

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

**Perspectives of Greek Immigrant Women and
the Education of their Children in Canada**

by

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ABSTRACT

This research study documents the problems, issues and concerns that Greek immigrant parents have with regards to their children's education in Canada. Through the use of oral and narrative history, several in-depth interviews have been conducted with three Greek females in Calgary. These migrants reveal their life histories, the values they have brought with them from their homeland, and the challenges they have experienced in Canada. The analysis of the immigrants' perspective of schooling is viewed two-fold. First, the study will view the participants' perspective as a student in the country of origin. Second, the study will look at the participants' perspective as a parent in Canada. Canadian schools in contrast to the participant's childhood experiences pose several unique issues and concerns. In conclusion the participant will reflect upon the contrast of Canadian schooling as compared to their personal experience.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the problems, issues and concerns of Greek immigrant families whose children attend or have attended Canadian schools. The children of these immigrant parents, who are first generation Canadians, often speak Greek as their first language and live in a family and community milieu that is based on Greek culture. In contrast, Canadian schools present more cultural diversity with respect to their expectations for schooling and the development of students. Greek immigrant parents must deal with this socio-cultural dissimilarity as part of their life experiences. Greek parents create a home away from their homeland, not only for themselves but also for their children. Their homes incorporate all the cultural attributes of the immigrants' former country.

This is a qualitative study, and will implement oral and narrative history as its primary research method. The immigrants' perspectives on schooling will be viewed in two ways. First, the study will look at the participants' perspectives as students in their country of origin. The participants will describe the schooling experiences they had in their native country. Second, the study will look at the participants' perspectives as parents of students in Canada.

Purpose

The purpose of this research study is to document the issues, concerns and problems that immigrant parents in Calgary, Alberta have with regard to their children's schooling in Canada. These immigrants received varying degrees of formal education in their homeland prior to immigrating to Canada. However, Canadian schools are constructed differently than schools in Greece. Using in-depth interviews with three Greek immigrant women, I will attempt to show how these women, as parents, feel about the educational system in Canada in comparison to the educational system they experienced in Greece.

Method of Organization

This research study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the study, and includes the purpose, a discussion of the research method, and the theoretical focus. Chapter two provides a brief summary Greek history and a history of Greek migration to Canada and specifically to Calgary. Chapter three examines traditional Greek values, and the importance of language, community and religion in maintaining these values. Chapter four discusses the participants' perspectives on citizenship and their children's education about citizenship. Chapter five provides a summary of the participants' life experiences, with a focus on their education. Chapter six compares the participants' experiences in their native land and in Canada. In chapter seven,

the analysis of the participants' narratives is presented, defining the problems, issues and concerns they have with their children and their children's education.

Research Methods

This study uses oral and narrative history as its primary research method, in addition to published sources. Oral and narrative history includes typed memoirs and typewritten transcripts as well as in-depth interviews. The purpose of using oral and narrative history research in this study was to provide direct historical accounts of the lives of Greek immigrant parents in Calgary. Oral history offers a vital approach for expressing identity within a Greek context. Numerous in-depth interviews were conducted with three female immigrant parents. During the interviews, I introduced general areas of concern, however, the interviews were non-directive in order to allow the participants the freedom to elaborate on their concerns and perceptions about their life experiences. Due to the fact that most of the information involved the participants' pasts, the role of selective recollection and perception of memory was taken into consideration. Published sources were utilized to provide background information on Greek migration patterns as well as traditional cultural norms

Oral and narrative history is a qualitative approach which helps us understand in detail why an individual acts or reacts in a certain way. Qualitative research is particularly useful as a tool for determining what is important to

participants, and why it is important to them. It provides a process by which key research issues are identified and questions are formulated, and assists in the discovery of what really matters to participants.

For centuries, families' and communities' life stories have been passed down from generation to generation. These stories have been preserved through oral tradition, long before oral history was seen as a valid research methodology in academic contexts. Telling one's own history is a powerful method of shaping and understanding one's own identity. Many minority communities have had their histories misrepresented when they were transcribed at all. Oral history is necessary for preserving many histories which otherwise would become lost over time.

Oral history is a form of documentation where "evidence originates in the act of oral face-to-face communications" (McMahon, 1989). As part of the process of reflection and remembrance, an individual constructs an historical narrative. Although some academics make the critique that history is not created merely through an individual's recollections, we must consider the interpretive frameworks through which memory is filtered to achieve history. Oral history is an archival tool for preserving the past. It gives immigrants and others the opportunity to tell their stories and to be heard. It assists the narrator in understanding that he or she is not merely an observer, but is an integral thread woven into the elaborate tapestry that is history.

Oral history by its very essence is produced verbally, subject to all the biases and deviations inherent in human memory. Although oral history is not largely different from other historical documents, such as diaries and newspapers, all of these may be partial misrepresentations. An individual's testimony is of great importance for its usefulness in constructing social history, for recovering the meaning of daily life in past times, and for documenting the unpretentious aspects of family and community life for which written evidence is often scarce or entirely absent. One method for creating field tests for oral history is to have participants construct annals of their lives or parts of their lives (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994). Annals are the chronological order of an individual's life divided into segments by events, years, places, or significant memories. After the annals are constructed, the narrator is asked to tell stories to produce chronicles around the points marked on the annals. According to Clandinin and Connelly, involving participants in creating annals and chronicles is a way of scaffolding their oral histories and beginning the process of having them recollect their experiences.

Oral and narrative history is an inquiry approach that permits a variety of qualitative research techniques to be included (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; McMahon and Rogers, 1994; Yow, 1994). The following guidelines illustrate the method of scaffolding that was used for this research.

Preliminary Steps

Defining the purpose is the initial step in any research project. The purpose of my research is to document the problems, issues and concerns that immigrant parents have with regard to their children and their children's education in Canada. Selecting the participants was the next step. The participants interviewed had all immigrated to Canada from Greece. All of the participants are currently Canadian citizens. Being of Greek descent, I decided to select individuals with the same ancestral background. The next step in my research was to gather background information on the history of Greece and Greek migration patterns as well as the traditional Greek customs and values. This informed me about the major trends and highlights in Greek culture and prepared me to ask the types of questions that would elicit the most pertinent information from the participants. Once I gathered the background materials, I contacted the participants and made a clear presentation of the purpose and nature of the interviews. The interview guide was the next step. I sketched out a question outline, comprising the biographical information and subjects that I wished to formulate into questions. Starting with a broad topic, I used a funneling method to establish more detailed questions. The questions followed the chronological order of the participants' lives, starting with their childhood. This guide, however, was flexible, leaving room for any additional information the participants might want to share that I had not considered. Once the interview guide was completed, I prepared the tape recorder that I was going to use for the

interview, making sure that the batteries were strong enough to last for the duration of the interview.

Conducting the Interviews

The preliminary meeting of each interview was conducted on the phone. I arranged a place and time for the interview that was convenient for both the participant and myself. At the beginning of the taped interview I stated the name of the interviewee, the location of the interview and the date. During the interview, I listened to the interviewee and observed her nonverbal behavior, in case there were areas in which I would like to probe to receive a more complete answer. In closing the interview, I thanked the participants on tape.

Transcription

I transcribed and made an index for each taped interview. In the index, I created four headings: the participant's initials, the tape counter number, the tape side and the topics covered. I then grouped each entry and place it in the appropriate subject category.

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitation in the oral narrative history approach is the degree of confidentiality between participants and researcher that is needed in order to secure the desired personal involvement. This study was also limited to those participants who were willing to talk in an in-depth way about their life experiences, and as a result the lack of randomness is an additional limitation on this research. Furthermore, the participants may have chosen not to disclose certain information. Another limitation is the loss of certain information in the direct translation from Greek to English when transcribing the interviews. The research was further affected by the participants' abilities to recollect past experiences.

Literature Review

The literature review is divided into two sections. The first section of literature focuses on traditional Greece. The second section examines literature on the history of Greece and Greek migration.

Literature on Traditional Greece

Traditional Greek values are the foundation on which Greek immigrants were educated and socialized. It is these values that provide the framework

through which these immigrants view reality. They are the means by which they interpret their experiences. There are various pieces of literature which discuss traditional Greek culture. The most significant ones in this research study are the works by Chimbos, Campbell and Sherrard, and Friedl. In his book The Canadian Odyssey, Chimbos details the family structure in traditional Greece and the adaptation process many Greek immigrants experience. Campbell discusses family solidarity in Greece. Friedl, in his book, The Fate of Shechem, distinguishes the roles of men and women in traditional Greek societies. Pitt-Rivers, Safilios-Rothschild, Campbell and Peristiany provided useful information concerning traditional values in Greek culture. The most crucial among these values are honor (*Philotimo*) and shame (*Dropi*), which contribute to the development of identity and the roles of each family member.

Literature on Greek History and Migration

There is an extensive body of literature on Greek history. However, the literature on the migration of Greek immigrants to Canada is limited. One reason for this may be that Greek immigrants do not comprise a large part of the population in Canada. Most of the information that does pertain to Greek migration focuses on the areas of Canada where there are large Greek settlements, such as Montreal and Toronto. Koliass' book, The Greeks in Alberta 1903-1995, is the only book that focuses exclusively on Greeks in Alberta. She is very descriptive, and gives detailed information about Greece's history and the

migration patterns of Greek immigrants to Canada and particularly to Calgary. She lists members of the Greek communities in Calgary and Edmonton and gives a brief description of each individual and when he or she migrated to Canada. In addition, Koliass' book provides detailed information about various Greek organizations, and describes the struggles that Greeks in Calgary endured while building their Greek Orthodox Church. Other books that contain valuable information about Greeks on the Prairies are Vlassis' book, The Greeks in Canada, and Chimbos' book, The Canadian Odyssey. Vlassis' book provides information about Greek history and Greek immigration in Canada, and outlines various Greek communities across Canada. He also discusses various Greek organizations. Chimbos provides information on the settlement patterns of Greeks in Canada, as well as descriptive evidence about family backgrounds and cultural parameters.

In addition to Canadian literature on Greek migration, I also used literature on Greeks in Australia and the United States. Bottomley's book After the Odyssey pertains to second-generation Greeks in Australia. Moskos, Scourby and Burgess also provide useful information. Moskos' book, Greek Americans, details the history of Greek migration to the United States. He also focuses on the Greek-American community and describes in detail various Greek organizations in the USA. Scourby's book, The Greek Americans, also provides background information on immigration. This book was particularly valuable because the author included the narratives of Greek women in the United States.

Burgess' book, Greeks in America, provides detailed information about early settlement in the United States, including larger cities, such as New York and Chicago, as well as smaller places like Alabama.

Theoretical Focus

It was expected that immigrants to Canada would be willing to participate in mainstream society and would be interested in assuring equality of opportunity. Canada advocates multiculturalism, and therefore immigrant families found an environment accepting of their cultural identities when they arrived. Immigrants are in a unique position because they have two or more cultural identities. Individual identity is very much a product of personal experience, which includes cultural background.

The primary emphasis of this research study is on understanding Greek immigrants' perspectives on schooling in Canada compared to schooling in their native land, Greece. This involves understanding various aspects of their life experiences, including how these individuals dealt with the challenge of moving to a new country, building a new home, integrating with the host society and making decisions, as well as understanding their family structures. When individuals migrate to a foreign country, they are faced with many challenges, and the choices they make are influenced by their past experiences, as well as

their present experiences of migration, with the introduction to new relationships and to different cultural standards and norms in the new country.

The Family

Religious customs, as well as the political instability following the revolution of 1821, have molded traditional family life in Greece. During the 400 years in which the Ottoman Empire occupied Greece, the only Greek institution that survived was the Greek Orthodox Church; hence the church became one of the most central and influential contributors to the structure of the Greek family. The Greek Church has been a major source of social control. For example, divorce and remarriage are strongly frowned upon, and marriage is expected and even required by law to be a sacrament rather than simply a legal contract (Chimbos, 1980, p.105). Campbell (1964, p. 37) describes the power which the Greek Church has on the relationships and structure of the family in the following way:

The family is also a religious community with its own "sacra" icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modeled on the attitudes that, it is imagined, inspired the relations of the heavenly archetype family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity and so on.

It is common to find extended families living together, especially in rural areas of Greece. Aging parents live with their children's families, where they are taken care of and provided for. It is a moral obligation for a child to provide for his or her parents even if he or she has migrated to other parts of the world. The traditional Greek family is patriarchal in nature. Although families have been male-dominated, this is slowly changing among the more educated.

Greek families in Canada bring with them the traditional customs and beliefs that they learned in their homeland. Many Greek immigrants have discovered upon their arrival in Canada that their beliefs about what family structure should be like are very different from the beliefs held by many Canadians. This is especially true with regard to the lack of respect for elders, and the attitudes of children toward obeying their parents and teachers. According to Chimbos (1980), Greek Canadians have shown a relatively low degree of social integration into Canadian culture, partly because their family lives remain influenced by their home society's values and their historical experiences. However, cultural integration is a slow process, and with more time and interaction with the host society, immigrants slowly adopt many values and beliefs of a new country and adapt their own lifestyle.

Cultural Integration

When an individual migrates to a new country such as Canada, he or she is faced with a different cultural milieu, which may include more cultural diversity, different languages, and a variety of identities. The process of social integration refers to the gradual entrance into, and involvement of, the ethnocultural group in the socio-cultural matrix of the host society (Chimbos, 1980, p. 135). This does not necessarily mean assimilation, which is defined as "a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds come to interact, free of constraints, in the life of the larger community. It is a one-way process through which members of an ethnic group give up their original culture and are absorbed into the core culture, which predominates in the host society" (Sills, 1968, p. 438). Experiences in the new setting may force an individual to interact within the host society. However, the individual generally remains attached to his or her previous cultural milieu.

A vital aspect of cultural integration is the immigrant's satisfaction in the new cultural context. A survey conducted by Larocque and a study by Gavaki both indicate that Greek immigrants are generally satisfied with their lives in Canada. This probably relates to the higher standard of living in Canada as opposed to in Greece, and the many ethnic institutions that make immigrants feel comfortable. These include places such as churches, schools and food markets, as well as having other relatives in the host society (Chimbos, 1980, p.136).

Even though Greek immigrants are very satisfied with life in Canada, they do not show a high level of social integration. It is difficult for many Greek immigrants to break the ties and sentimental attachment they have with Greece, and as a result it is typical for new immigrants to live simultaneously between the Old and New World. These worlds may have some overlap. Greek immigrants define three social worlds: a Greek world, a Canadian world, and a Greek-Canadian world.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity

The meaning of ethnicity, as applied here, is derived from the definition given by Kallen (1982, p. 62): "Ethnicity is defined as any arbitrary classification of human populations utilizing the biogeographical criterion of ancestry in conjunction with such sociocultural criteria as nationality, language and religion."

