-à-peu une foule de locutions étrangères qui altérèrent la langue, et enfin produisirent le **Grec moderne et vulgaire**, (ἁπλοελληνικὴ διάλεκτος), qui se parle aujourd'hui." (p. 318).

On peut affirmer que l'auteur s'est inspiré des grammaires européennes existantes, françaises et autres[7]. Mais on discerne là encore le même souci d'adaption **hic et nunc**; il écrit: "Les noms propres (ou d'individu) sont ceux que l'on donne à une seule personne, à une seule chose, comme Adam, Montréal, Québec" (p. 17).

Enfin, il y a lieu de supposer que les Morceaux choisis et la **Grammaire** pourraient avoir le même auteur: celui de la **Grammaire** fait remarquer que "Cette expression βάλλειν τινὰ λίθοις répond à l'expression Angloise, **to pelt a person with stones**" (p.213, note 1). Une remarque similaire est rapportée dans les Morceaux choisis (p. 33, note 1). Sans doute, d'aucuns auraient été tentés d'attribuer à J.V. Quiblier, mentionné dans le copyright, la paternité de la **Grammaire**, n'eût été l'affirmation de Gagnon, à savoir qu'"elle est de Jean Larkin qui était professeur de philosophie au Collège de Montréal"[8]. Cette opinion est corroborée par la tradition toujours vivante chez les prêtres de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal, tradition qui certifie que John Larkin était bien l'auteur des deux ouvrages.

La biographie du prêtre helléniste a fait l'objet de plusieurs études, dont la plus récente, encore inédite, est due aux soins de monsieur Bruno Harel, p.s.s., archiviste du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal[9]. Monsieur Harel a eu l'obligeance de nous communiquer son étude sur Larkin et de faciliter nos propres recherches: nous l'en remercions vivement.

John Larkin est né en 1801, à Ravensworth, Angleterre, dans une famille irlandaise catholique. Après une adolescence assez mouvementée, il entre, en 1823, au Séminaire de

7. Il propose, pour "la prononciation ordinaire", qu'on prononce le θ comme le th anglais et le χ comme le ch allemand, selon la tradition anglo-saxonne.

8. Ph. Gagnon, **Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne**, Québec, 1985, p. 210, n°1541.

9. L'article de B. Harel paraîtra dans le vol. VIII du **Dictionnaire biographique du Canada**.

Saint-Sulpice d'Issy-les-Moulineaux, près de Paris, pour y étudier la philosophie et la théologie. En 1825, il part pour Baltimore et termine ses études théologiques au St. Mary's Seminary; il est ordonné prêtre en 1827. Aussitôt appelé par J.V. Quiblier[10], alors directeur du Petit Séminaire du Montréal, Larkin arrive à Montréal en décembre 1827. Il se met dès lors à enseigner les lettres classiques et la philosophie au Petit Séminaire, une charge qu'il gardera jusqu'en 1840, alors qu'il entre au noviciat des jésuites de Louisville, Kentucky. Après une longue carrière vouée à l'enseignement et au ministère ecclésiastique, il meurt à New-York en 1858.

Si l'enseignement du grec ancien existait au Séminaire de Montréal bien avant l'arrivée de Larkin[11], on peut pourtant croire que c'est sous son impulsion que les études grecques atteignirent le haut niveau qui fut celui du Séminaire par la suite. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit d'examiner l'adresse rédigée en grec que Joseph-Rouër Roy, élève finissant, lut le 25 juillet 1838, à la distribution des prix, pour honorer la présence du célèbre Lord Durham[12].

Le document que nous transcrivons est conservé aux Archives du Collège de Montréal; on peut en consulter une reproduction photographique dans le livre de O. Maurault[13]. Il se lit comme suit:

"Discours à Lord Durham avant la distribution des prix du petit Séminaire de Montréal, mercredi le 25 juillet 1838.

Ὦ γενναιότατε καὶ μάλα ἔξοχε Ἔπαρχε.

Οὐδεπώποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ ἀφανίσῃ ταύτης τῆς καλλίστης ἡμέρας τὴν μνήμην: ταῖς γὰρ ἡμῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσκήσεσι τήνδε τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν περιποιῶν, ἐποχὴν ἡμῖν παρέχεις, ἥσπερ χαρᾷ καὶ εὐπρεπῶς μεγαλοφρονοῦντες μεμνησόμεθα. Καὶ δὴ καὶ πολιαινόμενοι τὴν τρίχα εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, τὸν Μουσῶν ἱερόν, ἐλθόντες καὶ τῶν τότε ἐσομένων νέων τὰς ἀσκήσεις ἰδόντες, τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, προσφθεγξόμεθα τοιάδε· ἐν ὁμοίῳ χρόνῳ, νέων τότε ὄντων ἡμῶν, ὁ γενναιότατος ὁ Δυνέλμου Δυναστής, ὁ τότε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀμερικῇ Βρεταννικῶν Ἐπαρχιῶν Ὑπερέπαρχος γεγονὼς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι Ἡρώων τῶν τε συστρατευομένων Γυλιέλμῳ Καλλινίκῳ, καὶ τῶν μετὰ Ῥικάρδου καὶ Ἐδουάρδου σταυροφορούντων ... ἐν ὁμοίῳ χρόνῳ ο Δυναστής, οὗτος ὁ πάνυ, ἠξίωσε παρορμᾶν τε ἡμᾶς νέους ὄντας, ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς ἀσκήσεις καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐτυχήσαντας στεφανοῦν. Οὗτοι δὲ καίπερ ἡμῖν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας φθονοῦντες, Σέ, μυρίοις ἐγκωμίοις ἀποσεμνύνουσιν. Ὦ Ἔπαρχε, καλῶς ἐν πᾶσι σὺν Θεῷ πράξειας, πολλὰ ἔτη ζῶν, ὥστε σεαυτῷ μὲν δόξαν, τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ δὲ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐδαιμονίαν νέμειν.»

Voici la traduction du texte:

Très excellent et très éminent Gouverneur,

Non, jamais rien ne pourra effacer en nous le souvenir de cette magnifique journée: en effet, en nous faisant l'insigne d'honneur d'assister à nos exercices scolaires vous nous gratifiez d'un événement dont nous nous souviendrons avec joie et avec une fierté bien légitime[14]. Et même quand nous aurons la tête chenue et que, venant dans cette enceinte

10. Voir O. Maurault, **op. cit.**, p. 152-153.

11. **Ibid.**, p. 58-60.

12. Maurault écrit que "Les Sulpiciens, seigneurs de Montréal, ont toujours gardé quelques restes de cette féodalité, même sous le régime anglais. Les Gouverneurs, ayant si souvent à traiter avec le Supérieur, avaient pris l'habitude d'aller le saluer à leur arrivée dans le pays. (...) Quatre adresses se succédèrent, l'une en grec, une autre en latin, une troisième en français, la dernière en anglais," **op. cit.**, p. 127-128.

13. **Ibid.**, p. 129. Nous respectons l'orthographe et l'accentuation du document, même lorsqu'elles sont fautives: δυναστὴς / δυνάστης, Γυλιέλμῳ / Γουλιέλμῳ, etc.

14. Durham arriva à Montréal le 24 juillet 1838 et n'y resta que deux jours. Voir: C. New, **Lord Durham's Mission to Canada**, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963, p. 86.

sacrée des Muses assister aux exercices des jeunes d'alors, nous nous remémorerons cette journée-ci, nous leur adresserons ces mots: à pareille date, lorsque nous étions jeunes, Son Excellence Lord Durham[15], alors gouverneur-général des Provinces Britanniques d'Amérique, issu des anciens héros qui firent campagne avec Guillaume le Conquérant et se croisèrent avec Richard et Edouard...à pareille date, ce Lord illustrissime daigna venir nous encourager, dans notre jeunesse, à nos nobles exercices, et couronner ceux qui s'étaient distingués dans leurs études. Ces jeunes, tout en enviant notre bonheur, vous glorifieront de mille éloges. Gouverneur, puissiez-vous avec l'aide de Dieu trouver le succès en toutes choses et vivre longtemps, afin de vous couvrir de gloire, vous-même, de donner à notre Province la sécurité et la stabilité et, nous tous, de nous rendre heureux[16].

On rapporte qu'à cette même distribution des prix de 1838 "des élèves résolvent un problème de mathématique en grec"[17].

Nous croyons que ces deux petits livres scolaires, en particulier la grammaire, ont contribué à éveiller la curiosité et l'intérêt des Québécois pour la Grèce. A partir de 1844, et jusqu'à la fin du siècle, une pléiade de périégètes québécois visiteront la Grèce[18]: ils avaient tous une formation philologique qui leur permit de tirer profit de leur voyage. Mais l'exemple le plus probant est sans doute celui de Gustave Adolphe Drolet: après avoir complété ses humanités classiques et son cours de droit, il s'engage dans l'armée des zouaves pontificaux; il échoue à Marseille, y apprend le grec moderne avec des marins grecs et s'embarque sur un bateau grec pour l'Archipel et l'Orient. Il a laissé, de son aventure, une relation de voyage[19].

Les études grecques connurent une diffusion importante au Québec vers la fin du XIXe siècle; l'apothéose symbolique en fut peut-être la représentation de l'**Antigone** de Sophocle, jouée en grec par les élèves et les professeurs du Séminaire de Montréal, le 26 mars 1895 et qu'on reprit pour le grand public le 8 mai suivant[20].

De son côté, le Séminaire de Québec décidait d'opter, en 1898, pour la prononciation moderne du grec ancien; à cette occasion des marchands grecs de Québec furent invités à donner des leçons de prononciation néo-grecque aux professeurs[21]. La prononciation moderne resta en usage dans ce Séminaire jusqu'en 1921[22].

A notre avis, les deux petits imprimés scolaires de langue grecque de 1837 méritent, dans l'histoire des études grecques au Québec, une mention honorable, qu'il convenait de souligner: directement ou indirectement, ils furent à l'origine de la passion qu'eurent et qu'ont toujours de nombreux Québécois pour la langue et la culture grecques.

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15. Le toponyme **Durham** était anciennement **Dunholme**: voir M. Bescherelle ainé, **Grand Dictionnaire de géographie universelle ancienne et moderne**, Paris, tome 2e, 1856, p. 582. Le rédacteur du texte a hellénisé la forme ancienne.

16. Lord Durham pouvait encore, le 25 juillet 1838, faire figure de "pacificateur". Il est probable que notre helléniste a dû changer d'avis après la publication du **Rapport** de Durham.
Concernant Quiblier et la position du séminaire de Montréal durant la Révolte des Patriotes de 1837-1838, voir: O. Maurault, **Nos Messieurs**, Montréal, Editions du Zodiaque, 1936, p. 110 et 120.

17. O. Maurault, **Le Collège de Montréal, op. cit.**, p. 60.

18. Voir: J. Bouchard, "Voyageurs québécois en Grèce au XIXe siècle", **Folia Neohellenica**, Amsterdam, 2 (1977), 1-23.

19. Drolet, né à St-Pie en 1844, partit en 1866. Voir: G.A. Drolet, **Zouaviana**, Etape de vingt-cinq ans 1868-1893, Montréal, Senécal et fils, 1893, p. 15-36.

20. Voir: O. Maurault, **Le Collège de Montréal, op. cit.**, p. 139-141.

21. Journal SEM, vol. V, p. 149.

22. **Ibid.**, vol. XI, p. 73. Cf. J. Bouchard, **op. cit.**, p. 22.

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11...

Discours à Lord Durham, avant la distribution des prix au petit Séminaire de Montréal, mercredi le 25 [illegible] 1838.

Ὦ γενναιότατε καὶ μάλα ἐξοχὴ Ἔπαρχε.

