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Greeks of Metro-Vancouver: Identity, Culture, and Community

By

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

to

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Abstract

This is an exploration of the identity of Greek migrants living in Metro-Vancouver, Canada. Social scientific research suggests that the extent to which migrants retain their original ethnic / cultural identity and / or assimilate and identify as members of their new host nation varies along a continuum for individuals, and for various ethnic groups in various host communities, and may change over time and generations. My research focuses on the extent to which Greek migrants to Metro-Vancouver identify along such a continuum from mainly 'Greek' to mainly 'Canadian.' I also investigate why some people decided to emigrate and why some chose to stay in Greece. To put the Greeks of Metro-Vancouver into context, I went to Greece in the summer of 2007 and investigated how Greek migrants relate to places other than Metro-Vancouver, and how Greeks who have stayed in Greece relate to present-day Greek community and culture. My research methods include personal interviews and community observation and participation. I have provided overviews of aspects of Greek and Canadian history, the Greek community of Metro-Vancouver, Canadian immigration policies and practises, and theoretical concepts of the anthropology of identity.

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Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
List of Appendices	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
A Brief History of Greece	12
A Brief History of Greek Canadians in Metro-Vancouver	16
Chapter 2: Analytical Concepts: A Literature Review	23
Chapter 3: Research Methodology	38
Research in Greece	38
Research in Metro-Vancouver	52
Chapter 4: Research Results and Analyses	56
Interviews Conducted in Greece	56
Interviews Conducted in Metro-Vancouver	66
Interviews - Analyses	89
Interviews Conducted in Greece	89
Interviews Conducted in Metro-Vancouver	93
Chapter 5: Analyses and Conclusions	106
References	117

Tables

Table 1:	Immigration from Greece to Canada – 1901-1990	3
Table 2:	Persons of Hellenic Ethnicity in Canada – 1871-1991	4
Table 3:	Greek Immigration to Canada and Australia	6
Table 4:	Immigrants to Canada: Greeks and Portuguese	7
Table 5:	Greek Community Organizations – Metro-Vancouver	20
Table 6:	Interview Participant Profiles – Greece	91
Table 7:	Interview Participant Profiles – Metro-Vancouver	101

Figures

Figure 1:	Chart:	Immigration from Greece to Canada – 1901-1990	3
Figure 2:	Chart:	Persons of Hellenic Ethnicity in Canada – 1871-1991	4
Figure 3:	Chart:	Greek Immigration to Canada and Australia	6
Figure 4:	Chart:	Immigrants to Canada: Greeks and Portuguese	7
Figure 5:	Map showing	Greece – General location	42
Figure 6:	Map showing	the province of Macedonia and Nomos Kilkis	43
Figure 7:	Map of Nomos Kilkis showing	communities where interviews were conducted	44
Figure 8:	Satellite image of Nomos Kilkis showing	communities where interviews were conducted	45
Figure 9:	Photo:	Discussion with <i>Theas</i>	46
Figure 10:	Photo:	Interview with ET	46
Figure 11:	Photo:	Interview with PT	47
Figure 12:	Photo:	Interview with KA	47
Figure 13:	Photo:	Interview with IH and OA	48

Appendices

Appendix I	Carleton ethics application	121
Appendix II	Information and consent forms	131
	English	131
	Greek	134
Appendix III	Sample interview questions	137
	Greece	137
	Metro-Vancouver	138

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is about Greek immigrants living in Metro-Vancouver. I am interested in the extent to which Greek immigrants in Metro-Vancouver have retained their cultural / ethnic identity as Greeks or the extent to which they have assimilated to a more general Canadian identity. Through participant observation and interviews, I examine how some Greek immigrants living in Metro-Vancouver relate to their community and how they relate to Greece and the community and culture they have left.

In addition to this major focus, I also conducted some participant observation and interviews in Greece with Greeks who have migrated to Germany and Switzerland and with Greeks who have remained in Greece.

I examine the migrant experience and the meaning of that experience to the migrants, their families, and the community; this includes an examination of the extent that cultural assimilation and cultural retention plays on the migrant experience. As Brettell and Hollifield (2008: 5) note, “Anthropologists...want to capture through their ethnography the experience of being an immigrant and the meaning, to the migrants themselves, of the social and cultural changes that result from leaving one context and entering another.”

In chapter 2, I discuss some of the analytical concepts that I utilize to discuss and to analyze Greek immigrants in Metro-Vancouver: namely migration, transnationalism, diaspora, culture, ethnicity, and identity. I discuss the two opposite poles of an analytical continuum, in which transmigrants either retain their original cultural and ethnic identity (one end of the continuum) or assimilate completely into the host culture (the other end of the continuum).

Most transmigrants probably belong somewhere in the middle of this continuum; my argument is that the Greek immigrant community in Metro-Vancouver is likely closer to the cultural retention end of the continuum.

Gallant describes two modern periods of Greek emigration, both driven by rural over-population, lack of employment opportunities, low-wages, and the “dream of Greeks for an improvement in their lives”: the first period being between 1890 and the 1920s, and the second from the 1950s through the 1960s to the 1970s (2001: 112-115; 191-192). Tamis attributes the “massive emigration” of Greeks following the end of the Greek civil war during 1949 to “Greece’s unhealthy economy and unstable political situation” and the “high demand for labour in the recipient countries” (2005: 23).

Anderson and Higgs (in Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2009: 6) note that during the 1950s Canada was promoting immigration to meet its need for agricultural and railway construction labourers. Noivo suggests that Canada’s family reunification immigration policies were a factor in the significant period of immigration to Canada during the post Greek civil war period (1997: 32).

Table 1 and Figure 1 (page 3) show Statistics Canada data for Greek migration to Canada between the early 1900s and the 1990s (Parai in Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 108). During that period, the total number of Greek migrants to Canada was 152,638; the numbers of Greek immigrants arriving in Canada were a relative trickle between 1900 and 1950, but increased markedly during the 1950s and 1960s, declining a bit in the 1970s, and then returning to the earlier trickle in the 1980s.

Table 1: Immigration from Greece to Canada – 1901-1990

Decade	Immigrants from Greece to Canada
1901-1910	3,995
1911-1920	5,301
1921-1930	3,835
1931-1940	642
1941-1950	3,043
1951-1960	39,832
1961-1970	62,183
1971-1980	29,017
1981-1990	4,790
Total	152,638

Figure 1: Chart from Table 1

Table 2 and Figure 2 (page 4) provide Statistics Canada data for the period 1871 to 1991 showing the numbers of persons living in Canada who self-identified as having Hellenic ethnicity (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 119).

Table 2: Persons of Hellenic Ethnicity in Canada – 1871-1991

Year	Persons of Hellenic Ethnicity in Canada
1871	39
1881	--
1891	--
1901	291
1911	3,614
1921	5,740
1931	9,444
1941	11,692
1951	13,866
1961	56,475
1971	124,475
1981	154,365
1991	191,480

Figure 2: Chart from Table 2

Table 2 and Figure 2 data are cumulative and include Greek-Canadians born in Canada. The Table 2 and Figure 2 numbers are higher than in Table 1 and Figure 1, and the differences increase over the time period shown. These data indicate that the Greek community in Canada is growing, even in the face of few new immigrants, and now includes not only the first generation migrants, but also their descendants.

This thesis does not include detailed comparison of Greek migration in terms of recipient countries, or comparison with migration of other national or ethnic groups. However, it is interesting to note some similarities.

Canada has not been the sole destination for Greek migrants. According to Gallant (2001: 191) and Tamis (2005: 23) the main destinations outside of Europe for post Greek civil war Greek migrants have been Canada and Australia. Table 3 and Figure 3 (page 6) present approximate numbers of Greek migrants to Australia from 1900 to 2005 adapted from Tamis (2005: 47, 59, 60, 62), in comparison with approximate numbers of Greek migrants to Canada during the same period adapted from Table 2.

Table 3 and Figure 3 indicate that Greek immigration to Australia has been significantly greater than to Canada; however, the numbers suggest a similar flow in migrants to both destinations: relatively low numbers until the end of the Greek civil war, followed by a marked increase during the 1950s and 1960s, and an even more marked decline after the mid 1970s.

Table 3: Greek Immigration to Canada and Australia

Period	Greek Immigrants (approx.)	
	Canada	Australia
1900-1949	17,000	17,000
1950-1974	116,000	250,000
1975-	20,000	7,000
Total	153,000	274,000

Figure 3: Chart from Table 3

Table 4 and Figure 4 (page 7) compare numbers of Greek and Portuguese migrants to Canada (Parai in Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 108; Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2009: 6). Although there are notable timing differences, and the numbers of Portuguese migrants are greater, the Greek and Portuguese migrations display notable similarities: a significant peak (during the 1960s for Greeks; during the 1970s for Portuguese), followed by a marked decline. The factors that Teixeira and Da Rosa (2009: 4) describe as prompting Portuguese emigration reflect similar circumstances described by Gallant (2001: 112-115; 191-192) in relation to Greek emigration.

Table 4: Immigrants to Canada: Greeks and Portuguese

Decade	Immigrants to Canada (approx.)	
	Greek	Portuguese
1900-1910	4,000	--
1910-1920	5,300	--
1920-1930	3,800	--
1930-1940	600	--
1940-1950	3,000	--
1950-1960	39,800	17,100
1960-1970	62,200	59,700
1970-1980	29,000	79,900
1980-1990	4,800	38,200
1990-2000	-- ¹	19,200
2000-2007	-- ¹	2,900
Total	153,000	200,000

¹ Numbers not provided

Figure 4: Chart from Table 4

I am a second-generation Greek-Canadian, born in Canada, and living in Metro-Vancouver. My parents were born in Greece and are Greek citizens. They are part of the wave of Greeks who left Greece and immigrated to Canada between the end of the Greek civil war and the mid 1970s. My parents emigrated from the northern Greek province of Macedonia¹ approximately five years before I was born. By the time I was born, my parents had become naturalized Canadian citizens. Greek law considers all persons born of a Greek citizen to be Greek. Since February 15, 1977, Canada has allowed dual citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009: 1). Accordingly, my parents and I are citizens of both Canada and Greece.

My parents and I are active in the Greek community in Metro-Vancouver. We also have relatives in Greece and we visit the region of my parents' ancestral communities often. Prior to my research for this thesis, I believed that there *was* a Greek community in Metro-Vancouver, composed of individuals who, like me and my parents, strongly identify with their Greek ethnic and cultural heritage. I believed that members of this Greek community in Metro-Vancouver maintained important ties to Greece and to Greek culture, both in Metro-Vancouver and in Greece (the latter mainly through communications and visits). Many individuals, I thought, were immersed within the local Greek community in Metro-Vancouver. By this, I included activities such as speaking Greek, interacting with other Greek-Canadians, attending Greek Orthodox Church, attending Greek cultural activities and festivals, reading Greek-language

¹ A note of clarification: The Greek province of Macedonia is quite separate from the Republic of Macedonia. The Republic of Macedonia was formerly part of the now dissolved Yugoslavia, and arose as an independent state in 1991; although the Republic of Macedonia shares a border with the Greek province of Macedonia, the Republic of Macedonia is ethnically and linguistically Slavic rather than Greek; similarly, the Macedonian Orthodox church is associated with other Slavic Orthodox Churches rather than the Greek Orthodox Church.

newspapers, listening to Greek-language radio, watching Greek-language television (and, more recently, reading materials relating to Greece and Greek culture on the Internet), and sending their children to Greek community events (including some schooling). I believed that this identification with Greece and with Greek culture and ethnicity extended beyond the first-generation to the children and other descendants of the first-generation who were born in Canada (as it did in my case).

I use the term Greekness to capture, in a word, what I thought it means to be Greek in Metro-Vancouver, including one's interactions, culture, ethnicity, language, mannerisms, behaviour, mentality and style (although, as I discuss in chapter 2, I do not mean to imply that there is some 'essence' to being Greek or that all Greeks in Metro-Vancouver act or think alike).

Although I am Canadian and I identify as Canadian in many everyday ways and in many contexts, I also identify closely with my Greek heritage and identity. From the time I was a small child, my parents have raised me within a context of highlighting our family's Greekness. As an infant, Greek was my first language; however, I grew up speaking English at home and at school. I learned how to cook and prepare Greek cuisine by watching my parents and grandmothers cook for our family. My family and I have taken an active role in Greek-Canadian activities such as school, community meetings, church, cultural activities, etc., ever since I was a child. As a youth I regained my Greek language, mainly as a result of visits with family in Greece (few of my adult relatives in Greece speak any English). Today I am fully functional in day-to-day conversational Greek. As a youth, and now as an adult, I have been an active participant within the local Greek community in Metro-Vancouver. I have been and / or am now a member of a number of local organizations, including the Hellenic Community of

Vancouver, St. George Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Pharos (the Canadian Hellenic Cultural Society), and the Dimitri Greek Dance Group. These local community organizations in Metro-Vancouver all promote Greek and Hellenistic culture, identity, and community service. (*Hellas* and *Hellenes* are the Greek words for Greece and Greeks respectively.) I regularly attend all four annual Greek festivals held in Metro-Vancouver.

In the lead up to this thesis research, I participated in a Metro-Vancouver community forum on the topic: “How will Greeks in Metro-Vancouver maintain their ethnic heritage and culture in the future?” Approximately 30 individuals attended this forum, which was hosted by the Hellenic Canadian Congress of British Columbia. The existence of this forum perhaps reflects a fear among the Greek-Canadian community that cultural assimilation is a potential threat to the continued maintenance of Greek heritage and culture in the Metro-Vancouver area, especially for second, third, and other subsequent generations. In fact, most of the participants at the forum were mostly first-generation Greek-Canadians, many of them influential members of the local community. The forum lasted approximately an hour and a half and, although many issues were discussed, there was no action plan formulated and no consensus reached as to how to address the issues raised.

My family and I also attend Greek movies, which are significant community social events: during Hellenic Heritage month (June) and during the Vancouver film festival in the fall, Greek movies are brought to select independent theatres. My family and I also attend other community social events with Greek music, singing and dancing, and often Greek foods and other items sold at an *agora* (marketplace). Well-known Greek entertainers are regularly brought to Vancouver from Greece by local Greek-

Canadian promoters and organizations. My family and I attend special religious holidays and events at our community churches such as name days, Greek Christmas, and Greek Easter. We regularly attend events and ceremonies concerning individual life crises, such as baptisms, weddings, funerals and *nemosina* (memorial services; Greek tradition allows for a sequence of memorial services that can last for years, depending on the family's wishes and resources). I have an extended network of family in Metro-Vancouver, in Greece, and elsewhere in Europe. In my father's village in Greece, my nickname growing up was *Kanadezaki*, (little Canadian).

In my dress and grooming, I consider myself completely Canadian. However, I must carry some 'air of ethnicity' as many people often ask me 'where are you from?' In a previous draft of this thesis, I wrote that "Overall, I feel that I can identify more with my Greek ethnic heritage than my Canadian heritage; this is a subjective qualitative statement and I cannot think of any way to quantify it."

My research for this thesis is a preliminary attempt at addressing the question: do Greek immigrants in Metro-Vancouver (and their descendants) belong more on the 'cultural retention' or on the 'cultural assimilation' end of the analytical continuum mentioned above. It is important to stress, however, in this introduction, that my research project was not merely based on a personal and idiosyncratic view: Tamis and Gavaki (2002: 376, 377) state that "the Greeks are one of the least assimilated cultural groups in Canada."

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I briefly discuss the history of Greece (to situate the circumstances that led a significant number of Greeks immigrating abroad) and I briefly discuss the history of Greeks in Canada, especially in Metro-Vancouver. Chapter 2, as mentioned above, explores some of the analytical concepts that

I employ in this thesis, focusing on migration, diaspora, identity, ethnicity, culture, transnationalism, and the dichotomy between cultural retention and cultural assimilation. Chapter 3 presents my research methodology, as I carried out participant observation and interviews in Metro-Vancouver and in Greece. Chapter 4 presents the results of those interviews and participant observation. Finally, chapter 5 presents some conclusions, relating my research findings back to the analytical concepts presented in chapter 2.

A Brief History of Greece

Europe and the west have long recognized the important contribution of the ancient Greeks and classical Greece to modern western civilization. However, until the early 1980s, Greece was considered a place where nothing significant had happened since classical times. This was reflected in Greece's lack of significant contribution to the world on a variety of levels, such as technologically, academically, medically, artistically or politically. The "four hundred years" of Ottoman rule (1453-1821) isolated Greece from the great historical movements and advances of the west: the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the French and American Revolutions, and the Industrial Revolution. The conservative nature of the Greek Orthodox Church, with its overarching influence over Greek society, reinforced and compounded this isolation from advances in Western Europe (Clogg, 2002: 3).

Prior to the period of Ottoman rule that had such a defining influence on Greek identity, there was no 'Greece' as we would recognize it today; rather, the Greek world was comprised of a number of independent city-states and associated colonies (established for trading and resource exploitation). When the first part of modern Greece, the Peloponnesus, broke away from the Ottoman Empire in the first part of the 19th century, the emerging nation-state needed to define itself: residence, religion, language,

and descent were all used in attempts to identify the new 'Greeks' and the new 'Greek' society. Reference to Orthodox Christianity was not sufficient as this did not differentiate Greeks from other Orthodox peoples such as Bulgars, Romanians, Albanians, and Vlachs. Similarly, the Greek language was not a sufficient determinant as many different ethnicities had become Greek-speaking. Strong identification with the accomplishments and glory of ancient Greece (*Hellas*) led the new Greek state to adopt the names *Hellas* and *Hellenes* for independent Greece and Greek citizens (Veremis and Koliopoulos, 2003: 13-15). This in turn led to Greece and Greeks being defined in terms of their relation to ancient Greece, through such avenues as blood, culture, beliefs, and traditions. This approach was exclusionary in many ways: many of those who had fought for 'Greek' liberation from Ottoman rule were not ethnically Greek and this emphasis on ethnicity essentially disenfranchised many of them.

The Greek War of Independence (or the Greek Revolution) began in 1821 and ended in 1828 (Gallant, 2001: 16). This marked the end of Ottoman rule and the beginning of the territorial expansion of modern Greece. Although Greece was formally recognized as a nation-state by Great Britain, Russia and France in 1830, the new Greek state was not formally established until 1832 (Chimbos, 1980: 8).

As a result of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, Greece gained parts of Macedonia. In the First World War, King Constantine insisted on neutrality and refused to join the Allies. The Conference of Lausanne of 1923 was an effort to end the constant friction between Greece and Turkey, caused in part as a result of the presence of ethnic minorities within both nation-states. The Treaty of Lausanne was the agreement that resulted from the Conference. The Treaty provided for the exchange of national minorities under League of Nations supervision: Turkish and Bulgarian minorities left Greece, and nearly

1,500,000 Greeks from Asia Minor were settled in Greece (Chimbos, 1980: 8, 9).

Initially, this massive population shift was an economic drain on Greece.

From 1919 to 1949, there were 25 changes of government, three dictatorships, and eight revolts and coups (Chimbos, 1980: 8). Greece went from being a republic to being a monarchy and back again several times. There was great political and economic instability. In 1936 a dictatorship was set up under Metaxas. In the Second World War, Greece repulsed an Italian invasion in 1940 but was subsequently invaded and occupied by the German army in 1941 through to 1944. Within the Greek resistance forces, royalist and communist-led contingents battled each other. Economically exhausted after the Liberation of Greece from Nazi occupation in 1944, Greece was beset by civil war from 1944 to 1949. The Greek economy was largely destroyed and families were torn apart during this civil war. Under the so-called 'Truman Doctrine' of 1947, the United States (U.S.) gave economic and military aid to the anti-communist forces in Greece, whose campaign against the communists was largely completed by 1950. A member of the United Nations since 1945, Greece entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1951 and entered the Common Market as an associate member in 1962. A right wing military junta assumed governmental power in 1967, when Colonel Papadopoulos and his army officers executed a military coup d'état, overthrowing the constitutional monarchy. While some economic recovery began following World War II and the civil war, there was little progress through the 1950s and 1960s (Chimbos, 1980: 9, 10). Papadopoulos' dictatorship lasted seven years, ending in 1974, following a failed attempt to take over Cyprus. After the fall of the military dictatorship, Greece's former Prime Minister Karamanlis was reinstated as the head of a democratic coalition government. While

some socioeconomic and political problems persisted, Greece began a slow transformation to a stable, prosperous, and modern nation-state.

All of these events resulted in the fact that there was much violence, little economic opportunity, and little political freedom in Greece. After the devastation of World War II and the Greek civil war, many Greeks sought to immigrate to other lands, in order to secure a better life for themselves and their children. The violence, lack of economic opportunity and lack of political freedom all served as 'push' factors, leading many Greeks to leave their homeland in search of a more peaceful life and better economic opportunities and political freedom for themselves and their families. This reality is reflected in the data presented earlier concerning Greek immigration to Canada; it increased markedly only during the 1950s and 1960s, and started trailing off again in the 1970s, effectively ending by 1980.

Political, social, and economic life began to stabilize throughout Greece following the return to a democratic government in 1974. In 1980, Greece was granted full membership rights to the European Union (EU) (Chimbos, 1980: 12, 13). The drachma was replaced by the euro in January 2001. Peace and hope for an economic and political recovery after the decades of war and economic and political turmoil, meant that Greeks could look forward to a better life for themselves and their families at home, without the necessity of immigrating to foreign and far-off lands. (As this thesis is being finalized, in May 2010, the economic situation of Greece is grave, and the International Monetary Fund, U.S., and EU led solutions being required of Greece in order to get further loans, may easily exacerbate the poor economic situation of most, non-wealthy, Greeks.)