An ethnic identification is based upon what Gordon (1964, p. 24) defines as individuals with a shared sense of peoplehood. It is comprised of the attitudes among members of a group who share a common ancestry, traditions, experiences and a common form of communication and understanding.

Ethnic identity is influenced by the interrelationship between the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of ethnicity. The diachronic dimension of ethnic identity refers to particular elements of ancestral ethnicity, such as the homeland and culture associated with the individual's ethnic group. These elements of the

old ethnicity define behavioral norms and establish ethnic boundaries. The synchronic dimension of ethnic identity refers to the selective interaction an individual has with other people outside the boundary of his or her particular ethnic group.

Herman (1977, pp. 50-52) defines three qualitative dimensions of ethnic self-identity. These are salience, centrality and valence. Salience refers to the intensity of awareness. The salience of an individual is conditional on the restrictions of the dominant society. Centrality refers to the extent of influence, and valence refers to the positive or negative value. The process of enculturation, learning the ways of one's ethnic collectivity, and acculturation, learning the ways of the larger society, depend on the centrality of ethnic as compared with other social identities (Kallen, 1982, p. 81). Children of immigrant parents acquire the skills and behaviors that are necessary to function successfully in society through the process of acculturation. However, if this has a strong influence on a child, it may push the child away from his or her ethnocultural collectivity.

The individuals that identify themselves closer to their ethnic core are labeled traditionalist. The individuals that identify themselves less with their ethnic core are called transitionalists. The transitionalists who choose not to identify themselves strongly with their ethnic core the valence of their ethnic identity tends to remain positive, despite the fact that their instrumental priorities

may favor participation in the public sector of society (Kallen, 1982; 82).

However, the valence of a transitionalist may become negative if the individual perceives his or her desires for participation in the public sector threatened by their ethnic background.

Ethnic boundaries exist, and these help to define ethnic groups. These boundaries are social. When an ethnic group maintains its identity while simultaneously socializing outside itself, that ethnic group indicates that there is a set of boundaries that determines whether or not an individual will be included or excluded. This, however, is not static. Ethnicity is part of human relationships, and ethnic boundaries are maintained through social contact between persons of different cultures. Ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behavior, i.e. persisting cultural differences (Barth, 1969).

Culture

Culture, used here, is defined as the distinctive ways of viewing and doing things shared by members of a particular ethnic collectivity and transmitted by them from one generation to the next through the process of enculturation, or distinctive ethnic socialization (Kallen, 1982, pp. 12-13). Furthermore, the concept of culture pertains to the entire configuration of identified and established values, ideas, beliefs, standards, and behaviors that signify the typical world view, ancestral heritage, or the unique lifestyle of a certain ethnic group. Culture

is a learned phenomenon. It is acquired through interaction and socialization with others who belong to a particular ethnic group.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON GREEK MIGRATION

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section will focus on the history of Greece. The second section will discuss Greek migration patterns throughout the world. The third section focuses on the time period in which Greek immigrants came to Canada, as well as their reasons for migrating. The final section will discuss Greek immigration to Calgary and how the Greek community in the city was established.

A Brief History of Greece

Greece fell in 1453 into the hands of the Ottoman Turks, and remained under Turkish rule for almost 400 years, when the Greek war of independence broke out. After seven years of exertion and perseverance, the Greeks gained their liberation in 1827 with the help from naval forces in England, France and Russia, who destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet at Navarino. France forced the Egyptians out of the Peloponnese in 1828. By 1830, Greece was considered an independent state.

After Greece gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire, it became a monarchy ruled by representatives of several European royal houses. It was ruled that the king should be selected from one of the royal houses of Europe not directly connected with those of England, Russia or France. The first

King of Greece was Othon of Wittelsbach. King Othon's reign lasted for thirty years, but was not successful. His failure was a result of not adapting to the constitution. Instead, he ruled Greece as an absolute monarch. In 1862, Othon was overthrown, and Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus George of the Danish Glucksburg dynasty was chosen as King of Greece. He held the title of King George I of the Hellenes. A new constitution was adopted in which democratic freedom was amplified. King George was assassinated in 1913, however, and Crown Prince Constantine became the King of Greece.

Crown Prince Constantine became King near the end of the first Balkan War. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro had formed an alliance against the Ottoman Empire (Kolias, 1997, p. 2). The Treaty of London provided more power to the Allies. However, the peace was short-lived, and the second Balkan War broke out. In June 1913, Bulgarians turned against Serbia and Greece because they were not included in the division of Macedonia. Romania entered the war and attacked Bulgaria. By the Treaty of Bucharest in August 1913, Bulgaria was obliged to accept a highly unfavorable territorial settlement.

During World War I, Premier Venizelos of Greece had a dispute with King Constantine concerning Greece's war policy. As a result, King Constantine was forced to abdicate, and left the country for Switzerland in 1917. His son Alexander proceeded to the throne. Venizelos had established a provisional government and brought Greece back to the side of the Allies fighting against the

Germans. In 1919, the Treaty of Sevres was signed between the three Allied powers (Britain, Italy, and France) and Turkey. Turkey opposed the conditions of the Treaty of Sevres because it allowed Greece to extend her frontiers, acquiring Smyrna in Asia Minor, and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, which command the entrance to Dardanelles. As a result, the Treaty was never to be ratified and the shaky political edifice in Asia Minor soon collapsed (Kolias, 1997, p. 3).

Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Sevres, King Alexander died. His death revived the constitutional question. The election of November 1920 gave an overwhelming majority to a party advocating the return of the exiled King Constantine, and the opposition of Venizelos. King Constantine won the election and returned to Greece, where he continued to fight for Asia Minor. However, the Greek army in Asia Minor was defeated in 1922. As a result of this defeat and the ensuing revolution by the Colonels Plasteras, Gonatas, and Fokas, King Constantine was forced to resign, and his son George became King of Greece. King George II was overthrown in December 1923, and he left for England (Kolias, 1997, p. 3; Vlassis, 1953, p. 31).

Early in 1924, Greece was proclaimed a Republic under the presidency of Admiral Kountouriotis. In 1925, the Greek National Assembly voted for the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a Republic, which lasted ten years (Vlassis, 1953, pp. 31-32). In 1935, King George II, King of Hellenes was

electd to restore the throne. He appointed General Ioannis Metaxas as Premier of Greece in 1936, in order to resolve the political instability and unrest.

In 1939, the British and French made a promise to Greece that they would help if Greece's independence were threatened when Italy seized Albania. King George II ruled Greece with General Ioannis Metaxas in 1940. Italy joined sides with Germany in World War II, and wanted to capture Greece and take over the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Italy attacked the northwestern part of Greece from Albania, because they accused the Greeks of mistreating the Albanian minority in Epiros. The Greeks protested against this accusation, and claimed their neutrality, however, they stressed that they would resist any invasion of their territory (Vlassis, 1953, p. 32). By the authority of General Metaxas, the Greek government disagreed with allowing the Italian troops to occupy any undefined land and ports of Greece. As a result, the Italian army invaded. The Greek army victoriously defended its land and was able to occupy Albanian territory. This forced Germany to intervene, and the Germans aided the Italian forces by attacking Greece though Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in 1941. They defeated Greece after two months of fighting. Greece, with exception of Crete, was under German rule.

The German occupation lasted until 1944, and was marked by suffering and heroic resistance by the Greek people. After three and half years of enemy occupation, the Greek economy was nearly destroyed. The Paris Restoration

Conference estimated that Greece's devastation from the war reached a value of \$8,500,000,000. A quarter of the buildings in the country had been destroyed, and over one million people were homeless. Most of the country's motor vehicles were lost, and the roads and rail bridges were decimated. Vast agricultural areas had been destroyed and the fauna of the country had been greatly reduced. Many Greeks died as a result of fighting, air raids, executions, starvation or disease (Kolias, 1997, p. 5).

The Greeks had mixed feelings about their liberation. The end of the German occupation brought jubilation and relief, but also fear about the economic and political future of a country that had been severely damaged by the war. National unity was threatened by the varied political ideologies in the country. The various armed groups had begun to separate during the Nazi occupation. This division had devastating effects on the country at a time when unity was a necessity.

As a result of the divisions of the armed groups, two civil wars broke out. The first took place between December 1944 and February 1945, when the Communist forces fought against Nationalists. The second civil war was from the Fall of 1946 to the Fall of 1949. These civil wars caused an enormous amount of destruction. The second civil war ended with the defeat of the Communist forces. However, Greece did not regain political stability until 1952.

The road to recovery took about ten years. Greece's economic growth was very slow for three reasons. First, there was a lack of government policies, and the public administration was weak. Second, the traditional social, cultural and economic distinctions that had existed since 1828 between the rural areas and the big city centers, especially Athens, prevented development. Third, there were distinct income disparities among the various social groups.

In 1967, under the leadership of Colonel George Papadopoulos, a group of army officers overthrew the constitutional government and established a military-civilian dictatorship. Within two years, the dictators overthrew King Constantine II. This dictatorship brought repression and the suppression of human rights, administrative corruption, imprisonment and torture of political opponents, as well as high economic inflation (Kolias, 1997, p. 6). As a result, many citizens fled Greece for the United States, Canada and Australia, and permanently settled down in these countries.

In 1973, the dictatorship was challenged. A number of students who attended the Polytechnic school in Athens held a demonstration, which culminated in the occupation of the school. The army put down the demonstration. The brutality of the event resulted in the overthrow of Papadopoulos by Demetrios Ioannidis, the head of the military police.

Former Prime Minister Karamanlis was brought back into office. This resulted in much jubilation. Karamanlis and his government held a general election on November 17, 1974, and his political party of New Democracy won 54.5 percent of the vote. In December 1974, the citizens of Greece opposed the return of the monarch, and as a result, Greece was once again declared a republic. A new constitution was approved, identifying two items: first, the rules for electing the president of the New Greek Republic, and second, the terms of the president's authority.

During this period of time, Greece was faced with many challenges. These challenges included the reorganization of the armed forces and the stabilization of the government's relationship with the military leaders, student and labor unrest, the Cyprus crisis, Greek-Turkish relations, the need for reform in the higher education system and reorganization of public administration and the modernization of industry (Kofias, 1997, p. 7). These challenges threatened the stability of the government. Fortunately, Karamanlis was able to provide a solution to many of the problems. Karamanlis' greatest achievement for Greece was when the country became a full member of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1980.

Greek Migration Patterns

The Greek Diaspora occurred as a result of historical conditions. In the fifteenth century, when Greece fell to the Ottoman Turks, many citizens emigrated in order to avoid foreign domination. Under the rule of the Ottoman Turks, many people fled to other parts of the Mediterranean to take advantage of the favorable trading conditions that had become available. In the twentieth century, another migration wave was caused by the two World Wars, the Civil War of 1946-49, and the economic hardships of the mid 1960s. During these periods, the favorite destinations were Australia, Canada, and the United States.

Patterns of migration are a result of the changing political and socio-economic conditions in Greece, and as well as the policies of immigration in the recipient countries. It has been estimated that approximately 1,500,000 Greeks immigrated to foreign countries between 1945 and 1975. The multitude of Greeks who fled from Greece has helped the Greek economy in many ways. First, it has eased unemployment conditions. Second, migrants to other countries often send money back home to help their relatives, or transfer some of their savings to Greek financial institutions. Finally, Greek immigrants have invested profits gained from property and business enterprises abroad back in Greece (Chimbos, 1980, p. 19).

The strongest factors contributing to Greek emigration have been socio-economic hardship and political instability in Greece. Seeking a better life, socio-economically deprived citizens fled the country. Canada has been considered one of the more favorable countries in which to start a new life because of its democratic institutions and economic opportunities (Chimbos, 1980, pp. 19-20).

Immigration to Canada

No one is sure exactly when the first Greeks arrived in Canada. Some authors believe that Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, was not an Italian, but instead was a Byzantine Nobleman whose real name was Dispatos (Sicilianos, 1950, p. 3). Others believe that the first arrival of the Greeks was in the middle of the eighteenth century. According to George Vlassis in his book The Greeks in Canada, Juan de Fuca, whose real name was Apostolos Valerianos, was a Greek born on the Island of Cephalonia in the Ionian Sea. However, it is known that the immigration of Greeks to Canada began with the arrival of those who fled from Greece after the revolution against the Ottoman Turks in 1828.

Immediately after the War of Independence and the liberation of Greece, very few Greeks immigrated to North America. It was not until 1891 that many Greeks began to move to Canada again, due to the poor living conditions and crop failures in their homeland. Almost 300 Greeks had settled in Canada by

1901. There was an influx of Greek immigrants between the period of 1901 and 1911, however, their entrance into Canada was not easy. The policies for Canadian immigration did not favor Greeks, or immigrants from other areas of Southern Europe. Canada's immigration policies were influenced by racist and environmental theories popularized by writers such as Madison Grant in the United States and George Parkin in Canada (Chimbos, 1980, p.37). However, during this time Canada was in desperate need of cheap labor, and as a result, more Greek immigrants were allowed in to Canada.

By 1931, there were approximately 9,400 Greek immigrants in Canada. The immigrants developed a rapport with both English- and French-speaking Canadians. Many Greeks became successful entrepreneurs and opened up their own restaurants, hotels, clubs and theatres. They also joined many organizations within the wider Canadian society. However, discrimination and prejudice against the Greeks still prevailed. Many Greeks felt that they had to denounce their Greekness, so they anglicized their names and disguised their ethnic origin in an attempt to blend successfully into Canadian society (Chimbos, 1980; Vlassis, 1953).

In the early years of immigration to Canada, the Greeks strongly focused on their Hellenic identity. Most immigrants came to Canada to work hard and save some money with the intention of moving back to their homeland. In addition, most immigrants regularly sent money back home to support their

parents or other family members in Greece. With this attachment to the motherland, their Hellenic identity was strengthened by immigration, rather than abandoned (du Boulay, 1974, p. 235).

After the First World War, there was a gradual increase in acceptance of Greek immigrants by Canadians. This might have been due to the increase in the numbers of highly educated Greek immigrants, as well as a new appreciation of Hellenic culture by Canadians who had the opportunity to visit Greece. This in turn influenced the Greeks' compassion for Canada, and many of them began to feel that Canada was home. By 1941, there were 11,692 Greeks in Canada, many of whom enrolled in and graduated from Canadian universities. This increased the prestige of Greeks in Canada.