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COLLÈGE DE MONTRÉAL

Οὐδεπώποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὕτω μὴ ἀφανὲς ἦν ταύτης τῆς καλλιστης ἡμέρας τὴν μνήμην ταῖς γὰρ ἡμῶν περὶ τοῦδε λογουσι σχήσουσι τὴν τε παιδευτηρίου δόξαν περιποιῶν ἐπὶ σχὴν ἡμῶν παρέχεις, ἅπασιν χαρᾶ καὶ ἐν τῷ στήθει μεγαφρονοῦσιν μνήμην ἀεὶ μεμνησόμεθα. Καὶ δὴ καὶ πολιαὶ νόμφαι τὴν τε σὸν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, τὸν Μουσῶν ἕδρας ὄντα ἀληθῶς καὶ τῶν τότε ἐσομένων νέων τὰς ἡστυχήσεις ἰδόντες τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, προσωφθήσεσθαι οἰόμενοι δὲ ἐν ὁμοίῳ χρόνῳ, νέων τότε ὄντων ἡμῶν ὁ γενναιόπαλος ὁ Δουρέλμου Δυναστῆς, ὁ ὑὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ Δημοκρατίᾳ Βρεταννικῶν Ἐπαρχιῶν ὑπερέπαρχος γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἢ συμβαλομένων Γαλατίᾳ Καλιγονίᾳ, τῇ τῶν μεγάλη Ῥιμμοδονάρδου σταφροφορουμένων. ... ἐμοιόμοιον χρόνῳ ὁ Δυναστῆς οὗτος ὁ πάνυ ἠξιωσε παρορμᾶν τε ἡμᾶς νέους ὄντας ἐπὶ τὰς παλαὶς ἀσκήσεις τῇ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐτυχήσαντας σλαφανοῦν. Οὗτου δὲ πάντῳ ἡμῖν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας φθονοῦντες, Σὲ μυρίοις ἐμποδίοις ἀποσυμβαίνουσιν. Ὦ Ἔπαρχε, παλῶς ἐν πᾶσι σὺν θεῷ πράξεις πολλὰ ἔτη ζῶν, ὅλῃ σεαυτῷ μὲν δόξαν, τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ δὲ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐδαιμονίαν νέμειν.

TOWARDS A SOCIALIST REFORM IN THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM? (a situational approach)*

Leonidas C. Bombas**

ABSTRACT

An historical account of the major reforms attempted in the Greek educational system over the last seventy years shows that stability has characterized the system since its establishment in 1830. Reforms have been either strongly opposed or interrrupted by the conservative and reactionary forces that have almost exclusively governed Greece.

A few liberal measures introduced into the system had never had the chance to "flourish into full-fledged" progressive reforms. The so-called "PASOK phenomenon" which successfully managed to put together all anti-conservative forces of Greek society and capitalized on their true thirst for **Allaghi** (Change) in the 1981 general elections, has promised to radically alter the philosophy and the structure of the Greek educational system. The factors, however, contributing to the stability of the system and, more so, the stagnant economy, do not leave much room for such substantial changes despite the many rhetorics of the PASOK people and its "charismatic" leader A. Papandreou. As long as the social and economic apparatus of Greek society remains basically unchanged, major and socialist-like reforms in education will not be materialized. More than a full year of PASOK government has definitely been a better but far from socialist administration on both the internal and external fronts. The few minor changes introduced into the Greek society do not seem, so far, to challenge the longstanding tradition of stability. Education stands as an illustration of that continuing tradition.

RÉSUMÉ

Une revue historique des plus grandes réformes du système grec de l'éducation pendant les derniers soixante-dix ans nous montre que la stabilité fut une des caractéristiques depuis son établissement en 1830. Les réformes rencontrèrent une forte opposition ou bien elles furent interrompues par les forces réactionnaires qui ont presque exclusivement gouverné la Grèce. Quelques mesures libérales introduites dans le système n'ont jamais eu la chance de devenir des réformes progressistes. Le "phénomène" PASOK qui a réuni une coalition des forces anti-conservatrices de la société grecque aux élections de 1981 en se basant sur leur soif pour **Allaghi** (changement), avait promis de changer radicalement la philosophie et la structure du système de l'éducation grecque. Cependant, les facteurs qui ont contribué à la stabilité du système aussi bien que l'économie stagnante du pays ne laissent pas de grandes possibilités de changements essentiels malgré les discours réformistes des gens de PASOK et de son leader "charismatique" Andréas Papandréou. Aussi longtemps que les structures sociales et économiques de la société grecque restent essentiellement inchangées, il n'est pas possible d'espérer des transformations en profondeur et de nature socialiste dans le domaine de l'éducation. Plus d'un an de gouvernement de PASOK a montré qu'il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une meilleure administration par rapport aux gouvernements précédents, mais loin d'une administration socialiste, tant sur le plan interne que sur le plan externe. Les quelques changements introduits ne semblent pas mettre en cause la longue tradition de stabilité des structures de la société grecque. Le cas de l'éducation est un exemple caractéristique de ce point de vue.

Introduction

This paper attempts a critical evaluation of the educational reform promised by the newly elected Greek socialist government of PAnellinio SOcialistiko Kinima (PASOK: Pan-hellenic Socialist Movement). The evaluation is being carried out within the historical framework of the Greek educational system, the major reforms that have marked its history, and the principal characteristics of the system that seem to have outlived the reforms themselves. Furthermore, the present analysis touches upon the two major explanatory theories of development, modernization and dependency theory, the two

* This paper was written in the fall of 1981.

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theories of development which have been elaborated when examining the transformation of the so-called underdeveloped nations into developing countries. An attempt is also made, keeping in mind the differences between Third-World nations and Greek society, to "categorize" the various reforms of the Greek educational system under the former or the latter theory of development. Emphasis is placed, in particular, on the educational reforms promised by the present Greek government. The extent of possible implementation of the proposed reforms is critically examined while a brief account of the "educational performance" of one year of PASOK government is presented at the end of this analysis.

In short, the thesis of this paper is: a) The educational program of PASOK does not differ considerably from previous major reforms of the Greek educational system — so far modernization seems to be the theory mostly favoured by all Greek reformers from the beginning of the century while some elements of dependency theory can be found in each reform; b) Beyond the many rhetorics, especialy during the last months of the electoral campaign, the educational platform of PASOK is not going to "break" the Greek tradition that is geared toward the stability and the sclerosis of the educational system; and c) Only minor changes will be eventually introduced into the educational system. The structure **and** the philosophy of that system are going to outlive the present ambitious and well-intended Greek Socialist government.

I. A Brief Theoretical Framework of Development

Invariably, social scientists, in trying to examine and understand the transformation of Third World countries and their "passage" from the underdeveloped to the developed stage, have formulated a number of theories with respective explanatory models. Modernization theory and dependency theory have been the two most prevalent theories in that respect. With some variations, most social analysts subscribe to either of these theories and within those theoretical frameworks the "developing process" of Third World countries is examined. Chronologically, modernization theory has preceded dependency theory. It is not an unusual phenomenon, however, to find elements of both theories amongst the development strategies adopted by Third World countries — and amongst some European countries for that matter.

Briefly then, modernization theory might be seen as a continuation of Karl Marx's thoughts in the 19th century when he was writing about the important socio-political issues of the then colonized nations of Asia, mainly India. Marx argued in favor of the "benevolent nature" of colonizers, although such a position might sound quite paradoxical to some young Marxists today. For Marx the colonizers were promoting his well-known theme of the "proletarian class". He believed that colonization was transforming feudalism in these countries and introduced changes leading to the formation of a working class. Thereafter modernization theorists have argued that development should be examined and understood historically and that the meanings of development are often ambiguous. In the early 1960's modernization theory was given its name by those involved in studying developing nations and, from then on, the theory has had a profound influence on educational research and theory.

Those subscribing to modernization theory are critically examining such issues as the "human capital" and the impact of schooling to "modernity"[1]. They are also proposing new technologies of educational expansion in most of the developing countries and have strongly advocated the view that there is a linear relationship between education and modernity. Among others, Inkeles and Smith (1974) have argued that in "...large-scale complex societies no attribute of the person predicts his attitudes, values, and behavior more consistently or more powerfully than the amount of schooling he has received"[2].They have also pointed out that formal schooling by itself makes a person to be "decidedly more modern".

In a similar vein of argument Margaret Gillett (1969) notes that education is an essential institution in every modern society:

> Education is therefore essential in a democratic society, and it must be equally accessible to all...Thus it can be said, as much for spiritual and humanistic as for practical reasons, that modern society, at once industrial and democratic by nature, is dependent more than ever before on the education of everyone over a longer period of time[3].

Modernization theorists, like the social philosophers of a century before, have seen education as a powerful device for achieving social change. Apparently, faith in the schools as the social and economic leveler, or what Greer has called "the great school legend", has been pervasive:

> Thus, one can say that the educational system has served as a kind of laboratory where current social values and social attitudes have changed most rapidly and to the largest extent. In this manner, the system of education has served as an indirect agent of social chnage and has played the role of a dynamic element in modern society[4].

Dependency theory, on the other hand, has emerged as a critique of modernization theory. Education in developing countries is seen as inherently inegalitarian. The introduction into the developing societies of "western-type" educational systems serves no other purpose than that of establishing a new kind of colonialism that the dependency theorists call "cultural imperialism".

Dependency theory places great emphasis on the indigenous culture of the developing nations and advocates "self-reliance" for the security, the autonomy , and the integrity of both the individual and the society. The relevance of formal schooling and the validity of the argument regarding the linear relationship between education and modernity has been under constant criticism by dependency theorists. They have been arguing that that the nature of the economic system has a great deal more influence on the distribution of income and occupational status than does the system of schooling. They, furthermore, argue that:

> ...the belief that highly industrialized society requires twelve to twenty years of prior processing of the young is an illusion or a hoax. The evidence is strong that there is no correlation between school performance and life achievement in any of the professions, whether medicine, law, engineering, journalism or business[5].

Dependency theorists have gone as far as to suggest that there is no point of having formal school at all since schools do not serve either the needs of the individuals or the needs of a democratic society. Illich's book "Deschooling Society" stands as the "bible" in that tradition whereas other educators have theorized along similar lines:

> The most obvious barrier between our children and the kind of education that can free their enormous potential seems to be the educational system itself: a vast, suffocating web of people, practices and presumptions, kindly in intent, ponderous in response. Now, when true educational alternatives are at last becoming clear, we may overlook the simplest: no school[6].

Dependency theorists point out that the only way to achieve development and a new national culture is through a national struggle for liberation from the existing domination. The absence of struggle, or even of participation, by the colonized masses precludes the possibility of forming liberated "cultural forms".

To summarize then, there seems to be a clear difference between the function of an educational system as seen by modernization theorists (Developmentalists) and its function as seen by dependency theorists. Modernization theorists view schooling as a liberating process in which the child is transformed from a traditional individual to a modern one. This kind of transition is supposed to enable the child to become creative as well as functional. Schooling is also supposed to enable the graduate to contribute to the

economy, polity, and society. Bowles and Gintis (1976) in their well-known work "Schooling in Capitalist America" advance the argument on the importance of the nature of the economic system vis-a-vis the educational system and remark emphatically in their review of American education that:

> Despite persistent setbacks in practice, the liberal faith in the equalizing power of schooling has dominated both intellectual and policy circles. Education has been considered not only a powerful tool for self-development and social integration; it has been seen, at least since Horace Mann coined the phrase well over a century ago, as the "great equalizer"[7].

According to dependency theory, the transformation that takes place in school cannot be liberating since the person is simply changed from one role in a dependent system to a different role. Among others, Christopher Jencks et al (1972) in their highly publicized study "Inequality" have argued that a more egalitarian school system would do very little to create a more equal distribution of income or opportunity, while Bowles and Gintis (1976) in examining educational reforms in the U.S. have stressed that "...movements for educational reform have faltered through refusing to call into question the basic structure of property and power in economic life"[8]. Furthermore, the argument goes, while the new role may be more economically rewarding, it still leaves the individual in a conditional situation, one which is dominated by the culture, technology and goods of the dominant (developed) countries[9].

Within the above brief theoretical framework, and carefully considering the fact that Greece is not another "case" of a Third-World country, this analysis will undertake the task of discussing and examining the various reforms in the Greek educational system. A more lengthy consideration will be devoted to analyzing the educational program of the newly elected Greek socialist government of PASOK against: a) the "tradition" of reforms in the Greek educational system; b) the two theories of development already discussed; and c) the larger societal and international challenges facing the new government in Greece. In addition, a mere descriptive account of the major educational measures taken by the PASOK government during its one full year in office will be briefly outlined along with a synopsis of the main arguments surrounding these measures. It should be stressed, from the outset, that the total lack of documentation (at both the theoretical and empirical level) of the "educational performance" of PASOK compounded by the geographical distance of this author from the "scene of the action", make this analysis only tentative and very exploratory in approach and content.