Brief History of Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver

Canada also provided some of the 'pull' factors that drew foreign immigrants to this country. From the immigrant's point of view, Canada has a reputation (and had this reputation since the 1950s) as a peaceful country. Canada also is constantly compared to the giant to the south, the United States. In contrast to the U.S., Canada is often seen as a more 'tolerant' country. In contrast to the U.S. 'melting pot' ideology, Canada has, especially more recently, portrayed itself as a 'multicultural mosaic.' In the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, (English) Canada was reaching out for immigrants from beyond its historical and traditional source countries of England, Scotland, and Wales. At these times, Canada was also seen as a country where the opportunities afforded to individuals improved over the generations.

In fact, 'push' and 'pull' factors sometimes overlap and reinforce each other. By the 1960s and 70s, for example, 'pull' factors have included advertisements, recruitment programs, favourable immigration policies and potential economic opportunities that enticed new Greek immigrants to take a chance in a new country like Canada (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 109).

According to Chimbos (1999: 88, 91, 122), approximately 80 per cent of Greek immigrants to Canada between 1951 and 1971 were sponsored by family members. Immigration of Greeks to Canada in the early years (prior to the end of WWII) involved mainly young, single, and adventurous men, hoping to make some money and planning to then return to Greece. Most Greek immigrants to Canada in the 1950s, 60s and 70s came from rural Greece and were largely 'unskilled' and 'uneducated' in terms of formal job skills and formal schooling (Chimbos, 2007: 4, 5). These Greek immigrants in Canada worked in the service industry, petty street trades, factories, and construction. They often

came with their families; in addition, Greek men and women often went to Canada as brides and grooms (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 110).

As more and more Greek immigrants came to the Metro-Vancouver area and settled into their new lives, they encouraged friends and relatives back in Greece to immigrate to Canada and join them. As the Greek-Canadian community expanded, Greek services and businesses (such as churches, banks, travel agents, stores, and restaurants) arose to serve the growing community. As Tamis and Gavaki (2002: 118, 119) note, Greek-Canadian travel agencies in particular encouraged and facilitated travel to Greece for vacations, thereby reinforcing Greek-Canadians' ties to their Greek origins. In addition, patriotic and cultural associations were also begun. Media (newspapers, radio and television programs, and the Internet) catering to the Greek-Canadian community also proliferated.

According to the 1981 Canadian census, the Greek-Canadians were primarily endogamous: specifically, 83 per cent of the married immigrant Greek males and 92 per cent of the married immigrant females had married a Greek spouse. In this particular area, data strongly suggests that endogamy has decreased over the years: between 1989 and 1993 at least 53 per cent of the weddings performed by the Greek Orthodox Churches in Canada were *interethnic* (cited in Chimbos, 2007: 9).

Chimbos explains that retaining Greek culture and language is a significant part of Greek-Canadian family and community life. Parents, especially first-generation Greek-Canadians, speak mostly Greek to their children and encourage the children to do the same. Visits to Greece obviously reinforce retaining Greek language skills over time and over the generations. However, once children play with non-Greek-Canadian children, hear English language radio and television, and once they enter the Canadian education

system, they tend to speak English more often than their parents. Data for most immigrant communities indicate that original language use declines over the generations.

As Greek-Canadians became more integrated into Canadian society, in the 1950s, 60s, and since, they often moved up the socioeconomic ladder. With increased job skills and experience, and with more formal education for their children (in Canadian schools), Greek-Canadians moved into the growing Canadian 'middle class.'

Metro-Vancouver has had a vibrant Greek community since the early 1900s (Hellenic Community of Vancouver, 2010). By the 1950s, the Kitsilano area had become Metro-Vancouver's Greek Town, the centre of the Greek-Canadian community. It grew, by immigration, throughout the century until the 1980s, when it almost ceased. Since then the growth of the Greek-Canadian community in Metro-Vancouver has become more dependent upon the descendants of the Greek immigrants continuing to identify themselves as Greek and as part of the Greek-Canadian community. By the late 1970s and 80s, Vancouver experienced a real estate boom and the Kitsilano neighbourhood became an upscale area of expensive properties. Many Greek-Canadians sold their properties and moved to other areas of Metro-Vancouver; Kitsilano is no longer Metro-Vancouver's Greek Town. Today, a significant portion, perhaps a majority, of the Greek community in Metro-Vancouver were born in Canada and have never lived in Greece, aside from vacations.

As discussed above for the Greek community in Canada in general, Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver developed various civic, religious, community, economic, and other organizations and enterprises (including senior centres and *kafenia* (coffee houses), as the Greek-Canadian community in Metro-Vancouver grew. The Hellenic Canadian Congress of British Columbia was established in 1986 and is presently

the umbrella organization for the approximately 48 separate Greek-Canadian organizations and enterprises in Metro-Vancouver, as listed in Table 5 (page 20). These organizations include several churches and church communities; government representatives; community organizations; Greek language schools; Greek dance groups; and Greek language media.

According to Chimbos (2007: 5, 6), Greek-Canadians are satisfied, overall, with their lifestyles here in Canada, with respect to political freedom, economic opportunities, and societal tolerance; however, most Greek-Canadians are very patriotic and still maintain strong attachments to Greece and many return to vacation there annually and some even return and retire there.

Tamis and Gavaki (2002: 181, 182) note that, as time passes for the first-generation of Greek-Canadians and for subsequent generations, and as they become more integrated into Canadian society, their Greekness and their ethnic communities will become less important; the strength of the community and the salience of its ethnic identity will weaken. This has been the case for most other immigrant communities, both in Canada and worldwide. However, my thesis examines the possibility that, for Greek-Canadians, their Greekness remains an important element of their individual and collective identity over time and over generations.

There exists a third alternative between the stark dichotomy between total cultural retention or total cultural assimilation: as more and more Greek-Canadians learn more about being Canadian, they can still retain aspects of their Greekness. As Tamis and Gavaki (2002: 255) explain: “Gradually...immigrants become acquainted with the workings of Canadian culture and society” yet they can still “preserve their ethnic subculture within the multicultural and multiethnic framework of Canada.”

Table 5: Greek Community Organizations – Metro-Vancouver

(As of April 2010; Hellenic Community of Vancouver, 2010)

<u>Greek Orthodox Churches</u>
Saint George Greek Orthodox Cathedral
Saints Constantine & Helen Greek Orthodox Church
Saints Nicholas & Demetrios Greek Orthodox Church
<u>Greek Orthodox Church Communities</u>
Greek Orthodox Community of East Vancouver
Greek Orthodox Community of Surrey and Fraser Valley
Hellenic Community of Vancouver
<u>Government Representatives</u>
Consulate of Greece in Vancouver
Vice Consul for Maritime Affairs
Honorary Consul of the Republic of Cyprus
<u>Community Organizations</u>
American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) – Gladstone CJ #6
AHEPA – Burnaby Chapter
AHEPA – Golden West #26
Alexander the Great
“Artemis” Rod & Gun Club

Table 5: Greek Community Organizations – Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

<u>Community Organizations</u> (cont'd)
BC Association of Hellenes from Constantinople and Asia Minor
BC Association of Hellenes from Constantinople and Asia Minor
Cretan Association of BC
Cyprus Community of BC
Daughters of Penelope
Evioton Society of BC
Greek Seniors Society of BC
Greek Teachers Association of BC
Hellenic Canadian Congress of British Columbia
Hellenic Children's Cultural Society
Hellenic Chorus of Vancouver
Hellenic Housing Society of BC (formerly St. Barbara's Care Facility Association)
Kefalonian Cultural Society of BC
Lacons Community Association of BC
Messinian Brotherhood of British Columbia
"Omeros" Hellenic Canadian Association of Attica & Aegean Islands of BC
Panarcadian Society of BC
Panathessalian Society "Olymbos"
Pharos – The Canadian Hellenic Cultural Society
Philoptochos – Saints Constantine & Helen Greek Orthodox Church

Table 5: Greek Community Organizations – Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

<u>Community Organizations</u> (cont'd)
Philoptochos – Saints Nicholas & Demetrios Greek Orthodox Church
Philoptochos – St. George Greek Orthodox Cathedral
Roumelioton Descendants Association of BC

<u>Greek Language Schools</u>
Hellenic Community of Vancouver Greek Language School
Pysos Greek School and Cultural Association
Pythagoras Greek School Parents Association
Socrates Greek School

<u>Greek Dance Groups</u>
Alexander the Great Dance Group
Dimitri Greek Dance School
Omeros Dance Group
Socrates Greek Dance School

<u>Greek Language Media</u>
“GNOME” Publications Ltd.
Greek Canadian Memories (G.M & Son Enterprises Ltd.)
Hellenic Radio & Media Ltd.
Patrides Greek Newspaper

Chapter 2

Analytical Concepts: A Literature Review

In order to situate my research and interviews into ethnic / cultural identity of Greeks living in Metro-Vancouver, Canada, and in Germany and Switzerland, as well as my research and interviews in Greece concerning why some Greeks chose to remain in Greece and what they think of Greeks who left Greece to migrate to Canada or Europe, I will utilize anthropological understandings of migration, ethnicity, identity. Most importantly, I discuss the literature on cultural retention and cultural assimilation of transmigrants. These concepts are interrelated, but I will first briefly treat them in sequence.

Migration has been a subject of social scientific, including anthropological, analyses (Brettell *et al.*). While there is migration within nation-states, the recent literature focuses more on transmigration, that is, migration from one nation-state to another. A more recent literature differentiates between diasporas and other transmigrants. The term Diaspora (usually capitalized) was first used in the context of the expulsion of Jews from their original homeland and later in the context of the expulsion of sub-Saharan Africans from that continent in the slave trade and their forced transport to the Americas and Caribbean. In these two contexts, the term diaspora clearly implies a forced expulsion from an ancestral homeland and a transmigration to foreign and distant lands. The term diaspora also implies a primary, important, and continued attachment and identity with that distant, ancestral homeland.

More recently, the term diaspora has been more widely applied to many more instances of transmigration, including more 'voluntary' transmigration from a homeland to a new homeland (however, there is still an element of coercion if 'voluntary')

transmigration is due, even in part, to economic desperation, war, or other traumatic events in the homeland). Today, various authors refer to a Tamil diaspora, for example, clearly a consequence of the prolonged civil war between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils in Sri Lanka. In these cases, the ties to the original homeland may or may not remain significant in the lives and in the individual subjective identities of transmigrants. Brettell (2003: 49, citing Glick Schiller) defines transmigrants as “people who claim and are claimed by two or more nation-states into which they are incorporated as social actors, one of which is widely acknowledged to be their state of origin.”

The existing literature on transmigration emphasizes the various ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that lead to migration from the original, ancestral homeland to the new host nation-state. Push factors are those that encourage individuals to leave the original homeland, such as traumatic events (for example, war), political repression or instability, or lack of economic opportunity (for example, lack of jobs or poor standard of living). Pull factors are those that encourage individuals to migrate to particular destinations, such as a safe, stable, and peaceful life, democratic freedoms, economic opportunities (a demand for labour and a high standard of living), a welcoming atmosphere, and an existing community of transmigrants from one’s original homeland. Another important pull factor in the decision to migrate concerns the immigration policies of the receiving nation-state.

‘Cultural’ or ‘social capital’ also plays an important role in the migratory process: cultural or social capital includes knowledge of the new country and relationships to others already living in the host country (relatives, friends, and other personal networks) (Castles and Miller, 1998: 25). These networks “encourage ethnic community formation and are conducive to the maintenance of transnational family and group ties” (Castles and

Miller, 1998: 25). The existence of ‘middlemen’ such as recruitment agencies, lawyers, agents, and even smugglers, may also act to ‘pull’ migrants to a particular destination (Harris in Castles and Miller, 2003: 28). Another important ‘pull’ factor is the belief that life for one’s children (and future generations) will be better than one’s own, previous life.

In the ‘melting pot’ view, or ideology, of transmigration to the United States, various immigrant / ethnic groups (first mainly from northern Europe, then from southern and eastern Europe) have or will gradually assimilate into ‘American culture,’ gradually losing their earlier ethnic identity with their original homeland. If this does not occur during the lives of the original transmigrants, it is believed that it will happen in subsequent generations. The reality of more recent transmigration to the U.S. from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific is straining this ‘melting pot’ ideology as these more recent ethnic migrants come from cultures markedly different from those of Europe and the U.S. prior to their arrival. (This ideology never applied to different ‘racial’ groups, especially African-Americans.)

Canada was founded by the two ‘Charter nations’ of the English and the French. In Anglophone Canada, initial immigration was focused on Great Britain. The Anglo elites, however, also realized that Canada, a vast country with a relatively small population concentrated in the South, required immigrants from other countries to increase its population and for Canada “to prosper as a white settler society” (Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 42). The dominant view was that Canada’s indigenous peoples (First Nations, Inuit, and Métis) would eventually assimilate into the dominant Anglo and French communities. Although in 1962 Canada’s Immigration Act was changed to ensure that immigrants to Canada would be considered without regard to race, colour or

country of origin (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010) racial and ethnic differences were viewed as detrimental to Canadian society and cultural heterogeneity was not valued but dismissed by those in control. There are some significant blemishes on Canada's treatment of ethnic / cultural minorities in its history: the three most notorious are probably the head tax imposed on Chinese immigrants, the internment of Japanese-Canadians (including those born in Canada, Canadian citizens) in camps during WWII, and the treatment of Canada's indigenous peoples (especially in residential schools, intended to accelerate their eventual assimilation) (Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 40, 41, 48, 49 and Razack, 2002: 80, 81).

In 1969, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's Report recommended integration rather than assimilation for non-Charter ethnic populations. These recommendations led to Canada's 'multiculturalism policy (1971), when Canada became the first country in the world to adopt official multiculturalism (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 6). In 1973 a Ministry of Multiculturalism was created to oversee multicultural initiatives within the government (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 4). Through various programs and services, Canada's multiculturalism policy provides support for ethno-cultural communities in general as well as support for individuals toward full participation in Canadian society. In 1982 the multicultural character of Canada was accorded constitutional status and Canada officially became a constitutionally multicultural state: the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms specifies that Canada's courts must interpret the Charter "in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada" (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 6).

Despite this official recognition of multiculturalism as central to Canadian identity, acceptance of cultural differences and cultural minorities, including

transmigrants from other countries, has not always been the everyday practice of most Canadians. In addition, Canada's immigration policies have always been a tool of the state to meet its perceived need to improve the Canadian economy and society in general. Canada's immigration policies have always had to steer a path "between seeing and using immigrants as a convenient means of solving short-term labour market problems and seeing them as individuals and members of families and larger communities who will contribute to the reproduction of wider social and political relations in our society" (Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 44). In general, Canada's immigration policies tended to insure that suitable and inexpensive labourers were available and willing to work where needed (Avery, 1995: 21). Ethnic and racial stereotypes played a significant role in determining what constituted a suitable immigrant (in relation to criminal activities and public health, for example). Political considerations also have played their part in influencing Canada's immigration policies: multiculturalism in Canada was partly a result of a perceived need (by the then-ruling Liberal Party) to "counterbalance western alienation [such as the alienation of a significant population of Canada's Western provinces] and Québec nationalism, as well as for the Liberals to acquire ethnic electoral support in urban centres" (Fleras and Elliot quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 124; also Hawkins cited in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 124).

In contrast to the U.S.' view of the 'melting pot,' Canada was sometimes seen as composed of an ethnic mosaic. Porter coined the phrase the 'vertical mosaic' to describe Canada's ethnic and racial make-up and their relationship to social class.

Porter defined Canada's vertical mosaic, based on analyses of the 1931, 1951, and 1961 Canadian census data, as a situation in which:

a given ethnic group appropriates particular roles and designates other ethnic groups for the less preferred ones. Often the low status group accepts its inferior position. Through time the relative status position, reinforced by stereotypes and social images...harden and become perpetuated over a very long time. In the general scheme of class and status that evolves with economic growth and immigration there exists an "entrance status" to be assumed by the less preferred ethnic groups. Entrance status implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group. Over time the position of entrance status may be improved or it may be a permanent caste-like status as it has been, for example, with the Chinese in Canada. Thus, most of Canada's minority groups have at some time had this entrance status. Some, but not all, have moved out of it (Porter, 1965: 63, 64).

The *vertical* nature of Canada's mosaic referred to the fact that, in Porter's analysis, Canada's ethnic and racial groupings were "hierarchically structured in terms of the differential distributions of wealth and power among its constituent groups" (Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 90).

Despite the fact that Canada's immigration policies were based mainly on economic considerations (the need for cheap or other kinds of labour), immigrants were always more than merely workers: "immigrants have been – and are – part of Canada's wider nation-building project, where the hope and expectation is that they will eventually become 'Canadians', however ambiguous the term" (Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 66). Castles and Miller argue that Canada's multicultural model is based on the view that new immigrants to Canada are expected to transfer their 'loyalty' from their country of origin to their new homeland, even if this is a slow process that sometimes takes generations to achieve (Castles and Miller, 2003: 44, 45).

In fact, some argue that Canada's embrace of 'multiculturalism' is relatively 'shallow,' tolerating and incorporating items such as costumes, cuisine, and the arts, but not really significant (and 'deeper') characteristics such as ideological and religious beliefs and practices (Bennett, 1994).

The concept of ethnicity is closely related to the basic anthropological concept of culture. Members of an ethnic group, like individuals of 'a culture,' are said to share elements in common, such as a common language, a notion of shared 'descent' or 'blood' connection, common 'customs,' etc.

Tylor offers a classic definition of culture stating that it is comprised of "[that] complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor quoted in Erickson and Murphy, 2003: 52).

In another classic definition, Kroeber defines culture as "a set of ideas, attitudes, and habits—"rules" if one will—evolved by men to help them in their conduct of life." Additionally, "the totality of products of social men, and a tremendous force affecting all human beings, socially and individually." Kroeber qualifies culture as "the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values—and the behaviour they induce." Kroeber points out that transmission or learning of culture is particularly significant "the process by which heredity—another indubitable force—operates on them. Equally distinct are the results. No religion, no tool, no idea, was ever produced by heredity" (1923: 8-10).

An earlier anthropological usage (in the structural-functionalist tradition) often spoke of 'a' culture (e.g., Trobriand culture) found in a fairly bounded and delimited area (e.g., the Trobriand Islands), all of the members of which all shared that common culture.

More recently, however, anthropologists have recognized that even in the days of Malinowski, Boas and other early social-cultural anthropologists, this was a convenient fiction. For example, the Trobriand Islanders studied by Malinowski (based as he was in the village of Omarakana on the island of Kiriwina) differed in some ways from Trobriand Islanders living elsewhere on Kiriwina and from other Trobriand Islanders living on other nearby islands (of course they also shared many elements in common). In addition, Trobriand commoners and Trobriand chiefs differed in some aspects; Trobriand men and Trobriand women differed in some aspects; and there were differences between older and younger Trobriander Islanders, as well as more idiosyncratic differences between individual Trobriand Islanders. In fact, many anthropologists today argue that ‘culture’ is more ‘contested’ than ‘shared.’

Even in Malinowski’s day, the Trobriand Islands and the Trobriand Islanders were in contact with outsiders (including missionaries, economic exploiters, colonial administrators, and others). In fact, all cultures change, both in response to individual differences and adaptations and in response to external influences, and are changing. Rather than viewing a culture as homogeneous, static or monolithic, Satzewich and Liodakis (2007: 20) argue that a culture “is a dynamic response of socially constituted individuals to their *ever-changing* external conditions (both material and ideological), largely determined by pre-existing social conditions and structures.”

Recently, anthropologists and others have noted the importance of avoiding *essentialism*; that is, to avoid an assumption that there is anything inherent and shared by all the individuals within any collective group or category, such as the individuals of any particular ‘culture,’ gender, class, ethnicity, etc. Essentialism is “the belief that social groups and individual members of these groups have a true *essence* that is ‘irreducible,

unchanging, and therefore constitutive of a given person or thing” (Fuss quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 20). All individuals exist at a complex ‘intersection’ of a variety of different identities. Identity is also not a fixed, homogeneous, and unchanging matter; rather, individuals have a multitude of identities, some of which are more or less salient in particular times, places and contexts.

While the individuals within any particular ‘culture’ or ‘ethnic group’ may indeed share certain commonalities, they will also differ along other lines, such as generation, age, class, gender, religion, education, ideology, and other dimensions.

With the creation of nation-states in Europe largely beginning in the 18th century, there was a fiction that a nation-state was composed of a ‘nation’ (i.e., a people, a culture, an ethnic group). However, that was not true then and is not true today. In addition, nation-states were created ‘artificially,’ uniting some disparate people(s) and separating some similar people(s); this is even truer of the nation-states that have been the product of western conquest and colonialism. There are ‘Germans’ who live outside of Germany, and there are ‘non-Germans’ living in Germany; this is probably true of all existing nation-states. Nation-states have attempted to ‘create’ ‘nationalist’ feelings in their citizens through means such as national anthems, national flags, national heroes, and, even, ‘invented’ traditions, histories, and myths.