During World War II (1939-1945), Greek immigration to Canada was reduced drastically. However, the image that Canadians held of the Greek people improved immensely. An important historical event which created positive attitudes toward Greek Canadians was Greece's firm and heroic position of *oxi* on the side of the Western allied powers during World War II. *Oxi* was the unconditional position Greece held on not allowing the Nazis to cross its borders. Eric F. Gaswell, former National Secretary of the Canadian Author's Association, expresses his admiration in a forward to Vlassis's book. He writes:

There are many references in literature to "the Glory that was Greece," but this is a time to grasp realities and bestow honor where honor is due. We

have all thrilled at the spectacle of a gallant people making desperate resistance against hopeless odds, stemming the advance of the barbarian invader in the storied streets of Athens and among the islands of the Aegean Sea.... We owe it to the Canadians of Greek origin to show our appreciation of what their European kinsmen are doing in the cause of freedom by developing a closer contact with them in the relationship of community living. There is need for an intimate knowledge of these splendid citizens, their individual talents and traditional aspirations (1980, p. 39).

The appreciation of the Greeks continued to grow, and when Italy attacked Greece, Canadians supported the establishment of the War Relief Fund, which provided over \$6 million worth of food and other supplies for the people of Greece as well as other countries. In addition, the Red Cross helped Greece financially by sending \$30,000 worth of food and medical supplies, and the Aid-to-Greece Fund contributed wheat and other supplies (Chimbos, 1980, p. 39; Vlassis, 1953, p. 66-68).

After World War II, the prejudice against Greeks in Canada subsided, and Greek immigrants felt free to acknowledge their ethnic identity. They ceased to anglicize their names, and many started to integrate with non-Greek Canadians. Slowly, Canada started to feel like home, and returning to Greece was no longer a consideration.

During 1946-1949, Greece had a civil war. Immigration at this time was limited. It was not until the war was over that Greeks once again began to immigrate to Canada. By 1951, there were almost 14,000 Greeks in Canada. Immigration policies toward the Greeks were not as strict at that time, and many

Greek-Canadians brought family members from their homeland in order to save them from the devastation occurring in Greece. Canada's liberal immigration policy continued through the 1960s. Greek immigration reached its peak during the years of 1967-1968. By 1971, there were almost 125,000 Greeks in Canada.

Since 1971, the immigration of Greeks to Canada has declined. This may be due to the improvement in the Greek economy, the opportunities for Greeks in Germany as guest workers (Gastarbeiter), and restrictive changes to the Canadian immigration policy (Chimbos, 1980, p. 32; McNeill, 1978, p. 210; Moskos, 1980, p. 145). Since 1971 there has been a general trend toward fewer immigrants to Canada. Trends such as rapid advancements in technology, the recession that was caused by the energy crisis, and the high number of baby boomers in the labor market have led to fewer jobs being available. As a result, in 1978 the Canadian immigration policy reduced the number of immigrants admitted each year, and set standards according to economy and region, work experience, and entrepreneurial experience. Many immigrants have found it difficult to adjust to Canada because the employment conditions have not been favorable (Richmon and Kalback, 1980).

Most of the early Greek immigrants to Canada settled in the larger cities such as Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver because these cities had already established strong Greek communities. Greek immigrants were attracted to the urban areas because of their strong feelings of ethnocentrism, their family

obligations and sponsorship duties, and by the established Greek ethnic neighborhoods (McNeill, 1978, p. 209; Sanders, 1962, p. 43). In the 1960s there was an influx of Greeks to the smaller cities in Western Canada. Calgary was one of these cities. In the past, Alberta had never been seen as holding much of Canada's economic and political power. However, in 1947, it was discovered that the province possessed the country's largest deposits of oil and natural gas. The expansion of the petroleum industry made Alberta the fastest growing province in the country, and has produced a westward shift of economic power in Canada (Kolias, 1997, p. 9).

Greek Migration to Calgary

More than 100 Greeks moved to Alberta from Greece between 1903 and 1914. Thirty-five of these pioneers journeyed to Calgary to start their new lives. Athanassios Papadopoulos and Louis Georgopoulos were the first Greek immigrants to set foot in Calgary when they arrived in 1903. Most of the immigrants who arrived in Calgary came from poor families and villages in Greece. Their goal was to work hard and save a bit of money to send back home for their relatives. Success began for these pioneers when they started to open up their own businesses. They moved to Canada with very little schooling and limited knowledge of English, and many of them opened up confectioneries, candy and ice-cream stores. With hard work and motivation, these peasant pioneers became successful businessmen. With more capital backing them,

most Greeks then opened up restaurants, and were able to offer their children a better education and more opportunities in life.

In 1912, some Greeks returned to Greece to fight for their country during the two Balkan Wars. Six Greek Albertans went back to Greece to serve in the army. Two of the six survived the war and returned to Calgary. At this time, Greece was a very small and poor state, and many of its regions were still subjugated under the Ottoman Turks. Greeks all over the world still feel patriotism toward Greece, and are proud to fight for Greece's freedom.

After the Balkan Wars were over, there was an influx of Greeks who migrated to Alberta to find fortune and a better way of life. However, the only aspect of the Greek lifestyle that they did not have in Alberta was organized religion. There were not enough Greeks in the province to develop a highly organized religious and cultural life. One of the most important aspects of Greek religious life is the Divine Liturgies, which they celebrated once in a while with a Russian Orthodox priest.

In the early 1930s, the first official Greek organization was established in Calgary. This organization worked together and built a community center, as well as establishing Greek schools. During this period, while the Greeks in Calgary were establishing a community and organizations, their homeland was being threatened by the approach of World War II.

When the Greek-Italian war broke out in October of 1940, Greeks across Canada immediately established an organization to aid their fellow Greeks who were fighting in the war. This organization was known as the Greek War Relief Fund. Many non-Greek Canadians also helped the fund by offering their time, efforts and money. This organization operated successfully for eight years, coming to an end in 1948.

At the end of World War II in 1944, once the Greek War Relief Fund was no longer necessary, the Greek community in Calgary continued with the operation of its previous Greek organizations, including Greek schools. However, they were still missing a vital aspect of their heritage, a Greek Orthodox Church. Up until 1956, the Greeks held their Sunday Liturgy in a large room with a Russian priest performing the services. In 1957, there were approximately 100 Greeks in Calgary, and discussions about building a Greek Orthodox Church began. They started fundraising for the materials to build the Church and adjoining community center. Greeks from nearby areas like Banff also helped raise money for the church.

The development of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Community in Calgary

In 1958, work commenced on the building of the Greek Orthodox Church. The Greeks of Calgary physically volunteered their spare time to build the Church, which took three years to complete. The Church was named St. Demetrios, after the man who was the first benefactor and driving force behind the building of the Church (Kolias, 1997).

The volunteers worked every night after their regular jobs, and on the weekends. At first very few volunteers were involved, but fortunately as time went on many more joined in assisting the progress of the church construction. From April to September, the men who volunteered worked hard to finish the church. During the three years it took to construct the church, there were many women who supported the men working on its construction, both physically and emotionally (Kolias, 1997, p. 32). These women took turns preparing meals to bring to the construction site to feed the men who were working.

In October 1959, the first Divine Liturgy took place in the unfinished Church. The interior of the church was not yet completed. However, many events such as weddings, festivals and even a play took place there, which raised money to aid in its completion. During this time, St. Demetrios had many priests who served part time. They would come to Calgary once a month to

conduct a service. In July 1962, Fr. Demetrios Kavouras arrived and was the first full-time priest of St. Demetrios Church (Kolias, 1997, p. 36). In 1963, the Calgary Greek Community became part of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

The Greek community had many organizations, including the Greek Ladies' Society, Greek Orthodox Youth of America (GOYA), the Philoptochos Society, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA), the Daughters of Penelope, the Sons of Pericles and the Maids of Athena. These organizations brought Greek immigrants together to work for various worthy causes. The organizations reinforced the stability of Greek culture.

CHAPTER THREE: HELLENISM AND THE GREEK TRADITIONS

Hellenism is the name given to the civilization produced by the ancient Greeks. Hellenism is defined as *Ellenismos*, which refers to the ideological prototype of Greek traditions and heritage, and stands for a set of ideals as well as an historical culture. Maintaining old-world loyalties is a part of Hellenism. Alexander the Great's conquest in 334-325 B.C.E. was the reason that Hellenism spread throughout the Mediterranean.

Values

According to Rokeach (1969) values are beliefs about how one ought or ought not to behave, or about some end state of existence worth or not worth attaining. Values are abstract ideas, positive or negative, which represent a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals. All cultures emphasize some values above others. Mainstream values in Western societies include hard work, individualism, free speech, equality, justice, freedom, and national pride (Bennett, 1996; Banks, 1989; Bullivant, 1989). These values act as a blueprint for individual behavior.

Social values are important because they help to produce group norms. Norms are specific guidelines for people in particular kinds of situations. In principle, all norms can be traced to a basic social value (Robertson, 1987).

However, norms exist long past the initial reasoning for them fades away. For example, the folkway that requires us to shake hands, especially when greeting a stranger, seems to have originated long ago in the desire to show that no weapon was concealed in the right hand (Robertson, 1987). Now it is considered to be polite and sociable to shake strangers' hands when one is introduced to them.

Traditional Greek Values

One of the values which is prevalent in traditional Greek society is *philotimo*, which means the love of honor (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972, p. 84). *Philotimos* is attributed to a person inspired by self-respect, a 'high-souled and generous person', a person animated by *megalophrosyne*, who places considerations concerning his or her good name, or his or her social image and its social ranking above other, more immediately profitable considerations (Peristiany, 1966, p. 179). To be a man of honor, one must have the respect and honor of one's family first. To show disrespect towards one's father by publicly provoking or flouting his authority is said to be 'shameful' (Peristiany, 1966, p. 181). Children who grow into adults and continue to treat their fathers as though they were still under his authority are said to demonstrate *Philotimo*.

Honor is the value of a person in his or her own eyes, but also in the eyes of his or her society. It is a person's estimation of his or her own worth and claim

to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his or her excellence recognized by society (Pitt-Rivers, 1966, p. 21). It refers to the degree of respect an individual receives due because of his or her honorable actions. The social reputation of individuals is frequently at risk, for humans are continuously struggling for self-discipline in order to maintain their honor.

The opposite of *philotimo* is *dropi*, best described as dishonor or shame. An individual may be deprived of honor by unethical behavior. The quality required of women in relation to honor is shame (*dropi*), particularly sexual shame (Campbell, 1964: 270). Women have to possess sexual modesty with respect to the way they dress, their body movement, and their attitudes. If it were possible to combine the concepts of virginity and motherhood, the ideal married woman would be a mother virginal in sensations and mind (Peristiany, 1966, p. 182). Both values of *philotimo* and *dropi* can apply to both genders as well as be linked to one exclusive sex over the other. A man must have honor, manliness, and be able to assert his masculinity, while a woman must have shame, femininity, and passive modesty (Peristiany, 1966, p.189). For a woman, this means that she must always be concerned about revealing herself improperly in an emotional or physical way.

Honor, as the core of one's essence, representing one's masculine or feminine integrity, is a very prevalent value in the traditional cultures of Mediterranean countries (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972, p. 84). When an individual is

dishonored in the eyes of society, he or she will feel ashamed that his or her name has been tarnished. It is this notion of *philotimo* by which a Greek individual takes into consideration the opinion of the public and conforms to the norms of society. Individuals whose conduct does not deviate from the norm are thought of as people who have *philotimo* and are seen as honorable people. Shame and ridicule are mechanisms of social control (Pollis, 1965, pp. 33-35; Safilios-Rothschild, 1972, p. 84). The behavior of Greek individuals is governed by the opinions of Greek society. "What will people say?" (*ti tha pei o cosmos?*) is one of the major concerns of individuals, particularly parents. An individual has a responsibility for honoring his or her family name, and therefore must conduct himself or herself in a conventional manner. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events (Campbell, 1964, p. 21). The primary goal of Greek individuals is to enhance the honor and prestige of their families (Friedl, 1962, p. 37). As Campbell (1964, p.193) explains,

Objectively . . . honor is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality (Campbell, 1964, p.187). The age and gender of an individual dictates the norms he or she must follow. Love and intimacy within the family unit, along with support and respect, are characteristics

of the ideal family. It is within the family unit that offspring learn about honor, identity, and Hellenism.

Urbanization and the Modification of Traditional Greek Values

Greece has evolved from a traditional agrarian society into a developing industrial country. After World War II and the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), there was an influx of migration from the villages to the urban cities. There was an increase in the use of technology and new machinery. Modern Greeks quickly adapted to the conveniences of urban life, which they viewed as a better way of life than the poverty and hardship of their rural lives. However, in spite of urbanization, Greeks have kept many of their traditional values. Family solidarity, moral obligation, and the centrality of *philotimo* are still dominant values in Greek culture (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972).

Greeks in Canada

Cultures are organized to enhance social value, both for the individual and for the group. Therefore, each culture possesses different value systems. All children are raised with the cultural morals and values that their parents pass on to them. However, there are many differences between Greek and Canadian cultures with regard to social values. The children of Greek immigrant parents are faced with many challenges in Canadian society. Immigrants and their

families are challenged with the need to maintain equilibrium between both cultures. The homes of Greek immigrants in Canada demonstrate many of the cultural attributes of Greece. For example, their children's first language is often exclusively Greek. Once in school, these children experience a completely different cultural context. When Greek children socialize with Canadian children, they are exposed to mainstream North American values and norms. As a result, the children of immigrant parents learn the value system of their parents' country of origin in addition to the Canadian value system.

In Canadian schools, students are taught common North American values. Most ethnic groups feel that it is important to maintain these values in society. However, Bennett (1995) states that people can have strong emotional feelings about the values of the subgroup to which they belong. These feelings are naturally healthy and should be welcomed. However, conflict may arise within the family unit because immigrant children are introduced to opposing value systems daily at school. They must find a way to balance the two value systems so that they can coexist in Greek culture and Canadian culture.

Greek immigrant parents find it difficult to deal with many of the social values their children are introduced to within the school setting. For example, the interaction that boys and girls have in Canadian schools is much different than the way they interact in Greece. Many parents forbid their children (particularly girls) from attending events or social gatherings in which free interaction between

boys and girls may occur. This raises many conflicts between children and their parents. Chimbos (1980) indicated:

The Greeks maintain that the majority of Canadian children enjoy unnecessary freedom and do not have sufficient respect for their parents, elders, teachers and other officials. There is a conflict between the Old World's traditional values and those of the new society, especially individualism and personal freedom.