II. A Historical Perspective of the Greek Educational System:

Some general characteristics

Around 1830 Greece was emerging as an independent nation after almost 400 years of conquest by the Ottoman Empire. The Greek National Revolution of 1821 and the subsequent official recognition of the Greek independent nation mark a new era in the long history of what has often been called "the glorious Hellas".

Greek society had to be "unhooked" from all regressive dreams about the glorious past and start the painful efforts of reconstruction and re-adjustment to a new reality.

The new Greek state was much smaller in geographical terms than it is today but the so-called "big idea of a **grand** Hellas" remained in the minds of many of its people. Nevertheless, the reconstruction and the modernization processes of this newly liberated nation had to be pursued in light of international developments. The "adherents to our glorious Hellenic past" on the one hand and the "realists" on the other were destined to co-exist — although more often fighting each other than co-operating amongst themselves. This perennial internal fight has permeated all aspects of Greek life — education included — even up to the present day. Dictators, in line with conservative politicians and educators, have traditionally advocated the return to the glorious past whereas liberal-socialist politi-

cians and educators have demanded the re-adjustment to the new reality and the establishment of a modern Greek nation based on the needs of all Greek people. It is true, however, that regardless of their differences and fights from those early days, education was seen as one of the most essential tools of transforming and developing Greek society and its members.

The Greek educational system was established in the 1830's through legislation and, undoubtedly, the conservative-liberal fight has left its mark on that system. Even today, after more than 150 years of continous development, very few changes can be observed in the Greek educational system. As Alexis Dimaras notes: "Since its establishment through legislation in the 1830's, the Greek educational system has been characterized by structural and philosophical stability...On the other hand, the history of the system is marked by constant demands for reform"[10]. Most of the legislations pertaining to the educational system have been short lived. Every time there has been a change of the ruling party new legislation is introduced with new priorities and directions up until the next change in government. Continuation of educational reforms is totally lacking in the case of the Greek educational system. Stability prevails.

This structural and philosophical stability along with the constant demands for reform can be better understood in the context of a brief historical account of the various educational changes that were attempted throughout the history of the Greek educational system. At the outset, it is of interest to note that most of the demands and the actual implementation of the various educational changes were not due to pressures within the educational system itself but rather due to outside forces and factors. Furthermore, what is characteristic of all educational changes that have been introduced in the system is the fact that legislation preceded empirical and theoretical research on educational issues. The consequences of such an approach are of great significance not only for the quality of the reforms but, more so, for the longevity of those reforms. To that effect, one should point another important characteristic of the system that has contributed to the maintenance of its own stability: "...the system has been oriented toward clearly middle-class values, leaving little, if any, room for the introduction of new ideas or methods which might lead to more general socio-political changes"[11].

A number of educators who have critically examined the Greek educational system maintain that there are three main factors which have contributed to the stability of the system over the years: a) centralization; b) lack of funds; and c) the so-called language question. Among others, Maria Eliou[12] points emphatically to the excessive centralization that has always characterized the system: "I cannot refrain from noting that Greek education suffers, apart from anything else, from excessive centralization." Even today, after the so-called massive educational reform of 1976, the ultimate responsibility and control of educational matters is in the hands of the State. In one of her recent works T. Anthogalidou-Vassilakakis (1981)[13] remarks that "...the fundamentally decisive powers — adoption and pursuance of general educational policy, legislative regulations, establishment of central councils — are in the hands of the government."

The Ministry of Education and Religion has the exclusive responsibility and always the final say on every educational issue — textbooks, curriculum, methods, personnel, and the like. Virtually every "educational paper and directive" must bear the Minister's approval and signature before the content and substance of that paper can be implemented at any educational level. There is little, if any, community (teachers, students, parents) involvement in the various processes of decision making although there have been numerous criticisms against this practice. Furthermore, for a system as centralized as the Greek, it is significant to note the frequent change of the Minister of Education.

Between the years 1833 and 1974 there have been 211 ministers of education in Greece, each minister serving in office no more than an average of 8 months. The negative influences, then, of the "centralization factor" upon prospective educational reforms have been compounded by this almost continuous change of Ministers. Educational reforms, under these circumstances, invariably become "unfinished business". Each minister, with the great centralized power in his hands, starts all over again when trying out his own ideas and policies. Also the fact that at the ministerial level education and religion co-exist under the same roof, is definitely not a sign of decentralization — there are people who

would argue that, over the years, this co-existence under the same Ministry is more of a symbolic nature rather than of substance. That argument, however, cannot be easily substantiated by empirical evidence since the Church's ideological conservatism has always been influencing, one way or the other, educational planning and reform in the Greek educational system. In fact, to a lesser extent, this trend can be observed even today.

The second and very crucial factor that has traditionally and repeatedly undermined each one of the educational reforms in the Greek educational system and has rendered it to "arterio-sclerotic" stability, is the lack of funds. Money, or the lack of it, is known to be the number one obstacle for educational reform in many developing nations. Greece has not excluded itself from that rule. A great number of well-intentioned educational changes that have been promised and proposed by honest people have not been materialized, principally due to lack of needed funds. No Greek government — be that rightist, centrist, liberal or conservative — has been able, so far, to successfully overcome this economic hurdle regardless of its good or bad educational planning. This point is equally valid, and may be more so due to the international economic crisis, today. It is a reality that the present socialist government cannot afford to deny or ignore. (Recent public statements by the Minister of Education himself with regard to abolishing private institutions are the most eloquent illustration of that tough economic reality)[14].

The third factor that has contributed to the stability of the Greek educational system has been identified as the "language question". It is true that the so-called "language question" seems to have been settled after the last reform of 1976. But still, the chronic "echoes" of this social issue have not disappeared completely from Greek society. The successive legislations of 1975, 1976 and 1977 have relaxed to an extent the fighting between the two camps regarding the "language question", but this issue seems far from settled.

Briefly, Greek society has been preoccupied with the language issue for many years. Language has been one of the many aspects of the perennial fight between the "adherents to the glorious past" and the "realists". One type of language, **Demotike**, (language of Demos, of the People) has been the language of everyday usage, the language spoken by most people in their daily interactions. The other type of language, **Katharevousa**, ("kathari", pure language) has been the language taught in schools — more so in secondary and higher education institutions. **Katharevousa** has been the language of most conservative intellectuals and those in higher status occupations, including government. There have been many instances, for example, where people have been complaining of not being able to understand a particular governmental document because of the language in which it was written. Needless to say, the "adherents to the glorious past" have been advocating the use of **Katharevousa** which is seen as the only language that should be taught in schools. The "realists" — liberals — have been arguing, on the other hand, in favor of the language of the people, **Demotike**, and have been doing so with good reason.

The two types of language differ in syntax, semantics, and grammar to the extent that many words of **Katharevousa** bear not even perceptual resemblance to the corresponding words of **Demotike**. However, the "language question" has gone much beyond these differences by making its central theme the social meaning that each type of language carries. It has been argued and well-documented over the years that **Demotike** is the language of the poor and the lower-class people whereas **Katharevousa** is the language of the conservatives and the elite who have almost always held power. More so, liberal critics have suggested that the various elites of Greek society — monopolizers of **Katharevousa** — have intentionally kept the language issue alive and the two types of language separate. Their attempt has been aimed at perpetuating existing social inequalities. The creation and reinforcement of the "language barrier" has played a decisive role in the exclusion of lower class people from the powerful and high status occupations.

> All in all, **Katharevousa** has served to draw the line between the educated few and the semi-literate masses, between the rulers and the followers, since it was impossible to learn it in the 6 years of compulsory schooling[15].

As early as 1911 it was made certain that **Katharevousa** must be **the** language of the schools. To that effect, in the Greek constitution of 1911 a specific clause was included making **Katharevousa** the official language of the State and thus forbidding the propagation of **Demotike**. The letter of that specific clause, with the exception of elementary school during some liberal governments, has persisted well up to the mid 1970's — up until the implementation of the educational reform of 1976. And the statement made often by educators and politicians that,

> ...No other controversial issue has divided politician and educator alike in Greece and has become the cause of so many unfulfilled promises and irregularities in the development of our educational system as the language question[16],

is not an exaggeration, though it might appear very strange to those unfamiliar with Greek society.

Having said all that about the stability of the Greek educational system and having discussed the factors that contributed to that stability, one further point ought to be made clear. This stability is in no way an "accidental" event in the realm of Greek society. This type of stability which traditionally has not presented any serious threat to the existing status quo has been supported and legitimized by almost all governments which have ruled Greece since independence. It is of interest to note that, as the historical accounts show, regardless of political orientation, Greek governments have not attacked the factors that contribute to that stability of the system. It seems as though only those educational reforms have been implemented and lasted which have "touched only the surface and not the roots" of the educational issues. The controversy in Greece over education is still alive. Needless to say, the present socialist government of PASOK is expected to operate and function within the framework and in the light of all these historical developments in the Greek educational system. Dimaras (1978) states clearly that there is no doubt whatsoever that "this stability has served strong socio-political interests and that it has been facilitated by the similarity in political orientation between the conservative and liberal parties which have ruled Greece since independence"[17].

Of course, the record also shows that Greece has been ruled mostly by conservative and, at times, extreme rightist governments. A case in point is the fact that since the elections of 1946, the liberals have only ruled twice (1950-52 and 1963-65) — the present government being only the third in the liberal tradition. To a very large extent, the Greek educational reality with its stable character reflects mostly the policies and practices of the conservative educational and philosophical thought. The few reforms present in the system have been supported and introduced by liberal governments (politicians and educators alike).

III. The Major Reforms

Most analysts of the Greek educational system seem to agree that, on the whole, there have been five major reforms since the establishment of the new independent Greek state — with the sixth perhaps getting underway with the present Socialist government of PASOK. No doubt, there have been, throughout the educational system's history, other minor movements and changes but as A. Dimaras (1978) notes such changes cannot be taken as constituting major reforms because they only "touched" upon one level of the entire "educational pyramid". Thus, Dimaras, in examining the latest massive reform of 1976 (which will be discussed later in this section) and its impact on the total educational system, points out that

> There are, in the history of Greek education, four periods when major reform plans were formulated: 1913, 1929, 1959, and 1964. Three of these (1913, 1929 and 1964) have in common a number of characteristics. They were compiled by liberal governments, they proposed the extension of compulsory schooling, they supported **Demotike**, and they viewed the system in a global way. In fact,

they are successive stages of the same attempt to organize and reform the system[18].

The fifth major reform is that of 1976 which was introduced by the then conservative government of the New Democracy Party under the leadership of the present President of the country, Constantine Karamanlis. The conservative government in 1975 had found itself in a very difficult position. The constant demands for major reforms in the educational system were strong and continuous after the fall of the military dictatorship in July 1974. The governing party of New Democracy — willing or not — had no other alternative. The chaos created by the junta of 1967-74 in the entire educational system along with the Greek people's "thirst" for some new (democratic and modern) ideas in education "pushed" the conservative government into reforming the educational system at all levels. For the most part, the reform of 1976 was based on the reform of 1964 proposed by the centrist government of George Papandreou, a reform that had been opposed as too progressive by the conservatives, the same conservatives who adopted the reform in 1976 as the panacea for the crippling system left behind by the colonels.

Without going into detail about each educational reform, it is of importance to note that the three reforms compiled by liberal governments had not had the chance to make their presence felt in the Greek educational system. Thus, the first reform (1913) was never implemented because of the strong opposition exerted by both influential party members (liberals) and the "conservative strongholds such as the University of Athens". The other two liberal reforms, although they had the opportunity to be tried in practice — with the support of the majority of the Greek people — were not destined to last for long. Two oppressive — extreme rightist — dictatorships literally attacked these progressive approaches to education (1935 and 1967) and, unfortunately, the reforms were definitely abolished. On the whole, the reforms of 1913, 1929, and 1964 and to an extent, of 1976, were aimed at promoting vocational and technical education.

The well known themes that have been associated with almost every educational reform across social-national contexts were not missing from the "Greek case". The notions of democratization, modernization, equal opportunity for all peoples, and more so, the creation of the "thinking citizen" were the declared goals of these liberal reformers. The reform of 1959 consisted basically of a piece of legislation which focused on the organization of technical and vocational education. No settlement was reached during those years of conservative government (late 1950's) regarding the perennial "language question". The appointed committee (1957), which had the mandate to study the issues and prepare recommendations for educational reforms, paid no attention to the crucial issue of democratizing the system.