With respect to ethnonationalism and nations without a structured nation-state, the Kurdish ethnic group remain a significant example in showing their ethnic salience and strength despite their lack of internationally recognized geo-political borders / autonomous nation-state.

The Kurds identify with their historic homeland, which they refer to as Kurdistan, a land promised to the Kurds by the Allies immediately after WWI via the Treaty of

Sèvres (1920) that included an autonomous homeland for the Kurds. The Turks vehemently rejected the Treaty even before the ink was dry as they feared invasion and faced civil war (McDowall, 2004: 137).

However, in 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne replaced the Treaty of Sèvres and any previous promise of an autonomous homeland for the Kurds never materialized since the new Treaty did not include any provisions for a Kurdish state, abandoning all previous provisions (McDowall, 2004: 142). Two developments cost the Kurdish dream of an internationally recognized nation-state: the Greeks landing forces in Smyrna followed by the Italians landing forces in Antalya. In response, pan-Islamic solidarity had become of utmost importance and as a result, the new local movement restricted towards a separate Kurdish identity and re-established Turkish borders (McDowall, 2004: 123-126).

Presently the Kurds live in regions of several different nation-states, mainly Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, where they are a persecuted minority and their struggle for a (more) autonomous or (more) independent homeland is condemned as terrorism (Driedger cited in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 112, 113). Despite their substantial population (approximately 25 million), the Kurdish people remain a marginalized group politically, economically and geographically (McDowall, 2004: xi).

In addition, more recent social scientific analyses of identity, ethnicity, and culture (including, of course, ethnic identity and cultural identity) reject earlier 'essentialist' and 'primordial' views in favour of a social constructivist view. A social constructivist view sees identity, and identities, as constructed, fluid and multiple.

Following the work of Said and others, identity is formed and posed in contrast to an 'other.' In anthropology, this has always been recognized in the contrast between the subject matter of other social sciences (sociology, economics, political science, etc.), all

of which study 'us,' 'the west,' versus anthropology itself, which studies 'them,' 'the other,' 'the non-west,' or, in the felicitous phrase of Marshall Sahlins, 'the rest.' Identity, or self-image, is formed through interaction with, and in opposition to, 'an other' (Papasterigiadis, 2000: 14, 15, 97).

Collective identity, or identifying with a collectivity, such as a culture or an ethnic group, depends on "the strength and scope of the group characteristics with which they identify" (Kallen quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 112). Collective ethnic or cultural identity is defined as "the existence of a certain consensus within the group about what constitutes it as such and differentiates it from other groups" (Kallen quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 112).

Whether ethnic / cultural transmigrants identify more with their homeland than their new homeland, or vice versa, will depend on many factors, some individual, and some more collective. In the social scientific research on transmigrants, one important dimension of identity centers on the extent to which transmigrants *retain* significant aspects of their homeland identity and culture or the extent to which transmigrants *assimilate* into the host (homeland) culture. This is clearly a continuum and, presumably, some ethnic groups, in some host communities, will be situated differently along this continuum. In addition, individuals may position themselves differently on this continuum. Finally, the literature emphasizes that the position of subsequent generations (in the second, third and following generations) may tend to assimilate more than earlier generations. Again, presumably this will also vary by ethnic group, by host community, and individually.

Clearly the degree, to which the culture of the transmigrant is similar to, or different from, that of the new homeland, will influence the nature of cultural retention

versus cultural assimilation. The size and nature of the ethnic community within the host homeland will also presumably affect the degree of cultural retention versus cultural assimilation. Professor Jared Keil (Carleton University; personal communication, March 2010) suggests that there is a broad scope of factors to consider: Is there an ethnic enclave or neighbourhood or are the migrants from one homeland scattered throughout the new homeland? Are there ethnic or other civic organizations to aid transmigrants? Are there services available to new immigrants provided by the host government (federal, provincial, municipal) or provided only by civic or ethnic communities and organizations (services such as how to utilize local transportation, how to find a place to live, how to find schools for children, how and where to shop, etc., etc.)? Is social assistance provided by the host governments or by civic or ethnic organizations?

Are there media (radio, newspapers, television, Internet) either in foreign (i.e., other than English or French) languages or at least geared to meeting the needs of new immigrants? Are there cultural centres, community centres, recreational facilities, etc., etc. provided or geared towards meeting the needs of the immigrant community? Are there shops or stores where immigrants can find food or other items geared towards meeting their needs? Are there resources geared towards meeting the specific needs of segments of the immigrant community, such as youth or the elderly? Are there professional services provided by other members of the immigrant community, such as doctors, nurses, real estate agents, lawyers, dentists, bankers, etc.? Are there ethnic restaurants? Do these provide a meeting place or a source of jobs for immigrants? Are there enough available potential spouses within the ethnic community to allow endogamy, if this is desired? Are there occasions for ethnic groups to participate in, and even to present their own 'culture' in a positive light to the wider community, in terms of

folk customs, dances, theatre, cuisine, etc.? With specific reference to my thesis subject: since Greece has an official religion (Greek Orthodoxy) shared by most Greeks, does the Greek community in the new homeland contain religious facilities?

Another variable suggested in the existing literature that influences the extent to which transmigrants will either retain their original ethnic / cultural identity or assimilate to the new homeland, is the literal connections they have to the original homeland: do they maintain contact with family and friends in the original homeland? Do they visit the original homeland on a regular or intermittent basis? An Italian community in Canada, for example, is described by the connections the community has with their original homeland, which includes “personal travels of Italian-Canadians to visit kin or to explore Italy with Italian-Canadian tour groups, sports teams, and student exchange programs sponsored by the ethnic voluntary organizations. Some hardworking Italian-Canadians who laboured, for example, in construction in Canada for thirty years, invest in land and build new homes in their village of birth” (Harney quoted in Satzewich and Lioudakis, 2007: 215). Other items suggested in the existing literature includes whether transmigrants send money back home to relatives or others, whether they spend time in the original homeland, and whether they participate in any way, in the civic affairs of their original homeland, such as voting in elections (depending, of course, on the particular laws of the land).

Finally, two very important variables suggested in the existing literature in determining the extent to which transmigrants either retain their cultural identity or assimilate, is the extent to which parents speak to their children in the language of their homeland and the extent to which children are schooled in the culture of their homeland (in place of, or in addition to, any compulsory schooling within the dominant culture).

Of course, there is also the inverse of the above: namely, the more transmigrants (and, especially, subsequent generations) are exposed only (or mainly) to the language, media and culture of the dominant host culture / nation, the less likely they are exposed to their own language, media, and culture.

In class-structured societies such as Canada, ethnicity and culture intersects with economic class; some refer to this as 'ethclass,' which is defined as being "the factors that enter into and affect the immigrants' adjustment and assimilation, the interaction and outcomes between the immigrants' social, cultural and psychological systems and those of the larger society" (Gordon quoted in Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 171). Tamis and Gavaki explain that research has shown that the higher the socio-economic class, the lower the 'ethnicity' component and vice versa; that is, the lower the socio-economic class, the higher the 'ethnicity' component.

According to Breton and Herberg, all of these items, collectively, contribute to the degree of 'institutional completeness' provided to individual transmigrants as well as to the wider ethnic or cultural community (discussed in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 113). More concretely, Kallen (quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 114) maintains that "the higher the degree of institutional completeness an ethnic group enjoys, the higher the likelihood that its members will retain their ethnic identity" rather than assimilate to the host culture. The degree of institutional completeness an ethnic community enjoys in the new homeland also provides subsequent generations born in the new homeland opportunities to participate in, and to be socialized into, their ethnic culture. Herberg argues that institutional completeness is essential for ethnic / cultural group cohesion since it includes "all the...arenas within which ethnic culture must be utilized and applied if it is to survive" (Herberg quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 115).

Teixeira and Da Rosa (2009: 8) suggest that institutional completeness in an ethnic community can result in “spatial and social isolation from the host society”, with such segregation presenting an obstacle to the “blending” of first generation migrants into the host society.

Isajiw (quoted in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 116) found that there were four important dimensions determining the extent of cultural / ethnic retention versus cultural assimilation: “(a) the extent to which ethnic group members attend ethnic functions (parties, dances, picnics, concerts); (b) the use of ethnic group-sponsored vacation facilities (resorts, summer camps) by members of the group; (c) the existence and use of ethnic group television and radio programming; and (d) the reading of ethnic newspapers and magazines.”

Reitz analyzed national Canadian data excluding the Charter groups and the Jewish members of our society, and found that with respect to involvement and participation in institutional completeness within their respective communities, the southern Europeans ranked the highest, followed by the Chinese, eastern Europeans and northern Europeans (Reitz cited in Satzewich and Liodakis, 2007: 115).

It is also important to note that, at times, decisions to migrate may initially be intended as a brief attempt at obtaining better economic opportunities, after which the migrants intend to return home. This is particularly true of young, unmarried men attempting to improve the living conditions and standards for their families and themselves. In the existing literature on migration, these ‘temporary’ migrations sometimes become permanent.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

I consider myself part of the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver, as discussed in chapter 1. I have been a part of, and have participated in, the various organizations and events as previously discussed. I also consider myself part of the Greek community where my parents come from, which I have visited nine times since I was five months old. For the purposes of this thesis research, I have tried to somewhat remove myself from my insider role to the role of an outside researcher; as discussed below, this distinction was not always appreciated or accepted by members of the researched communities.

My research in Greece and in Metro-Vancouver included participant observation (which was mostly informal and opportunistic) and interviews (which were both formal and informal). My thesis research focuses on Greek-Canadian immigrants living in Metro-Vancouver.

Research in Greece

My research began in Greece, in the summer of 2007. I used a family occasion and visit (a relative's wedding in Greece) as an opportunity to carry out some research in Greece. I went about my life as a community insider, immersed in village life, socializing in the village square well into the night, attending weddings, baptisms, annual village festivals, weekly bazaars, folk festivals, concerts, and night clubs. I interviewed Greeks who attended the wedding event but who now lived permanently elsewhere in Europe (Germany and Switzerland) and I interviewed Greeks who have never left their home community at all.

(I managed to carry out this research project in Greece as part of a Carleton University directed studies course, Anthropology 5906, under Professor Donna Patrick's supervision. I reported the results of my research in Greece in a paper written for that course.) My research in Greece focused on how Greeks who have immigrated to Switzerland and Germany, and how Greeks who have remained in their home community, view Greeks who have immigrated to Canada, and how they relate to Greece and Greek culture and identity.

In Greece, my focus was on a few communities in the northern province of Macedonia, particularly the *nomos* (district) of *Kilkis*, the town of *Kilkis*, the municipality of *Pikrolimnis*, and the villages of *Neo Gynekokastro*, *Mikrokambos*, *Mavroneri*, and *Kato Apostoli*. (Maps and a satellite image are included in Figures 5-8 [pages 42-45].) I was in the area from July 10 through August 7, 2007, living in my mother's home village with my maternal grandmother. These villages all have populations of a few hundred and are all relatively close to one another. Both my mother and my father were born and raised in this area: my mother in Neo Gynekokastro and my father in Mikrokambos, and all four of these communities are associated with my extended family.

Although my spoken Greek is fairly good, I am less proficient at understanding spoken Greek and in reading and writing in Greek. To assist me with this, as well as with local colloquial accents and vocabularies, I relied on my mother, Chariklia Georgilas, as translator and interpreter. She is fluent in all aspects of Greek and English and works as a freelance Greek-English interpreter with local government agencies in my home community of Metro-Vancouver.

In preparation for my formal interviews, I developed a participant information and consent form for my informants that was consistent with the requirements of the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee (Appendix I). I then translated the form into Greek; my mother wrote up a less formal version of the form based on her expectation of how the form would be received by my interviewees. The first research I carried out after arriving in Greece was to pre-test the Greek version of my participant information and consent form. I consulted with some of my more (formally) educated relatives, particularly three cousins who are university students and who are relatively fluent in English as well as their native Greek. This generated a great deal of, often quite animated, discussion. The eventual consensus was that my literal translation was awkward, and my less formal version was fine but perhaps not formal enough. I decided to use a free Internet translation website to generate a third version. After some minor revision, we decided that the Internet version was the best (Appendix II). This exercise actually took several days and was quite intense at times; I found it somewhat stressful. However, overall this exercise was valuable since it helped me gain a new found appreciation for the effort required to develop appropriate research instruments.

I was only going to be in Greece for less than a month, which is a relatively short time to arrange and conduct formal interviews. So, before I left for Greece I had some idea concerning who would be in the area during the time I would be visiting and carrying out my research. In fact, my research relied less on formal interviews and more on casual discussions and more informal interviews with a wide range of participants in addition to those I had planned to interview more formally. We were in the area to attend a family event, and my extended family and friends include a fair number of people.

Accordingly, during our first few days we were greeted by a lot of people and most asked me about my studies. This of course led to considerable interest in my research and considerable informal discussion on the topic. These discussions included one-on-one interactions as well as group interactions, some with young adults (living and visiting in the area) as well as older “*Theas*” (“Aunties”), local matriarchs visiting my grandmother for coffee (see Figure 9; page 46).

I conducted nine formal interviews during my research in Greece, approaching my potential participant pool opportunistically. I also asked around in the villages if others would be interested and willing to participate in a formal interview. Several of the people I had hoped to interview formally were unavailable during the short time I was in Greece; the summer of 2007 was an extremely hot season and many people simply left the villages to go to the beach for a few days to cool down. I formally interviewed some Greeks who had immigrated to Germany and Switzerland and some who had remained in Greece. Profiles of my interviewees (gender, age, etc.) are provided in chapter 4 (see Table 6; pages 91-92). The interviews were conducted, largely in private, at either my grandmother’s house or at the residence of the interviewee (see Figures 10-13; pages 46-48). However, on occasion a member of the interviewee’s family would attend part of, or the entire, interview. One interview was conducted with two interviewees at the same time, at their request.

Figure 5: Greece – General location

Map online at <http://worldatlas.com/webimage/country/Europe/gr.htm>

Figure 6: Map showing the province of Macedonia (in green, at top) with Nomos Kilkis at centre

Map online at www.greektravel.com/maps/Greece.html

Figure 8: Nomos Kilkis showing the five communities where interviews were conducted and rural / agricultural setting

Satellite image online through Google™ Earth

Photos of Discussion and Interview Settings

Figure 9: Discussion with *Theas* over *kafé*
The author's Grandmother's residence; Neo Gynokastro

Figure 10: Interview with ET at her residence; Kilkis

Photos of Discussion and Interview Settings (cont'd)

Figure 11: Interview with PT at his residence; Neo Gynekokastro

Figure 12: Interview with KA at his residence; Kato Apostoli

Photos of Discussion and Interview Settings (cont'd)

Figure 13: Interview with IH and OA
The author's Grandmother's residence; Neo Gynekokastro

Prior to the start of each interview, I explained my research and what I planned to do with the information and I provided the interviewee with a participant information and consent form. I also asked for, and answered, any questions the interviewees had regarding my research, the interview process, and what I would be doing with the information taken from their interview. Each interviewee signed the consent form. I conducted all my interviews in Greek, with the assistance of my mother as translator and interpreter; she asked the questions while I made notes on the interviewees' responses. I also made an audio recording of each interview, with the consent of each interviewee.

From my personal experience, Greeks do not always feel obliged to answer a direct question or keep to the subject initially raised. Accordingly, in preparation for the

interviews, I developed a list of questions to keep the interview on topic, and to elicit specific information; some of my set questions were general and somewhat open, some more focussed (Appendix III). I did not intend to ask the questions in any particular sequence. I used a semi-structured interview format, starting with general questions and then moving to more focussed set questions as necessary. I was flexible with each interviewee responding to their conversational style and the substance of their responses. If the interviewee was forthcoming and focussed, and provided the information that I thought covered my research needs, I did not necessarily ask all the questions on my list. I often departed from the set question format with *ad hoc* questions to explore a topic or theme that had arisen from the previous answer.

Following the interviews, I made a full transcript of all interviews, with the help of my translator / interpreter. I subsequently produced summaries of the interviews focusing on information relevant to my thesis questions. The interview summaries are presented in chapter 4. None of the interviewees expressed any concern with regard to privacy, anonymity, or sensitive subjects. Most volunteered that they enjoyed the experience; one middle-aged man commented that the questions were more interesting than the conversations at the *kafenias* where men gather to socialize over coffee. I have used pseudonyms to identify my interviewees, in the form of two initials.

I encountered a number of challenges during the course of my research in Greece, including social, methodological, environmental, and technological factors. The most significant and basic challenge to my research lies with the responses (or lack of thereof) elicited by my interview questions, including my set questions and my *ad hoc* questions.

My general and open questions typically did not elicit useful responses. My more focussed set questions and *ad hoc* questions were more productive; however these questions were often leading questions (out of necessity) and might have influenced the answers provided in response. In most cases where an interviewee was not forthcoming or focussed on the interview questions, I had limited success in prompting responses, and refocusing the interview. Interviewees provided information that was significant to them; but a lot of the information that they provided did not focus on the intended subject matter of my thesis.

The weather also presented a significant challenge to my research. For the first three weeks of my research, the weather was extremely hot with the temperature reaching the mid 40s Celsius in the shade and at times the heat was unbearable even in air-conditioned homes. Such heat (and humidity) truly makes one lethargic and unmotivated to sit and discuss issues that require brain power.

I also encountered some social challenges. Although I eventually found enough participants to interview, arranging and actually conducting the interviews presented some challenges. As in rural areas in many non-industrial societies, Greeks do not live by the clock. Time and place were either never mentioned when an interview was discussed, or people assumed that, since I lived in the area, we would simply find each other sometime, somewhere. When a time and a place were mentioned, the individual simply did not appear at that time and place. Sometimes people appeared to be interviewed at times not previously agreed to.

In addition, smoking in rural Greece is, to me, unbearable. Most people, with the exception of children and “*Theas*” smoke. During many of my interviews I felt ill from

all the smoke that I was inhaling. Since I wanted my interviewees to feel as comfortable as possible, I could not have and did not say anything.

Language also presented a much greater problem than I had anticipated. Greek is a language of nuance and suggestion. Most of my interviewees were quite engaged emotionally by my interview questions, and I occasionally found it difficult to follow and fully understand the meanings contained in their responses. I was glad to have the assistance of my translator / interpreter. However, sometimes during an interview, I found it difficult to interrupt the exchange between my interpreter (who asked the questions on my behalf) and the interviewee; this led to lost opportunities to explore aspects of the interviewees' responses in greater detail. I was also very glad that I had made an audio recording of each interview, although transcribing interviews is extremely time consuming. Audio recordings also fail to include body language, an important aspect of conversational Greek.

I also encountered several technical challenges in Greece. For instance, I took my laptop, thinking that I could easily use it away from home while I was conducting interviews. However, my battery died and the only way that my computer would work is if it was plugged into an electrical outlet. My grandmother's house was built in the 1920s and electricity was not supplied to the area until the 1970s. As a result, electrical outlets are add-ons and are not conveniently located. In addition, I had assumed that someone in the villages would have Internet access, but no one did. The closest Internet connection was located approximately 20 kilometres away in the town of Kilkis at an Internet Café.

Research in Metro-Vancouver

I conducted my interviews in Metro-Vancouver following my summer in Greece, from September through December 2007. I followed the same basic approaches and protocols as with my research in Greece, with much less emphasis and concern with respect to language. Participant information and consent forms were developed and approved by Carleton University's Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix II). I conducted nineteen formal interviews with Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver. I chose individuals that I was personally acquainted with that I anticipated would provide a broad range of immigrant experience, and this led to these individuals suggesting other research participants adding to the broad range of immigrant experience. Participant profiles (gender, age, etc.) are presented in chapter 4 (see Table 7; pages 101-105). I conducted all interviews in English as I am more comfortable in English and I knew that all my interviewees were able to communicate in English, at some level. However, I knew that some interviewees would be challenged to express themselves fully in English; for those interviews, my translator / interpreter attended the interviews and assisted as necessary when interviewees felt the need to express themselves in Greek. The interviews were conducted at locations chosen by the interviewees, including their homes, places of employment, and public venues, such as coffee shops and restaurants. Most interviews were conducted one-on-one and in private. One married couple asked to be interviewed together and I acceded to their request. In a few instances, a member of the interviewee's family or a friend would attend for part or the entire interview. I began the interviews as I had in Greece, explaining its purpose, the consent forms, and answering any further questions; all signed the consent forms (Appendix II).

I used the same approach to interviews that I used in Greece, for the same reasons. I developed a number of questions (Appendix III) to help elicit basic information and where necessary prompt responses where an interview was not free flowing. I used a semi-structured interview format, starting with general questions and then moving to more focussed set questions as necessary. I was flexible with each interviewee responding to their conversational style and the substance of their responses. If the interview was productive and covered my research needs, I did not necessarily ask all the questions on my list. I often departed from the set question format with *ad hoc* questions to explore a topic or theme that had arisen from the previous answer.

I made written notes during the interviews and I also made audio recordings of all interviews, with the consent of all interviewees. Again, none of the interviewees expressed any concern with regard to privacy, anonymity, or sensitive subject matter. I use pseudonyms for all interviewees, in the form of letters of the Greek alphabet. Thita and Lamda objected to the audio recordings. They advised me at the outset of their interviews that they were uncomfortable having their voices recorded; they provided no explanation for their concern and I did not feel it necessary to explore the matter further. Following the interviews, I made full transcripts of each interview. When necessary, I used the assistance of my translator / interpreter. I subsequently produced summaries of the interviews focusing on information relevant to my thesis question. These summaries are presented in chapter 4.