Parents believe that discipline will prevent juvenile delinquency. A child's behavior is of great importance because it is the basis for the community's view and acceptance of the child. The fact that the immigrant anxiously strives for respectability and acceptance within the ethnic community and within Canadian society in general seems to account for this concern over children's behavior (Chimbos, 1980).

Language

According to Saloutos (1964, p. 71) the perpetuation of the Greek language is a prime concern for Greek immigrants. The Greek language is considered to be at the core essence of preserving Greek culture. Greek immigrant parents attempt to retain the language by speaking Greek in their homes and by encouraging their children to be active within the Greek community, including attending church, schools, Greek dances and Greek youth organizations. Greek Canadians have always shown a strong desire to preserve their heritage. "It is with language as a means of communication that Greek Canadians retain their relationship with the Greek tradition. The Greek language

is the carrier of Greek values, the composition of which constitute the cultural heritage." (Farmakides, 1970, p. 81)

O'Bryan (1976) states that the frequency of ethnic language use has traditionally been highest among the Greeks. Greek immigrants believe that their children will learn how to speak English in Canadian schools, and therefore their responsibility is to teach their children their native tongue. In addition, community leaders and priests assist parents in teaching children the Greek language. The community offers Greek school lessons and the priest uses both English and Greek during the weekly liturgy.

The determination of Greek immigrants to maintain and preserve their culture and identity is evident in the strong emphasis on retaining their language and building strong organizations within the Greek community. Greek school has played a vital role in educating children not only about the Greek language but also in Greek culture and history. Children learn and participate in Greek ethnic holidays. For example, the 25th of March is when Greek national independence is celebrated. Greek-Canadian communities across Canada host celebrations, and children in Greek schools present plays and read poems appropriate for the celebration in their communities. This brings the children an understanding of, and a sense of pride in, their Greek heritage.

The Greek Community

The Greek community is another organization that facilitates the preservation of Greek language and culture, and hence the Greek identity. The Greek community provides many associations for all family members to participate in. Greek immigrant parents encourage their children to participate in Greek functions. This participation has a strong influence on young people in terms of maintaining and preserving Greek culture. Children take part in ethnic holiday parades, caravans, bazaars and fundraising campaigns for the church (Chimbos, 1980, p. 150). Many individuals of Greek heritage tend to make friendships with other Greek persons. The usual reason for this is that these individuals feel that they can associate better with individuals who have the same customs and traditions and who can speak the same language (Chimbos, 1980, p. 141).

One example of this solidarity bond is a cultural musical experience. There is evidence of this kind of bond between Greek people at a concert held in Toronto, Ontario. On Thursday May 13, 1999, the Roy Thomson Hall held a concert by Athens pop star Notis Sfakianakis. According to the Globe and Mail (May 1999) this concert was not advertised nor reviewed in any of the city's major dailies, nor mentioned on English-language radio or TV. However, the Greek community had heard about it and the concert was almost a sold-out show. The paper also wrote that most of the communication among the crowd

was in English, however, the crowd was singing along with the famous pop star in Greek.

Religion

Religious ritual is a dominant value in traditional Greek life. Religion is the relationship and communication between man and God (Bishop Sotirios, 1996, p. 4). The Holy Scriptures are at the heart of the Greek tradition and are the touchstone of the faith. They are also part of the all-encompassing experience of the Church under the abiding guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit (Nelson, 1988). Holy tradition comes from Divine Oral Revelation, and the Divine Written Revelation is the Holy Scripture (the Bible). According to Bishop Sotirios,

It is only Holy Tradition that can transmit the divine truths that are not written down in the Bible. Only Holy Tradition can correctly interpret Holy Scripture. When Holy Tradition is rejected and only Holy Scripture is accepted as the basis of our faith, as something to be interpreted by individuals, the unity of faith is shattered. Holy Tradition keeps us united – that is, the authentic Holy Tradition. The ark of Holy Tradition is the Church herself. For this reason St. Paul Commands, "Maintain and keep the tradition".

Greek Orthodoxy was founded in the period of the Byzantine Empire (C.E. 330-1453). The word Orthodox literally means "straight teaching" or "straight worship," from the Greek words *orthos*, meaning "straight", and *doxa*, which is "teaching" or "worship" (Nelson, 1988, p. 1). During the Ottoman Empire (1453-1821) the Greek Orthodox Church kept its identification with the Greek nation,

when it served as the "repository for the native genius" of Greece (Durrell ,1957, p. 122). Religious rituals were incorporated into daily life. Ritual serves to reinforce Greekness (Minions, 1984, p. 40). Historical events that are nationally significant become part of the ritual calendar. For example, March 25th, 1821, was the day that Greece won its independence from the Ottoman Empire. This day is currently celebrated as a religious event and as a national feast throughout Greece. The Orthodox Christian religion has profoundly influenced Greek persons. Love, mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues, and these are the ideal values of Greek family and kinship life (Campbell, 1964). Religion for traditional Greeks is above all else a celebration of joy and an integrated part of everyday life (Sanders, 1962, p. 258).

CHAPTER FOUR: CITIZENSHIP AND GREEK IDENTITY

This chapter will focus on the perspectives of the Greek immigrant participants in this study, with regard to their understanding of what citizenship means and how they feel their children are being provided through their education with the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to be an active citizen in their society.

What does it mean to be a Canadian citizen? The notion of citizenship is one that has plagued many nations for centuries. Canada is a very young country that has accepted immigrants from all over the world, and has thus become a multicultural nation. As a result, the question of what a Canadian citizen is has always been a concern of Canadian politicians as well as educators.

Education plays a vital role in shaping individual views of reality and thus plays a major role in defining what it means to be a citizen. Citizenship education is of great importance for our future Canadians. An individual's behavior and attitudes are learned through education and socialization. The major portion of a youth's life is spent in educational institutions; therefore the knowledge students receive in their school careers must be appropriate to their future roles in society.

The meaning and definition of citizenship varies from person to person, community to community, country to country and era to era. When people are asked to answer a survey on what they believe citizenship means to them, they most frequently answer that "to be a citizen is to have certain rights and entitlements, and very few mention any duties or responsibilities" (Kymlicka, 1992, p. 2). Some individuals mention that to be a good citizen is to participate in political affairs, but the extent of this obligation usually refers to voting when there is an election.

Civic Participation

Civic involvement refers to the pattern of how we share common spaces, common resources, and common opportunities and manage interdependence in that "company of strangers" which constitutes the public (Selman, 1991). It signifies a web of human connections throughout generations. Simultaneously, it describes entitlements and responsibilities. "There is an assumption that the building of a sense of community acts as a mechanism to stimulate the healthy development of the environment and the people who inhabit it" (Frideres, 1997, p. 2).

Civic participation can be characterized by a multitude of levels. There are many factors that influence individual participation in the community and in society. Present research indicates that the cost and benefits of participation

influence the majority of the individuals who consider involvement. For some individuals, those benefits may be personal pleasure and growth, while for others, they may be a concern for the benefit of society as a whole. The factors that influence citizens' participation in voluntary organizations is summarized by Frideres (1997) as first concerned with the perception of the environment. If an individual feels safe in his or her environment, then the rate of participation increases. Second, the social relationship encourages participation. When people interact with their neighbors and build a community, they are more likely to participate within that community, and perhaps engage in more civic activities. Third, the participants' perceived control and empowerment within the community influences participation. People are more motivated to participate in an event if they feel that there will be a positive outcome.

Perception of the Environment

Individuals are more active in their communities when they view their environment as being safe. Civic participation decreases when citizens express a negative feeling about their environment, for example, fear of crime. Schools themselves should offer a safe environment where students are free to learn and express ideas. Schools should be a starting point where students learn such ideals as risk taking, free expression, belonging to a whole, lifelong learning and questioning, and working cooperatively. If these goals can be attained within a

school environment, students should then be able to apply them to their lives outside of school.

Social Relations

The term "social relations" describes the social network individuals have with their neighbors, for example, lending and borrowing, aiding in time of emergency, and casual visits. Research indicates that when individuals become involved in creating a sense of community, they interact more with others. Through these interactions among neighbors, a set of informal norms is created. With the development of social norms, individuals have a clear understanding of what is expected of them, and in turn, what to expect from the community. As a result, they become motivated to participate in civic activities. One of the main goals of modern education is to foster a sense of cooperation and self worth. To this end, to be truly effective, the social values instilled by education must affect how a student will act or react outside of the school environment. The school is responsible not only for itself, but also for the good of the community and society as a whole. It fulfills this responsibility by fostering a sense of responsibility and accountability in the student.

Perceived Control and Empowerment

Perceived control refers to the predicted outcome of an activity. If an individual feels that there is a good probability of a positive outcome, then the motivation to participate is likely to be greater than if a negative probable outcome is expected. The degree to which an individual will participate within the community varies, as it is influenced by the person's attitudes and beliefs. Individuals' personalities are shaped by the experiences they encounter in the course of their lives.

The Role of School and Community in Fostering Citizenship Education

The task of fostering citizenship education does not lie exclusively in the realm of social studies education, even though it falls most directly on social studies professionals. One precondition for fostering citizenship education is a school environment which is consistent with the principles and core values of the ideal citizen. As much as possible, students' lives in schools should be based on fundamental democratic values and the practical application of democratic principles.

Careful attention to the school culture is critical if schools are to foster citizenship education. The hidden curriculum of the school has the potential to teach important lessons about authority, responsibility, caring and respect. The

principles and values underpinning the day-to-day operations of schools should be consistent with the values taught to young people. Oftentimes what is taught is not so important as how it is taught. Beliefs about citizenship, democracy, society, and education form the bedrock of a school's intentions and interpretations.

Teaching citizenship also requires that schools forge positive links with parents and community members. Parents should participate in the dialogue about the values that schools should teach, and should reinforce those values in the home. Schools have a very strong influence on children and their attitudes and behavior. However, it is the home where these attitudes and behaviors must be reinforced or dealt with. Consistency of effort is very important. The community, including clergy and businesses, should also cooperate with parents and schools. All those involved in young people's lives should affirm the importance of good character and good citizenship.

Greek Immigrants' Perspectives on Citizenship and Citizenship Education

The participants in this study whom I interviewed indicated that being a Canadian citizen primarily meant, to them, having a specific kind of identity. They belonged to Canada and therefore they represented Canada. However, these participants indicated that they viewed themselves as Greek-Canadians,

not just Canadians. If they had been restricted to just being Canadian, they would not have stayed in Canada.

When migrating to a new country, it is usually expected that individuals will adopt the life style of the host country and will begin to feel like members of that society. However, the Gavaki and Larocque studies indicated that Greeks have a relatively low level of identification with Canada. Greeks are one of the few ethnic groups to identify themselves as "hyphenated Canadians," with the emphasis being on the Greek part, not the Canadian part of this identification (Larocque, 1974).

According to Galvaki's study, Greeks have a low identification with Canada because of their low socio-economic status, and because many of them have lived for only a relatively short period of time in the host society. Another reason why Greeks may have a low identification with the Canadian society could be due to the educational experience Greek children receive in the home setting. At the age of six, children of Greek immigrants are placed in Greek school where they are exposed to traditional Greek civilization. This schooling teaches children to have strong ethnocentrism, national pride and admiration for their homeland.

In the early years of migration, immigrants tend to be caught between their past world and the present one. Identity is formed by the relationships

individuals experience throughout their lives. Identity is multi-dimensional. It is common for a person to have various identities in different times of his or her life, as well as various identities in the same time period. Greek immigrants tend to bring the traditions, language and culture of the Old World into the new. They believe that their children will learn the ways of the Canadian society in school and therefore hold a strong bond to Greekness within their homes, thereby facilitating a dual Greek and Canadian identity.

In addition to having an identity, the participants believe that there are many privileges in being Canadian. They have the freedom to practice their religion and traditions, as well as educating their children about their heritage. This includes taking their children to Greek school, Greek dances and various Greek youth organizations. This is very important to Greek immigrants because practicing their traditions and customs it is a necessity if they are to preserve their Greek heritage. According to Chimbos (1980), Greek Canadians have shown a strong desire to preserve the culture of the Greek nation, which is often acknowledged by historians to be the cradle of Western civilization.

The participants in this study indicated that their responsibility in being Canadian was to be good human beings and to try to choose good over evil in any situation that might arise. Each participant said that her role in this society was primarily to take care of her family and household and secondarily to volunteer and help with organizations within the Greek community. None of the

three migrants had outside employment while raising their children. They came from traditional family backgrounds in which the husband was the breadwinner. On the other hand, they believed that their lack of formal education in Canada limited their participation outside the Greek community. Their reason for being active in the Greek community was that the community was an important institution in their life. The community provides a place where their children can learn their traditions and culture, and it also gives the whole family the opportunity to associate with other Greek persons. The participants feel safe in the environment of the Greek community, where everyone has had similar experiences. Language is also a comfort zone for most Greek immigrants. Having the opportunity to speak their native tongue gives them the ability to easily express themselves. This reinforces the factors that influence citizens' participation in voluntary organizations, as discussed by Frideres and mentioned above. The migrants in this study viewed their community as being safe, and through the interaction among the Greek population in Calgary, they built social relations, and as a result are more active in their community.

Each of the three participants indicated that their families were members of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA), a non-profit organization. The women's auxiliary of the AHEPA organization is called the Daughters of Penelope. Within this organization, the participants helped organize various functions to raise money for worthy causes, such as the children's foundation and the cancer society. The participants indicated that they

volunteered because it was highly necessary, not only to benefit the Greek community but also to help many needy people within Calgary.

AHEPA

AHEPA is the largest Greek organization outside Greece. The order of AHEPA is international, and has chapters in the United States, Australia, Canada and Greece. Visionary Americans of Greek descent began the organization in Atlanta, Georgia on July 26, 1922. The purpose of this organization, at first, was to protect Hellenes from bigotry and to help them integrate with the host society in the early 20th Century. It promoted these goals through its official use of the English language, its promotion of loyalty to the United States, and its quasi-Masonic rituals (Moskos, 1980). However, in the last few decades, the demographic balance of AHEPA has moved toward American-born Greeks. Therefore, the order of AHEPA's primary goal in modern times is to promote and support Hellenic ethnicity. The organization is open to any individual who believes in its mission, however, the majority of the members are of Hellenic descent.