Some other minor changes have been introduced into the Greek educational system from the beginning of this century up to the present day. These minor, however, changes had not had a great impact on the system either because of their partiality (aimed at one part of the educational system) or because they didn't even challenge the structure and philosophical orientation of the system. Thus, in 1917, **Demotike** became the official language of the primary school only. In the same year, primary school textbooks were made more "child centered". Of course, as already said, in 1911 **Katharevousa** had become the official language of the Greek State and from the same year on, elementary education has been considered compulsory.

The latest masssive reform of 1976, which for the most part is still in effect, was embodied in three laws: Law 186/75 "on KEME (Center of Educational Studies and In Service Training)", Law 309/76 "on the Organization and Administration of General Education", and Law 576/77 "on the Organization and Administration of Secondary and Higher Vocational and Technical Education"[19].

The 1976 reform came right after the fall of the colonels' dictatorship. During those years the demands for educational reform from all strata of Greek society were more pressing than ever. The conservative government of the New Democracy Party, even if it wanted to, could not ignore the disastrous consequences of the dictators' ruling in social, economic, political, and educational matters. In education, in particular, the military jun-

ta had created a chaotic situation. A brief report published outside Greece in the early seventies on "Education in Greece under the Military dictatorship"[20] is very characteristic:

> The limit of compulsory education has been lowered from nine years to six...**Demotike**, the spoken language, is no longer taught in the schools...University entrance: Now 15% of the places are assigned to individuals who are exempted from the exams on the basis of their "high moral character and national concern"...grants: All candidates must possess two documents: a certificate of absence of criminal record; a certificate of loyalty issued by the local police staff.

Furthermore as it has been documented in the book "Inside the Colonels' Greece":

> The number of students entering higher education fell from 19,000 to about 11,000 between 1967 and 1969...But most of the effort to get rid of the undesirables took place at the universities themselves rather than by controlling entry...the purge of university teachers can also be considered a preventive measure...In all, the universities lost about a third of their teaching staff. It is not difficult to picture the harm this did to the efficiency of higher education in Greece...For the first time since 1930, the purist language, **(Katharevousa)** which is closely bound up with reactionary attitudes, was introduced into primary education, ..."teachers must abandon their role as researchers" the dictator (Papadopoulos) had said in one of his speeches at the University of Thessaloniki...Dismissed teachers are not authorized to teach, even privately. Many university teachers are not allowed to travel abroad, even to attend conferences...[21]

Under such an educational reality and pressured by the constant demands for reform the conservative government of Constantine Karamanlis "developed a whole package" of educational reform which, for the most part, was based on the 1964 reform initiated by the liberal government of George Papandreou. Persianis (1978) remarks that the two well known values of democratization and modernization underlay the 1976 reform. The stated aim of the 1976 reform was to democratize and modernize the educational system so that the societal needs could be met. But, as M. Kondilis (1981) notes, there was also an "undeclared" objective behind the 1976 reform: to control the number of students entering the different institutions of higher education by devising techniques for selection among the high school students. This is why "...all reform efforts focused precisely on the secondary level of education, while different solutions are planned for post-secondary education"[22].

As it appears today, six years after the reform, the conservative reformers of the New Democracy Party were not concerned at that time with the fact that the proposed educational measures were to serve the 1964 needs and not necessarily those of 1976. Nevertheless, the educational reform legislated and initiated in 1975-77 can be summarized in the following main policies:

> The replacement of **Katharevousa** with **Demotike** as the official language, thus putting an end to our national "bilingual problem", the extension of compulsory schooling from 6 to 9 years (6 in primary and 3 in high school), the establishment of the Center for Educational Studies and Teacher Training, and the organizational development of technical and vocational education as an important part of the educational system at the secondary and higher levels[23].

Strong criticisms against some of the introduced changes and the stated intentions of the government were voiced by all opposition parties inside the parliament and outside.

The then official opposition of PASOK — the present Greek government — had harsh words to say about the elitist policies and the heavy burden laid on the young children's shoulders having to go through successive entrance examinations from their fifteenth year onward. PASOK was, and still is, arguing that the 1975-77 reform did not actually address itself to the roots of the educational problems facing Greece. Mr. Papandreou and his team have been voicing their strong criticisms of the 1976 reform stressing that the stated values of democratization and modernization, so much publicized by the conservative government of K. Karamanlis, were not reflected in the adopted policies.

In a similar vein, Maria Eliou (1978) has attacked the "democratization issue" of the 1976 reform pointing out that the official documents (draft legislation and government announcements) show that

> "the reform will raise on the one hand the educational level of the country as a whole but it will also magnify existing inequalities on the other. Those whom reforms forgot, those in one way or another educationally deprived, have a definite social identity. Low income, agricultural employment, distance from the city and particularly from the capital, limited participation in cultural activities on the one hand and educational opportunity on the other"[24].

Analogous arguments against the 1976 reform have been expressed by many other scholars who have adopted a rather marxist and neo-marxist perspective[25].

IV. Today's Educational Reality

It seems appropriate at this point to briefly present an overall picture of current educational issues and concerns prevailing in Greek society along with some illustrative figures so that, in the next section, the educational program of the present socialist government can be examined. The conservatives have been claiming that the 1976 reform stands as a "corner stone" in the Greek educational system whereas the liberals continue to voice specific criticisms about various issues such as: non-existence of systematic graduate studies, lack of research centers, early separation of the secondary school into General and Vocational-Technical Lycea, limited number of students entering higher education institutions, flourishing of para-educational and costly institutions (**Frontistiria**: private, very expensive tutorial services which are essential in preparing students to succeed in university entrance examinations), insufficient number of student hostels, and the complete absence of any program whatsoever aimed at the thousands of illiterates and semi-literates.

Official statistics show that: in 1971, 32,3% of the total Greek population had not completed primary school; in 1951 the percentage of illiterates in the total population was 24%, in 1961 it was 18% and in 1971 the illiterates were down to 14,2% — this decrease is observed not due to the very little official solicitude but rather due to the mortality rate[26]; in 1976, the total number of illiterates was 1,007,844 while 1,767,580 Greeks had not completed high school (by 1976 high school completion had become compulsory)[27]; in September 1977 among 80,000 candidates who took part in entrance examinations to higher education only 4,000 indicated higher technical colleges as their first choice[28]; it has been calculated that out of 100 pupils who enroll in the first grade of primary school 60 will enter secondary education and 6,7 will eventually graduate from a university level institution[29]; the number of students in the higher education institutions from 25,658 in 1960-61 has jumped to 72,269 in 1970-71 and to 96,000 in 1977-78. There are also 30,000 students in universities outside Greece[30]. The number of Greek students attending universities outside Greece has been steadily increasing due to the "closed entrance system" in the Greek universities. Thus while in 1964 there were 8,727 Greek students in universities outside Greece, in 1974 their number had been more than doubled (17,034)[31].

For every thousand people the number of students in higher education institutions was[32]:

	1912-13	1964-65	1974-75
Greece	1,3	6,8	10,9
W. Germany	1,2	6,3	12,7
France	0,9	10,9	18,8
Italy	---	7,8	16,8
Belgium	---	8,9	15,5
United Kingdom	0,7	7,9	11,6
Denmark	1,0	10,9	20,9
Holland	0,9	12,4	19,5
Ireland	---	7,6	12,3

The prime minister George Rallis (of the last conservative government, 1977-1981) has said in public that out of 200 university professors and assistant professors that were hired the last two years (1974-76) in higher education institutions, 150 of them had come from European and American universities; Greece allocates the least money for research among all other European countries. For the period between 1969-71 the money given for research corresponded to $1.2 per inhabitant or to a percentage of 0,2% of the GNP[33]; it is of importance to note the percentage of the GNP that Greece spends for the education of its people. The following comparative table shows in the most eloquent fashion that Greece is substantially far behind from other countries in money spent in education[34]:

% GNP for Education

Denmark	**6,94**	**USA**	**5,98**	**Bangladesh**	**1,20**
W. Germany	**4,15**	**Canada**	**7,37**	**Ethiopia**	**2,40**
Belgium	**4,76**	**Australia**	**5,20**	**Nepal**	**0,73**
Luxemburg	**2,75**	**Japan**	**2,91**	**Zaire**	**4,37**
France	**2,91**	**Spain**	**1,81**	**India**	**2,69**
Ireland	**2,61**	**Portugal**	**3,55**	**Afghanistan**	**1,18**
Holland	**5,54**	**Sweden**	**5,00**	**Pakistan**	**2,80**
United Kingdom	**5,34**	**Finland**	**5,55**	**Sudan**	**5,03**
Italy	**5,35**	**Norway**	**7,08**	**Greece**	**2,00**

The average spending for education of the GNP for the countries of the EEC is 4,37%, for the industrialized countries 5,365%, for the countries of the Iberian peninsula 2,68%, for the Scandinavian countries the percentage is 5,88%, and for Mediterranean countries the percentage is 3,21%. Last, but not least, it should be pointed out that while the number of candidates seeking entrance to institutions of higher education has been increasing dramatically, the number of those actually admitted (through the entrance examinations) remains almost unchanged. Percentagewise, there has been a dramatic decrease of students entering higher education. The "cry" for democratization in the whole Greek educational system has become even stronger during the last fifteen years among all Greek people since, as the table below shows, higher education has become the privilege of the few[35]:

year	Number of students—higher education		Percentage
	Candidates taking the entrance exam	Admitted	
1964	27,000	12,350	45,7
1968	44,453	12,655	28,5
1976	78,136	13,000	16,5
1978	79,951	13,945	17,0

A final piece of information should be added to this descriptive account of the Greek educational reality. On the whole, and regardless of the numerous and quite expensive private institutions that flourish today in Greece, according to the Greek constitution (Article 16, Paragraph 2,)

> ...education constitutes a basic responsibility of the State, and is provided free of charge. The State fulfills this obligation, at least formally, at all educational levels: all state schools, from kindergartens to universities, offer free education. Tuition and examination fees have been abolished, and even books are provided free of charge (A. Sideris, 1981)[36].

V. Evaluation of PASOK's Program

As the historical analysis of the Greek educational system has shown, one of the principal themes in each electoral campaign in modern Greece has been undoubtedly the "slogan" of educational reform. In one form or another each Greek political party — be that rightist, centrist, or leftist — has included in its governmental program major changes in the educational system of the country and has made promises of carrying out these changes upon winning the elections. This recurring phenomenon can be seen in the election fights of the 1930's, 1950's, 1960's, and no doubt, in the 1970's. Even the various dictatorial and repressive governments which ruled Greece several times in recent decades have given all their efforts to persuade the Greek people about upcoming educational reforms. Needless to point out again that the known issues of democratization, modernization, equal opportunity for all, and education of a higher quality have always been the central preoccupations of educational reformers. How these issues have been interpreted and tried in educational practice by the various governments has varied. On the whole, however, the general characteristics of the Greek educational system have outlived both conservative and liberal governments — for reasons explained earlier.

The new socialist government of Greece, under the leadership of Dr. Andreas Papandreou, that assumed power after winning a comfortable majority in parliament (172 MPs out of 300) in the October 1981 general elections, is another case in point. Actually, the newly formed government of PASOK has promised that educational reform will be its number one priority and that governmental expenditures for education will reach an almost equal footing with that of national defense. Once again, the main goals of the educational reform promised by the new Greek government centers around the well known themes of modernization and, mainly, of democratization and equal opportunity for all Greeks. Characteristically, the respective sub-section on education of the entire political program of PASOK ("contract with the people") bears the title "Education: The foundations of change". It is of interest to note that the word "Allaghi"(change) was the general electoral slogan of PASOK and of all other parties opposing the conservative New Democracy party.

The present Greek government of PASOK will inevitably have to function within the limits of a system which is geared toward stability. Moreover the PASOK government will have to face a very tough social reality not only within Greek society itself but also the international crises which are shaking the entire globe today. As John Dewey[37] and many others have suggested, educational reforms and movements cannot be considered in isolation but rather within the larger societal-institutional context. The task then of the Greek government, with all its ambitious plans, is extremely difficult. Its task of reforming the Greek schooling system so that democratization, modernization, *and* self-reliance needs are fulfilled — as stated in the electoral promises — is not easy either. At this point in time of course nothing can be said with absolute certainty. We may, however, try to sketch out the parameters within which the educational planning of PASOK will have to operate. Even only the name, "socialist government", is the very first experience of its kind in Greek society since independence. "L'avènement du PASOK constitue un phénomène nouveau dans la vie politique grecque" remarks F.S. Larrabee in one of his articles written a few days after the electoral victory of PASOK in Greece[38].