As in Greece, a major challenge was that my broader more open questions often did not produce the information that I was hoping to elicit. With my first interviews, I encountered the same lack of productive responses that were typical of my interviews in

Greece. As in Greece, a common response to a question was: “Well, you’re Greek – you know [the answer to that question]!”

In response to my limited success in eliciting information of interest using broad open questions in my initial interviews, I changed my set questions, and included questions that were more focussed. My initial and subsequent set interview questions are included in Appendix III.

However, even with my expanded and focussed questions, my ability to elicit information central to my research interests was somewhat limited, particularly with respect to specific information concerning each interviewee’s relationship to Metro-Vancouver’s Greek community, and their ethnic, cultural, and national identity.

In my personal experience with my own extended family, in Metro-Vancouver and abroad, and as a member of the Metro-Vancouver Greek community, it is not unusual for Greeks to be less than forthcoming in response to questions about their personal circumstances, particularly if the question comes from another Greek. In general there is often an expectation that the questioner should already know the answer, rendering the question unnecessary and bothersome. This is particularly the case with respect to broader experiences related to being Greek; the expectation is that the questioner should already know the answer based on their own experience of being Greek. Hence the response noted above: “Well, you’re Greek – you know [the answer to that question]!”

These tendencies toward caution in sharing personal information, and the expectation of shared experience and knowledge were evident in my interviews. As in Greece, in most cases where an interviewee was not forthcoming or focussed on the interview questions, I had limited success in focusing the interview or prompting

responses. Again, interviewees provided information that was significant to them; however, that information did not necessarily focus on the intended subject matter of my thesis.

As with my experience in Greece, my general and open questions typically did not elicit useful responses; more focussed set questions and *ad hoc* questions were more productive. However, the leading questions that I relied on out of necessity likely suggested responses. Accordingly, my questions might have influenced the responses.

Chapter 4

Research Results and Analyses

Summaries of the interviews that I conducted in Greece and in Metro-Vancouver are provided below. I have produced the summaries from the transcripts of the interview recordings, and my notes from the interviews. I have included only salient information that pertains to my thesis question. As discussed in chapter 3, some interviewees provided information that was not directly related to the central focus of this thesis. Participant profiles (giving the individual interviewee's gender, age, etc.) for my Greece research are presented in Table 6 (pages 91-92) and those for my Metro-Vancouver research are presented in Table 7 (pages 101-105).

The majority of participants stated that they grew up financially challenged. In this regard, these individuals had only the basic necessities such as food, and basic clothing while growing up. Many participants – MG, PT, DT, ET, OA, DH, NT, Alpha, Beta, Mi, Omikron, and Taf – grew up in families where small scale farming was the main source of family income. These farms relied on family labour and research participants worked family plots of land even as young children. The income gained from the farms covered the basic necessities of daily life and not much else, for example, school was a luxury most families could not afford.

Interviews Conducted in Greece

Interview with MG

MG was born and raised in Mikrokambos, Kilkis. She has lived in the village her whole life. She was 55 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on July 5, 1951. Her parents were farmers and the family was economically challenged.

MG completed elementary school, and is now a housewife with two children. Her son is in the army, and has finished his refrigeration technician certification. Her daughter finished graphic design school, and works in Thessaloniki.

MG has only been abroad for brief vacations. She has visited Canada a few times to visit her siblings. She has two brothers, and two sisters living in Canada. Her siblings wanted to help her immigrate to Canada, but she decided to stay in the village close to her parents because she is the youngest child and since all of her siblings left, she did not want to leave her parents alone. MG explains that when her siblings were looking for jobs, Greece had nothing to offer them, but when it was her turn to go out into the workforce, the job situation had improved in Greece.

MG maintains relationships with her siblings, and one of her sisters goes annually to Greece for half of the year to visit. MG would support her children if they decided to emigrate from Greece, though she does want them to continue on with Greek customs and traditions whatever path they choose in life.

MG expressed her love and patriotism for Greece. She said that she loves living in Greece, and says that few people leave Greece nowadays. She said that some Greeks live in luxury; they have the best cars, clothes, and material things. MG said that there is no need for Greeks to leave Greece anymore since the country's economic, education, and political systems have improved. However, the one area that she did mention that needs improvement is Greece's healthcare system.

For MG, being Greek means family, traditions, and language; she explained that these are the main elements that keep Greeks together. As for the overall future of

Greece, MG believes that Greece will need to learn how to exist at the same level as the other European nations.

Interview with PT

PT was born and raised in Neo Gynekokastro and migrated to Zürich, Switzerland when he was 26 years old. He was 59 years of age at the time of our interview, born on June 5, 1948. His parents were farmers, and the family was economically challenged. The highest education level that he completed was elementary school. PT now works as a building service worker / maintenance person in a technical school in Zürich. He has two adult sons who both live and work in Zürich. PT maintains a home in Neo Gynekokastro; he returns to the village every year for his annual five week vacation and spends the majority of his vacation time in the village.

The main and most significant reason that PT left Greece was because he wanted to make more money. He was working as a farm labourer and he wanted a better job with higher pay. He also told me after I had turned the audiotape off that he had a friend living in Zürich, which made it easier for him to leave because his friend helped him upon his arrival by providing a place to stay and food.

Interview with DT

DT was born and raised in Neo Gynekokastro, Kilkis. She now lives in Zürich and has been there for over 30 years. She was 53 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on May 24, 1956. Her parents were farmers, and the family was economically challenged. She has completed elementary school and now works in a polytechnic school as a janitor. DT has two sons (in Zürich); her eldest son is completing his Master's degree, and her youngest son is an electrician.

It was not DT's decision to migrate to Switzerland; her husband decided that it would be a good opportunity for them to make money. There was a shortage of jobs in Greece at the time and so they decided to leave Greece to find work. There were also family issues that her husband wanted to leave behind in Greece. They went to Switzerland because her husband had a friend established there.

Although DT was born and raised in Greece, she said that she does not feel very Greek when she is in Greece, because she has lived so many years outside of Greece that her mentality differs from that of most Greeks. However, while in Switzerland, she feels Greek. DT explains that Swiss people are the opposite of Greeks in terms of their hospitality; Swiss are generally uninviting, and unfriendly.

DT maintains her Greekness by reading, writing, and speaking Greek with her children and grandson. DT does not continue to teach all the traditional customs and rituals that she learnt growing up to her children, but she does try to maintain and pass along most of them. DT says that many traditions have changed over the years, due to the influences of modernity. She considers the Greeks that have immigrated to other countries in the world to be more Greek because they maintain Greek traditions exactly as they remember them from the time that they migrated.

DT does not want to move back to Greece full-time, because she has become accustomed to a different way of life. She says that it more realistic that she will be spending six months in Greece and six months in Switzerland with her children.

Interview with KA

The interview with KA was long and off-topic. KA wandered off-topic almost immediately after the first question. He spoke at length about religion, which had no bearing on what I was trying to achieve from the interview. Religion is very important to KA, as he is a chanter in the local church; this is why he spoke at length and so passionately about it.

Interview with ET

ET was born and raised in Neo Gynekokastro but now lives about 20 minutes away in the closest city, Kilkis. She was 46 years of age, born on November 25, 1961. Her parents were farmers, and the family was economically challenged.

ET was educated in the city of Thessaloniki, and completed the upper school for midwives there. Thessaloniki, the capital of Macedonia and Greece's second largest city after Athens, is approximately 50 km south of Kilkis. ET is currently working as a midwife / nurse in the local hospital. ET has two sons and her eldest has been living in England for the past four years where he has been attending university in Bedfordshire; her younger son is attending university in Thessaloniki.

ET has never lived anywhere else and has only been abroad for brief vacations. Her main reason for staying was because of her family, she did not want to leave them behind. She did not care that she and her family were living in poverty. She also explained that she had no knowledge of a "better life" outside Greece.

Throughout her account ET expresses her love, passion, and pride for Greece, Greeks, Greek history and the Greek language. ET's patriotism is a recurrent theme throughout her interview and mentions a few times that she gets emotional when she

thinks of these kinds of things including her village, and topics related to Greece in general. She makes it very clear that it is important for a person to know where they started from and their roots to have a better idea of where they are going in life.

ET feels that Greece is more financially stable now, compared to when she was a child and young adult. ET is concerned that Greece has become an immigrant receiving country rather than an immigrant exporting one. She is aware that there are both illegal and legal immigrants living throughout Greece, in search of a “better life” and more prosperous financial opportunities.

ET used the term “*xenos*” – “foreigner” – throughout her interview, specifically when talking about wanting her children to marry Greeks. ET discussed other ethnic groups, particularly those that border Greece, in a negative manner. I think that perhaps this topic requires further investigation.

Interview with IH and OA

This was a joint interview with two childhood friends. IH was born and raised in Mavroneri, Kilkis and OA was born and raised in Neo Gynkokastro, Kilkis. IH was 51 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born September 22, 1954. OA was 49 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on August 18, 1958. IH’s parents were sheep ranchers, and OA’s parents were farmers. Both IH and OA’s families were economically challenged. IH has been trained as a mechanic but he has taken over the family business and is now a sheep rancher. IH has an elevator mechanics diploma and works in the local elevator factory. OA has two children and is a grandfather. His daughter completed high school and works in a local factory. His son works at the elevator factory with him.

Both OA and IH have never lived anywhere outside their respective villages. IH wanted to emigrate but it was a difficult process and both his parents and his in-laws wanted him and their daughter to stay and be with them in Greece, since his in-laws did not want to lose their third child to emigration; the other two children having left Greece a few years earlier. IH said that in Greece, he ended up doing jobs that he did not want to do. He tells me that migration would have been beneficial for his children and also for future employment opportunities. However, OA had no desire to leave Greece, or his village. OA was able to find a job that he liked and so it made staying in Greece easy. Looking back, OA says that if he did not have any job prospects, he might have left Greece.

Both IH and OA are very patriotic Greeks. When I asked OA what it means to be Greek, he told me that he gets goose bumps; he asked me to ask him again, and louder. For IH, being Greek was summed up in one word – civilization. IH proceeded to say the Greeks have given the light of civilization to the world; and that Greek history is very rich and separates Greeks from other ethnic groups. Both men enjoy their lives in Greece and said that they believe that life in Greece is better than in other European nations. I was told by both IH and OA that the Greeks enjoy their lives, as they are always socializing.

Although life has improved in Greece economically, IH thinks that Greece needs to improve its social system and assist the elders of the nation. He continued to say that the responsibility is falling on his generation and it is not right.

It is important to both IH and OA that their children learn customs, rituals, and traditions that are passed along to them. They would like their children to marry Greeks

but will support them if they decide not to. As for their children immigrating to other countries, both IH and OA think it would be good for them to travel and see how other people around the world live.

In regards to the Greeks that live outside of Greece, both IH and OA think that they are more Greek than the Greeks in Greece are. IH said that he has watched programs on television that show how the Greeks in North America celebrate their Greek culture. For example, they continue to participate in Greek school, Greek dancing, and they celebrate important cultural days such as Greek Independence Day. They are very happy and proud that Greeks abroad continue these traditions in their local communities.

Interview with DH

DH was born and raised in Neo Gynekokastro, and now lives in Mavroneri with her family. She was 48 years of age at the time of our interview, and born on July 16, 1960. Her parents were farmers, and her family was economically challenged. DH has no formal education and has completed elementary school; she is a housewife. DH has three children; her daughter is a new mother, and owns and operates her own specialty food store, and her two sons work as sheep farmers.

DH has never lived abroad; she has vacationed in and around Greece. Her main reason for staying in Greece was because her parents wanted her to stay; her in-laws were also against the idea, because her husband is their only son. She then quoted an old Greek saying; “we prefer to eat bread and olives and we are happy with those we love close by.” She tells me that she would have liked to have lived elsewhere and see what life is like in another country. DH believes that if she had the opportunity to live in another country she believes that her children would have had more opportunities.

DH did not mention anything specific about being Greek; she is not particularly patriotic or proud. As for maintaining traditions in her daily life, DH says that she continues on just as her parents taught her; and she passes them on to her children. She would like her children to marry Greeks, but hopes that they are happy with whomever they choose. Her daughter married a non-Greek, although DH would have preferred for her to marry a Greek; her two sons are engaged to Greek girls.

DH would like for her children to continue on with customs and traditions, but she does not think that young people in general, her kids included, are interested.

DH spoke about the “other” in Greece and the effects that they have on the country.

DH would support her children should they decide to migrate to another country. She considers Greeks living abroad to be Greek. She said that they will always be Greek to her. As for the people that have immigrated to Greece, DH does not consider them to be Greeks; specifically those from eastern Europe. She says that their mentality, attitude, and behaviour differ greatly from those of most Greeks.

Interview with NT

NT was born and raised in Neo Gynokastro, Kilkis. She was 42 years of age at the time of our interview, born on May 14, 1967. Her parents were farmers, and the family was economically challenged. NT lives in Düsseldorf, Germany, and has lived there for 17 years; she works as a baker. NT and her husband decided that they were only going to go for five years, but have been there for 17 years. NT left Greece because of the lack of available jobs; NT and her husband were in search of better economic opportunities and overall future for their children.

NT says that Greeks are a very warm and loving people, and she is very proud to be Greek. She loves the Greek hospitality, way of life, and culture. NT feels that she is more connected to Greece than when she was living there. She maintains relationships with her family in Greece and visits the village every summer.

NT maintains her Greekness by visiting as often as she can, speaking Greek to her children, and carrying on with traditions that her parents taught her. NT and her family drive to Greece every year and NT tells her husband to drive faster because she can hardly wait to arrive in her country. NT says that when she is in Greece, her heart beats differently. NT does not like leaving Greece; she becomes sad when her vacation is over. NT says that her family does not speak for the first 1000 kilometres while driving back to Germany; as the family is too upset. NT and her family return to Greece every year, because they want to see their family; NT wants to spend as much time with her family in Greece as possible. NT says that her mind is always in Greece, when she is away from Greece.

NT has two sons and they are in the process of finishing high school. NT says that she will not wait to retire and to receive a pension from the German government, she will be moving back to Greece once her children are finished school. NT would like her children to marry Greeks but wants her children to be happy with whomever they choose.

NT notes that generally life has changed in Greece because of outside influences such as from the media, and does not think that the change is positive; she says it really depends on how people apply the change.

Interviews Conducted in Metro-Vancouver

Interview with Alpha

Alpha was 65 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on May 21, 1942. He was 18 years old when he arrived in Canada in 1960. His parents were farmers, and his family owned a lot of land in Greece, however; Alpha is one of seven children, and the family was financially challenged. When he was young he worked on the freight lines and travelled to many port cities in Europe and eastern North America. Alpha heard that Canada and Australia were accepting immigrants; with this in mind he “jumped ship” in Montréal. Alpha had no relatives or friends in Canada. He married a Greek woman (Beta) he met in Montréal and started a family.

Alpha was educated as a specialized trade person in Montréal, and is now a professional painter. In search of a better climate, Alpha and his family moved to Vancouver after living in Montréal for nine years. Alpha and Beta have two daughters who have both married Greeks and now live and work in Greece; their daughters and their families come often to visit.

Alpha came to Canada for better work opportunities, since Greece was poverty stricken after the Second World War and the civil war. Alpha states that Canada is his country now, and it has been a great country to him. He is happy that Canada has allowed Greeks to develop their Greek ethnicity and culture. He volunteers regularly at the Greek community centre and the Greek Orthodox Church, and he uses the Greek community facilities regularly. Alpha said that this is how he keeps in touch with his culture and insists in carrying on Greek traditions.

Alpha's family speaks mainly Greek, and Greek was spoken to the children while they were growing up. During our interview, Alpha spoke Greek mixed with very little English. Alpha reads the Greek newspaper, listens to Greek music, and watches Greek television daily. He also maintains relationships with his family in Greece regularly via telephone and mail. Alpha claims that it is important for us to maintain our Greek identity by volunteering in the community, speaking the language, and teaching Greek values to our children.

Alpha stated that Greece is his country, it is where he was born, and it is in his blood. Alpha and Beta travel to Greece every two years. Although Alpha feels that he is a foreigner in Greece now, he expressed love and pride for Greece and a desire to return and retire in Greece.

Interview with Beta

Beta was 70 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on May 4, 1937. Her family were financially challenged; her parents were farm labourers. Beta's migration was prompted by the many unfortunate tragedies she experienced during the Greek civil war. We did not discuss the civil war, as I am aware of Beta's family history. Beta mentioned that after the civil war, the Canadian government was encouraging emigration to Canada; she arrived in Montréal 1956. Here, she met and married Alpha. Beta spoke Greek during our interview. She expressed her love for Canada and explained that this is her home now and she will never leave here; since her roots are in Canada, and she does not want to return to Greece because of what happened to her as a child during the civil war. Overall, Beta did not disclose much information, since Alpha answered the vast majority of the questions on her behalf.

Interview with Gamma

Gamma was born in Athens and moved to Vancouver with his family at the tender age of five in 1963. He was 49 years of age at the time of our interview, and he was born on May 27, 1958. In Greece, his father worked in construction and his mother was a housewife; the family was financially challenged. Gamma's aunt was living in Vancouver and sponsored the family to come to Canada. Here, his father worked in a saw mill and his mother worked as a seamstress. Gamma attended the University of British Columbia and completed a degree in history and economics; he then went to law school at Queen's University. He is currently working as a lawyer in his own firm.

Gamma explained that his parents decided to leave Greece because the country was severely depressed and impoverished after the civil war. Many people left during this time and they thought it was a good opportunity to improve their economic situation. Gamma says that his parents told him that Canada was advertising for immigrants.

Gamma married an Italian woman and they have since divorced. Gamma has one daughter and one son; they do not speak Greek, nor are they involved in the Greek community. Gamma does not have a preference for his children to marry Greeks.

Gamma is indirectly involved in the Greek community – he is the lawyer for the Hellenic Congress in Vancouver. He uses the Greek community facilities for attending weddings, baptisms, and funerals.

Gamma spoke English during our interview. Gamma speaks, reads and writes Greek, and reads the Greek newspaper. However, he does not listen to the Greek radio, nor does he watch Greek television. Gamma prepares many different kinds of foods at home, and goes to a variety of ethnic restaurants. He has Greek friends and participates

in the culture when it suits him best, and likes attending musical events. He admits that as he ages, the more traditional and conservative he has become and he now has a greater appreciation for Greek culture. He says that it is important to maintain his Greek identity and culture and he does this through reading and debating with others about the contributions that the Greeks have made to our global society.

Gamma has maintained relationships with family members in Greece to a certain extent. He has visited Greece only twice since his family moved to Canada. He has no plans of returning to Greece to retire.

Interview with Delta

Delta was born in Mycenae and later moved and settled in Canada. He was 61 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on June 6, 1946. His family was financially challenged. As a teenager, Delta moved to Athens and completed two years of technical school. He then worked as a technician for a movie company and as a supervisor in an olive oil factory. Soon after that, he went to Montréal as a tourist to visit his cousins at the age of 17; he liked it and decided to stay. He married a Greek girl he met in Montréal; Delta has two children and one grandchild.

Delta left Greece mostly because of the political instability in Greece and the generally poor economic conditions after the wars. In Montréal, Delta's first job was as a janitor; he worked "under the table." After a couple of years in Montréal, Delta and his wife moved to Toronto to pursue a job opportunity with a cousin. Delta then came to Vancouver to pursue a job as an electrician. He currently owns and operates an ethnic grocery store specializing in Greek and Mediterranean foods.

Delta is a member of many Greek associations including all three Greek Orthodox Churches in the Metro-Vancouver area. He maintains his Greek identity by speaking the language, listening to Greek music, having many Greek friends, and maintaining the dream of returning to retire there. Delta spoke mostly Greek during our interview which was peppered with a few English words. Delta watches Greek television, reads Greek newspapers, and listens to Greek radio.

For Delta, Greece symbolizes the light of the world. Greece is the best place on earth for Delta and he is a very proud and patriotic Greek. He tells me that without Greek civilization, we would not have democracy, history, technology, and literature as we know them today since everything originated in Greece. Delta maintains relationships with friends and family in Greece via telephone and visits when he can.

Interview with Epsilon

Epsilon was born in Mikrokambos, Kilkis and moved to Canada when she was 17 years old in 1948. She was 76 years old at the time of our interview, and was born on July 8, 1931. Her father was a shoe maker and her mother was a seamstress; her family was poor. Epsilon completed grade four in school.

Epsilon left for Canada with her eldest sister; they had an uncle with a farm living in Aldergrove, who helped them come. They eventually settled in Kitsilano which was known as, and still is today, the Greek area of Metro-Vancouver. When they first arrived, they washed dishes in a restaurant. Epsilon is currently retired. Epsilon spoke both Greek and English during our interview.

In 1955 she married a Greek man she met in Vancouver, and they had three children together; she has 10 grandchildren. She spoke both Greek and English to her children while they were growing up.

Epsilon explains that she came to Canada for a “better life”, which includes the ability to educate her children, to have access to health care, for social security, and for job opportunities. She explained that after the civil war life was hard in Greece and poverty was on the rise.