The Mission

The mission of the AHEPA organization is to promote Hellenism, Education, Philanthropy, Civic Responsibility, and Family and Individual Excellence.

The Philosophy of Hellenism

Part of AHEPA's mission is to establish an awareness of the philosophy of Hellenism for people the Greek community. In the Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta stands a sculpture titled "Tribute to Olympism", which was donated by the AHEPA organization. The sculpture represents a gift to humanity, the Olympic Games. In celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the modern Olympic games, AHEPA families worldwide gave this sculpture as a token of what Hellenism represents to mankind. In addition, an AHEPA Float was in the 1999 Tournament of Roses Parade. This gave Hellenism the opportunity to be viewed by a worldwide audience. "Music from the Acropolis" was the theme music played on the Hellenic float, which speaks of a passion for freedom and harmony. AHEPA also tries to educate its members about the astonishing accomplishments of their ancestors, the ancient Greeks.

Educating Students

The AHEPA Educational Foundation continues to establish new methods for educating children. This involves creating an optimal learning environment for students so that they can reach their greatest potential. The foundation provides scholarships to students across the nation. The past recipients have been students in traditional educational programs as well as non-traditional programs. These include students graduating from high school, seminarians, including those entering Holy Cross Greek School of Theology, and post-graduate students who wish to continue their studies. Over the years, AHEPA has provided more than \$4 million in scholarships on local, district and national levels.

An important issue for the AHEPA Educational Foundation is the preservation of Hellenic Studies programs. The Hellenic Cultural Commission is a committee under the umbrella of AHEPA whose sole responsibility is to support the study of Hellenism. This is to help educate the young Greek-Americans and Canadians.

Philanthropy

The word philanthropy is defined as "the love of people." Hence, it is an honor for the AHEPA family to be the primary Greek organization in North

America for promoting philanthropic endeavors throughout the world. The notion of philanthropy has given AHEPA the strength to be successful for many years, and AHEPA engages in numerous philanthropic projects yearly.

Civic Responsibility

AHEPA has over 450 chapters throughout the United States, Canada and Greece. These chapters educate their members about Greek current affairs, in Greece and worldwide. Seminars and conferences are hosted on local, district and national levels to create an awareness about these issues. The goal is to find a solution and a method for helping fellow Greek persons who are in need.

Family and Individual Excellence

Over the years AHEPA has created three auxiliaries as part of the AHEPA family. The first auxiliary was The Daughters of Penelope, the second was the Sons of Pericles, and the third was the Maids of Athena.

The Daughters of Penelope

The Daughters of Penelope is the women's auxiliary of AHEPA. It was established on November 16, 1929 in San Francisco, California. Presently, the Daughters of Penelope is a leader in philanthropic, educational and cultural

activities, and has local chapters in the United States, Canada and Greece. The objectives of the organization are to promote the social, intellectual and ethical interests of its members, to encourage Hellenic study, to cultivate citizenship and patriotism in Canada; and to preserve the ideals and traditions of Hellenism as part of the development of Canada.

The Sons Of Pericles and the Maids of Athena

The Sons of Pericles (SOP) was the first junior auxiliary of AHEPA. It was founded on February 3, 1926. By the end of the first year, there were 14 chapters established in the fraternity within the United States. The Maids of Athena (MOA) was founded July 5, 1930, in Tacoma, Washington. It is a sisterhood for young Greek women to practice their Hellenic culture, traditions and ideals. The Maids of Athena is a junior auxiliary to the Daughters of Penelope, as well as a sister organization to the Sons of Pericles. There are over 100 chapters across the United States and Canada.

Throughout the years the SOP and the MOA have taken an active role in contributing to their communities. Each local chapter is dedicated to enhancing Hellenism among its members by promoting Greek culture through social activities and education. The SOP and the MOA's educational programs are geared toward the development of organizational and leadership skills. They take great pride in supporting philanthropic activities, seminars, conferences,

scholarships, sports, and travel opportunities. These events are sponsored by local chapters and districts as well as nationally. Guest speakers are often invited to these events to educate members in the skills necessary for functioning not only in the Order but in society as well. Leadership skills, organizational skills and communicating with others are only a few skills which these young men and women learn.

The Calgary AHEPA Family

The Calgary Chapter of AHEPA was established on February 22, 1931. The Calgary chapter adopted the name *Omirou Othisia*, which means Homer's Odyssey. The main objectives for Calgary's organization of AHEPA were (Kolias, 1997):

- To promote and encourage loyalty to Canada**
- To promote a better and more comprehensive understanding of the attributes and ideals of Hellenism and Hellenic culture**
- To promote good fellowship, and to endow the members of AHEPA with the perfection of the moral sense**
- To champion the cause of education, and to promote new channels for facilitating the dissemination of culture and learning**
- To instill in its members a due appreciation of the privileges of good citizenship**

The Parents' Perspective on their Children's Participation In Society

Parents encourage their children to be active within the Greek community. The children of each participant in this study were also involved with the SOP or MOA as part of the AHEPA family. This participation has a strong influence on young people in terms of maintaining and preserving the Greek culture. Children take part in ethnic holiday festivals, bazaars, dance and athletic activities. Parents believe that this organization teaches children to be better citizens. Children are given the responsibility for organizing their own events; this includes utilizing the resources within their community.

On the other hand, the participants felt that the knowledge and skills their children are learning through the youth auxiliaries of AHEPA are lacking in the Canadian educational system. They indicated that elementary schools encouraged more activities that promote children to become more active within their communities. For example, the participants recall their children going to retirement homes and visiting with the elderly, planting trees to save the environment, and communicating with other children overseas. However, the participants feel that this involvement decreased or was absent in junior high, although there was a slight reappearance in high school.

The three migrants were concerned with the attitudes that students have, within the school environment, toward community participation. They believe that students are participating not because they want to but because they have to. Kaliopi indicated that her son, who is in grade 12, has to volunteer within their community, and that by doing so he will receive extra credit. The parents feel that the majority of the students who volunteer are doing so exclusively for the reason of receiving extra credit, and not because they have the desire to do so. The participants indicated that this attitude is very different from the attitude they had while growing up in Greece.

The participants interviewed indicated that they have many concerns with regard to citizenship and citizenship education. It is important for Greek immigrants to keep their traditions and cultures, however, the participants also believe that it is vital to educate their children on how to be active members of this society. These participants believe that an individual's attitude is the primary factor in becoming a good citizen. Through these attitudes, people make sense of the dynamic world around them and draw conclusions, which are then expressed through decision-making. The behavior portrayed by individuals is characterized by their attitudes. Education and communication are the strongest influences on the modification of individual attitudes and behaviors.

It is important to note that the participants did not have concerns with the information their children were learning in school. They believe that the school

curriculum is very in-depth in the information it provides in educating their children. However, they feel that schools should provide activities that children can physically participate in, rather than just educating students through theory. This will encourage students to be more active and will provide them with the skills necessary to be more involved in Canadian society.

CHAPTER FIVE: PARTICIPANTS' LIFE HISTORIES

The research participants for this project were three female immigrants from Greece. These women are current residents of Calgary, Alberta. The interviewees were selected based on their ethnic background. The interviews were conducted in both English and Greek, depending on which language was more comfortable for the interviewee. Each of the participants, Kaliopi, Maria and Angie, received various levels of formal education in the homeland. All three participants have children who are attending or have attended schools in Canada.

Kaliopi

Kaliopi began her oral history by discussing some aspects about her youth. She was born in 1956 in Kiato, a small town in the Peloponnese region of Greece. Both her parents were also born in Kiato. She has one brother who is a year older than she is. Kaliopi recalls growing up in Kiato surrounded by her immediate family as well as numerous aunts, uncles and cousins. She attended school until the age of 14. Kaliopi recalls how she felt about her youth in Kiato:

I liked growing up in Kiato. I had all my family there and my parents. The town was very close and everyone knew everybody. No one was a stranger and it felt safe. I played with all my friends at school. I loved going to school, especially when I got my bike. Having a bike back then is like having a car today.

Kaliopi liked to go to school. She completed up until grade 8. Kaliopi lived about a ten-minute walk from the school, but this didn't affect the way she felt about going there.

It was, ya, it was very nice. I have very good memories from school. I had lots of friends and I was always excited to go to school. The life styles going to school back home was very exciting, yes very exciting. Not like they are here. Students don't like to go to school.

Although she loved going to school, Kaliopi had to stop at the age of 14. This was when she met her future husband. She describes the first time they met:

My husband, now, was on holidays in Greece. He had moved from Greece to Canada but came back for a visit. He somehow knew my family, I think from my mom's sister, and came over for a visit and we met. My aunt told me I made a good impression on him and he wanted to marry me. My aunt asked my dad for my hand because she knew the young man. My mom, of course, said no, it was out of this world. She said no, but you know dads back then. They always want the best for their girls and always a big matter was the big dowries. But uh, it doesn't matter if you were in love. The bride has to have a dowry to give to the groom and it doesn't matter if you were in love or not. Just the dowry was always involved. And uh, it is not because my husband, now, did not ask for a dowry, but he made a very good impression to my dad. You know he was young, handsome, and had a lot of potentials to make his daughter happy, and make a good life for the rest of her life.

Kaliopi explains that meeting her future husband was somewhat arranged with respect to her aunt's help in the situation. However, she describes who made the final decision as to whether or not she was to marry this handsome young man.

My father was the one who had to give permission to give away his daughter. He did confirm with my mother. Of course, till this day, she is not happy. I remember what my dad said to my mom. He said "I am sure that our daughter will be in good hands and that this man will give her a good life." It was hard for my mom because I was going to move far away. I was very close with my dad. He sat with me and told me that I have to think about this very good and that I was marrying a man who he knew his family and he was feeling very secure about that. My dad put my husband down and asked him a lot of questions. It was my dad, mom and aunts and uncles who asked him many questions. You know it was like sitting in front of a judge and they were asking him questions like "what do you have for my daughter or my niece, are you going to give her a good life." They also told him that if they catch him doing anything wrong that he is in big trouble. My husband didn't ask for a dowry and that's another important thing. So I told my dad "if you say so then I will say yes." For me I was mixed inside. I was kind of lost then I was excited that I was going to go to a different country and, of course, I was excited that I wasn't going to have all these strict rules from the school, and from my parents and everybody. So I thought I was going to have some freedom.

Kaliopi indicated that she had mixed feelings about marrying a man she did not know, however, she followed her fathers decision and agreed to get married. Kaliopi recalls her journey to Canada as exciting as well as long and exhausting. She also remembers her wedding in 1971 as being very beautiful. She was 14 and her husband-to-be was 12 years her senior.

The plane ride was very scary and very long. We had to go to England, then to Toronto, then to Calgary. His whole family, his mom, dad, brother and two sisters were at the airport to greet us. This was the first time I met them. We stayed at his brother's house until the wedding day. We got married in Calgary and my dad was the only member of my family that could come from Greece. My mom didn't want to come for emotional reasons. She was very emotional and disturbed. She didn't want the wedding. The wedding was very big. My husband's family was very supportive, very friendly and very nice. They got everything ready for us to have a very nice wedding.

These times were not as easy as she thought they would be, however.

She entered a foreign country, without knowing the language or having a familiar face nearby. At the age of 14 she had become a wife, and faced the challenge of adapting to the New World. She recalls how she felt during this time.

It was very hard for me to come to Canada and not know how to speak English or to communicate. It was very, very hard and emotional. I remember back then that you were not very free to speak a different language. I asked my husband if I could go to school and learn my English and finish school. It was very important for me to finish school. But my husband felt scared to allow me to go to school and to be out there. I don't know the reasons. But there were ladies who volunteered to teach people English. They were not getting paid, so I went to her (sic). She was very nice, she would teach only a few people at a time. She was from England and she was very friendly and encouraging. She was a wonderful person. I also went to YMCA. They were also giving classes then. There were about 20-30 people in a class. I didn't enjoy that. You know, strange people, all speaking a different language. It was very hard and scary. So I felt more comfortable to find the private lady.

Kaliopi found it difficult to learn English in a large class. She felt scared and was intimidated. However, she enjoyed her private lessons and found them very useful. Unfortunately, she could not attend these classes for as long as she would have liked, due to her pregnancy with her first child at the age of 15.

I didn't have a chance to go very much. I went only once a week because I got pregnant with my first baby right away. I was 15 when I got pregnant. This took me longer to learn English. My husband helped me, the newspaper helped me by trying to read the newspaper everyday and watching the TV everyday. I also had an eager (sic) to learn English so I really tried.

By the age of 15, Kaliopi had married Peter, moved to a new country and now had her first child, a baby girl named Anna. She was still in the process of

learning English, however her progress was slow. She did have help with chores around the house, which gave her the extra time to raise her child. This made it a little easier for her to adjust to her new surroundings.

At this time my mother-in-law and father-in-law were living with us. They helped with the house and to prepare dinner and helped with the cleaning. I wanted to raise my baby alone.

Kaliopi had now been living in Canada for over a year, and her vision of what life was going to be like there was not exactly the way it had turned out. She had wanted freedom from the rules of her parents and teachers. She wanted to be her own boss. Having the responsibility of being a wife and mother, she felt she should be able to have that freedom. However, things did not turn out exactly as she had planned.

Now I was married, I thought I could do anything I wanted, but I couldn't. I had many restrictions. It was very hard with the in-laws. They always considered me a baby and they wanted to take over my parents' role in controlling me. But I still had authority over my child.

Due to the fact that Kaliopi had not mastered the English language at that time, the dominant language in her home was Greek. Her in-laws did not know a word of English, and therefore, Greek was their only form of communication. As a result, her daughter's first language was predominantly Greek, with very little English. By the time her daughter Anna was old enough to go to school, Kaliopi had two more children, Tina and George. The dominant language within the home was slowly moving from Greek to English.

When Anna went to school I started to speak more English. Anna helped me as well. She corrected my English. She learned English very fast when she went to school, and so she would start correcting me if I were to say something wrong. I also learned through helping her with her homework. My second child knew more English than Greek. However, to keep the Greek language I sent my children to Greek school in grade one to learn how to speak and write in Greek. My first child loved Greek school, but Tina didn't like it as much.

Kaliopi faced the challenge of educating her children about their Greek heritage and language, as well as making them feel part of the dominant society. Kaliopi had a fourth child named Nick, who was ten years younger than his eldest sister Anna. Nick's dominant language was English; however, he too went to Greek school to learn how to read, write and speak Greek. As her children progressed through the Canadian educational system, Kaliopi realized that there were many differences between the form of education she received and the one her children were receiving. There was also a change in attitudes.