Summarizing the educational program of PASOK, as it had been presented throughout the campaign and was recently adopted by the new Greek parliament, the following (synoptic) points illustrate the great emphasis placed on education as the "tool" for social change, development, and liberation from external control — mainly American[39].

> Education (**Paidia**) is not only an investment to be pursued but it is, at the same time, an end in itself for every human being. Education, throughout a man's life, is something which the state ought to offer to everyone...
> For us, education is the very foundation of change...The basic educational options have direct relationship with the national, social, economic, and cultural options of a government. We are talking then about basic political options.

In subsequent paragraphs the program goes into details of the political options of PASOK and emphasizes that:

> Our primary goal is the change in the domain of values, in content and the directions of education...
> ...we will put an end to discrimination, we pursue equality of the sexes and make people aware of the basic principles of democratic procedure.
> ...emphasis on continuing and adult education, development of graduate studies along with research relevant to the needs of our country.
> ...education is the whole nation's affair and the state is responsible for providing education to everyone.
> ...satisfactory teacher-student ratios
> ...a truly free educational system for all Greek people.
> ...abolition of private and "privileged" schools.
> ...democratization and modernization of higher education institutions.
> ...relations between students and professors, methods of teaching, and the control of learning change drastically.
> ...exaltation of technical-vocational education and drastic changes in entrance procedures for all higher education institutions.
> ...the basic principle of our new system is that there will be always an "open door" policy to the higher educational levels.
> ...unlimited opportunities will reward students' efforts.
> ...no irrevocable decisions concerning our youth's future will be made.
> ...abolition of the Panhellenic entrance examination for the senior high school (Lycea).
> ...Abolition also of the present Panhellenic entrance examinations for higher education institutions.
> ...securing by legislation the university's asylum for all members of the university's community.
> ...The popular language (**Demotike**) will be consolidated at all educational levels. There will also be a simplification of the orthography.
> ...generalization of the pre-school education in public kindergartens along with child care centers.
> ...estabishment of efficient public centres for children with special problems.
> ...consolidation of the 9 years compulsory education which soon will be raised to 10 years and, in the long run, 12 years.
> ...drastic secondary education changes.
> ...unification of the general and technical-vocational lycea with many opportunities and directions open.
> ...establishment of higher education institutions for elementary school teachers in the universities (education departments).
> ...establishment of new universities in the periphery of the country.
> ...improvement of technical-vocational education.
> ...special emphasis in the teaching of foreign languages — two foreign languages will be taught in elementary and secondary school, one being compulsory.

> ...emphasis in the "parallel education" with special programs for illiterates, development of educational technology (T.V.) and free open universities in municipalities of the country.

It is quite clear that, as with all other previous reforms, PASOK's philosophy and proposed educational changes bear heavily on the modernization theory of development. Although there are strong criticisms of the educational system and its elitist conservative nature, the fact remains, however, that for PASOK "education is the foundation of social liberation and change". This approach does not seem to differ significantly from the writings of modernization theorists when they argue that "In short, by virtue of having had more formal schooling, their personal character (of those people concerned in the discussion) was decidedly more modern." To that effect, PASOK has promised to modernize the entire Greek educational system by introducing new technologies and by expanding educational theory and research to the point that individual and societal needs are met. With regard to democratization, PASOK's reform aims at democratizing the system by giving free school for all Greeks throughout their lives, by putting an end to discrimination, by abolishing private and privileged schools, by establishing new university departments and abolishing entrance examinations, and by taking drastic measures to combat the problem of illiteracy. The proposed compulsory teaching of foreign languages from the elementary school along with the possible expansion of compulsory schooling beyond grade nine, and the statement that "Education is the whole nation's affair and the state has the responsibility of providing free education to everyone" show in the most eloquent manner the "modernizing nature" that education bears for PASOK.

True, PASOK's program makes special reference to the fact that "education is not only an investment to be pursued by people but it is, at the same time, an end in itself for every human being", that the national culture of the country must be a part of the curriculum, and that the popular language (**Demotike**) will be consolidated at all educational levels. But this type of educational promises which might "comfort" some dependency theorists are not completely new in the Greek educational history. All previous reformers have touched upon such "dependency themes". The great emphasis, however, has been placed on aspects that may be loosely categorized under modernization theory.

For example, in 1964 George Papandreou's liberal government (G. Papandreou was the father of today's Greek Prime Minister) was arguing for the role of education "in creating the thinking citizen", and the importance of national culture and popular language was recognized as early as 1913. It might be argued that PASOK has gone some steps further towards the dependency theory but not to the point of even slightly adhering to it. The Greek educational tradition that has found "its roof" under modernization theory — along with some "consumatory" rhetorics — is now continuing its process having to deal with another liberal (perhaps more ambitious) government. Definitely, no PASOK document or speech makes the slightest reference to the alleged irrelevance of the formal schooling system, a theme so much favoured by the radical critics of modernization theory.

Thus, the differences between the educational program of PASOK and all other previous reformers are more on the tone and the phrasing of the proposed measures than on the substance. The over-used notions of modernization and democratization, notions with ambiguous and often subjective meanings, "literally reign over" the educational program of PASOK. No figures and numbers appear anywhere in the entire program. Anna Frangoudakis (1981), in a rather prophetic tone, wrote a little before the October 1981 elections:

> If someone examines carefully the educational programmes of PASOK and KKE (Communist Party of Greece) he will find out that, beyond the many rhetorics about democratization, equality, renovation, new spirit, justice, popular education, and many other such phrases which mean different things to different people, or do not mean anything at all, the specific proposed changes are: the simplification of orthography and the abolition of private schools. I would dare to say "only the orthography" because I cannot see how PASOK is going to abolish private schools[40].

Furthermore, A. Sideris' analysis (1981) of the private educational institutions in Greece sheds more light upon the prevalent ideology and the official State policies with regard to the existence/operation of private schools. The investigator points to the "free enterprise" framework within which private education flourishes, an economic framework that PASOK does not appear willing and/or able to "attack". Sideris remarks that, on the whole,

> State policies in the private education sector are inspired by the principle that private schools operate under the laws of free enterprise. The state cannot interfere in the financial aspects of their operation and especially in employer/employee relations. In the area of private schools, recent state policy has been to support and maintain the extensive private school system and to leave small neighbourhood schools to sink or swim[41].

Is the educational reform of PASOK going to "break" the Greek educational tradition which is geared toward the stability of the educational system? Many Greeks today want to believe that such a "breakdown" is going to happen. The thousands of PASOK supporters are claiming that this new Greek socialist government does not simply represent another change in governmental posts (in the liberal tradition of politics) but rather a unique experience that is going to change the entire social philosophy and structure of Greek society (through, of course, democratic means). But such beliefs need to be examined analytically and against the background of a great number of factors if meaningful conclusions are to be drawn.

Briefly, these background factors can be classified into two types: the internal *and* external. According to the Prime Minister himself, Greece is in a very difficult economic situation — largely due to the previous conservative government's mismanagement of the economy. There is currently a huge national deficit of about 350 billion drachmas (roughly, 7 billion dollars) and no increase is expected in the Gross National Product of the country for this year. Inflation ranges between 24-26% and the demands for wage increases have become stronger than ever. There are very serious and acute ecological problems while in Athens itself the pollution sends people to hospitals on a daily basis. Almost all rural regions of the country have been deserted over the years and the agricultural sector is far from healthy and productive. The Greek army, that for many years has stayed loyal to conservatives and royalists, does not appear quite ready to accept a "secondary role" under the socialist government of PASOK. There is definitely — and very well documented — a split inside the socialist party of PASOK itself forming the so-called "left" and "right" wings of the party. Andreas Papandreou himself seems to have chosen more elements of the party's "right" wing, especially in the eve of and upon assuming office. "His immediate installation of notably moderate, like-minded cabinet ministers...was taken as an auspicious sign" wrote right after the 1981 elections M. McDonald in the Canadian magazine MacLeans[42].

In addition, one of the most often heard criticisms about PASOK and its leader A. Papandreou is the "one man show" syndrome that seems to characterize this allegedly socialist party:

> En dépit de son implantation à la base, le PASOK demeure la propriété de son fondateur, qui le mène avec une main de fer sans le moindre esprit de tolérance pour les dissensions internes ou les déviations. Les méthodes autocratiques de Papandreou ont conduit à de nombreuses expulsions et l'on déplore souvent le manque de démocratie interne dans le parti[43].

The president of the country with all the "super-powers" given to him by the Greek Constitution (powers that have been strongly criticized in the past by A. Papandreou himself) bears a conservative identity and consciousness. It seems very unlikely that the Greek president Constantine Karamanlis is willing to go against his long-term beliefs by making substantial concessions to the Papandreou government (e.g. the participation of Greece in the organizations of the EEC and NATO).

What will be the business world's and the investors' reactions to fundamental social changes? The prime minister made it clear from his first days in office that "we need the money and we will seek co-operation and not fight." Last, but not least, there still exists the conservative party of New Democracy as the official opposition in the Greek political arena. It has held about 40% of the vote and has stated repeatedly that it will fight any attempt which might threaten the "roots" of the status quo.

Some of the external factors and pressures that the PASOK government will have to consider before proceeding with its social reform program are already known to most people. There is always present the so called "Turkish danger" and the threat of a future war (of some kind) with neighbouring Turkey. Neither the "Cyprus problem" nor the dispute over the Aegean Sea territory have been settled. PASOK has said that it would take Greece out of both NATO and the EEC. In the months before the elections and upon assuming office the position has been "watered" down to a considerable extent (some cynics point out that this is the "adjustment" of a government to reality). "In no way shall we lead the country into any form of adventure", Papandreou was saying right after his winning of the elections in response to questions about future withdrawal of Greece from NATO and the EEC.

> Depuis les élections, il a fait plusieurs fois la preuve de sa modération, notamment en déclarant aux journalistes de la chaîne ABC au cours de l'émission "Issues and Answers" ("Questions et Réponses") qu'il n'était "pas prêt à prendre des mesures unilatérales" mais qu'il "entamerait des négociations", tant sur la question de sa participation à l'organisation militaire de l'Alliance Atlantique, que sur la question des bases américaines[44].

In addition, the world-wide economic crisis with all its disastrous consequences cannot be ignored by the present Greek government.

It seems that A. Papandreou and his team in the various cabinets are totally aware of all these and many other internal *and* external factors within which they will have to function and administer the governmental apparatus. It is quite evident by now that the rhetorics and the radical statements of the previous years (when in opposition) have been modified and reworded in both appearance and substance. A. Papandreou himself made it abundantly clear that there will be no "adventures". In his very first public speech after the election victory Papandreou sounded very much like a "traditional and compromized" politician when he said to the Greek people, "we will be a good and honest government for *all* Greeks and not only to our supporters, voters and PASOK members." Most analysts agree that he seems to have chosen to please mostly and foremost the "right wing" of his own party — resignations of leftist members of PASOK and concrete accusations of key governmental positions being given to conservative individuals testify to that argument. Social changes and reforms will be materialized within the "realm of today's reality" has been the latest slogan of the PASOK government. Even the so much publicized "nationalization" that eventually became "socialization" (meaning different things to different people, if that term means anything at all) of some of the main Greek industries will give another — hopefully better — face to the Greek status quo.

Having said all that, the educational reform of PASOK cannot be other than the reflection and the expression of this larger social reality as interpreted by the present government. The educational reforms that will be introduced are not going to challenge the system's basic structure. The long tradition of stability is not going to "break". Even under the best situational circumstances, even without the "language question" and a possible partial solution to the "centralization factor" that have contributed over the years to the stability of the system, the lack of money alone will, no doubt, force the Greek government to compromise — even more than it wants to. As a matter of fact, the promised governmental expenditures for education, the second item in priority in the national budget after defense, cannot be taken as a sign of great difference from previous governments. For example, the last government of the conservative New democracy party had put its educational expenses at the very top of its budget: "To this effect, educational expenses are the highest item in the public investment budget for 1978"[45].