Epsilon identifies with being Canadian first, then Greek. She watches mostly Greek television, reads Greek newspapers, but does not listen to Greek radio much. She maintains relationships with her family in Greece via telephone.

Epsilon is a member of the ladies auxiliary at the Greek Orthodox Church and she attends funerals, baptisms, weddings, and church bazaars often. She also attends Sunday church service every second week.

Epsilon travelled to Greece in 2001, but has not been back since and does not plan on moving back, since all her family and friends are in Canada.

Interview with Zita

Zita is the youngest of eight children. He was 46 years old at the time of our interview, and was born on November 30, 1960. His father owned and worked in his kiosk in the village square in Greece; Zita says that they were a poor family but they were happy. Zita completed high school in Greece.

Zita left Greece in 1982 when he was 22 years old and came to Vancouver because he thought he was going to become rich. Two of his brothers were already established here; Zita lived with them and they helped him settle in Canada. Zita has

worked in the restaurant business since he arrived in Canada; he also works as a Greek folk dance instructor and teaches three dance troops.

Zita is married to a Canadian woman and has two children. He spoke English during our interview. Zita identifies equally with being Greek and Canadian. He maintains his Greek identity through his love and passion for dancing. He celebrates Greek Easter, Greek Christmas, and name days. He is involved in the Greek community since he teaches dancing lessons; other than that he is not involved. He does not use the Greek community facilities regularly and attends church about once a year.

For Zita, Greece symbolizes his place of birth, young memories, and the struggles for freedom. Zita has no plans to move back to Greece or to retire there, although he says that it would be nice.

Interview with Ita

Ita was born and raised in Athens. She was 55 years old at the time of our interview, and was born on December 22, 1951. Her father was a carpenter; the family was financially challenged. She arrived in Vancouver, Canada in 1973 as a tourist with her boyfriend. Shortly after their arrival, Ita and her boyfriend married in the Greek Orthodox Church and subsequently had two children together. They have since divorced and she has been in Canada for 35 years.

Ita explained that the Canadian government was advertising for new immigrants to come to Canada whom already had some university education. Ita came to Vancouver so that her boyfriend could pursue his Master's degree. At first, they thought once the degree was completed they would return to Greece.

Ita did not finish her Bachelor's degree; she has completed up to her third year of university in Greece. In Vancouver, she has pursued other academic interests, and has completed courses in a local college.

Ita spoke English during our interview. Ita identifies with being Greek first because she was born there, then Canadian, because her life is here now. She maintains Greek traditions such as name days, national holidays, and celebrations like Greek Easter and Greek Christmas, although she rarely attends church. She also reads, speaks Greek, and listens to the Greek radio and music, although she does not watch Greek television. Ita explains that she maintains her Greekness mostly out of habit.

For Ita, Greece symbolizes freedom, democracy, teenage years, art, culture, literature, music, and poetry. Currently Ita maintains relationships with her family and friends via e-mail and telephone. She has no plans to retire or to move back to Greece.

Interview with Thita

Thita was 54 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on January 1, 1954. Thita did not feel comfortable with having our interview recorded; it was difficult to take notes quickly while she spoke. She was very vague with most of her responses and she did not want to answer some key questions. It was difficult to piece things together after our interview was over. I do not think that I retrieved sufficient information from Thita, however I completed the interview to the best of my ability.

Thita's father was in the army and her mother was a weaver; they lived a comfortable life in Greece, although they were somewhat financially challenged. She continued her education in Canada and completed a diploma in tourism at college. She

married a Greek man at the tender age of 14 in Greece who was established in Canada, and came to Vancouver with him, and they have two sons.

Thita expressed her love for Greece, and her love for Canada since this is where she grew up. She identifies with being Greek first, because she was born in Greece, and Canadian second, since this is her country of choice in regards to her residency. For Thita, Greece symbolizes strength, and the birthplace of western civilization.

Thita spoke English throughout the interview. She celebrates Greek Christmas, and Greek Easter, and watches Greek television, and listens to Greek music. She does not read any Greek newspapers, nor does she listen to Greek radio.

Thita visits Greece at least once a year which helps her maintain relationships back home. She has no plans of moving back to Greece.

Interview with Yota

Yota was 65 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on February 13, 1942. I interviewed Yota twice, as he had a lot of information he wanted to share with me. Yota is very interested in Greek community affairs and is very involved with the Greek community. Throughout our interview Yota spoke both Greek and English.

He was born in Thessaloniki and was raised in Karditsa. He is one of five children. Yota's father passed away when he was a young boy and his mother struggled to support the family; they were economically challenged. Yota came to Canada in 1961, when he was 19 years old; he did not finish high school.

Yota came to Canada to further his education and to help his family financially. Yota first arrived in Kitimat; his sister was already established and she sponsored him to come to Canada.

In Canada, Yota went to night school to learn English and eventually received a diploma in food and hotel management. Currently, he and his family own and operate a successful business. After Yota settled in Canada he returned to Greece and married a Greek girl; she came to Vancouver with him and they have two sons together.

Yota identifies with being a Canadian of Hellenic heritage. He maintains his Greek identity via his friends, maintaining the language, customs, and his involvement in several Greek associations, and clubs. Yota also celebrates Greek religious ceremonies such as Greek Christmas, name days, and Greek Easter.

Yota is very involved in the Greek community; he has been the vice-president of the community, and the chair of the school committee; he has also been a member of several societies within the community. Yota was one of the founders of the British Columbia Hellenic Congress and is involved in the Greek Day committee. He is also involved in a variety of other political groups in Vancouver.

Yota maintains his Greek heritage daily by speaking the language, eating Greek cuisine, reading Greek books, watching Greek television, and also by keeping in touch with his family and friends in Greece via phone, e-mail and by visiting at least once a year.

For Yota Greece symbolizes his birthplace, history, philosophy, the land, the sea and the sun. He explains that being Greek is a special way of life that revolves around values.

Although Yota had originally planned on moving back to Greece when he first arrived in Canada, he has no current plans on going back permanently.

Interview with Kappa

Kappa was 60 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on April 8, 1947. He was born in Kolibari and has three siblings. Kappa's family was poor, they had no properties; his father was an orphan. Kappa's father worked in construction and Kappa helped him when he was a young boy.

Kappa spoke English during our interview. Kappa came to Canada in 1973 to pursue his education; he wanted to get his Master's degree. He arrived as a tourist with his girlfriend and they married in Vancouver, and had two children together. They have since divorced and Kappa is re-married to an ethnically Spanish woman. Kappa decided to come to Vancouver because a friend recommended the city.

He says that Canada is his home now and he became a citizen because it was important for him to be equal like everyone else. Kappa says that although immigrants are not authentic Canadian citizens like the people who are born here, immigrants are still Canadian citizens. Kappa identifies with being Cretan first, then Greek, then Canadian – he says he is neither 100 percent Greek, nor 100 percent Canadian. He explained that immigrants are really somewhere in between and they make the best out of it. He is very proud to be a descendant of the Minoan civilization.

Although Kappa says that he does not belong in Greece, Kappa is mesmerized by the country when he returns for a visit, and feels a tremor inside of him when he steps off the ferry in Crete. Kappa explains that individuals who leave their country of origin and move to another country, belong to both but at the same time do not belong to either of them. Canada is his home and he loves living here but Greece is where his roots have been laid.

Kappa maintains his Cretan and Greek identity by being attached to his roots, the ways he views life and how he reacts to situations that he is presented with in life; he reads Greek literature, and listens to Greek music. He continues Greek traditions and customs via attending weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Kappa also wears his traditional Cretan outfit when he attends Cretan cultural events. He does not watch Greek television or listen to Greek radio but he does read the local Greek newspaper. He was involved with the Greek community when he first arrived and lived close to the church; he now lives too far from the community.

In addition to visiting Greece once a year, Kappa calls his relatives at least once a week; he has no plans to move back to Greece. Kappa worked mostly as a stock broker but he did various labour jobs when he first arrived in Canada, he is currently retired and writes from home; he owns and manages a small independent publishing company.

Interview with Lamda

Lamda's interview was conducted in the presence of her daughter. All the responses were discussed between the two before they were presented to me. This was frustrating because Lamda was not answering and thinking about the questions on her own. Lamda did not want her voice to be recorded onto the microphone; which made it difficult for me to keep up with the conversation. I do not think that I received sufficient information from Lamda, but I completed the interview to the best of my ability.

Lamda was 51 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on February 10, 1956. Lamda was born and raised in Xanthi. Her parents both worked in the local coffee house, and the family was economically challenged, but Lamda managed to complete grade nine. Lamda was married in Greece at the tender age of 15 to a man

established in Vancouver. Being married to a Canadian made it easy for Lamda to come to Canada; however she remains a landed immigrant. She is the only participant who I interviewed who has not become a Canadian citizen. She explains that she never had sufficient time to complete the paperwork to become a Canadian citizen and that she never needed the citizenship.

Lamda is also the only interviewee who returned to Greece after living in Canada for approximately eight years. Lamda and her family lived in Greece for four years then returned to Vancouver. Lamda explains that when the family returned back to Greece they understood that Canada is better for their children and has an overall better quality of life. Lamda identifies with being Greek first because it is where she grew up and it is her country of origin. She maintains her Greek identity via her friends, watching Greek television, listening to Greek music, reading Greek books, and by speaking Greek to her children and grandchildren. However, she is not actively involved in any specific activities within the Greek community. Some traditions that she has maintained include: participating in weddings, baptisms and cooking Greek cuisine. She has maintained these traditions because this was how she was raised and she has continued to pass them along to her children. Lamda attends church twice a year.

Lamda visits Greece every four years or so and calls her family and friends often. She has no plans to move back to Greece because her children and grandchildren are here.

Interview with Mi

Mi was 59 years of age at the time of our interview and was born on December 15, 1947. His parents were farmers. His family was poor; however, they were better off

than others in the village because they had a lot of animals and sufficient food. Once Mi completed elementary school he left home and started working on freighter ships.

Throughout our interview Mi spoke both Greek and English. Mi explains that he left Greece in search of a “better life”; specifically to improve his financial situation. Economics were the driving force behind his migration. He says that better wages give a person a “better life.”

He decided to come to Canada because his older brother was already established in Vancouver. Mi was 19 years old when he arrived in Canada. Mi says that his plan was to live and work in Canada for a few years to make some money and then to return to Greece; however, Mi has been in Canada for 41 years. He realized how difficult it was to make a lot of money in a short period of time.

A few years after settling in Canada, Mi returned to Greece to visit his family. There, he married a Greek woman and brought her to Canada. A few years later, they divorced. Mi has two children, and two grandchildren.

Mi says that he does not actively maintain his Greek culture and identity; it is something that a person is born with. However, he does listen to Greek music, cooks Greek food, attends Greek events and functions, and reads and speaks Greek.

Mi is not actively involved in any specific activities within the Greek community and he does not use the Greek community facilities. He attends church when he can, specifically on important holidays such as Greek Easter and Greek Christmas.

Mi maintains relationships with family and friends via telephone. Mi has visited Greece once in the last 15 years; he says that it is harder for him to travel far distances as he ages. He has no firm plans on retiring in Greece.

Interview with Ni

Ni gave very vague answers to the questions during our interview. He went off topic many times and talked about his current project, a book, at length. I completed the interview to the best of my ability. Ni spoke English throughout the interview.

Ni was 61 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on April 12, 1946. He was born and raised in Athens; the family was comfortable although they were somewhat financially challenged. Ni went to university in Thessaloniki. Ni left Greece when he was 25 years old to pursue his education at the University of Toronto; and completed a Master's Degree. Ni had a cousin established in Toronto but Ni did not mention the role his cousin played in his migration, if any.

Ni identifies with being Canadian first. He says that it is hard to define Canadian in terms of beliefs, looks, ideas, and culture. Ni says that he does not make an extra effort to be Greek; he says that he is Greek and can appreciate it and is proud of it, but that is all.

Ni maintains his Greek identity via being who he is and his Greek friends. It is important for Ni to maintain his Greek culture because Greece symbolizes roots, pride, tradition and it gives him a sense of empowerment.

Ni does not read the Greek newspaper, listen to Greek radio or music, or watch Greek television. He informed me that he has no idea of what is going on in Greece with respect to life and politics. He does not cook Greek cuisine at home and does not go to Greek restaurants. He has no involvement in the Greek community, never uses the facilities, and he never attends Greek church.

Ni keeps in touch with his relatives back in Greece via telephone and visiting once in a while. He plans on travelling to Greece every six months or so for business purposes but he has no plans to move back permanently.

Interview with Ksi

Ksi was 61 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born in Crete on June 9, 1946. She came to Canada at the tender age of six in 1952 with her family.

Ksi's father decided that they would leave Greece because Greece had no more dreams for them as a result of all the devastation from the wars; the family was financially challenged. Ksi's father was in search of a "better life" which he equated to no wars, no hunger, security of mind and spirit, no poverty, and the opportunity for his children to become something. Ksi says that her father told her that the government of Greece had posted Canadian government notices calling for new immigrants to help build the country; the Canadian government was recruiting new immigrants from all over Europe.

Edmonton was the family's first stop and Ksi explains that the children at school were always teasing her; she remembers being called a "ddp" – dirty displaced person. Ksi is the only person that I interviewed that shared experiences of racism in Canada. She told me that she used to thank her father every day for coming to Canada because it is a wonderful place.

After a few years the family moved to Penticton for the better climate and also the Greek community there. Ksi explains that their Greekness stayed with them and only when she returned to vacation years later did she realize that they lived in a bubble and the bubble had already burst in Greece. Ksi also explained that the Greeks in Greece are

different now and even different from the Greeks in Canada. Eventually Ksi moved to Vancouver to attend university; she still lives here and her family owns a restaurant. She is married to a Greek and has two children.

Ksi spoke English peppered with a few Greek words during our interview. Ksi feels equally Greek and Canadian, she explains that she has certain Greek-isms as a result of the culture but she also has Canadian-isms.

Ksi maintains her Greek identity via the language, having a strong sense of family, keeping traditions and also simply by being herself; she explains that Greeks are very happy people. Ksi does not watch Greek television, and does not read the Greek newspaper. She does however listen to the Greek radio and to all kinds of old Greek music. Ksi explains that it is important to maintain her Greek culture because it separates us from everybody else because the Greeks are special in their own way.

Ksi is not involved in the Greek community, however she is involved in Greek folk dance classes, she attends bake sales, and she also attends church every Sunday.

Ksi maintains contact with relatives via telephone and mail. She also visits Greece every three years. Ksi has no plans to return back to Greece.

Interview with Omikron

Omikron was 48 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on July 4, 1959. Omikron's family was financially challenged; his parents worked as farm labourers. Omikron's father left for Canada when Omikron was six years old; the rest of the family stayed behind. Finally after 13 years, the rest of the family joined their father in Canada; Omikron was 19 years old at the time. He first arrived in Canada as a tourist

to see if he would like Canada; he did, and applied for citizenship. Omikron spoke English during our interview.

Omikron explains that it was a bit of a culture shock when he first arrived in Canada in terms of the mentality, the language, the music, and making new friends. He also tells me that as a young man it was difficult to enter into relationships with women due to language barriers and cultural differences. Omikron attended college here and now has his own book-keeping business. He married a second-generation Greek-Canadian woman and they have two children together.

Omikron considers himself to be Greek first because he was born in Greece and Greek is his mother-tongue. He is proud to be Canadian but he feels more Greek than Canadian.

Omikron maintains his Greekness via speaking Greek, attending Greek events and functions, watching Greek television, eating Greek food, listening to Greek music, and reading Greek news on the Internet.

He continues on with Greek traditions such as Greek Easter and Greek Christmas, mostly because this is how he was brought up and this is how he wants to raise his family. For Omikron, Greece symbolizes beauty, identity, and history. He tells me that people are familiar with Greece and its special history; he is very proud to be Greek.

Omikron is involved in the Greek community as their book-keeper. However, he is not involved on a daily basis. He uses the Greek community facilities on special occasions such as baptisms, weddings, and dances. Omikron attends church once a month.

He maintains relationships with friends and family in Greece mostly via telephone. Omikron tries to visit Greece every couple of years but explains that it is difficult travelling with young children. He is hoping that he will be able to go in the near future. Omikron has no plans to return to Greece, as his family is rooted in Canada now.

Interview with Pi

Pi was 70 years of age at the time of our interview, and was born on March 25, 1937. Pi tells me that his family was somewhat financially challenged although they lived a comfortable life in Greece, according to their circumstances. Pi finished high school in Greece.

He arrived in Canada at the age of 18, and left Greece because there were very few job opportunities available. He had family that was already established in Canada; he also mentioned that Canada was accepting many new immigrants at this time, so he decided it would be a good opportunity to migrate. When Pi arrived in Canada, he lived with his brother, and worked for his uncle. Pi is married to a Greek and they have two children together. Pi spoke both Greek and English during our interview.

Pi is a proud Canadian citizen. He feels at home in Canada, explaining that Vancouver is his village now; all of his family and friends here. However, Pi feels more Greek than Canadian; he continued to say that a person can adopt any citizenship they want to but has only one birth certificate.

Pi maintains his Greekness by participating in the Greek community. After 52 years, he is still an active participant; he is the leader of the church choir and is a chanter. Pi uses the Greek community facilities often, and attends church almost every Sunday.

Pi eats mostly Greek food at home, watches Greek television, listens to Greek music, speaks Greek, and reads Greek. He maintains relationships with family and friends in Greece via telephone and visits almost every year.

Interview with Ro and Sigma

Ro and Sigma are married to each other and they conducted their interviews together, and in the presence of their son. Their son listened quietly to the interview. Ro answered the majority of the questions. Ro and Sigma spoke mostly Greek with some English throughout the interview. Ro was 72 years of age at the time of our interview and was born on August 15, 1935. Sigma was 66 years of age at the time of our interview and was born on July 14, 1941. Ro finished grade six and was then trained as a tailor; he made very little money. Sigma has completed elementary school.

Although life was generally good in Greece, Ro explains that they were born at the wrong time in Greece; both Sigma and Ro's families were financially challenged. Life was harder as a result of the devastation caused by the wars; especially economically. Sigma tells me that she always wanted to go to America or to a similar place as a child. Ro decided to come to Vancouver because his brother had already established himself here. Sigma came with Ro after they married in Greece.

Ro experienced difficulties learning English in Vancouver but he managed to communicate mostly through body language in the beginning. He worked as a tailor first then he found a job in a restaurant which he liked because he could eat the food that was being prepared. Sigma currently works in the food service industry.

Ro and Sigma maintain their identity by doing the same things that they did in Greece such as attend church on Greek Easter and Greek Christmas, cook Greek food,

maintain the Greek language, watch Greek television, read the Greek newspaper, and listen to Greek music.

Both Ro and Sigma are very proud to be Greek. Sigma says that it is important for them to maintain their culture because it is their life. This is how they were born and it is important for them to pass along customs and traditions to their children and grandchildren. Ro says that being Greek symbolizes that they are the light of the world; Greek culture has offered so much in the way of history, mythology, and philosophy.

Ro is not as involved with the Greek community as he used to be; he will go and help if they need it. Ro and Sigma use the community facilities for weddings, baptisms, and other events. Sigma tries to go to church every Sunday.

Ro identifies with being Greek first, explaining that Greece is where he saw the sun for the first time. Sigma on the other hand, identifies with being both Greek and Canadian. Ro and Sigma feel at home in Canada, their family is established here and they are very glad that they came. Ro and Sigma have no plans to move back to Greece. Ro tells me that Greece is just a place for holidays. Ro and Sigma maintain contact with relatives and friends in Greece via telephone, and Ro travels to Greece every year.

Interview with Taf

Taf was 48 years of age at the time that our interview took place, and was born on October 26, 1958. Taf's father was a farmer and her mother was a housewife. Taf says that although their family was poor, she had a great childhood. As a child, Taf tells me that she did not think that her family was missing anything because mostly everyone else in the village was in the same position financially, and educationally. Everyone was expected to work, including young children.

Taf explained that she started re-evaluating her family's poverty when she was a teenager and always wondered what it would be like to live somewhere else. These influences came mostly from magazines that the girls in the village shared.

At the age of 16, she was introduced to a young man who was already established in Canada. Although Taf did not want to marry him, they had an arranged marriage shortly thereafter. Taf came to Vancouver to live with her husband. They had two children together and were divorced a few years later. Taf has since re-married a Canadian man.

Taf explains that when she first arrived in Canada, life in Canada was easier than life in Greece. In Canada, there were more job opportunities and it was easier for parents to educate their children. Also, the Canadian government was more stable. In addition, the Canadian banks were giving many new immigrants loans so they could afford to buy houses and cars.

Taf says that she identifies with being a Greek living in Canada because oftentimes people ask her what kind of accent she has. However, when travelling abroad she identifies with being Canadian. She says that in reality an immigrant is two different things.

Although Taf says that she cannot maintain her Greek traditions 100 percent of the time, she continues to speak and read Greek, sing Greek songs, and folk dances. Taf attends church when she can and lights candles in her home on significant religious days. She also listens to Greek music, Greek radio, and reads the Greek newspaper. On occasion she visits the Greek shops on Broadway Avenue and buys chocolates that remind her of her childhood.

Taf explains that it is important to maintain Greek identity and culture because it keeps her mentally happy and she enjoys continuing with her Greek dancing and singing. Additionally, Taf tells me that being Greek is a big deal and special because of the rich history and the world recognition that Greeks have received. She is very proud to be Greek.