The schools here in Canada have many good things to offer my children. I think they could be a bit more strict. I loved to go to school and looked forward to it, but my kids don't have the same feeling as I did. I also wish the students had to wear uniforms. It is very hard for us, especially when your budget is low and your kids want to dress very nice and look very nice, let's say, with the kids that could afford the name brands, and it was very hard for a parent when they are on a low budget. It is very stressful for the kids and for the parents. So that is why I favor the uniforms. I think that in Greece you could not tell the rich kids from the poor kids. You just could not tell.

Kaliopi experienced some problems with her children when they were in school, because they wanted to wear name brand clothes in order to fit in with their friends. However, this put a strain on the family's financial stability. Kaliopi

indicated that if uniforms were mandatory in public schools, this problem would not have existed.

Maria

Maria was born in Sparti, Greece in 1939. Sparti is considered to be a big city. She was the sixth of seven children in her family. Maria was able to complete grade 12, an opportunity not available to every member of her family. She recalls hard times during her early years. She grew up in the period of the civil war in Greece, which made living conditions more difficult for all families.

In those days, we were starving and poor. I was born in 1939 and the war started in 1940. So all my other brothers were older than me (sic). So my older sister was able to finish elementary school. My eldest sister went to high school and then she went to Athens for higher education and took accounting. My other sister didn't go. She only finished elementary and then I went to school. My youngest brother went to school for a few years but he didn't like school. I remember in 1946-47, there was a civil war. Then, we were really poor. I mean very poor, and the school that we went to was about half-hour walk then. My younger brother and I walked together. We were 11 months apart so we were very close. It was difficult those years, we didn't have the proper shoes or clothing. My father was not making enough money to support seven children. We had many chores to do around the house. We had to milk the cows and goats and pick olives after school. When I was in elementary, they would not let me climb the tree to pick the olives. I had to pick the ones on the ground. We would also have to start supper, or something else you know, or warm up the water to do laundry. We never had running water. We had to get it from the well. We didn't even have electricity, never mind water. I remember I finished high school by reading my books at night with a little candle burning.

Even though this period of time for Maria was difficult, she remembers enjoying going to school.

Yes, I liked school. I wanted to finish grade 12. I would have gone to university but I moved to Canada. I liked Greek, I hated math and science. One year in grade 11, it was geometry and algebra and all these things and I couldn't understand. So I failed math. In those days, you go to tutoring in the summer time, and in September, you go to school to write the exam and if you pass, you pass the grade. That was the only time I had a tutor was that year. My favorite was English, well language because then it was Greek. Well I guess you could call it writing and reading. I still like to read and write. I also liked religious studies. We studied the Greek Orthodox religion. History was about the Greek history and that was interesting too."

Maria experienced some hardship while growing up due to the two civil wars in Greece which took place between 1944-1945 and 1946-1949. These civil wars devastated many families, as well as the country as a whole. Maria's family had many financial difficulties during this time. However, things slowly changed for her. It was fortunate that she enjoyed learning languages, as this became useful when, shortly after her graduation, she had the opportunity to move to Canada. She recalls how this opportunity came to her.

My brother got married and moved to the States. My sister and my younger brother lived in Toronto. I came to Toronto because we were very poor. We had our house and some orange trees, but not too many. That's all we had to live from. It was difficult after the war, you know. It was difficult when you had a large family and no other income. You work and work everyday. Somebody in my family had to leave. Since I was a little more educated than the other sister, they asked me. And I wanted to go. My father didn't force anyone, but I wanted to go. It was my choice. I came to Canada because there was better opportunity here. By the time I finished school in 1957, and because I wanted to come to Canada in 1958, I went to school in Greece with some lady, and I learned a bit of English. I went for six months to learn how to read and write.

Maria knew little English when she packed up her belongings and moved to Canada. She describes how she traveled to Canada and what her first impressions were.

From Athens, I took the boat by myself to Halifax. I was all by myself. My sister sponsored me to come to Canada, and all I had was \$75.00 with me. I arrived in Halifax with the boat. Then I took the train to Toronto. My younger brother lived in Toronto too, and he picked me up. It was sometime in May, and it must have been a good spring, because on the weekend, I don't remember what day it was, but on a Sunday my brother didn't work. We went to High Park in Toronto and I have never seen a more beautiful place in my life. I fell in love with Canada because with High Park. There were so many flowers and I love flowers. It was nice, there was a little lake in the middle of High Park and the boats would go by. I loved Canada, and I still do. When I moved to Toronto, I lived with my sister and my brother in a house. In Toronto, then, they had houses with tree floors, and we lived on the third floor. We didn't have a TV or a telephone.

Maria found a job in Toronto at a jewelry factory, and she slowly improved her English. Four years later, in 1962, she met the man she was to marry. She explains how this occurred.

My husband and I met in 1962, just before Christmas. He lived in Calgary, and he came to Toronto to visit his sisters, and some how they got us together. It was arranged. His sisters told me, there was a nice man that wants to get married, and they figured that I was good enough for him. They told me to go to someone's house, and he doesn't know anything about it, and you come to see him. So I went there and me being my usual self. I even remember what I was wearing that day. It was a A-line dress. I remember I was talking all night. He was just sitting on the chair just looking at me, not saying very much. I thought he wasn't talking, so I could say anything I want. But anyway, he wanted to see me again, so I saw him a couple of times, and then he went to Calgary. He came back again to Toronto not long after, and he asked me to marry him and I said yes. I was 23 years old. I wasn't too young. So I said yes. So we went and bought a ring. I didn't want a diamond, I wanted this ring, just a plain gold band. But he said no, no, no. I have to get you a diamond. So he got me a diamond as well. We got married on the 27th of April, 1963.

With her new husband, Maria moved to Calgary and started a new life once again. She remembers that moving to Calgary was more difficult, than moving to Toronto had been. She lived with a man she hardly knew, and had no relatives nearby.

My husband had an apartment with four floors and we lived in one of them. He had everything. A TV and a telephone. I was moving up in the world. He was a foreman at Western Aluminum and he made very good money. That is why he came to Calgary, because they offered him good money. Something like \$600, which was a lot back then, and I didn't have to work. I didn't like Calgary compared to Toronto. I didn't know my husband very much. I didn't know him at all. It took at least six months. I called my brother, and told him I was not happy here, and he said well, I asked you over and over again if you wanted to get married and move, and you said yes. What do you want now? That's what he replied to me. If he said come home, I would have gone to Toronto. I didn't like it here. I didn't know anybody. I met a few Greeks and they were nice to me, but I would always put my head down. I would never look at them to see what they looked like. They were friendly, but I didn't like Calgary very much. But I am glad I stayed.

Maria became involved in the Greek community in Calgary as a way of developing new friendships. Slowly, Maria noticed changes in her social life.

There was a Greek community established in Calgary and we would go to church every Sunday. My husband was very involved with the Greek community. He was always president of some group or another. It was good because I was the president's wife, so I got to know a lot of people and go places a lot. Even with his work, he became the vice president and we went out a lot, so no complaints. Life has been good to me.

Maria started to enjoy living in Calgary a bit more. Two years after her wedding, she had her first child, a baby boy named Nicholas. In 1967, she had a girl named Fotini, and a year later, her second son Socrates was born. Her last

child, John, was born in 1970. The dominant language spoken in their house was Greek. Having four children so close in age was very difficult for Maria. She found things easier when her children began to attend school. Religion played a vital role in Maria's home; she educated her children about the Greek Orthodox Religion and regularly took her children to Sunday school.

I spoke Greek to my children all the time. My eldest son did not know one word of English when he went to grade one. But the other children knew a few words. All my children went to Greek school to learn the language and I taught my children the religion. They went to Sunday school regularly, and I read to them when they were little. They all had a bible. I did the teaching at Sunday school.

Maria was a Sunday school teacher in the Greek community for many years, and it is evident that religion is important to her and her family. Maria also indicates that it was important to educate her child how to speak the Greek language. Maria says she feels that most of her closest friends are of Greek origin. She explains why she feels this way.

I believe that most of my close friends are Greek because of the language and religion. We always have something to talk about. I have many good friends that are Canadian (non-Greek). Two Christian women, they are very nice people, but we run out of things to talk about. I stay mostly with Greek people because I want my children to learn Greek and to stay with Greek people.

Even though at first Maria found it difficult to live in Calgary, she eventually made it her home, the place where she raised her family. The Greek community helped her settle in Calgary. She befriended fellow Greek immigrants, and felt that she could communicate with them easily. This made her adaptation to the

New World much easier. Maria expresses how she feels now about living in Calgary.

Well, I love Canada. I go back to Greece every year. But I have no plans to move back for good. My husband wanted to go back and live there for good at one time. I asked him what happened, and he said, "I didn't think that you want to go back to Greece." I said, "why did you not ask me?" One time we tried, we looked for a job for my husband in Greece when we were on holidays there once, and he figures the money we would be making in Greece, he could not put the kids through school. Because they had to learn in English, and it would not be fair to take them away from that because they were born here, so they would have to go to an American school. It would have been too expensive. Now, when we go to Greece, I love it. I don't mind staying there four to five months. Then I am usually ready to come back. Maybe because my children and their families are here. I have our house there, and some family, and a car. But still Canada is better place to live, they treat you better. You have your rights here.

Maria is happy living in Calgary. Maria and her husband had thought about moving back to Greece but decided that it would not be financially in the best interest for the family. Maria and her husband go on an annual trip to Greece for a visit, however they view Canada as being a better place to live.

Angie

Angie was born in 1945 in a small village called Matesi, which is located in the Peloponnese region of Greece. The population of Matesi was approximately 300 when she lived there, and currently there are less than 60 people living there year round. Angie had one sibling, an older brother named John. Unfortunately, Angie's parents passed away when Angie was only a year old, and because of

this did not experience much of a childhood. She recalls having to work hard constantly while growing up.

After both my parents passed away when I was one, my brother and I lived with my grandmother, my father's mother. We both went to school. My brother finished grade six and I finished grade five. It was hard. We were poor and we had to work a lot around the house. At lunchtime, we would have to go home from school and do some chores around the house, and then again after school, finish the chores. There were so many chores. I had to look after the goats, pigs and chickens as well as help make dinner and do the laundry.

Angie finished only five years of formal education. She recalls enjoying going to school.

School was fun, you got to meet all the other kids in the village. There were about 50 kids in the class, from grade one to six. We had one teacher and she taught us everything. I wish that I could finish school. I love to read and I still do.

At the age of 10 she moved to Athens and lived with her uncle (her father's brother) for a few months until she found employment. She explains how she felt about moving to Athens.

I hated it at first. I cried. I wanted my fruit trees that I had back at home. It was too big and too many cars. I almost got run over by a car once. The driver was yelling at me to watch where I'm going. It was also lonely in Athens. I lived with my cousins for the first while. But I still felt like an outsider, because they were raised in the big city and I wasn't. They also had money and I didn't.

Angie was very lonely in Athens. It was an enormous change from living in the village, and she had to adapt quickly if she was going to survive the in big city. Shortly after her arrival in Athens, she found employment.

A few months after I moved to Athens I found a job taking care of an old couple. I remember they would tell me that they would give me their house after they passed away. I really wanted the house, but I couldn't stay any longer. I worked for them for about two years. They were so miserable. Grouchy old people. They made me do all the work and lift heavy things. I hated it, I couldn't stay there any longer. So I left. When I was 13, I found a job. Back then, you had to be 13 to be old enough to take care of children. I got a job taking care of a six year-old girl. I lived with the family. My job was to take the girl back and forth from school, making sure she crossed the big streets safely, and I had to make sure that she finished all her homework. This was a very wealthy family and they would take me along on their holidays to take care of their daughter. I remember that I had the same initials as the little girl, so sometimes I would put her school sweater on and pretend it was me going to school. She went to a private school at the time, and I wished that I could go. After a few years I found a job at a factory. The factory paid me much more money so I left the family I was living with, and started working at the mustard factory. By this time, my brother was done with the army. He didn't have to complete the entire time as every other boy had to because he was an orphan, and they let him out early to take care of me. When I started working at the factory, my brother and I got an apartment together. I was around 16 and he was 19. My brother found a job selling ice, and I worked at the mustard factory.

Angie experienced hard times while she was growing up. She was alone, and had to move around frequently to find a job and a place to live. She did keep in touch with her relatives, usually on Sundays. She was very happy to move into an apartment with her brother. However, it did not last very long. When she was 17, Angie's uncle informed her that she was going to get married. Angie expresses how she felt about the situation.

I had no choice! My uncle came to me one day and said that a family from the village knew my parents and wanted to know if I was married. My uncle told them that I wasn't. So this lady asked if I could marry her son. My husband's family is from the same village as me, and his parents knew my parents when they were alive. My uncle told this lady, my husband's mother, that I would marry him and it was arranged from then. My husband was in Canada at that time and I had my engagement party in Greece without him. Without even meeting him yet, all I had was a picture of him. He was handsome in the picture, I have to admit.

Angie had no choice in the matter of her marriage. Her uncle was her guardian, and he had said that she was to marry this man. Angie recalls how she felt about marrying a man she had never met.

The thought of going to Canada excited me. I wanted to leave Greece because I felt that I didn't belong in Athens. Everything felt so cold there. Everyone had their family, and I was alone. From what I was told about Canada, I felt that I would love Canada. I was also excited to learn the new language that I had heard the tourists speak. The new alphabet was strange, but exciting for me.

Angie's description of getting married focused on moving to a new country. She did not mention anything about the marriage, and how she felt about living with a man she had not yet met. This is probably because Angie knew that she would have an arranged marriage. Arranged marriages were typical in Greece in that period of time, so she did not find anything wrong with it. She soon realized what it was like to live with a complete stranger.

It was very hard. It was like living with a stranger. He was a stranger. When I was young, I wanted to fall in love with a prince, like every other little girl. This marriage was forced upon me. I had no choice. Especially being an orphan, I couldn't make my own choices. But when we moved to Canada we lived with all his family. There were fifteen of us in one house, including my husband's sisters and brother-in-laws, his parents, his brother, and nieces and nephews. It was a nice house on 12th Avenue.

So it was always busy and you always had company and a babysitter when you needed one. It took a while to get to know my husband with all these people around.

According to Angie, there were advantages and disadvantages to living with so many people. At first, they were all strangers to her, and once again she felt like the outsider. It took her a while to get to know her husband because they didn't have much time to themselves. However, having so many people around made it easier to take care of her children, once they were born.