Surely there will be minor and low-cost changes in the Greek educational system. It is certain that the majority of the Greek people will feel more comfortable and euphoric for some time with a progressive government. There is no doubt that there are honest, able, and dedicated individuals in the Socialist government of PASOK who took office victoriously on October 18, 1981. Furthermore, it is an historical truth that whatever progressive educational measures exist today have been the "product" of previous Greek liberal governments. The government of PASOK will, no doubt, follow the liberal tradition in educational matters and Greek education will become more modern and democratic. Likewise, minor social changes will be materialized little by little for the benefit (mostly) of the so called "non-privileged". The entire Greek social structure, however, along with its educational counterpart are not going to change drastically — although this has been the stated intention of the present socialist government of PASOK, especially so when its members of parliament were sitting on the opposition benches.

In short, then, it seems certain that as long as the dominant ideology and the existing social apparatus remain basicaly unchanged across Greek society, substantial educational reform — regardless of intentions and desires — is very unlikely to be materialized. To that effect, John Dewey in America and B. Noutsos in Greece, among many other scholars, have emphasized the crucial direct relationship between educational and the larger societal issues[46]. The "PASOK case" will be one additional illustration of this well-documented relationship.

VI. Postscript*

In concluding this analysis, a few final words should be added here briefly about the overall "performance" of the PASOK government and, more so, its major "educational steps". No doubt, the relative recency of the PASOK "regime" compounded with the lack of data and the mere geographical distance of this author from the "scene of the action" make such an analysis more difficult and only tentative in approach. That in itself, however, does not and should not prevent us from going ahead with a sketchy description of the PASOK performance anyway.

More than a full year has passed since PASOK entered triumphically the new era of the much publicized **Allagi** (Change) and became the very first Socialist government in the modern Greek state's history. It took office by presenting itself as a radical "new type" of government, by using as its primary and basic slogan "Greece belongs to Greeks", and by promising to pursue the goals of social liberation/justice, territorial integrity, participation of all Greeks in the decision making, and structural and institutional changes across Greek society. In short, PASOK came to power signing "A contract with the Greek people" the main points of which stressed the termination of the conservative administration that has governed Greece (almost) since Independence, the creation of a new "Greek mentality" and the democratic/thinking citizen, and a whole new and progressive series of internal and external policies — the final goal being the socialist transformation of the entire Greek society[47].

Although, as said, an overall examination of the government's performance lies well beyond the scope of this analysis, a number of "commonly accepted" things may be discussed about the first "birthday" of the Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima (PASOK) in power. It appears that, for the most part, even PASOK's opponents/critics admit both privately and publicly that there have definitely been a number of changes over the last year in many sectors **within** Greek society — changes which are characterized as progressive steps by all people in Greece with the exception of course of the conservative party of the "New Democracy". For example, progressive steps have been taken in public administration, education, health and welfare, low wages and pensions, national television/radio, the recognition (officially) of the Greek National Resistance and some measures to democratize the army and the judicial system of the country. Furthermore, most people in Greece today admit that there is a general feeling of being free and without the previous fears of even being persecuted for one's beliefs, ideas, and public political behaviour. The "total atmosphere" in both private and public life seems to have undergone quite a few changes and most people feel much "better" with the PASOK

* *This part was added in November 1982.*

government — often this feeling of "better" cannot be defined concretely and with precision, an indication, perhaps, that it is mostly on the ideological level that the "PASOK phenomenon works". The so-called "man in the street" appears to enjoy all these changes being introduced into Greek society but the adverse effects of a rather stagnant Greek economy are also felt and resented by everyone — the government itself, inevitably, receives much of the blame/anger for the severe economic hardships[48].

With regard to the external policies and the overall performance of the government in the international scene, things appear more difficult to analyze and much controversy is growing among Greeks depending on the political orientation and the attachments of each individual and group concerned. On the one hand, PASOK members and strong supporters of the party claim that there is a definite "socialism à la Grec", or "the third road to socialism" followed by the government in every external policy — including the highly controversial and "delicate" issues of Greece's participation in NATO/EEC, the future of the American military bases on Greek soil, the Cyprus question, and the Aegean/Turkish problems. With perhaps a few exceptions (and these "exceptions" have been expelled or have resigned from the party) these people fully endorse all policies of the government and every maneuvering of PASOK pointing out that the present government has imposed a "strong and proud national presence" on the international scene promoting the true needs and interests of all Greek people. PASOK members perceive their unquestionable and charismatic leader A. Papandreou as a radically different and much better prime minister from any previous government in Greece. All policies of the government are seen as both progressive and consistent with the pre-electoral promises delivered by the party. For them, the pre-electoral slogan for change "HERE and NOW" remains the strategic/long term goal regardless of the present maneuvering which is seen as a tactical methodology necessitated by the existing circumstances.

A second and very politically involved group of people, mainly the members of the KKE (the Greek Communist Party which is often referred to as the pro-Soviet party of the Greek left) admit that there are very few and minor progressive steps of the government on the international scene. In addition, however, these people strongly criticize and attack PASOK mainly on two grounds: a)for its inconsistency between the pre-electoral promises and the government's policies; and b) for not taking those concrete and substantial measures with regard to NATO/EEC and the American bases issues, measures that would have differentiated the PASOK government from all other previous Greek governments. Although, except once or twice, the KKE leadership has tried to avoid a blatant political confrontation with the present government, the so-called "basis" of the party has always been more militant and expressed disillusionment for the prospect of a "real change" (**pragmatiki allagi**) across the Greek society under the PASOK regime. And it is on the external policies of the govenment that most of the KKE criticisms have been voiced.

The third "camp" on the Greek political scene is the one which may be loosely defined as the "reactionary group" that is composed of "New Democracy" members, various conservative groups and individuals, and a handful of faithfuls of the ex-king of Greece and dictators like I. Metaxas and G. Papadopoulos. According to these people, the PASOK government is, little by little, "landing into the tough reality" and its entire performance is no more no less than a continuation of the previous conservative government's "realistic and pragmatic policies." The very few "socialist-like" policies attempted by PASOK are seen either as a kind of "smoke screen" for PASOK supporters, or, otherwise, as disastrous measures undermining the national and international "Greek integrity". Especially those individuals with many vested interests in the existing status quo of Greek society express their "latent" zeal and deep concern for the future of the country under the PASOK government. With every means at their disposal, these people struggle to prevent any substantial changes that would alter the existing balance of the Greek social apparatus.

Last, but not least, there is a fourth group of basically "unorganized" individuals of the left, some of whom had been PASOK supporters and voters up to the last general elections of October 1981. These people, admitting and congratulating the positive steps taken by the present government and simultaneously rejecting as ill-founded the conservatives' criticisms, present their own critical evaluation of the government from the

"left". They strongly accuse PASOK for not "sticking to its pre-electoral promises' with ragard to the socialist transformation of Greek society and, more so, with regard to the withdrawal of Greece from NATO and EEC and the "ripping" of the American military bases from Greek soil. Occasionally these individuals seem to join their critical voice with the KKE on several issues but, in no way, do they identify themselves with the overall orientation/philosophy of the KKE and the official party line promoted by the KKE.

Having said that, a quick account of the government's external policies shows that, except for a few instances where the government has put up a "strong show of the Greek case" in both NATO and EEC[49], no substantial change from the general guidelines of previous governments can be observed. There is no reference about definite withdrawal "HERE and NOW" from either NATO or EEC although that was clearly promised before PASOK assumed power. The negotiations with the U.S. officials for the future of the American military presence in Greece seem to focus now on the process of finding a kind of "working formula for the maintenance" and not the much publicized "ripping" of the military bases[50]

All government officials state over and over again now that it is one thing to be in opposition and quite another to be the government of the country with all the responsibilities and the difficulties that governing Greece effectively and constructively entails. PASOK upon assuming power has been trying to convey the message to the Greek people of the "desired" and "plausible", the long-term and strategic goal and the "feasible" under the existing tough realities affecting the entire Greek society. In no way PASOK admits the criticisms of "broken promises" voiced by all parties of the Greek political spectrum. A. Papandreou himself has blatantly rejected the idea of a united front with the other parties of the left offered by the leadership of the KKE[51].

On the whole, then, along with the strong satisfaction expressed mainly by PASOK members and the equally strong criticisms voiced by both the right and left wings in the Greek political and social scene, most people seem willing — but not satisifed — to give PASOK more time to prove what it can and wants to accomplish. It seems that the "wait and see" principle is prevailing among the vast majority of the Greek people since, in the present circumstances, no other alternative appears over the "Greek political horizon"[52]. Thus, education and promised educational reforms are rationalized along similar lines. The "wait and see" attitude seems to prevail in the Greek educational sphere as well.

In concluding, a very synoptic and descriptive account of the measures in education taken by the present government is presented without any further analysis:

1) A comprehensive legislation to radically re-organize the institutions of higher education (according to most people this re-organization is a miniature-like of the North-American organization of higher education). The Minister of Education has said about this legislation which is the major educational step of the present government:

> The government has repeatedly stressed that with the new legislation we direct the Greek University to the service of our social needs and the development of the country... with the new legislation we have radical changes. Not only we lay the ground to overcome the existing crisis but, in addition, we attempt to have the Greek University play an important role in the struggle of our country for self-development and national independence... the law has been into effect since July 16, 1982 and the Education Ministry has determined the time-table within which the step-by-step implementation of the law will take place.[53]

In short, the main points of the new legislation can be summarized as follows:

a) To fortify and secure the University asylum (that has often been violated and abused in the past);

b) Creation of the EAGE (**Ethniki Acadimia Grammaton ke Epistimon:** National Academy of Letters and Sciences) and the ESAP (**Ethniko Symvoulio Anotatis Paidias:** National Council of Higher Education). These two bodies will advise the government on various issues affecting the Greek higher education;

c) New organization and structure of the Greek Universities with faculties, departments and sectors — the basic academic unit being the department;

d) Participation of university students in the election of all university bodies (committees, councils and the like);
e) Full time employment for all teaching personnel in the universities;
f) Creation of a single bearer of university personnel with four degrees of teachers: professor, associate professor, assistant professor, and lecturer;
g) New organization of studies with semesters, credits, and compulsory courses;
h) All existing university faculties which grant degrees are becoming departments;
i) Creation of graduate (master and doctorate) studies on an organized basis along with emphasis on research (basic and applied);
and j) The existing Pedagogical Academies (elementary teachers training) and the Academy for the Physical education teachers are embodied to universities.

2) Abolition of entrance examination into **Lycea** (senior high school)
3) Writing of new textbooks, and all other school books eventually
4) Construction of more school buildings and appointment of more teachers for kindergarten, elementary, and high school
5) A sudden change of the Education Minister in exactly eight months from the electoral victory of PASOK — a number of Ministers were changed or "relieved" from their duties without anyone from the government saying the "why" for these changes.
6) Creation of a new deputy minister of Research and Technology.
7) Discussions with the people concerned for the abolition of private schools and tutorials (**Frontistiria**) and the eventual creation of some sort of public tutorial services for the students needing extra assistance.
8) The replacement of the existing position of **Epitheoritis** (Superintendent) with that of **Sholikos Symvoulos** (School Councelor), a replacement that is seen by all people concerned with the organization of elementary schools as very progressive and positive step. In the eyes of the primary education people the post of the **Epitheoritis** was an anachronistic and authoritarian post.
9) An increase of the number of students that have entered the various schools of higher education and, more so, of technical/vocational schools and colleges.
10) Sporadic attempts to get the private sector into the financing of research in and outside the Greek universities.

The above being the major "educational steps" of the PASOK government which has already celebrated its first "birthday", and with the legislation for the re-organization of higher education being in the forefront of controversies and discussions on educational matters[54], the reader is left to make his/her own evaluation and predictions about the prospect of "promised socialist reform" of the Greek educational system. The almost "diabolic" coincidence of the replacement of the Education Minister in his eighth month (keeping thus the long tradition in that respect) and the lack of needed money in education as has been shown in various behaviours of the government[55], ought not to escape the attention of the critical analyst of the Greek educational system. A. Papandreou himself, when speaking to PASOK members one year after the electoral victory of October 1981, said about his government's educational measures: "The major changes in educational matters, are: the new legislation for higher education, the abolition of entrance examination into the **Lycea** and a new way of selecting students for the institutions of higher education"[56]. No doubt, as more time is allowed for the present government to systematize and implement its entire educational program and, at the same time, as more theoretical and empirical data on these issues are becoming available, we may better analyze and understand the so-called "PASOK phenomenon" and its real effect on the Greek educational system.