For Taf, Greece symbolizes her birthplace, her deep roots, her first lessons in life, a friendly, happy, generous place, with hospitable and bright people. Additionally, it symbolizes sunshine, blue water, and the smell of oregano. Taf tells me it lifts her spirits when she thinks of Greece.

Taf spoke mostly English with a little Greek to her children when they were young, and now speaks both English and Greek with her grandchildren.

Taf considers a person to be Greek if they are born to Greek parents, continue to take pride in their history, know the language, and visit the country. She says that it is difficult to draw the line, for example, if a child is born in Canada to Greek parents and the child's parents continue to say that their child is Greek, teaching the child to identify themselves in the same way even though they are born in Canada. She questions when a person stops being Greek and starts being Canadian?

Taf maintains relationships with her family and friends via telephone, mail, and e-mail. She also tries to visit Greece every couple of years, although she has no plans to go back to Greece permanently; her family and children are rooted in Canada.

Interviews – Analyses

Interviews Conducted in Greece

The participant profiles for Greek interviews conducted in Greece are presented in Table 6 at the end of this section (pages 91-92).

There was a notable gender difference with respect to reason for migration. The male migrants left Greece at their own instigation mostly in pursuit of economic opportunities, whereas the women in my study group were influenced more by interpersonal relationships than by economics. The women who migrated did so to follow their spouses; the women who stayed in Greece did so to remain close to their parents or because they were married to men who did not migrate. This is likely simplification of the factors that prompted the migration of the women in my group. Tastsoglou (2009: 2) points out that there are significant gender-based differences in the factors behind the migration of women, and the experiences of women migrants. I did not do an in depth analysis based on gender, primarily due to the small number of subjects that I interviewed, but also due to the broad scope of this emerging field of inquiry. Tastsoglou (2009: 2) notes that prior to the 1970s there was little attention paid to women in the study of international migration; however, since the 1990s gender has gradually made it way into the migration literature.

The main reason for migration that I gathered from my interviews was the pursuit of better financial situations. People left Greece in search of a “better life”, to give their future children the opportunities that they never had such as being in a better situation economically but also to give their children the chance to go to school and pursue their academic interests.

The majority of immigrants were young men who were not tied to family obligations. Potential migrant men heard stories from others of a “better life” outside Greece, and some left to improve their lives, mostly from a financial perspective. Most of these young migrants went to countries where they already had a relative or a contact who could help them settle.

People expressed their love for their families and the fact that they wanted to live close to them geographically; this was a common response from women. On the other hand, most of the men that I spoke with expressed their desire to leave Greece. However, those that did not do so explained that either they were the only son that the family had, or their parents wanted them to stay, or all their older brothers had left and the youngest stayed behind to take care of the family. This was especially true if the father of the family had passed away.

Although participants MG, ET, IH, and DH experienced ‘push factors’ such as unfavourable economic situations growing up, they were compelled to stay because of family obligations. OA never had a desire to leave Greece.

PT, DT, and NT’s migrations were prompted by both ‘push and pull’ factors. ‘Push factors’ were primarily at the micro level, including lack of employment opportunities. The primary ‘pull factor’ was financial: availability of well paying employment.

Table 6 Interview Participant Profiles – Greece

Participants by sex: 5 females, 4 males

Participant mean age at time of interview: 52.3 years

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) Age (at time of interview)	Emigration Year/Age Country	Years Living Abroad	Education Level	Reasons for Staying/Leaving	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
MG	F	1951/07/05 55	N/A	N/A	elementary	to take care of parents	financially challenged	overridden by family reasons.
PT	M	1948/06/05 59	1974 / 26 Switzerland	33	elementary	to improve economic and job situation	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
DT	F	1956/05/24 53	1975 / 19 Switzerland	32	elementary	husband's decision	financially challenged	meso push: spouse meso pull: spouse
KA	M	1941/02/03 66	N/A	N/A	university	unknown	unknown	unknown

Table 6: Interview Participant Profiles – Greece (cont'd)

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) Age (at time of interview)	Emigration Year/Age Country	Years Living Abroad	Education Level	Reasons for Staying/Leaving	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
ET	F	1961/11/25 46	N/A	N/A	diploma	did not want to leave her family	financially challenged	overridden by family reasons
IH	M	1954/09/22 53	N/A	N/A	trade school	family reasons	financially challenged	overridden by family reasons
OA	M	1958/08/18 49	N/A	N/A	trade school	no desire to leave Greece	financially challenged	neither
DH	F	1960/07/16 48	N/A	N/A	elementary	because of parents	financially challenged	overridden by family reasons
NT	F	1967/05/14 42	1990 / 23 Germany	17	elementary	for better economic opportunities and future for their children	financially challenged	micro push: economics micro pull: economics

Interviews Conducted in Metro-Vancouver

A summary of the interview participant profiles for my interviews conducted in Metro-Vancouver are presented in Table 7 at the end of this section (pages 101-105).

In Canada I conducted 19 interviews; I repeated one initially incomplete interview. I conducted my interviews during the later part of 2007, starting during September and continuing through December. My research participants included individuals from the Greek community in Metro-Vancouver who are all first-generation Canadians born in Greece and immigrated to Canada.

The oldest participant in the study is also the only participant that left Greece during the 1940s. Four participants left Greece during the 1950s, seven participants left Greece during the 1960s and six participants left during the 1970s. The youngest participant in this study is also the only participant who left Greece in the 1980s. Immigration from Greece to Canada was at its peak from the 1950s through to the 1970s. Very few Greeks immigrated to Canada after the 1980s. Greece is now considered an immigrant receiving country as opposed to an immigrant sending country.

The participants' life experiences range from post-secondary education and professional careers to elementary school and unskilled work. Eight participants completed elementary school, two completed high school, one completed a specialized trades degree, three completed college, three attended university, two completed their Bachelor's degrees, and two completed advanced degrees.

Six participants are retired, while three are close to retiring. The other participants are still contributing to the work force. Eight participants are female and eleven are male. At the time of my research the youngest participant was 46 years old

and the eldest was 77; the mean age of participants at the time of our interview was 61 years.

I wanted to make sure that my participants were comfortable with the setting of the interview. The majority of the participants preferred their homes and as Greeks are very hospitable people, I was always offered something to drink or eat.

Two interviews included two couples. This made it more difficult since one person dominated the interview. In both these interviews the husbands dominated the discussion.

Two interviews included the presence of the interviewee's adult children. In one of these interviews, the child was consulted as to how the participant should answer the questions and even answered some of the questions on behalf of their parent, whereas during the other interview where the child was present, they sat quietly and listened. In the interview where the child answered and was involved I made sure not to incorporate what the child had said in my analysis and I asked the parent the question again hoping to get them to respond alone. I believe that it would have been disrespectful if I had said anything about the children's presence especially since the interviews were being conducted in the participants' home.

Some of the individuals that I contacted requested that I contact others that they thought would be interested in participating in my study. I also asked a few participants about prospective participants that they thought would be interested in participating in my project. I approached my prospective participant pool in this manner because the previous individuals that I interviewed had a better understanding of what my project was

about and the goal of my thesis work. I thought that this was a more effective method rather than having to screen individuals.

I included six participants who are married – three couples – and four participants who were married but are now divorced – two former couples. Five participants married Greeks when they came to Canada; two participants married non-Greeks in Canada; seven participants married Greeks in Greece; three participants married Greeks in Greece but are now divorced. One participant has remarried a non-Greek and two individuals have not remarried.

Some participants told me that after the Second World War, Canada was advertising for new immigrants to help build the country. The Greek government had posted various notices that the Canadian government had sent to them in hopes to receive workers and immigrants. These advertisements resulted in several young families migrating from Greece.

Many people were also looking for a way out of Greece after the civil war in search of a “better life.” As participant Ksi explains, her parents equated a “better life” to “no wars, no hunger, security in mind and spirit, no poverty, and the opportunity for us children to become something, which is the same for me with my kids.”

Some of the participants that I spoke with who had originally arrived in Montréal explained to me that the winter and the weather in general was too cold for them. When these individuals complained about the cold weather, many people told them that Vancouver had a much milder climate, which they might prefer. This is one of the main reasons that some Greeks left Montréal and went west.

Out of the 19 interviews that I conducted in Metro-Vancouver, 18 are Canadian citizens. One person has decided not to become a Canadian citizen and remains a landed immigrant.

Many immigrants speak Greek and attend Greek functions when it suits them and their schedules. They are both very proud Greeks, and very proud Canadians. However, Greek culture was perceived by Greeks as vulnerable and at risk in Canada so there was even more concern to hold onto the culture.

The general consensus amongst the Greek-Canadians that I interviewed is that they identify strongly with their Greekness by maintaining strong ties to Greece and Greek culture. Many have indicated that the Greeks in Canada act more Greek than the Greeks in Greece do. This is partially because when Greeks immigrated to Canada they brought their culture, rituals, and customs from Greece exactly as they were and as a result they have not changed or evolved much if at all since that time. Contemporary Greece differs from what my participants remember of it. This is perhaps a result of the influences via the media, television, and globalization. For example, participant Ksi stated that “only when I went back to Greece did I realize that we lived in a bubble, but the bubble in Greece burst a long time ago and the Greeks are so different now than we are here.” Participant Omikron comments upon his return to Greece after a few years of living in Canada, “I expected things to be the same when I went back, but time changes everything.”

As with my interviews conducted in Greece, I did not do an in depth analysis based on gender, again, primarily due to the small number of subjects that I interviewed. However, as in Greece, there was a notable gender difference with respect to the reasons

behind migration. The men were the instigators of their migration; none of the men migrated to follow a woman or at the prompting of a woman. However, with one exception, the migration of the women was prompted by their relationship to a man – either their husband who had already established himself in Canada, or arriving in Canada with a boyfriend. The exception, Beta, migrated on her own and met her future husband once in Canada.

For the majority of the male participants (Alpha, Delta, Epsilon, Zita, Yota, Mi, Pi, and Ro), migration was prompted by both ‘push and pull factors’. ‘Push factors’ were primarily at the micro level, including lack of employment opportunities and political instability. The primary ‘pull factor’ was financial: availability of better employment opportunities and political stability. Participant Beta’s migration was prompted by the many unfortunate tragedies she experienced during the Greek civil war, and lack of job opportunities.

Kappa, and Ni’s migration was prompted by both ‘push and pull factors’. ‘Push factors’ were primarily at the micro level, including lack of educational opportunities. The primary ‘pull factor’ was to pursue education.

Participants Gamma and Ksi’s were children when they migrated to Canada. Gamma and Ksi’s parents’ decision to migrate was prompted by both ‘push and pull factors’. ‘Push factors’ were primarily at the micro level, including lack of employment and educational opportunities. The primary ‘pull factor’ was financial: availability of well paying employment.

Omikron’s migration was prompted by a micro level ‘pull factor’. The primary ‘pull factor’ was a meso level factor to reunite with his father.

After the Second World War and the Greek civil war, Greeks immigrated to several countries around the world including Canada, mostly in search of better economic prospects. As participant Epsilon states, “after the war, everything was hard.”

Participant Ro says, “we were born in the wrong time in Greece.” In Canada, many Greeks have successfully started their own businesses and have done well financially. Greeks living in Vancouver also arrived when real estate in the city was affordable. Houses close to the downtown core such as in Kitsilano, Point Grey and the North Shore (West and North Vancouver), were relatively inexpensive compared to today’s prices.

All 19 participants are happy that they came to Canada and do not regret their decision because of the educational and financial opportunities in Canada, including the political stability. Two participants were young children and did not personally decide to immigrate to Canada. Participant Ksi said that she often thanked her father for bringing their family to Canada.

Many of the young Greek men who left Greece left with the mindset that they would make lots of money quickly and then return to enjoy their lives back home. But this certainly was not the way that it worked out for many Greek immigrants. As participant Mi says, “We all came with the mindset to stay for a few years but we ended up staying a lifetime and now we have become Canadians.”

An example of assimilation amongst Greeks in Canada is that they have lived the majority of their lives in Canada and have become accustomed to the Canadian way of life and often have difficulties adjusting to the Greek way of life when visiting Greece. Although some participants would like to return to Greece to retire there, one participant said that this was only possible if they either win the lottery or if they retire with a lot of

money. The majority of participants said that going back to retire in Greece is not possible because it would be a difficult step to take since their children, grandchildren, friends, and lives are well established here. As Delta puts it, “Greece is good to go for a vacation but not to live there. Their mentality is completely different from what we have learned here.”

With respect to life in Canada and the Greek community in Metro-Vancouver, Pi says:

our lives are totally fulfilled here, we have our family, our friends, this is our community here – our patriots. Metro-Vancouver is our village now. A village is a community of people, who are interrelated. In the Metro-Vancouver community, we are all of Greek ethnicity. In Canada, as a unit we have contributed to the development of the country and as a unit we are recognized by such from the authorities and the system itself. We have to be proud of our ancestry because other people look up to us as the bright lights of the development of the country.

It is interesting to note that the terms Greek and Canadian are often intertwined and used however and whenever the person using them feels that it is the appropriate term to use. For example, the first-generation Canadians often refer to themselves as Greeks in the presence of both Greeks and non-Greek individuals. Some of my participants referred to themselves as Canadians when I asked if they identify with being Greek or Canadian first. Many participants said that it was a hard question to answer. More specifically, nine participants identify with being Greek first, one participant identifies with the region of Greece that he was born in first, six participants identify with being Canadian first, and three participants identify with being both Greek and Canadian equally.

As participant Taf explains, “when I am out at gatherings people ask me where I am from because I still have an accent, people want to know what my background is...I say that I am Greek so I guess that makes me Greek. I am a Greek living in Canada, but when I visit another country I say that I am from Canada. You are two different things, really.”

Nine participants had relatives established in Metro-Vancouver, which made the transition to a new city and country a much easier one. Two participants came to Metro-Vancouver without a pre-established network base, and two participants came as a young couple who were dating, later marrying in Vancouver.

Like the Greeks in Greece, throughout my formal interviews and informal discussions, there was a strong element of cultural retention amongst Canadian participants. Most migrants maintain a strong Greek identity and sense of Greekness, although they have blended well into Canadian culture. Even those migrants who have formed strong attachments to Canada, including those who do not intend to return to Greece on any permanent basis, appear to resist fully assimilating to an extent into the culture of the receiving country. Although this message of cultural retention was strong and pervasive, I found little explanation for this attitude in my interviews and discussion. It appears to be something that is deeply rooted and unchallenged by the individual. As PT noted during our interview in Greece – the moment you are born Greek you feel Greek. This theme of cultural retention is central to this thesis.

Table 7: Interview Participant Profiles – Metro-Vancouver

Participants by sex: 8 females; 11 males
Participant mean age at the time of interview: 61 years

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) Age (at time of interview)	Immigration Year/Age Status in Canada	Years in Canada	Education Level	Reasons for Emigrating	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
Alpha	M	1942/05/21 65	1960 / 18 citizen	48	trades school	for better work opportunities	financially challenged	micro push: economics macro pull: economics
Beta	F	1937/05/04 70	1956 / 19 citizen	52	elementary	experienced many tragedies from wars	financially challenged	micro push: economics macro pull: economics
Gamma	M	1958/05/27 49	1963 / 5 citizen	45	post graduate (law school)	parents decision	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso/macro pull: economics

Table 7: Interview Participant Profiles – Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) Age (at time of interview)	Immigration Year/Age Status in Canada	Years in Canada	Education Level	Reasons for Emigrating	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
Delta	M	1946/06/06 61	1963 / 17 citizen	45	elementary	political instability poor economic conditions	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
Epsilon	F	1931/07/08 77	1948 / 17 citizen	60	elementary	pursuit of a “better life”	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
Zita	M	1960/11/30 46	1982 / 22 citizen	26	high school	pursue economics	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
Ita	F	1951/12/22 55	1973 / 22 citizen	35	university (3 rd year)	boyfriend pursuing education	financially challenged	micro push: spouse macro pull: spouse

Table 7: Interview Participant Profiles – Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) (at time of interview)	Immigration Year/Age Status in Canada	Years in Canada	Education Level	Reasons for Emigrating	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
Thita	F	1954/01/01 53	1968 / 14 citizen	40	college	husband established in Canada	financially challenged	meso pull: spouse
Yota	M	1942/02/13 65	1961 / 19 citizen	47	technical school (BCIT)	further education and help family financially	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
Kappa	M	1947/04/08 60	1973 / 26 citizen	35	university	to pursue education	financially challenged	micro push: education micro pull: education
Lamda	F	1956/02/10 51	1971 / 15 landed immigrant	37	elementary	husband established in Canada	financially challenged	meso pull: spouse

Table 7: Interview Participant Profiles – Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) (at time of interview)	Immigration Year/Age Status in Canada	Years in Canada	Education Level	Reasons for Emigrating	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
Mi	M	1947/12/15 59	1966 / 19 citizen	41	elementary	pursuit of a better life and money	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
Ni	M	1946/04/12 61	1971 / 25 citizen	37	university (2 degrees)	pursue education	financially challenged	micro push: education meso pull: education
Ksi	F	1946/06/09 61	1952 / 6 citizen	56	university	father's decision	financially challenged	micro push: economics macro pull: economics
Omikron	M	1959/07/04 48	1977 / 18 citizen	31	college	father established in Canada	financially challenged	meso pull: reunite with father

Table 7: Interview Participant Profiles – Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

Participant	Sex	DOB (YYYY/MM/DD) (at time of interview)	Immigration Year/Age Status in Canada	Years in Canada	Education Level	Reasons for Emigrating	Economic Situation (Parents)	Push/Pull Factors
Pi	M	1937/03/25 70	1956 / 19 citizen	52	high school	for job opportunities	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso/macro pull: economics
Ro	M	1935/08/15 72	1957 / 22 citizen	51	elementary	brother established in Canada	financially challenged	micro push: economics meso pull: economics
Sigma	F	1941/07/14 66	1964 / 23 citizen	44	elementary	husband established in Canada	financially challenged	meso pull: spouse
Taf	F	1958/10/26 49	1975 / 17 citizen	33	elementary	husband established in Canada	financially challenged	meso pull: spouse

Chapter 5

Analyses and Conclusions

In this concluding chapter, I analyze some of the material presented in chapter 4 in light of the brief history of Greece and the brief history of Greeks in Metro-Vancouver presented in chapter 1 and some of the concepts presented in chapter 2.

One of the clearest and strongest points arising from these interviews and participant observation is that, as discussed in the brief history of Greece presented in chapter 1, people left Greece for Canada following the devastation of World War II and the Greek civil war, seeking a more peaceful life, better economic opportunities and more political freedom for themselves, their families and their children. The main wave of Greek immigration to Metro-Vancouver occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, trailing off in the 1970s and almost ceasing by the 1980s, as Greece became more peaceful and prosperous and joined the modern European nation-states in the European Union. Not everyone wanted to, or could, leave Greece to immigrate to other lands. Some siblings (often sons) remained in order to work the land and some siblings (often daughters) remained in order to look after aging parents.

I did not do an in depth analysis based on gender, primarily due to the small number of subjects that I interviewed. However, I did find a notable gender difference with respect to reason for migration. The male migrants left Greece at their own instigation mostly in pursuit of economic opportunities; none of the men migrated to follow a spouse, or at the prompting of a spouse. The women were influenced more by interpersonal relationships than by economics. With one exception, the women who migrated did so to follow their spouses; the women who stayed in Greece did so to remain close to their parents, or because their spouse did not migrate.

I did not find any indication of significant gender differences in relation to how immigrants relate to the Greek-Canadian community in Metro-Vancouver or how they self-identify with respect to ethnicity, culture, or nationality.

One of the clearest and strongest points arising from the interviews and participant observation in Metro-Vancouver is that Greek immigrants in Metro-Vancouver, on the whole, have done well for themselves and their families, economically. From poor rural backgrounds, some Greek-Canadian interviewees are now among the working class that now lives a middle-class lifestyle; and some are now businessmen and professionals. A closely related, but equally clear and strong point arising from these interviews and participant observation is that Greek immigrants to Metro-Vancouver have improved their own and their children's educational attainment. While many came from poor, rural areas devastated by years of war, and without much formal education, they and their children have benefited from Canada's educational system.

Many Greek immigrants to Metro-Vancouver had previous family relationships or village connections with Greeks who had already immigrated and settled in Canada. Many Greek-Canadian immigrants in Metro-Vancouver clearly attempted to induce other Greeks, living in Greece, to immigrate to Canada. The amount of visiting and vacationing in Greece by Greeks now living in Canada, Germany, and Switzerland, indicates that these Greek immigrants retain a strong and powerful connection to their birthplace and to what I refer to as their Greekness.