Two years after I was married I had a son, and then two years after I had my second son. We still lived in the house on 12th Avenue. After my second son, we moved to a house by ourselves, and then, I had a daughter a few years later. My husband was the oldest son in his family, so when we moved to a house, his parents and his brother, who was not married yet, moved in with us. So there were still many people in the house, but not as many as before.

Angie slowly started to learn English after moving to Canada. However, everyone around her was Greek, and Greek was spoken in the house exclusively. Her in-laws did not speak a word of English. This made it harder for Angie to practice her English skills. She took an English course at Mount Royal College for a year, and recalls enjoying those classes. However, her English did not improve significantly until her first child went to school.

I went to Mount Royal College and took English as a second language. Most of the students were younger than me. I liked the course. I learned a lot. I could speak English better than I could read and write it. We still talked Greek in the house all the time. My first son only knew a few words in English when he started school. He picked up the language very fast, and this is how I improved. My second son knew a few more words in English than my first son just from listening to his older brother, and watching TV.

Angie has three children. She values the traditions of Greece and makes an effort to educate her children about their cultural heritage.

When my kids were in grade one they also started Greek school to learn how to read, write and speak Greek. They also went to Sunday school where they learnt about the Greek Orthodox Religion. For the Greeks, Name Days are much more important than birthdays. My children went to schools that had few Greeks, so most of their friends were Canadians. I wanted them to be friends with Greek children as well, so they were all involved with the Greek community. The community has youth organizations; this gave my children the opportunity to be friends with other Greeks. It was fun for them. They got to go on many holidays with the groups, all over the United States and Canada. This I think kept them interested in the Greek culture. We went to Greece a few times when my kids were younger as a family, and now my kids love to go back by themselves, with their friends as often as possible.

Angie is happy that her children are proud of their Greek heritage. She believes that her children enjoy being involved with the Greek community and building friendships with other Greeks. When asked if she would move back to Greece, Angie seemed hesitant to answer.

No. Now I would not want to go back for good. I love to go back for a visit as much as possible, but my family is here now. It's too far to go back for good. I am used to the life here now. It is good. I would probably feel like an outsider if I were to go back now. Things have changed a lot over there, and it's not the same. I have a house there and that's great. It would be nice to go there and visit every year or every other year.

CHAPTER SIX: PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION IN THE OLD AND NEW WORLD

The three Greek participants described what they like and dislike about living in Canada. They compared the education they received in Greece to the education their children received in Canada. The transcription following are comments made by the parents regarding their feelings about living in Canada. Sections of each interview are transcribed throughout this chapter to emphasize the similarities of the participants' perspectives. In the data transcribe a letter "R" will represent the researcher and the letter "P1" will represent Kaliopi, "P2" will represent Maria and "P3" will represent Angie.

Participant 1: Kaliopi

R: What do you like about living in Canada?

P1: Canada has given my children a good education and opportunities to let them do what they want to. I would have rather stayed in Greece. But living in Canada, my children have the opportunity to keep their Greek heritage and language and when they visit Greece they can communicate with their relatives there.

R: What do you not like about living in Canada?

P1: Well I thought that it would be similar as it was back home just in a different place on the map. But here it is uh... work and home and you don't know your neighbors, they move so often and back home

if you build your house, that is it, you don't move around. Here by the time you get to know your neighbors, they are gone. Here my oldest and dearest friends are of Greek origin. We do not live close to one another but we see each other all the time at church or at a Greek function at the community.

I don't like how kids have so much freedom and do not give respect to elders like we did back home. This is why we tried to keep our values within the home. I would not let my daughters go to school wearing make-up in junior high even though their friends did.

Participant 2: Maria

R: What do you like best about living in Canada?

P 2: I like many things about Canada. It has given my family a good life. My husband has a good job and we enjoy many things. We have our own house and my husband and I each have a car. We are able to go anywhere we want. My children are all educated and have more opportunities than we did in Greece. I also like the fact that we can keep our Greek culture. My children all went to Greek school to learn how to read and write in Greek and when they go to Greece they feel they belong there as well as belong here too. They know how to speak two languages.

R: What would you say you like the least about living in Canada?

P 2: Oh . . . um . . . Well, it gets too cold sometimes in the winter. But . . . I would say that my children don't have the respect that I had when I was a child. I find it difficult raising them with the same values I had growing up. They want to grow up so fast and have all the freedom in the world.

Participant 3: Angie

R: Do you like living in Canada?

P3: Yes I do. They have everything you need here and it is pretty easy to get anything you need. It has given me and my family a good life, we have many things that I didn't have back home. All my children are educated and did not have to go through what I went through when I was young. My children have many more opportunities than I did in Greece. I am still able to visit Greece anytime and so are my kids. They all can speak Greek so when they go to Greece they can communicate. It is having the best of both worlds.

R: What is your least favorite aspect about Canada?

P3: Well, sometimes in the winter it can get lonely. It's too cold to go out often. In Greece you would walk everywhere, but here you have to drive and I hate driving at night. I don't hate too many things here. The people are nice and friendly, but the kids (teenagers,) well, some of them are not that friendly. We all had to be well behaved when we were teenagers, especially when talking to an adult. Kids nowadays are not the way we used to be.

Analysis

Maria and Angie indicated that they enjoy living in Canada. Canada has provided them with a good life, and there are many favorable aspects, such as having the luxuries of owning a house and driving a car. Kaliopi, on the other hand, does not feel the same. She enjoyed life in Greece more than the Canadian lifestyle. However, she does believe that Canada has given her

children a good education, which will open windows of opportunities in their futures.

For the research participants, the negative aspects about living in Canada had to do with the difficulty they had in raising their children because of the different cultural values in Canada. They believe that children should respect their elders automatically. All three migrants indicated that they believe their children do not have the respect for authority that they had while growing up. It is evident that they experienced conflict between the Greek and Canadian values. According to Patterson (1976), many Greek immigrants disapprove of behaviors and attitudes which they perceive as common in Canadian society, such as early dating, disrespect for elders and parents, drug use, weak family bonds and overall permissiveness. Simultaneously, they are grateful for Canadian democracy, political freedom, and modern conveniences. In addition, all three migrants indicated that the winters in Canada are too cold. This makes it difficult for them to visit with friends and enjoy the outdoors in the way they were accustomed to doing in Greece.

Despite their satisfaction with life in Canada, many Greek Canadians show sentimental attachment to the motherland (Chimbos, 1980, p. 136). Greek Canadians have shown deep passion for preserving their heritage, and this is evident in the transcriptions from all three participants. The preservation of

Greek heritage is largely accomplished by teaching the Greek language to each generation.

Perspectives on Student-Teacher Relationship

In Canada there is much communication and interaction between students and teachers. Students can question teachers, correct them when they have done something wrong, and debate or disagree with them. Open communication between teachers and students is considered crucial. On the other hand, the relationship Greek immigrants had with their teachers in their homeland were much different. Teachers were regarded as a high authority who should be given automatic respect. A student was not allowed to question a teacher's method of teaching, speak out loud, or disagree with a teacher.

In Greece, the school environment was strict. Teachers had the right to punish a child, even outside of school hours. It was part of the teacher's duty to discipline the student whenever the child stepped out of line. For example, if a child was caught going to a movie on a weeknight, the teacher had the authority to punish the student in class the next day. The following transcripts demonstrate the migrants' relationships with their teachers in Greece.

Participant 1: Kaliopi

R: What type of relationship do you recall having with your teacher?

P1: Our teacher was like our parents. We had to follow the rules, and they were very strict rules, and you always had to give very big respect to the teachers. If you were to do something wrong the teachers would send you home.

R: What type of relationship do you think your children have with their teachers?

P1: I think that some teachers they like and get along with, but they do not like other teachers. They do not give their teachers the respect we did when we were in school. But the teachers do not have much authority over students. Nowadays teachers are afraid to punish a student for misbehaving. They can get charged for doing almost anything and the students know this. They have to find a way to discipline the students more. I like the teachers and get along with them. They tell me where my child needs to improve and what they are doing well. I think the teachers here in Canada need more acknowledgement for the work they do and to be more respected within this society then you will see that students will respect them more and obey them.

Participant 2: Maria

R: What type of relationship do you recall having with your teachers in Greece?

P2: A good relationship. We had to respect our teachers. They were not considered to be a friend but more like a parent. We respected them like we respected our parents. I think the teachers here in Canada need more acknowledgment than they do and to be more respected within this society then you will see that students will respect them.

The teachers back in Greece used to be very strict. They had full authority to punish a student.

R: What type of relationship do you think your children have with their teachers?

P2: I think they had a good relationship with their teachers. But I don't think that my children and other kids respect teachers as much as they should. I have not seen my children or any other child talk bad to a doctor, lawyer or anyone in a suit. They have this . . . hum . . . feeling that this person has power and therefore are nice to them and put on their best manner. But, I have seen when I am in the school helping that kids do not have the same feeling with teachers.

Participant 3: Angie

R: What type of relationship do you remember having with your teacher?

P3: She was our role model. Everyone thought that the teacher was the smartest person in the village. If you had a question about anything you would ask the teacher. And I don't mean just the students. Other adults as well, if they had a question about anything they would go to the teacher. Not many people were educated, so the teacher was one of the smartest people in the village. I think teachers get treated much differently here now. They do not receive the respect they should have and I think this reflects how students look at their teachers. Their relationship with their teachers is much different. We respected our teacher very much. Every student respected the teacher and listened and obeyed. But everyone respected the teacher.

R: What type of relationship do you think your children have with their teachers here in Canada?

P3: Well I don't think they are very close to them. I don't remember any one of my children coming home and telling me they really liked a teacher. I remember my daughter coming home every day in grade six crying because she hated her teacher. She told me that her teacher would call her John. John is my second son and he had the same teacher as my daughter, but he had her six years earlier. I guess this teacher didn't like John very much and was mean to my daughter. I remember I called the school to talk to that teacher and after that my daughter said she (the teacher) was being nice to her.

Analysis

The participants indicated that their relationships with their teachers had been good. It appears that there was a clear understanding as to the student's and the teacher's relationship. This understanding was based on respect. In Greece, respect for teachers is automatic, as it is for any elders. If a student were to show disrespect towards a teacher, then he or she would be punished. The participants portrayed high regards for their teachers, and indicated that they were given as much respect as parents would receive.

In Greece, respect is a very important value. A child is taught to give respect primarily to parents, teachers and priests. The importance of respect is embedded in children from a very young age, and it is never questioned. In Greece, teachers are authority figures to students. For the participants of this study, teachers had the power to discipline children not only in the school setting but also in the environment outside the school. This gave greater responsibility to teachers in Greece than teachers in Canada have. In Greece, teachers were highly regarded, and were acknowledged as vital citizens in society.

Perspectives on Classroom Management/Discipline in Canadian Schools Compared to Schools in Greece

Classroom management refers to the actions and strategies teachers use to establish an effective climate for learning and maintaining order in the classroom (Burden and Byrd, 1994, p.160). Classroom management is intrinsically related to teaching, and the two cannot exist independently from one another (Levin and Nolan, 1991, p. 2). Order in the classroom is the primary goal of classroom management strategies. Order in the classroom means that within acceptable limits, students are following the program of action necessary for a particular classroom event to be realized in a given situation (Burden and Byrd, 1994, p. 160).

In Canadian schools, explicit rules are the primary factor for maintaining order in the classroom. These rules refer to general behavioral standards or expectations that are to be followed in the classroom (Burden and Byrd, 1994, p. 167). If these standards and expectations are not met, there may be discipline problems within the classroom.

In the past, North American schools used corporal punishment to deal with discipline problems. Corporal punishment includes actions such as paddling, spanking, slapping or pinching students (Burden and Byrd, 1994). However, in

the 1960s, corporal punishment was abolished in Canada. Currently, teachers deal with discipline problems by using methods such as 'time outs', detentions, and notifying parents when there is a problem.

In Greece, discipline problems are handled differently. The classroom environment is strict and children are responsible for their actions, so if they misbehave they must pay the consequences. Teachers in Greece have full authority over the selection of the method of punishment, which can include corporal punishment. The perspectives of the immigrant parents in this study with regard to classroom management and discipline are shown below.

Participant 1: Kaliopi

R: Do you recall there being any discipline problems in school in Greece?

P1: No not really. I loved going to school. I was excited to go to school every day to see my friends, but they were strict. They had rules you had to follow. They were very strict rules and the teacher always had the right. And we always gave very big respect to the teachers, very big respect! If the student didn't listen or behave they would be sent home. The teacher had full authority in the classroom and if the student went home and said it was the teacher's fault the parents would not believe them, they would think the teacher was right and the child was wrong. So we didn't have many kids that were bad.

R: Can you give me an example of when or why they would send a student home?

P1: If you did not wear your uniform or if you did not finish your homework, we were not to disagree with a teacher or raise our voices and never say a bad word. They would also send you home if they saw you at the movies the night before. Teachers, priest and parents had equal authority. They could punish a child for anything they thought was not proper behavior.

R: If a student were to misbehave, what type of punishment would they receive?

P1: Well it depends, it depends on what the student did. If a kid was to forget to do their homework once then the teacher would make them write out lines. You know, "I will not forget to do my homework again." They would have to write it out 200 or 300 times. But if they forget it again then they would be sent home. If it happens again then they would slap the student on the hand with a ruler. I remember I got the ruler once for forgetting my homework at home. I was so scared, but you know I never forgot it again.

R: Do you think that schools in Canada have a discipline problem?

P1: Yes I do. Kids have too much freedom in school. They are allowed to do what ever they want. And they get away with anything. My daughters wanted to wear makeup and paint their fingernails and wear short skirts to school. I wouldn't let them and they would tell me that all their friends were allowed, I was shocked to hear that girls were allowed to do these things at school.

My children never had the amount of homework I did in school. This gave them a lot of free time. It was surprising to me to, you know, learn from my kids that they were learning everything at school and that they didn't need to bring home homework. They would finish the homework at school. I saw homework only a bit in grade five and six and then a bit more in junior high, but never as much as I had in Greece. No, it was surprising to me to see the difference. My children were never sent home from school because they didn't have their homework done.

Teachers are afraid to control the kids. They are not respected as the teachers in Greece were. Here if a teacher touches a student the student can put them in jail. They are afraid to be strict.

Participant 2: Maria

R: Do you recall most students behaving in class in Greece?