Notes

1. See for example, among others, **Political Mobilization of the Venezuelan Peasant**, by John D. Powell, Harvard University Press, 1971; **Studies in Development Planning**, edited by Hollis B. Chenery, Harvard University Press, 1971; and **Economic Nationalism and the Politics of International Dependence: The Case of Copper in Chile, 1945-1973**, by Theodore Moran, Princeton University Press, 1974.

2. Alex Inkeles and David Smith, **Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries**, (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 133.

3. Margaret Gillett (ed.) **Readings in the History of Education** (Montreal: McGraw-Hill Co., of Canada Ltd., 1969), p. 23.

4. Guy Rocher, "Formal Education: The Issue of Opportunity", in D. Forcese and S. Richer (eds) **Issues in Canadian Society: An Introduction to Sociology** (Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1975), p. 158.

5. Paul Goodman, "No Processing Whatever", in Ronald and Beatrice Gross (eds), **Radical School Reform** (New York: Published by Simon & Schuster 1969), p. 98.

6. George Leonard, **Education and Ecstasy** (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc. 1968), p. 101.

7. Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, **Schooling in Capitalist America**, (New York: Basic Books Inc., Publishers, 1976), p. 26.

8. Ibid., p. 14

9. Martin Carnoy, "International Educational Reform: The Ideology of Efficiency", in M. Carnoy & Henry Levin (eds) **The Limits of Educational Reform** (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1976).

10. Alexis Dimaras, "The Movement for Reform: A Historical Perspective", **Comparative Education Review**, 22, no 1 (February, 1978): pp. 11-20.

11. A. Dimaras, Ibid., p. 13.

12. Maria Eliou, "Those Whom Reform Forgot", **Comparative Education Review**, Ibid., pp. 60-70.

13. Theopoula Anthogalidou-Vassilakakis, "The Greek Educational System as it Has Developed since the 1976 Reforms", **Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora** Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1981), p. 34.

14. Public statements of one of the deputy Education ministers (Moralis in **Eleftherotypia**, November 1, 1982) and the recent national budget of the government according to which all public expenses are kept to the lowest possible level, and no wage increases are expected for the whole of 1983. According to the weekly paper of the Youth of KKE **Odigitis**, the funds allocated for Education in the 1983 budget are in fact less than in 1982 — 9.8% for 1982 and 9.2% for 1983 from the whole budget, (**Odigitis**, December 16, 1982).

15. A. Dimaras, Ibid., p. 15.

16. Evangelos Papanoutsos, "Educational Demoticism" **Comparative Education Review** (Ibid.), pp. 46-50.

17. A. Dimaras, Ibid., p. 18.

18. A. Dimaras, Ibid., p. 15.

19. P.K. Persianis, "Values Underlying the 1976-1977 Educational Reform in Greece" in **Comparative Education Review** (Ibid.), pp. 51-59.

20. This is a one page Report published anonymously in Montreal during the military junta of 1967 in Greece. It bears the title: **Report on Education in Greece under the Military Dictatorship**, and it is written in Greek. As has been the case with virtually all the Greeks in Diaspora, there was strong opposition against the junta in Greece by the majority of Greeks in Montreal and Canada.

21. "Athenian", **Inside the Colonel's Greece** (translated by Richard Clogg) New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., pp. 88-95.

22. Marianna Kondilis, "The New Educational Policy of the 1976 Reform" **Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora** (Ibid.), p. 41.

23. Vasilis Kontogiannopoulos, "Goals of Educational Reform Policies" **Comparative Education Review** (Ibid.), pp. 3-6.

24. Maria Eliou, Ibid., p. 70.

25. There have been numerous such criticisms in Greek political reviews of **Anti** and **O Politis** and in many daily papers. People now in the PASOK government (Kaklamanis, Kassimatis, and A. Papandreou himself) and many others of the centre and left have criticized the 1976 reform for not responding to the true needs of the Greek people.

26. Maria Eliou, Ibid., p. 61.

27. **Eleftherotypia,** July 15, 1981 (This is a daily news-paper with a centrist and occasional leftist orientation).

28. **Ta Nea,** September 22, 1977 (This is a daily Greek news-paper with long tradition supporting the centrist political parties in Greece and with some questions expressed by people about its "un-clear" role under the 1967 junta. Today **Ta Nea** fully endorses the PASOK government and its publisher is said to have "a say" in the business of the government.

29. E. Panagiotou, "I Roi tou Mathitikou Dynamikou eis to Ekpaideutiko Systima" (The Flow of the Student Population in the Educational System), in **Deltion Omospondias Leitourgon Mesis Ekpaideuseos,** 412 (1974), p. 11.

30. Leonidas Louloudis, "Ideologica Paralipomena mias Dimosias Syzitisis" (Ideological omittances from a Public Discussion), **O Politis,** 40 (February 1981), p. 57.

31. Nikos Galatis, "Fititiki Metanasteusi" (Emigration of University Students), **Spoudastiki Foni,** 3 (January 1980), p.10. Similar figures are presented by OECD Manpower Policy & Problems in Greece, (Paris, 1965), pp. 51-89.

32. Anny Vryhea & Costas Gavroglou, 'Gia to Elliniko Panepistimio Simera: Kapia Nea Erotimata" (For the Greek University of Today: A Number of New Questions), **O Politis,** 40 (February 1981), p. 47. For more data on these issues look also in UNESCO, **Annual Statistics,** 1976.

33. Achileas Gekas et al, "Ereuna-Technologia-Anaptyxi: Skepsis gia mia Elliniki Stratigiki" (Research-Technology-Development: Thoughts for a new Hellenic Strategy), **O Politis,** 39 (December 1980-January 1981), p. 29. See also in OECD: **International Tables,** DSTI/SPR/18.

34. Apostolis Andreou, "Provlimata tis Ellinikis Ekpaideusis: A' Synedrio tis Paidias OIEAE" (Problems of the Greek Education: First Symposium on Education OIEAE), **O Politis,** 37 (August-September 1980), p. 80.

35. M. Giombazolias "Isagogikes Exetasis sta Anotata Ekpaideutika Idrymata" (Entrance Examinations in Institutions of Higher Education), in **Eleftherotypia,** August 23, 1978.

36. Aloe Sideris, "Some Information about Private Education in Greece", **Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora** (Ibid.), p. 55.

37. John Dewey, "The School and Society", in R. Archambault (ed.) **John Dewey On Education: Selected Writings** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1974), p. 296.

38. F. Stephen Larrabee, "La Grèce: Les Nouveaux Choix", **Politique Etrangère** No 4, Dec., 1981, p. 892.

39. Such positions have been "on the Greek political and social air" for many years now by all political parties with the exception of course of the conservative "New Democracy Party" and a few centrist people as well. All the political literature and the numerous promises for change in the Greek society make repeated references to this theme. The late "Contract with the Greek People" of PASOK is another illustration of such strong criticisms against the American presence in Greece.

40. Anna Frangoudakis, "I Ekpaideusi, I Paidia ke I Eperhomenes Ekloges" (Education, Culture, and the Upcoming Elections), **O Politis,** 46 (September 1981), p. 70.

41. A. Sideris, Ibid., p. 60.

42. Marci McDonald, "Southern Europe Marches to the Left", **Macleans,** 94, no. 44 (November 2, 1981), p. 33.

43. F.S. Larrabee, Ibid., p. 892.

44. Ibid., p. 898.

45. Vasilis Kontogiannopoulos, Ibid., p. 5.

46. John Dewey, Ibid., and
Charalambos Noutsos, **"Programmata Mesis Ekpaideusis ke Kinonikos Eleghos"** (Programs of Secondary Education and Social Control) Athens: Themelio, 1979.

47. See, for example, PASOK, **Diakyrixi Kyvernitikis Politikis: Symvoleo me to Lao** (Declaration of Governmental Policy: Contract with the People), Summer 1981 — in pages 49-56 the educational program of PASOK is presented.

48. All formal and informal discussions among both the left and the right of the Greek political spectrum are more than willing to put the blame on the present government's shoulders. Its unsuccessful economic policies are said to make the international crisis even worse for the "average person" in Greece today. The perennial "war of words" in the news-papers has, for the most part, centered on the external and economic policies of the PASOK government. More so, the last (and rather conservative budget) has given more economic arguments to the PASOK opposition.

49. For example, the interviews of A. Papandreou in American and European channels where he has stressed the "particular position/needs of Greece" in both the NATO and EEC; The refusal to sign the joint communique of the NATO defense ministers last year; Not accepting the sanctions to Poland and the Soviet Union, and so on. Also, the stance taken by the Greek prime minister on the issues of nuclear weapons in Europe and the issue of World-Peace along with a relative presssure for the solution of the "Cyprus Crisis" and the provocation of the Turkish government over the Aegean sea.

50. See, among others, in the bi-monthly political review **Anti**, no.216 (October 15, 1982), p.5.

51. Long interview of the prime minister of Greece A. Papandreou in the daily **Ta Nea**, the main points of which were also published by most Greek newspapers during the last week of November 1982.

52. The danger of a new military junta is always in the mind of most Greeks. There is often reference to the fact that "a hasty movement" of the present Socialist government might have disastrous consequences for **the Democracy** in Greece. The parallel situation of the circumstances that led to the junta in Chile and the forcible fall of Alliente worry many Greeks regardless of political affiliations. The government itself never stops of reminding the dangerous "à la Chile" outcome of a PASOK failure and mistake. And that behaviour in itself creates new worries and resentment on the part, mostly, of the leftist opposition.

53. **To Vima tis Kyriakis**, Oct. 3, 1982. (The same publisher and orientation as the daily **TA NEA.** To Vima is published, now, every Sunday only.

54. Most discussions on educational issues today in Greece center around the proposals in this legislation and possible "minuses" and "pluses" in that. An analogous legislation (Bill 815) proposed a few years ago by the then conservative government was never passed due to very strong opposition.

55. For example, the new national budget for the year 1983.

56. **To vima tis Kyriakis**, October 3, 1982.

RECENSIONS/BOOK REVIEWS

Autant de Façons d'Etre Québécois, Plan d'action du gouvernement du Québec à l'intention des Communautés culturelles, Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration, Québec, 1981.

La politique du gouvernement du Québec à l'intention des communautés culturelles fut exposée dans un document officiel publié sous le titre "Autant de façons d'être québécois". Cette politique introduite officiellement en mars 1981 "s'inspire d'un triple objectif: assurer le maintien et le développement des communautés culturelles et de leur spécificité, sensibiliser les Québécois francophones à l'apport des communautés culturelles au patrimoine commun, et enfin, favoriser l'intégration des communautés culturelles dans la société québécoise..."[1]

On signale par ailleurs que "le plan d'action à l'intention des communautés culturelles, s'insère dans le projet de société" du gouvernement actuel du Québec, "un projet d'abord humaniste et qui vise à permetttre à chacun d'apporter sa contribution" au développement de la société québécoise "à un moment où la majorité francophone s'ouvre plus que jamais sur le monde et où on découvre chez les minorités culturelles un intérêt sans précédent pour la langue et la culture de la majorité".[2]

Dans "Autant de façons d'être Québécois" on signale dans un premier temps que le Québec est depuis toujours une terre où l'on vient s'établir: de France évidemment depuis le début du VIème siècle, du Royaume-Uni et d'Irlande, d'Italie, de Grèce, surtout après la deuxième guerre mondiale, de l'Europe de l'Est (Polonais, Ukrainiens, Hongrois, Tchecoslovaques), du Portugal , de l'Allemagne, du Sud-Est Asiatique (Vietnamiens, Chinois, Cambodgiens, Laotiens), d'Haiti, des Etats-Unis, du Moyen Orient (Egyptiens, Libanais, Syriens, Armeniens), d'Afrique, bref des quatre coins du Monde. Il y a en effet plus de 80 communautés ethniques au Québec; les unes y étant installées depuis longtemps, les autres plus récemment.

Cependant, cette présence de plusieurs ethnies n'empêche pas le Québec de choisir "le français comme seule langue officielle" et de faire "comprendre que la culture Québécoise doit être d'abord de tradition française". D'ailleurs "c'est cette culture, ainsi définie" que le Québec "voit comme foyer de convergence des autres traditions culturelles qu'il veut maintenir originales et vivantes partout où elles s'expriment".[3]

Après avoir parlé du Québec comme société française, le livre se réfère aux apports feconds tant de la langue et de la culture anglaises qu'à ceux de nombreux groupes ethniques, sources d'enrichissement pour la société québécoise.