The Greek-Canadians who I interviewed for this thesis all participate, to varying degrees, in the Greek community of Metro-Vancouver. Again, the degree of participation of each Greek-Canadian cannot be measured and quantified given the

responses I obtained, however, most attend Greek Orthodox Church, social and community events, have Greek-Canadian relatives and friends, glean the Greek language media that are available, and participate in many of the varied activities available to the Greek-Canadians of Metro-Vancouver. Most interviewees stated that they would prefer it if their children retained their Greek culture and identity and married other Greek-Canadians. Unfortunately, I only interviewed first-generation immigrants to Metro-Vancouver, and no second or third-generation Greek-Canadians. I have the general impression (again, without any statistical backing) that most of my interviewees felt that their children were *less* involved in Greek culture and Greek cultural activities than they (i.e., their parents) were. This view (and fear) also appeared to be the basis for the forum hosted by the Hellenic Canadian Congress of British Columbia on the topic: “How will the Greeks in Metro-Vancouver maintain their ethnic heritage and culture in the future,” which I mentioned in chapter 1. In this section, I also mentioned some evidence that endogamy within the Greek-Canadian community in Metro-Vancouver is declining (i.e., more Greek-Canadians are marrying non Greek-Canadians) and there is also some evidence to suggest that Greek language use is also declining over the years and generations within the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver.

I asked about, and my interviewees spoke about the fact that they are proud Greeks and proud Canadians. When I asked my Greek-Canadian interviewees if they identify with being Greek or being Canadian *first*, some referred to themselves as Canadians. Many interviewees responded that it was a difficult question to answer. More specifically, nine Greek-Canadian interviewees said that they identify with being Greek first, one interviewee said that he identifies first with being from a particular region in Greece, six interviewees said that they identify first with being Canadian first,

and three interviewees said that they identify with being both Greek and Canadian equally. I do not think any conclusions can be made concerning whether Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver are Greeks or Canadians *first*. In addition, as discussed in chapter 2, identity is not some fixed and unchanging phenomenon; individuals have different, multiple identities, some of which become more salient in particular times and contexts.

As mentioned previously, the amorphous concept, Greekness cannot be measured and quantified. Earlier I quoted myself in an earlier version of this thesis to the effect that I identify more as a Greek than as a Canadian. Yet I also acknowledge that, in Greece, when asked whether life is better in Greece or in Canada, I feel that life is better in Canada, although I know the Greeks want me to say that life is better in Greece. So, I identify as a Greek, but a Greek living in Canada, not in Greece. Clearly there is some ambiguity here.

This ambiguity was reflected in my interviews. None of my interviewees self-identified as first and foremost Greek-Canadian. Had I explored in greater depth with my interviewees the notion of Greek-Canadian identity rather than the stark alternatives of Greek identity or Canadian identity, I might have elicited different responses. But not necessarily. As noted earlier, I had limited success with open questions, including the open question of how my interviewees self-identify. In my research interviews, my interviewees were generally ambiguous and flexible with respect to their self-identification, and often unable, or unwilling, to explore the matter to any depth. This reflects my general experience with Greek-Canadians.

A significant methodological challenge for this thesis, which I did not discuss in chapter 3, is the fact that I carried out my interviews *before* I had done much of my

literature review and research about social scientific approaches to issues of culture, ethnicity, identity, migration, transnationalism, diaspora, cultural retention, and cultural assimilation, as discussed in chapter 2. To some extent this reversal of the preferred order was tied to the availability of interviewees; nonetheless, the reverse order of research is reflected in my approach to interviews and, as a result, in my overall findings.

In my view, the greatest methodological challenge for my thesis research is the difficulty I encountered in eliciting specific and detailed information during interviews. As described in chapter 3, and noted above, in general I had limited success with open questions and out of necessity moved to leading questions to elicit responses. The use of leading questions suggests certain answers and perhaps distracts from others, possibly compromising the outcome.

For example, a preferred social scientific approach would have been to ask the interviewees how they identify themselves, and without prompting let them, perhaps, reply that they consider themselves Greek-Canadians. This in contrast to asking whether the interviewees felt more like Greeks or more like Canadians. This approach might have been effective with a different group of interviewees, or with a larger number of interviewees.

In a similar example, the preferred social scientific approach might have been to ask the interviewee who their children married and how they feel about it, rather than asking, as I did, whether the interviewee would prefer that their children marry a Greek or a non-Greek. In this case, the research approach was compromised by the insider knowledge of the researcher. As a result of my connection to the Greek community of Metro-Vancouver, at the time of the interview, I had some prior knowledge of who the interviewee's children had married, and the interviewees either knew or assumed that I

already had this information. The interviewees would not have appreciated the protocol of an open question under the circumstances.

It would have been informative had I been able to elicit more specific information concerning each interviewee's immersion (or lack of immersion) in Metro-Vancouver's Greek community (what languages they spoke and how often, what media they gleaned, what they ate, how many Greek and non-Greek friends they have, how many Greek relatives live in Metro-Vancouver, how often they go to church and to other specific Greek-Canadian events in the community, how often they go to Greece and for how long, etc., etc.). As I have noted, my attempts to elicit such specific information were largely unsuccessful. This approach might have been effective with a different group of interviewees, or with a larger number of interviewees.

I deliberately sought out first-generation Canadians for my interviews as I was primarily interested in the migrant experience. Had I interviewed second and third-generation Greek-Canadians, I might have garnered more insight into matters such as cultural retention and cultural assimilation between generations and within migrant families.

My focus was on the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver; I did not research the existing literature on the cultural retention or cultural assimilation of other ethnic / cultural communities in Canada, such as Portuguese-Canadians, Ukrainian-Canadians, or Italian-Canadians, in order to be able to compare the situation of Metro-Vancouver's Greek-Canadian community to these other ethnic / cultural communities. Similarly, I did not research the existing literature on Greek (or other) immigrants to other destinations, such as Australia or the United Kingdom, in order to compare the situation of Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver with Greek immigrants to other

destinations. Accordingly, I cannot conclude anything about how Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver compare to other ethnic / cultural communities in Canada, or how Greek-Canadians in Metro-Vancouver compare to Greek communities in other destinations, in terms of cultural retention and cultural assimilation.

My research suggests a number of considerations with respect to future research.

Methodology

- i. With respect to methodology, future research should be based on effective prior exploration of applicable social scientific approaches to research, and should utilize to the extent practicable established social scientific methods and protocols (Professor Jared Keil, Carleton University; personal communication; March 2010; June 25, 2010).
- ii. Challenges associated with research informants should be clearly identified, and accommodation for challenges should be rationalized. For example, more formal interview arrangements and settings might address some of the difficulties that I encountered.
- iii. The number of informants should be large enough to be representative of the larger group, and to allow for some unproductive interviews (to avoid the necessity of prompting and leading questions by the researcher). I note that Noivo (1997: 33-34) collaborated with a total of thirty-five interviewees in her research into the experiences of three generations of Portuguese-Canadians. However, her interviews were limited to ten each for first and second-generation individuals, and fifteen for the third-generation.

- iv. The possibility of researcher insider knowledge and associated complications should be considered and addressed. Noivo provides some insight into the researcher as insider (1997: 4-5; 37-41).
- v. Interview questions should be carefully considered and vetted to address concerns associated with closed and leading questions. Professor Keil (personal communication; June 25, 2010) stresses the importance of non-leading questions.
- vi. With respect to the challenges of generating broader community information from personal interviews: one-on-one, face-to-face interviews could be supplemented with focus group discussions; general and demographic information can be gathered using written questionnaire forms distributed online and or through community institutions (including organizations, and groups); Professor Donna Patrick (Carleton University; personal communication; June 25, 2010) suggests that the researcher can approach community institutions directly for general information regarding community make-up and activities.
- vii. With respect to the challenges associated with gathering personal information from structured answer-and-question interviews, Professor Patrick (personal communication; June 25, 2010) suggests that there are alternative approaches that might be productive. For example: participants might be invited to simply tell their story, or the researcher might provide the participant with photographs (that relate to the research topic in some way) and ask the participant to talk about the photos; the researcher would carefully record whatever was said, and later review the record for information related to the research focus.

Scope and focus of future research

With respect to future research, there are a number of interesting avenues that could be explored, including:

- i. Self-identification of Greek-Canadians within the Metro-Vancouver community. Professor Keil (personal communication; March 2010; June 25, 2010) notes that how an individual identifies herself or himself with respect to nationality and ethnicity are informative indicators when considering the extent of that individual's cultural retention and assimilation.
- ii. Gender differences with respect to reasons behind migration, the degree of immersion in the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver, and the degree of cultural retention and cultural assimilation; and the bases for gender differences. According to Miranda (2009: 110) and Tastsoglou (2009: 2) scholarship attention on the experiences of women migrants is increasing and making its way into the migration literature. Noivo (1997; 2000) provides some insight into gender as it relates to the migrant experience, and stresses the necessity to include gender differences in considering migrant identity (2000: 166-167). Tastsoglou (2009: 2) points out that there are significant gender-based differences in the factors behind the migration of women, and the experiences of women migrants. Gavaki (2009: 130-132) notes gender differences and generational changes among Greek women in Canada.
- iii. Cross-generational differences amongst migrants and migrant families with respect to the degree of immersion in the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver, and the degree of cultural retention and cultural assimilation; and the bases for differences. Noivo (1997; 2000), Almeida (2009), and Warkentin (2009) provide

some insight into migrant families across generations. As with gender, Noivo (2000: 166-167) stresses the necessity of including generational differences in the consideration of migrant identity. Gavaki (2009: 128-133) discusses generational changes in ethnic identity among Greeks in Canada in light of Statistics Canada Census 2001 data.

- iv. Cross-generational socio-economic differences amongst migrants and migrant families. As with gender and generation, Noivo (2000: 166-167) stresses the need to include socio-economic factors when considering migrant identity. Gavaki (2009: 122-128) presents Statistics Canada Census 2001 data on the socio-economic mobility of Greeks in Canada.
- v. Differences in the migrant experience related to region of origin in Greece (e.g., the Peloponnesus, Macedonia, Asia Minor, the Greek Islands). Oliveira (2000; 2009) suggests that the experiences of migrants from the Portuguese islands (particularly the Azores) are often different than the experiences of migrants from the Portuguese mainland. Professor Victor M.P. Da Rosa (University of Ottawa; personal communication; June 25, 2010) confirms those differences, and suggests that it would be interesting to explore possible differences in the experiences of migrants from the Greek Islands, with those of migrants from mainland Greece to see if there are similarities with the Portuguese.
- vi. Comparison of the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver with Greek communities in other parts of Canada. Teixeira and Da Rosa (2009: 14) suggest that, despite significantly different regional contexts within Canada, minority communities with shared ethnicity maintain commonalities.

- vii. Comparison of the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver with Greek communities within other host countries. Tamis (2005) notes that there are similarities and differences between the experiences of Greek migrants to Canada, and those of Greek migrants to Australia. Bloemraad (2009) points out that there are differences in immigrant experiences between Canada and the USA.
- viii. Comparison of the Greek-Canadian community of Metro-Vancouver with other ethnic / cultural communities in Canada. From Noivo (1997) and Teixeira and Da Rosa (2000; 2009) it is apparent that there are some similarities, and likely some differences, between the Portuguese and Greek migrant experiences. Professor Da Rosa (personal communication; June 25, 2010) confirms the similarities between the Greek and Portuguese migrant experiences, and agrees that further research in that regard would be interesting.
- ix. How Greek-Canadians of Metro-Vancouver view modern-day Greece. Oliveira (2000: 93) suggests that emigrants tend to “mythologize” the past and their place of origin, but do not relate to the place in the present. It would be interesting to investigate what role that phenomenon plays among the Greeks of Metro-Vancouver.
- x. Comparison of Greek-Canadians of Metro-Vancouver with Greeks in Greece in terms of cultural retention and cultural assimilation, particularly in light of the membership of Greece in the European Union.
- xi. The potential of a renewed Greek diaspora, particularly in relation to Canada, as a result of recent economic developments in Greece and the European Union.

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Appendix I

Carleton University Research Ethics Committee

General Application for Ethics Review

Carleton
UNIVERSITY

Carleton University Research Ethics Committee
511A Tory Building
613-520-2517
ethics@carleton.ca

General Application for Ethics Review

Instructions and General Information

The Carleton University Research Ethics Committee is responsible for the review of all projects involving human participants with the exception of projects undertaken by faculty and students in the Department of Psychology. Please contact that department for an application.

Leslie MacDonald-Hicks, Research Ethics Committee Coordinator
511A Tory Building
Telephone: 613-520-2517
E-mail: leslie_macdonald-hicks@carleton.ca or ethics@carleton.ca

All applicants are encouraged to familiarize themselves with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* and the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research*

You may review the Tri-Council policy at:
<http://www.nserc.ca/programs/ethics/english/policy.htm>

Carleton's ethics policy may be reviewed at:
http://www.gs.carleton.ca/ors_policy/ethipol100.htm

DEADLINE: The first Tuesday of each month unless otherwise posted. Some due dates may change in order to ensure that committee members have sufficient time to review the applications.

Applications must be submitted before 4:00 P.M. on the due date.

COPIES: You are required to submit:

- **1 signed original & 7 photocopies** of your application to the Research Ethics Committee Coordinator located at Room 511A Tory Building.

NOTE: Detach this page before submitting application.

Appendix I (cont'd)**General Application for Ethics Review****1. Researcher Information**Name: Stella P. GeorgilasDepartment/School: Department of Sociology and AnthropologyE-mail Address: sgeorgil@connect.carleton.ca**Status:**☐ Faculty Member☐ Library staff☐ Ph.D. student☐ Graduate course work☐ Honours Project☐ Other (*specify*): _____☐ Other staff☒ **M.A./M.B.A./M.Sc. student**☐ Undergraduate course work**2. Co-researchers:** *Use separate page if required to list all co-researchers***x NONE**

Name: _____

Department/School: _____

E-mail Address: _____

Telephone (local): _____

Status:☐ Faculty Member☐ Library staff☐ Graduate student☐ Other (*specify*): _____☐ Other staff☐ Undergraduate student

* In accordance with the Freedom of Information and Privacy Protection Act (FIPPA) you will only be contacted via e-mail if you are using a **connect.carleton** or **carleton.ca** account. Applicants from other universities will be contacted at their university account only.

Appendix I (cont'd)**Research Assistants:** *Use separate page if required to list all research assistants*☐ NONEName: Chariklia GeorgilasDepartment/School: N/A**Status:**☐ Library staff☐ Other staff☐ Graduate student☐ Undergraduate student**x Other (specify):** mother of researcher; Greek-English interpreter (see sec. 17 below)**3. Project Title:**

Hellas and Hellenes: An Ethnography of Transnationalism;
 Greeks in Vancouver: Identity, Culture, and Community (alternate title suggested by supervisor)

4. Location of research sites: *Identify the country (countries) and where applicable the research institution (example: another university, hospital, etc.) where the research will take place.*

Countries: Greece and Canada**Venues:** Private residences; public places (coffee shops, church halls, etc.)**5. Visa or other foreign travel documentation****x Not applicable**☐ Visa required:
(photocopy attached)☐ In process☐ Visa secured☐ Letter of support required:
(photocopy attached)☐ In process☐ Letter secured

7. External Permissions: *indicate if other approvals/permissions are required for this research project* **Please check guidelines for a partial list of external research ethics boards (REBS)**

x No☐ Yes, documentation attached☐ Yes, documentation to follow

8. External Organization Support: *Identify any government office, NGO, or community-based group that is assisting you with the research.*

x No☐ Yes**Name of organization/department:**

Appendix I (cont'd)

9. Funding: *Indicate if the research is funded by a grant or contract (academic scholarships are exempt from this section.)*

x NONE

Funding agency	Amount per year

10. Proposed Research Dates:

Proposed start date: (dd/mm/yy) 01/05/07

Expected completion date: (dd/mm/yy) 31/12/07

STUDENTS ONLY

11. Faculty Supervisor for Graduate and Undergraduate Students

Name: Dr. Donna Patrick (co-supervisor)
Dr. Jared Keil (co-supervisor)

Department/School: Department of Sociology and Anthropology (D. Patrick, J. Keil)
School of Canadian Studies (D. Patrick)

E-mail Address: dpatrick@connect.carleton.ca
jared_keil@carleton.ca

12. Departmental thesis review: *Indicate if your thesis or honours proposal has been reviewed by the appropriate departmental committee.*

☐ Not applicable

☐ No, expected date of review:

x Yes: 21 March 2007 (initial review positive; documentation not yet available)

13. DECLARATION and SIGNATURES

I declare that the project information provided in this application is accurate. I agree to conduct the research in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research* and the conditions of approval established by the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee.

 Signature of Researcher

 Date

 Signature of Supervisor (if applicable)

 Date

Appendix I (cont'd)

14. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROJECT: *Use plain language to briefly describe the research. (Approx. 100 words) Avoid jargon and language exclusive to your field of research.*

In my research project I will be exploring an aspect of migration from an anthropological perspective, using "Greeks" as my research population. Through interviews with ethnic Greeks now living in Canada and Europe, I will explore the connections between "Greeks" and Greek culture and community. I am primarily interested in how and why Greek emigrants and their descendants remain connected to their ethnic culture and community. My research will also include the reasons that prompted emigration, and experiences in the receiving country. I will interview approximately 30 members of the Greek community of Metro-Vancouver, BC. I will also travel to Greece this coming July (2007) and interview approximately 15 Greeks, including individuals who have remained in Greece and others who now live and work in Europe (many Greeks return to Greece each year for their summer vacation – usually to their village of origin).

15. METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES: *Describe, sequentially and in detail, all procedures which will involve the research participant (tasks, interviews, questionnaires, etc.).*

Please include the following information:

- Explain how long each procedure/task will take
- Explain where the interview, procedures, etc. will take place

Participant involvement will be limited to personal interviews. I will contact each participant directly, either in person or by telephone. I will ask each participant to participate in a single personal interview, face-to-face with me in a setting of their choice. I expect that, for the most part, I will be invited to conduct the interview at the home of the participant. Other settings might include coffee shops, church halls, and community facilities.

Prior to the start of each interview, I will provide the participant with a participant information and consent form, or the verbal equivalent, describing my research, and have them confirm their informed consent. I will translate my participant information and consent form into Greek. I will provide each participant with either the English or the Greek form based on their stated preference. Prior to the start of the interview I will also determine the participant's wishes with respect to confidentiality, anonymity, and, as applicable, photographs and audio and video recordings.

Each interview will be based on a list of set questions. I will use semi-structured, structured, and open-ended interview styles as appropriate to each situation. I will base the interview style on the personal style of each participant, based on the response of the participant to the first few set questions asked. Each interview should take approximately 1.5 to 2 hours. The actual length of the each interview will depend on the participant and the interview style used.

16. DECEPTION: *Provide details describing how deception will be used in the project and why. Also, provide details on how participants will be debriefed regarding the deception.*

Not Applicable: I will use no deception in my project.

Appendix I (cont'd)

17. DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS: *Briefly, describe specific issues that need to be considered for the safe and ethical conduct of research with the chosen research population. This includes but is not limited to matters of cultural and religious sensitivity, gender, language-barriers, private and sensitive information.*

Please include the following information:

- Number of participants you plan to recruit
- Language barriers
- Explain any use of translators and/or transcribers

I plan on recruiting (and interviewing) approximately 30 participants in Canada, and 15 participants in Greece. Within my research population there is no sensitivity with respect to culture, religion, gender, or my research interests. My research interests will not touch on sensitive or private information.

I anticipate no language barriers. My research participants will all speak Greek, English, or both. I am fluent in spoken Greek. In the event that I need some assistance with colloquial vocabulary, or written materials, I will be assisted by my mother, Chariklia Georgilas. My mother is fluent in all aspects of Greek and English, and works as a free-lance Greek – English interpreter with local government agencies in my home community of Metro-Vancouver.

18. RECRUITMENT PROCESS: *Describe how participants will be recruited.*

Please attach the following if required:

- Recruitment poster
- Advertisements to be published or posted electronically
- Letter of information for participants, or oral script

NOTE: The Letter of Information guidelines can be found in the general guidelines for completing the ethics application

For the most part I will rely on community networks to identify and contact participants. This might include asking the local Greek Orthodox priest to make announcements after Sunday church services on my behalf asking for interested participants. As necessary, I will post recruitment posters in local Greek Orthodox churches and community facilities; I have attached a draft copy of my recruitment poster (see attachment I). As necessary, I will ask for a brief announcement to be made on our Greek radio hour in Vancouver; the recruitment poster will be used as the basis for the radio announcement if one is necessary (since this will be an unpaid announcement, the radio announcer will likely want to shape the announcement script).

I will provide participants with a participant information and consent form, or the verbal equivalent as appropriate depending on the circumstances of each individual participant. I have included a copy of my draft participant information and consent form (see attachment II); I will use my participant information and consent form as my script for my verbal information. I will translate my participant information and consent form into Greek. I will provide each participant with either the English or the Greek form based on their stated preference. Where a participant prefers verbal information, that is how I will proceed. I expect that a participant might prefer to proceed by verbal information for various reasons, including: an inability to read, difficulty reading or comprehending written material, and vision problems. In order to avoid making the participant uncomfortable, I will not ask why a participant prefers to proceed by verbal information. I will only use verbal information when requested to do so by the participant; whenever a participant requests to proceed by verbal information, I will record the details of the participant's request and the subsequent verbal information in my interview notes.

Appendix I (cont'd)

19. REMUNERATION: *Describe how participants will be remunerated and the value of the remuneration.*

Not Applicable: I will not remunerate participants directly; as appropriate to the interview setting, I might provide participants with coffee, or equivalent.

20. RISK LEVEL: *Risk includes and is not limited to physical, emotional, psychological, social, economic, cultural and legal. Describe all anticipated risks to participants.*

Guidelines to accessing risk:

- Minimal risk (no more risk than the participant would face in every day life)
- Moderate level of risk (slight discomfort)
- Moderate to high level of risk (discomfort)
- High risk (severe discomfort or potential for high level of stress)

Minimal risk: No more risk than the participant would face in every day life; there will be no risk to participants associated directly with my research.

21. MINIMIZING RISK: *Describe how you will minimize the risk to participants*

I will encourage each participant to choose the setting for their interview, so they can feel comfortable. I will explain my study and explain what I plan to do with the information thoroughly at the beginning of each interview, and answer any questions the participants may have. I will not proceed with the interview unless the participant confirms their willingness to participate. I will determine and comply with the participant's wishes with respect to confidentiality, anonymity, and, as applicable, photographs and audio and video recordings.

My research interests will not focus on sensitive or private information. The vast majority of Greeks, both in Vancouver and in Greece, share a common culture and religion. I am familiar with these communities and I am not aware of any significant sensitivity with respect to culture, religion, gender, or my research interests within my research population. In particular, I will avoid any sensitive issues related to World War II, the Greek civil war during the late 1940s, and dictatorships in later years. (I am aware of sensitivities associated with these events as my maternal Grandmother lost two brothers to civil war violence.)

I acknowledge that some questions could make some participants uncomfortable; I will assure each participant that they do not have to answer any question if they do not wish to do so, and that they can withdraw from the interview at any time.

22. BENEFITS: *Describe how your research will be of benefit to the participants.*

I do not anticipate that my research will provide any direct or immediate tangible benefit to participants. However, I expect that all participants will welcome the opportunity to tell their personal story; this personal focus will likely provide participants with some sense of increased self esteem.

Appendix I (cont'd)

23. ANONYMITY OF PARTICIPANTS: *Indicate whether you will offer participants anonymity. If you are offering anonymity, describe the means by which you will ensure it.*

Note: *In some cases you cannot guarantee anonymity while collecting data (example: focus groups) but you can ensure anonymity in the final research project (thesis, report, essay, etc.)*

In the report of my research – my thesis, participants will be anonymous; I will use aliases that protect the identities of participants. I will advise each participant of my intention to use aliases in my thesis. Should any participant request greater anonymity, I will take care to interview that participant individually and in private such that their participation is kept confidential. I am familiar with the communities in which I will be conducting interviews; I believe that anonymity can be assured by using appropriate aliases, and by not revealing any other potential identifiers – such as specific occupation.

24. CONFIDENTIALITY OF RESPONSES: *Explain if you will attribute responses to participants in the final research product (thesis, report, essay, etc.)*

Prior to the start of each interview, I will explain to each participant that I would like to attribute their interview comments to them in the report of my research – my thesis. Since I will be using aliases to ensure participant anonymity, attributions will refer to participant aliases. I will honour requests for confidentiality and anonymity when attributing comments to participants in my thesis; I will only attribute responses to participants who allow me to do so, and then only by way of aliases.

25. INFORMED CONSENT: *Attach a copy of the consent form. If using oral consent please explain why and how you will record the consent.*

I have included a copy of my draft participant information and consent form (see attachment II). I have included a section in my form regarding permission to photograph and make audio and video recordings. I will translate my participant information and consent form into Greek. I will provide each participant with either the English or the Greek form based on their stated preference. I will be using the form or an oral/verbal equivalent as appropriate depending on the circumstances of each individual participant. Where a participant declares that they would prefer to proceed by oral/verbal consent, then that is how I will proceed. I expect that a participant might prefer to proceed by oral/verbal consent for various reasons, including: an inability to read, difficulty reading or comprehending written material, and vision problems. In order to avoid making the participant uncomfortable, I will not ask why a participant prefers to proceed by oral/verbal consent. I will use my participant information and consent form as the guide for participant oral/verbal consent. Where a participant prefers oral/verbal consent, that is how I will proceed. I will only use oral/verbal consent when requested to do so by the participant; whenever a participant requests to proceed by oral/verbal consent, I will record the details of the participant's request and their subsequent oral/verbal consent in my interview notes.

Appendix I (cont'd)

26. PHOTOGRAPHS: *All photographs require the consent of participants. The exception is when participants can **expect** no privacy (ex. crowd scenes)*

Please include the following information:

- Photographs will be kept or archived
- Photographs will be destroyed at the end of the project

I will ask for participant consent for any photograph taken, except where there can be no reasonable expectation of privacy (e.g., crowd scenes). I will include a section in my participant information and consent form regarding permission to photograph. I will endeavour to frame photographs showing participants such that the photograph setting does not identify the participant. Prior to taking any photograph in a private setting (e.g., churches, community centres, residences), I will ask permission of the owner and or the person in charge of the location. I will keep all photographs in my personal archives. Where the subject of a photograph asks for that photograph to be destroyed, I will comply with their request.

27. AUDIO/VIDEO RECORDING: *Audio and video recording require the permission of participants. If recordings are to be archived by yourself or an institution (ex. National Archives, an art gallery, museum, etc.) the participants must agree.*

Please include the following information:

- Audio or video recordings will be kept or archived
- Audio or video recordings will be destroyed at the end of the project

I will ask for participant consent for any audio or video recording, except where there can be no reasonable expectation of privacy (e.g., crowd scenes). I will include a section in my participant information and consent form regarding permission to make audio and video recordings. I will keep all audio and video records in my personal archives. Where the subject of an audio or video record asks for that record to be destroyed, I will comply with their request.

28. SECURITY OF DATA: *All data collected during the course of a research project must be kept secure by restricting access to researchers, supervisors, or project directors and authorized personnel. Describe how the data will be secured.*

I will ensure that access to data collected from participants during the course of my research is restricted to my faculty supervisors and advisors, and authorized personnel. I will keep hard copies of data in appropriate secure storage at my office or at my residence. I will keep electronic records of data secured by password on my personal computer and or other electronic media.

29. DESTRUCTION OF DATA: **YOU ARE NOT OBLIGATED TO DESTROY YOUR DATA.** *If you decide to dispose of data, including tape recordings, videos, photographs, or other related materials at the conclusion of a project, you must indicate the approximate date and method of destruction.*

Please include the following information:

- When the material will be destroyed, including a proposed date (month and year)
- Means of destruction

Not Applicable: I do not intend to destroy my research data.

Appendix I (cont'd)

30. OWNERSHIP OF DATA: *Indicate who will retain ownership of the raw data, you as the researcher, an external organization, etc.*

As the researcher, I will retain ownership of my raw research data.

31. FUTURE USE OF RESEARCH DATA: *Research data that can be linked to participants cannot be used for undefined projects. The consent of participants must be sought if the data is to be used again in a new project. Research data that cannot be linked to participants, such as quantitative data from surveys, can be used again but participants need to be informed in advance about the possible future use of the data in other projects.*

At present, I foresee no future use for my research data beyond my thesis.

However, I will inform participants about the possible future use of my research data in other projects. Only data that cannot be linked to individual participants will be available for future use without the consent of affected participants.

32. DISSEMINATION: *Describe how the research findings will be shared (ex. published articles, conferences, classroom presentation, etc.)*

Dissemination of my research findings will likely be limited to my thesis. I might give a few overview presentations of my findings to interested local cultural groups in my home community of Metro-Vancouver.

33. RESEARCH INSTRUMENT: *Submit a copy of the survey, questionnaire or sample questions and themes, or other research instrument.*

My research instrument will be the personal interview; I have attached a copy of sample interview questions (see attachment III).

Appendix II

Participant Information and Consent Forms

Participant Information Form – English

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FORM

I am a Master of Arts candidate in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. I am in the process of gathering information on the personal stories of Greeks, including Greeks who have stayed in Greece and those who have migrated to other countries. I will be using this information for my Master of Arts thesis. The title of my thesis will be “Hellas and Hellenes: An Ethnography of Transnationalism” / “Greeks in Vancouver: Identity, Culture, and Community” [to be determined by faculty supervisors].

I am interested in the connections between Greeks and Greek culture and community, and how and why Greeks who have migrated to other countries remain connected to Greek culture and community. I am also interested in the reasons that prompted people to move away from Greece, and the experiences of people in the country they moved to.

If you agree to participate in my study, I will be asking you to tell me your personal story in a face-to-face interview with me. We can have our interview wherever you feel most comfortable. The interview will take approximately 1 1/2 to 2 hours. You do not have to answer any question if you do not wish to do so, and you can withdraw from the interview at any time.

To assist me in recording your story I might want to make an audio or video recording of our interview, or take your photograph. I will ask your permission to do these things. I would like to attribute your comments to you. However, I will not identify you by name in my thesis; I will use an alias instead of your full name in order to protect your privacy. I will not reveal any other information about you that will identify you, and I will ensure that any photographs, audio recordings, and video recordings do not identify you with your story.

Thank you very much for your time and insights.

Stella Georgilas

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University
E-mail: sgeorgil@connect.carleton.ca

Appendix II (cont'd)**Participant Consent Form – English** (cont'd)**PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

I agree to participate in Stella Georgilas' MA thesis research study as described on the other side of this form. **I agree / I do not agree** to be photographed / to have an audio recording made of my interview / to have a video recording made of my interview.

Ms. Georgilas has explained the study to me to my satisfaction, and has answered my questions regarding the study to my satisfaction. I understand that Ms. Georgilas intends to publish the findings of her study, including my interview, in her MA thesis. I understand that, upon my request, Ms. Georgilas agrees to provide me with a full description of the results of the study after its completion.

I understand that all information that I provide will be held in confidence, and I will not be identified except by an alias in Ms. Georgilas' MA thesis. I understand that participation is voluntary. I understand that I do not have to answer any question if I do not wish to do so. I understand that I can withdraw from the interview at any time. I understand that I can contact Ms. Georgilas if I have any further questions regarding this study.

My signature below confirms that I have read and understood this consent form and that I agree to participate in Ms. Georgilas' study as described above, including her interview with me.

 Participant (print name)

 Signature of Participant

 Date

 Stella Georgilas
 Researcher

 Signature of Researcher

 Date

Participant Consent Form – English (cont'd)

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (cont'd)

Researcher: Stella Georgilas E-mail:sgeorgil@connect.carleton.ca
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
7th Floor, Loeb Building
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 5B6, Canada

Dr. Donna Patrick; Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University
Tel. 613-520-2600 (ext. 8070) E-mail: dpatrick@connect.carleton.ca

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Facs: 613-520-2521

Appendix II (cont'd)**Participant Information Form – Greek****Πληροφορίες Συμμετοχής**

Είμαι υποψηφία φοιτήτρια στο τμήμα κοινωνιολογίας και Ανθρωπολογίας του πανεπιστημίου Καρλετον στην Οτταβα, Καναδά. Είμαι στο στάδιο της συγκέντρωσης πληροφοριών για τις πρωσικές ιστορίες Ελλήνων, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των Ελλήνων που έχουν μείνει στην Ελλάδα και εκείνων που έχουν μεταναστεύσει σε άλλες χώρες. Θα χρησιμοποιήσω αυτές τις πληροφορίες για την πτυχιακή μου εργασία κύριο μου διατριβής μου θα είναι «Ελλάς και Έλληνες» Μια εθνογραφία «διεθνισμού». Ταυτότητα, πολιτισμός και Κοινότητα.

Ενδιαφέρομαι για τις συνδέσεις μεταξύ Ελλήνων και του ελληνικού πολιτισμού και της κοινότητας, και πως και γιατί Έλληνες που έχουν μεταναστεύσει σε άλλες χώρες παραμένουν συνδεδεμένοι με τον Ελληνικό πολιτισμό και την κοινότητα. Επιπλέον, με ενδιαφέρουν οι λόγοι που προέτρεψαν τους ανθρώπους να απομακρυνθούν από την Ελλάδα, και τις εμπειρίες των ανθρώπων αθετών στην χώρα που μετανάστευσαν.

Εάν συμφωνήσετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη μου, θα σας ζητήσω να μου πείτε την προσωπική σας ιστορία σε μια πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο συνέντευξη. Μπορούμε να έχουμε τη συνέντευξη μας οπουδήποτε αισθάνεστε πιο άνετοι. Η συνέντευξη θα διαρκέσει περίπου 1 ½ έως 2 ώρες. Δεν είναι απαραίτητο να απαντήσετε σε οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση εάν δεν το επιθυμείτε και μπορείτε να αποσυρθείτε από την συνέντευξη οποιαδήποτε στιγμή.

Για να βοηθηθώ στην καταγραφή της ιστορίας σας μπορεί να θελήσω να κάνω μια ακουστική ή τηλεοπτική καταγραφή της συνέντευξης μας, ή να βγάλω μια φωτογραφία σας. Θα ζητήσω την άδεια σας για αυτά. Θα επιθυμούσα να αποδώσω τα σχόλια σας σε σας. Εντούτοις, δεν θα σας προσδιορίσω με το όνομα σας στη διατριβή μου, Θα χρησιμοποιήσω ένα ψευδώνυμο αντί του πλήρους ονόματος σας προκειμένου να προστατευθεί το όνομα σας. Δεν θα αποκαλύψω οποιεσδήποτε πληροφορίες για σας οι οποίες μπορεί να σας αναγνωρίσουν και θα εξασφαλίσω ότι οποιεσδήποτε φωτογραφίες, ακουστικές καταγραφές, και τηλεοπτικές καταγραφές δεν σας προσδιορίζουν με την ιστορία σας.

Σας ευχαριστούμε παρά πολύ για το χρόνο και τις ιδέες σας.

Στέλλα Γεωργιά
Τμήμα Κοινωνιολογίας και Ανθρωπολογίας
Πανεπιστήμιο Καρλετον, Οτταβα, Καναδά

Appendix II (cont'd)**Participant Consent Form – Greek** (cont'd)**Μορφή Συγκατάθεσης Συμμετεχόντων**

Συμφωνώ να συμμετέχω στην ερευνητική μελέτη διατριβής της Στέλλα Γεωργίλα όπως περιγράφεται στην άλλη πλευρά της μορφής. **Συμφωνώ / δεν συμφωνώ να φωτογραφηθώ / να καταγραφεί η να βιντεοσκοπηθεί η συνέντευξη μου.**

Η δέσπ. Γεωργίλα έχει εξηγήσει τη μελέτη σε μένα προς ικανοποίηση μου, και έχει απαντήσει στις ερωτήσεις μου σχετικά με τη μελέτη και τις επιθυμίες μου. Καταλαβαίνω ότι η δέσπ. Γεωργίλα σκοπεύει να δημοσιεύσει τα συμπεράσματα της μελέτης της, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της συνέντευξης μου, στη διατριβή της. Καταλαβαίνω ότι, κατόπιν του αιτήματός μου, η δέσπ. Γεωργίλα συμφωνεί να μου παρέχει μια πλήρη περιγραφή των αποτελεσμάτων της μελέτης μετά από την ολοκλήρωση της.

Όλες οι πληροφορίες που θα παρέχω θα φυλαχτούν εμπιστευτικά και δεν θα προσδιοριστώ εκτός από ένα ψευδώνυμο το οποίο θα μου δοθεί στη διατριβή της. Η συμμετοχή είναι εθελοντική. Καταλαβαίνω ότι δεν είναι απαραίτητο να απαντήσω σε οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση εάν δεν το επιθυμώ. Μπορώ να αποσυρθώ από την συνέντευξη οποιαδήποτε στιγμή και μπορώ να έρθω σε επαφή με την δεσπ. Γεωργίλα εάν έχω περαιτέρω ερωτήσεις, σχετικά με αυτήν την μελέτη, οποιαδήποτε στιγμή.

Η υπογραφή μου κατωτέρω επιβεβαιώνει ότι έχω διαβάσει και έχω καταλάβει αυτήν την μορφή συγκατάθεσης και ότι συμφωνώ να συμμετέχω στη μελέτη της δεσπ. Γεωργίλα όπως περιγράφεται ανωτέρω, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της συνέντευξης της μαζί μου.

_____	_____	_____
Όνομα	Υπογραφή	Ημερομηνία
_____	_____	_____
Όνομα Ερευνήτριας	Υπογραφή	Ημερομηνία

Appendix II (cont'd)**Participant Consent Form – Greek (cont'd)****Μορφή Συγκατάθεσης Συμμετεχόντων**Πληροφορίες επαφήςΕρευνήτρια Στέλλα Γεωργίλα (Stella Georgilas)

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Appendix III

Sample Interview Questions

Sample Questions – Interviews in Greece

General questions – emigrants and non-emigrants

What does being Greek mean to you?

How do you define yourself as being Greek?

How do you maintain your Greekness?

How has life in Greece changed since the World War II?

Describe your life in Greece?

Describe your quality of life in Greece?

Is it important that your children marry a Greek?

Have you maintained the same traditions that you were taught as a child?

How has your life changed?

Have Greek traditions changed in Greece?

What role does modernity play in maintaining the future of Greekness?

Questions for emigrants

Why did you decide to emigrate out of Greece?

Have you maintained ties with your friends and relatives? How?

How do you identify yourself?

Would you make the same decision to emigrate now?

Would you want your kids to move back to Greece to live?

Appendix III (cont'd)**Sample Questions – Interviews in Greece** (cont'd)**Questions for non-emigrants**

Why did you decide to stay in Greece?

Have you maintained ties with friends and relatives that emigrated? How?

Would you emigrate now given the opportunity?

Would you want your kids to emigrate?

Sample Questions – Initial Interviews in Metro-Vancouver

What was your life like in Greece?

Why did you move to Canada?

Why did you choose Canada?

Why did you come to Vancouver?

Have you maintained relationships with people in Greece? Explain.

Can you describe the immigration process?

What relationships have you developed with the non-Greek community in Canada?

What relationships have you developed with the Greek-Canadian community in Canada?

Did you feel threatened by Canadian culture as your children begun school?

Do you feel threatened by Canadian culture?

Do you feel at home in Canada?

Did you experience stress and identity conflicts being exposed to a new culture?

Did your children experience stress and identity conflicts being exposed to two cultures?

What does Greece symbolize for you?

What does being Greek mean to you?

Appendix III (cont'd)**Sample Questions – Initial Interviews in Metro-Vancouver** (cont'd)

How do you define yourself as being Greek?

How do you identify yourself?

How do you maintain your Greekness?

Is your spouse Greek?

Could you describe your quality of life in Canada?

Do you identify with being Greek first or Canadian? Why?

Describe the traditions that you have maintained? (Social, cultural, religious, etc.)

How important is it that your children marry a Greek?

What is your vision for the future of Greek-Canadians?

What is your vision for your children?

Do you go to Greece often? Why?

Do you plan on retiring in Greece?

What role does modernity play in maintaining Greekness?

Revised Question Outline – Interviews in Metro-Vancouver

What was your life like in Greece?

- Family situation
 - siblings
 - family farm / business
 - finances
 - etc.
- Education
- Training
- Employment

Why did you decide to leave Greece?

Appendix III (cont'd)

Revised Question Outline – Interviews in Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

Why did you choose to immigrate to Canada?

Why did you choose to settle in Vancouver?

Please describe the immigration process.

- Leaving Greece
- Arriving/settling in Canada

Have you become a Canadian citizen? ...a landed immigrant?

- Why?

Please describe your quality of life in Canada - compared to your life in Greece...

- Education
- Training
- Employment
- Family situation
 - Children
 - Finances
 - etc.

Is your spouse Greek?

- If so, has your spouse become a Canadian citizen? ...a landed immigrant?

What citizenship do your children have?

- If they have dual citizenship, please explain why.

Do you feel at home in Canada?

- Please explain.

Do you identify with being Greek first or Canadian?

- Please explain

How do you maintain your Greek identity...your Greekness?

Appendix III (cont'd)**Revised Question Outline – Interviews in Metro-Vancouver** (cont'd)

What are some of the traditions that you have maintained?

- Social
- Cultural
- Religious
- etc.
- Why? What do these traditions / activities mean to you?

What kinds of food do you prepare at home?

Do you go to restaurants? If so, what kind?

Do you watch Greek television?

Do you listen to Greek radio?

What kind of music do you listen to?

Do you read Greek newspapers?

What language was spoken at home when your children were young?

- Did this change when they started going to school?

Did your kids experience stress and/or identity conflicts being exposed to two cultures (home and school)?

What is the ethnic background of your children's friends?

- Mostly Greek? Mostly non-Greek? Other?

Do / did your children date Greeks?

How important is / was it that your children marry a Greek?

What did you think of the movie, "My Big Fat Greek Wedding"?

Appendix III (cont'd)

Revised Question Outline – Interviews in Metro-Vancouver (cont'd)

Are you involved in the Greek community?

- Please explain.

How often do you use the Greek community facilities?

- Please explain.

How often do you go to church?

Have you developed relationships outside of the Greek community in Canada?

- Please explain.

Are you involved in activities, groups, etc. that are not specifically Greek?

Did you feel threatened by Canadian culture as your children began school?

Do you feel threatened by Canadian culture?

Did you experience stress and identity conflicts being exposed to a new culture?

What is your vision for the future of Greek-Canadians?

What is your vision for your children?

Have you maintained relationships with people in Greece?

- Please describe

How often do you visit Greece?

Do you plan on moving back to Greece?

What does Greece symbolize for you?

- What do you think of when you think about Greece?

What does being Greek mean to you?

Is it important for you to maintain your Greek identity and culture?

- Why? Please explain.
- How do you maintain your Greek identity / culture?