Par la suite on arrive à la constatation que "les immigrants et les Québécois d'origine autre que française éprouvent souvent de sérieuses difficultés à se faire accepter tels qu'ils sont". Par ailleurs, ils font face à une série des difficultés qui empêchent leur intégration harmonieuse à la société d'acceuil.

C'est pour faire face à ces difficultés qui durent depuis longtemps que le gouvernement

(1) Gerald Godin, Ministre des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration, Autant de façons d'être Québécois, Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration, Montréal, 1981, Présentation.
(2) Gerald Godin, op. cit., Présentation.
(3) Autant de façons..., op., cit., p. 9.

du Québec élabora son "Plan d'action" "à l'intention des communautés culturelles". Ce plan prévoit des mesures immédiates et des mesures à court et à moyen terme. Il s'agit d'"une politique énergique d'accès égal", des personnes issues des communautés ethniques, "à l'emploi dans l'Administration publique", des mesures pour "améliorer l'accueil que réserve la société québécoise aux nouveaux arrivants", des mesures pour faciliter l'accessibilité à la langue française, des politiques afin d'assurer aux membres des communautés culturelles un meilleur accès à l'information, aux services sociaux, à l'éducation et à la culture.

Avoir une politique généreuse pour les minorités ethniques à un moment où au nom de l'unité nationale la tendance à travers le monde vise à l'assimilation pure et simple, est certes positif. Cependant, la lecture du document officiel du gouvernement sur cette politique soulève certaines interrogations; c'est au niveau philosophique, idéologique et pratique que plusieurs questions se posent:

— Au niveau philosophique et idéologique on peut se demander sur la marge réelle dont disposent les groupes ethniques dans leur choix à eux de la "façon d'être Québécois". L'interrogation persiste d'ailleurs tout au long du livre, quant au caractère du projet collectif de société proposé et quant à la possibilité pour les communautés ethno-culturelles d'y participer pleinement, tout en gardant leur propre identité.

— Au niveau pratique, reste à savoir de quelle priorité jouit au sein du gouvernement du Québec cette politique. Quels en sont les objectifs minimaux? S'agit-il de buts aléatoires ou stratégiques?

Toute réflexion sur le document "Autant de façons d'être Québécois" ne peut se faire pour l'instant que sous forme de questionnement. Apporter des réponse à toute sorte d'interrogations qu'il soulève, n'est ni facile, ni même possible sans tomber dans des simplifications. C'est par et à travers l'action qu'on aura de réponses à toutes ces interrogations et questions.

Alexis Lamaris

Greek Americans, by Charles C. Moskos Jr., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1980, pp.162, $9.95(c), $6.95(p)

Charles Moskos' book "Greek Americans: Success and Struggle" is the latest in the Prentice Hall **Ethnic Groups in American Life** series, a series of works on different groups under the editorship of Milton M. Gorton. As stated by the editor himself, "this series of books will attempt to provide the American public with a descriptive and analytical overview of its ethnic heritage in the third quarter of the twentieth century from the viewpoint of relevant social science."

The book on Greek Americans, with a more descriptive and less analytical approach, traces the Greek presence in the United States back to the early 1600's (when the first "recorded" Greek set foot on American soil) and discusses various historical and situational parameters of the Greek community in the U.S. well up to the mid-1970's. On the whole, it is estimated that the grand total of Greek Americans of up to the fourth generation reachs approximately 1,250,000 persons. The author distinguishes five developmental stages throughout the long migration history of Greeks to America: the first stage that may cover all those pioneer Greeks who, one way or the other, came to the U.S. prior to the twentieth century and settled throughout the new land without establishing, however, "deeply rooted Greek American Institutions" (p.8). The author points out that all these

Greek individuals and/or groups were in no way typical of the kinds of Greeks that were to come later to America and form the core communities.

A second identifiable stage of Greeks coming to America has been the period of massive migration between the years 1890 to 1920, and more so during the two decades of the twentieth century when "close to one in every four Greek males between the ages of fifteen and forty-five departed for America!" (p.11). The third stage discussed by Moskos focuses on the establishment and socio-political organization of Greek American communities with their own characteristic institutions and life-style around the 1920's and 1930's. In his "Personal Memoir" the author presents a detailed "case study" of his own family establishment during that period. The next stage deals, primarily, with the Greek community's struggle to reestablish and revitalize itself after the Depression and W.W.II, a struggle that, despite numerous conflicts amongst Greeks themselves, was successfully won. In the last developmental and more contemporary stage, the author elaborates on the Greek American experience from the 1960's on with particular emphasis on the last 15-18 years when the new massive waves of Greeks came to America. He discusses at length these "neo-Greek Americans" that, in their unique way, revitalized and strengthened the already existing Greek communities, especially in the Northern and eastern regions of the country. Along with his personal and family experiences in the new land of "opportunity" the author presents a synoptic comparative description of the Greek-Australians who share a number of common characteristics with their compatriots in the U.S.A.

Throughout the book a number of themes are stressed over and over and several recurring points are discussed by Moskos in his attempt to highlight the overall Greek experience in America. Along with the well-documented characteristics that have been associated with almost all immigrants around the globe (discrimination, alienation, social distance and isolation, resentment and xenophobic attitudes on the part of the indigenous population), the author notes somme "Greek" peculiarities. Virtually all chapters of the book conclude by emphasizing the notion of "duality" that seems to charactetize Greek Americans. That is, strong attachment in various forms and degrees to the so-called hellenism and at the same time social (first) and cultural assimilation of Greeks into the American society at large. A second point stressed by Moskos is the socio-political conservatism that has traditionally prevailed among the Greek Americans, a conservatism that, according to Moskos, may be largely explained in terms of the particular background of most Greeks coming to America. He reports that the largest number of Greek Americans (more so up until the 1950's) come from Peloponnesos in the southern part of Greece and the most conservative region. He furthermore elaborates with statistical documentation about the reamrkable social mobility achieved by the vast majority of Greek immigrants and more so that of their offspring of the second, third and fourth generations. For Moskos, the central and unique role of the Greek Orthodox Church for all Greek Americans is an unquestionable fact stressing that:

a. The Greek Orthodox Church has been fully transformed in both appearance and substance into a Greek American Church; and

b. For virtually all second, third and fourth generation Greek Americans ethnic identification can only be conceived and explained via the Greek American Church.

Another unique characteristic that appears to be "an integral part of the Greek immigrant's personality all around the world" and repeatedly mentioned by Moskos is what one may call the "business syndrom" that leads to upward mobility. The author makes lengthy references to that Greek characteristic that seems to have permeated deeply into the core personality of many American-born Greeks as well. From the early years in America a substantial number of Greeks turned to the "entreprenurial route". And as Moskos notes, "It was in this capacity that the Greek American was to make his most distinguishing mark on American society" (p.22).

No doubt, "Greek Americans" is an informative and detailed account of the overall Greek presence and experience in the U.S. In many instances, the author provides a wide variety of "stimuli" for further empirical research and understanding of a large ethnic group that has been lumped all together under the general label "Greek Americans". Throughout his analysis Moskos makes it abundantly clear that to treat ethnic and

minority groups as homogenoeus collectivities is both misleading and unjust. Scholars in the ethnic relations field should pay equal attention to intra-group analyses if a better and more accurate understanding is to be achieved. The wide spectrum of individuals and groups that make up the story of "Greek Americans" is the most eloquent illustration of the need for intra-group studies and analyses. Furthermore, Moskos' discussion of the "ethnogenesis" phenomenon that seems to characterize many ethnic and racial groups all over the world, and the so-called "revival of ethnicity" issue so much prevalent in the field of ethnic relations present additional challenges for the interested scholar.

Having said all that, a few words should be added here. Moskos' rather heavy emphasis on some kind of "who is who" approach and the relatively lengthy references to the Greek American "personalities" consume many pages of the book that could have been used for most useful and sociologically sound data. In addition, I cannot refrain from noting two more things that intrigued me when reading the book:

a. His mentioning of the fact that Sunday schools are "unknown in Greece" (p.170) — I still remember my mother's insistence to attend every Sunday the "**Katihitiko**" (Sunday school) and my cousin's habit, as late as 1981, to send her two daughters to **Katihitiko**.

b. A kind of socio-political conservatism that seems to permeate the entire book along with a second generation Greek American perspective that, no doubt, carries both the "minuses and pluses" of personal biases.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that "Greek Americans" makes its own substantial contribution to the ethnic relations field and the much neglected history of Greeks and their offspring who, for many years now, have established themselves in the land of "freedom and opportunity". "Greek Americans" deserves a special place within the anthology of comprehensive works on Greeks in America and has laid the groundwork for further research to come. Seen from my own background, however, the book lacks an in-depth account and analysis of the educational aspects and the different arrangements in the Greek communities to preserve and transmit "Greekness". Sporadic and limited references to the "parallel educational system" of Greeks in America appear to be overshadowed by the lengthy discussions of the Church and the equally lengthy list and attributes of those of Greek descent who have caught the "public attention".

Leonidas Bombas

Les Anglophones du Québec de Majoritaires à Minoritaires, sous la direction de Gary Caldwell et Eric Waddell, Institut Québécois de la Recherche sur la Culture, Collection: Identité et changements culturels, n° I, Québec, 1982, 464 pages

Il s'agit d'un ouvrage collectif, avec publication simultanée en français et en anglais. Les différents articles sont de qualité inégale; il y a les articles académiques, il y a ceux qui versent dans le journalisme — mais paradoxalement ne sont pas toujours des articles écrits par des journalistes — et ceux qui deviennent à certains moments de simples bavardages.

On s'étonne qu'à l'intérieur d'un tel ouvrage on ne trouve rien ou presque — à l'excep-

tion d'un article sur les Juifs — pour faire le lien entre les anglophones et les autres Communautés ethno-culturelles. Comme si les Grecs ou les Italiens, pour ne se référer qu'à deux communautés, n'ont pas alimenté la communauté anglophone en envoyant leurs enfants aux écoles anglaises et en s'intégrant pendant longtemps à cette communauté.

Par ailleurs, la Communauté anglophone noire pour les responsables de l'édition et pour l'Institut Québécois de la Recherche sur la Culture est inexistante. Est-ce qu'il était tellement difficile de trouver quelqu'un qui aurait pu écrire un article sur cette communauté? Ou est-ce que cela fait partie de la politique de l'Institut d'ignorer les Communautés ethno-culturelles?

En effet, si on lit le dernier rapport de l'Institut on constate que les Communautés ethno-culturelles sont le parent pauvre dans ses activités. Par l'absence au sein de son équipe de chercheurs issus de ces Communautés et par la présence d'un fort noyau anglophone, on privilégie les recherches sur les anglophones du Québec au détriment des autres communautés. Sur la Communauté grecque on nous annonce une étude depuis trois ans et on l'attend toujours...Pas de précipitation, les Grecs, comme d'ailleurs les autres communautés ne font pas partie des priorités de l'Institut.

Pour revenir à l'ouvrage publié sur les anglophones, signalons quelques très bons articles: celui de Robert Sweeny, Esquisse de l'histoire économique du Québec anglophone, celui de David Allnut, La fonction publique québécoise, celui de Lise Bissonette, La restructuration scolaire de l'Ile de Montréal et celui d'Henry Milner, La gauche anglophone au Québec et l'autodétermination.

Il est impossible de rendre compte de tous les articles dans cette brève note; ils couvrent un éventail qui va des bases socio-historiques du Québec anglophone à la perception de soi, de l'autre, et du Québec aux mille et une facettes de l'anglophonie québécoise, aux crises au sein des institutions, au monde de l'enseignement, aux médias et à la scène politique.

Mais, d'une façon générale, on constate un manque de cohérence dans cet ouvrage et à la fin on se demande ce qu'on a vraiment appris sur les anglophones du Québec en 464 pages.

Curieuse aussi conclusion des responsables du recueil où au lieu de conclusion nous parlent longtemps de "l'affaire Frank Carrel", et de son testament, et noient le lecteur dans une série infinie de citations à partir des positions prises ou des articles sur les anglophones.

Alexis Lamaris

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