P2: Oh yes. There were many rules to follow, maybe they were too strict. But students obeyed the teacher with no questions. I think teachers have to have a bit more discipline here (in Canada), maybe not as strict as it was in Greece, but more than what they have now. Students will learn to behave better if they are not given all the freedom in the world and give more respect to teachers and elders.

R: What type of rules do you remember having in school?

P2: We had to wear a uniform and the skirt had to be below the knee. We were not allowed to go to the movies. You were not allowed ever unless the principle said today is the day you are allowed to go to the movies. We were not allowed to misbehave or talk out loud in class. You had to finish your homework on time and be at school on time.

R: Do you remember what type of punishment a teacher would use on a student who misbehaved?

P2: If we were to misbehave a teacher would make the student write out lines, like "I will not forget to do my homework again." They would have to write it out 200 or 300 times. But if they forget it again then they would be sent home. If it happens again they would slap the student on the hand with a ruler.

I remember one time, with one teacher, I must have been in grade one, I was looking out the door daydreaming. The teacher came by and slapped me on the hand. He would always compare me with

my younger brother Sam, that he was better than me. I would not daydream again after that day.

R: What is your perception of the discipline in Canadian schools?

P2: I don't see anything wrong with the schools here. The only thing I see is when they are in junior high and high school they have too much freedom. I think if they were more strict, like the kids get away with lots of things. I think Greece was one extreme and Canada was the other extreme. In my opinion they could be a bit more strict. The girls are allowed to wear short skirts and wear make-up and paint their nails. That's what I didn't like. I preferred the uniforms to tell you the truth because they all dressed the same.

Back in Greece I was taught certain things not to do and I didn't do them when I was growing up. I didn't do things when I came to Canada that I wasn't allowed to do at home, even though my parents didn't live here, if they found out they would be mad at me. But here my children did do things that I did not approve of.

Communication is very important, the discipline had to be started in the home and carried through in the school.

Participant 3: Angie

R: Do you remember any discipline problems in school?

P3: I don't remember there were problems in school. I remember everyone listening and obeying and doing all their work.

R: What type of rules did you have to obey to in school?

P3: We all had to wear uniforms and they had to be clean. We were not allowed to talk out in class. We had to make sure our ears and fingernails were clean everyday. Then we always had to have our homework done and be prepared for school the next day. It was very strict but the kids didn't get into too much trouble, they all behaved.

R: What would the punishment be for students who misbehaved?

P3: Well, students were usually very good. If someone forgot their homework then the teacher would give them lines to write out or an extra assignment. If a student was very bad, like talking back to the teacher or hurting another student then they would get the strap. If a child was to get punished like sent home or the strap I remember everyone in the class would be scared for that child. It was scary to get in trouble, that is why no one really did, they followed all the rules.

R: What is your perception of the discipline problems in Canadian schools?

P3: I think that kids have too much freedom and the teachers can't control them. All these stories about kids going into the classrooms and shooting other kids is very scary. The school system is not strict enough. Kids get away with much more these days and the more they get away with the more they try to do something bad. I don't agree with giving a student the strap but rules have to be obeyed and a proper punishment has to be made for those who break the rules.

Analysis

The migrants have been exposed to two different cultural norms. First, from a very early age, they were taught the values and beliefs of their native country. Second, they have experienced, and somewhat adapted to, the values

and norms of Canadian society. They are faced with the challenge of finding a balance between both cultural norms.

The participants stressed that the school system in Greece was very strict in comparison with schools in Canada. Canadian schools are weak in the areas of implementing rules and discipline. These parents look at schools both from the perspectives of their personal experience as students in their country of origin and as parents observing their children's experiences of schools in Canada. These migrants have high expectations for discipline and classroom management in schools. They are accustomed to different levels of discipline, and feel that it is necessary to keep students in order. The parents believe that if students were disciplined they would have more respect for teachers. However, they believe that students are lacking both respect and discipline.

The migrants made it evident that the experiences they received in school in their homeland were much different than the experiences which their children received in Canada. They felt that schools in Greece were a bit too strict, but that on the other hand Canadian schools are not strict enough. The participants feel that there needs to be a middle ground somewhere between the two conditions.

Perspectives on the School-Church Relationship in Greece

The Greek Orthodox Church is an institution that contributes significantly to the preservation of Greek identity through the use of Greek language in religious services (Chimbos, 1980, p. 144). The church is considered to be a necessity in carrying on Greek traditions and customs which otherwise would be almost impossible to maintain. Greek immigrant parents take their children to church to learn Greek religion, language and culture as well as to interact and socialize with fellow Greeks. The church has also helped the adaptation and acculturation of Greek immigrants into the new society. The following transcripts from interviews with the study participants indicate how important the church is to them and to their family.

Participant 1: Kaliopi

- R: Did you go to church to learn about your religion when you were in Greece?
- P1: We had to go to church! Every Sunday we had to report to the school wearing our uniform. The uniform was different than our school uniform. It was a blue skirt and a white shirt. Every Sunday we had to report to the school and then from there the school would take us to church. On Sunday we had to go to the service and listen to the priest. After school on Saturday (which finished at 12:00) we had to go to church for Sunday school, and read the Bible and learn about the religion. Religion is very important to us, it molds us into the person we will become when we are older.
- R: If a student did not go to church would they be in trouble?

P1: Oh yes. If a student did not go to church the parent would have to go to school in the morning and notify the teacher that their kid will not be there. If the parent does not tell the teacher, then the teacher will think that they skipped out. On Monday, the student would get in trouble. For example, they would have to write a paper or have extra homework.

Participant 2: Maria

R: Did you go to church on a regular basis in Greece?

P2: Yes! We would gather at the school ground in our uniform and we line up and we walk from the school to the church. Then the school would bring us back to school and then we would go home. We went to Sunday school on Saturday, at church it was strictly church. At Sunday school we would study the religion. We also had normal school on Saturday morning then on Saturday afternoon we had Sunday school. But the Sunday school, if you missed one class here and there they would not get in to trouble because the teachers knew that everyone had work to do at home to help out our parents.

Participant 3: Angie

R: Did you go to church when you were growing up?

P3: Yes when I was in school. All the students had to go to church on Sunday. We would go with the school dressed in our uniforms.

R: How did you learn the Greek Orthodox Faith?

P3: On Saturday we had school in which we would read the Bible and learn about the Greek Orthodox faith. Anybody that was in regular school had to go to Sunday school too. If you missed a day then it would be like missing a day of school.

Analysis

The participants indicated that it was mandatory for students to go to church in Greece. Students would usually be punished by their teachers if they were absent at a Sunday service. This is another example of how the teacher's responsibility towards students extended beyond the classroom. The teacher interacted with students every day of the week, and therefore the teacher dictated most of the discipline a child received.

In Greece, religion plays a vital role in an individual's life. Children are exposed to religion from the day they are born. It molds and shapes their identities. Religion was not only the responsibility of the parent, however. Teachers also had to enforce and educate students about the Greek Orthodox faith.

Perspectives on School-Church Relationship in Canada

Canada is a multicultural nation, and as a result the number of religions is almost unlimited. Canada offers a few schools that focus on one religion, and

the students who attend these schools learn about that particular religion exclusively. However, within the public school board, children of all ethnic backgrounds are placed together, and they represent many different religions. It would be almost impossible for the public school board to teach all these religions. This poses a challenge for immigrant parents, who try to teach their own rituals to their children while the children are exposed to various other religions in Canadian schools.

Participant 1: Kaliopi

R: Did you teach your children the Greek Orthodox Faith?

P1: Well, my children go to a public school and they do not learn about their religion there. I have enforced some rituals and customs in the home but they learned it mostly through Sunday school. On Sundays during church service they have Sunday school for the children, so I would take my kids there. Here in Canada Sunday school is during church service, I guess because it is more convenient for parents at that time, while they are attending the church service. There is only one Greek Orthodox Church in Calgary and it is in the Southwest. Some people live far from there so they try to accommodate everyone. Here in Canada it is not mandatory to go to Sunday school like it was in Greece.

Participant 2: Maria

R: Did you take your children to church to learn the Greek Orthodox religion?

P2: Yes, every Sunday I would take my children to church and they would go to Sunday school. I taught Sunday school for many years. Here it is different then in Greece, the kids attend Sunday school during the first half of the liturgy, then for the second half they go upstairs as a class to church and listen to the service. It is not mandatory to attend Sunday school here in Canada. Sunday school has nothing to do with the public school my kids go to. It is up to the parents to take their children to church. I took my children to church every Sunday.

Participant 3: Angie

R: Did you teach your children about your religion?

P3: Yes, my children do know about their religion. They went to church and attended Sunday school when they were younger and read the Bible. They understand the religion and follow it. It is up to the parents to take their children to Sunday school or else they do not have to go. It's not like in Greece where the children go with the school. Here there are so many religions in the schools that they can't teach all of them so it is up to the parents to teach their children.

Analysis

The parents make it clear that there is no relationship between the public school board and the Greek Orthodox Church. It is the parent's responsibility to find the means for their children to learn their religion and culture. Sunday school attendance is not mandatory, unlike in Greece. All the participants in the study expressed that religion was important. They enforced it in their homes, and taking their children to church to attend Sunday school.

The participants all grew up with the understanding that religion was a part of life. Participating in religious traditions and customs was natural. However, in Canada, life is very different. Parents are given the sole responsibility for teaching their children the Greek Orthodox faith. Schools in Canada do not play any role in educating children about the Greek Orthodox religion.

CHAPTER SEVEN: REFLECTION AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE STUDY

The bulk of this research study, chapters two and three, provide a framework by which the life histories of three Greek immigrant parents living in Calgary were interpreted. Chapter two gives a brief history of Greece and the immigration patterns of the Greek people. Chapter three details the customs and traditions of Greece, and how the three participants brought their backgrounds with them and how this affected their adaptation to the Canadian lifestyle. Chapter four discusses the meaning of citizenship and how immigrants view their role as Canadian citizens. This chapter also includes the perspectives of the participants with regards to educating their children about being active members of their society. Chapter five covers the participant interviews, including their life histories and how they felt about migrating to Canada. Chapter six compares the participants' perspectives on their experiences in Greece as children as compared to their experiences in Canada as parents. The purpose documenting the narratives of each participant is to reach a clear understanding of what life experiences they have undergone as immigrants to Canada. On a personal level, these participants reveal their backgrounds, reasons for migrating, and how they adapted to a new country as well as what their concerns are with regard to their children and their children's education.

Background

All the participants were born in Greece between 1939 and 1956. Each participant was raised in a traditional Greek environment. Two of the participants, Maria and Angie, considered themselves very poor while growing up, and their opportunities were limited because of the two civil wars and World War II, which contributed to social, political and economic devastation in Greece. Kaliopi was born after the war and does not remember her family struggling. Angie was raised in a very small village, then moved to Athens at the age of 10. Kaliopi was from a small town and Maria was raised in a bigger city. Kaliopi is the only one who had no exposure to urban life before she immigrated to Canada.

The educational background varied between the three participants. Kaliopi finished junior high and had to stop because she was getting married and moving to Canada. Angie finished grade five, and her reason for not proceeding in school was that she had to move to Athens to find work. Maria is the only one who finished grade 12. She indicated that she would have continued to post-secondary, but instead she migrated to Canada to live with her brother and sister. Maria's family in Greece did not have the means to provide for a large family, which is why she left Greece to join her siblings in Canada.

All the participants married Greek men, and all of them had arranged marriages. Kaliopi married at the age of 14, and her wedding was in Canada. Angie was married at the age of 18. Her wedding occurred in Greece, prior to moving to Canada. Maria was married at the age of 23, and her wedding was also held in Canada.

Immigration experiences

For Kaliopi and Angie, the decision to immigrate was part of marriage. Maria's reason for moving to Canada was to search for a better life. All participants viewed moving to Canada as exciting, however, Kaliopi in particular felt sadness at leaving her family and her homeland. All migrants indicated that they felt welcomed by the host society and experienced little overt prejudice.

The absence or presence of family in Canada affected the settlement experiences of the participants. Angie had no relatives living in Canada and until she felt part of her husband's family, it was very difficult and lonely for her. Kaliopi's experience was similar. She too had no family in Canada, and it was lonely for her in the beginning. Maria had family in Canada who she lived with when she first arrived. This made adapting to the New World much easier for her.

Only Maria had formal education in the English language prior to migrating. Kaliopi and Angie struggled to learn the language as quickly as

possible. All three participants thought it was crucial to learn the language in order to be able to function within Canadian society. However, they did not lose their mother tongue, and continued to speak Greek when in the presence of other Greek people.

Settlement in Calgary

The three participants migrated to Calgary, Alberta because of marriage. Maria was the only one who lived in Canada before she was married, but she initially settled in Toronto, Ontario. Her reason for moving to Calgary was because her husband lived there. Angie and Kaliopi's husbands both lived in Calgary before they were married, and therefore, they too moved there.

All three migrants raised their families in Calgary. Maria and Angie have no future plans to move from Calgary. They have their houses and children nearby. Maria and her husband considered moving back to Greece at one point in their lives, however, after some thought they decided to stay in Calgary because it would be the best for their children. If they were to move back to Greece, they would have had to place their children in an American school, and it would have been too expensive for them. All the participants' children have attended, or are currently attending, public school in Calgary.

At present only Kaliopi has a child who has moved away from Canada. Her eldest daughter was married in 1996 and moved to Miami, Florida. One of Maria's sons lives in Vancouver, British Columbia. Angie's children all still live in Calgary. Maria and Angie both have children who have married, but these children live in Calgary. Angie does not believe she will ever leave Calgary. She still keeps in touch with friends and relatives back in Greece, but feels that she is committed to Canada and it is important for her to stay close to her family. Kaliopi, on the other hand, is not sure if she and her husband will stay. There are thoughts of moving back to Greece, or even to the United States, to be close to their married daughter. Overall, though, the migrants enjoy what Canada has to offer. It has provided their children with an excellent education and good opportunities for their future.

Culture and Heritage

The three participants indicated that retaining their heritage is a vital aspect of their life. They have brought with them the cultural values and norms of their native land and have enforced them within their homes. The children of these immigrant parents have attended Greek school to learn how to read, write and speak the Greek language. These children have also attended church services and Sunday school to learn about the Greek Orthodox religion.

The parents articulated that it was their responsibility to teach their children their customs and traditions. When the participants were in grade school, it was mandatory for them to attend Sunday school to learn about their religion. However, they feel that it was understandable that Canadian public schools could not teach every religion that is present in schools, because Canada is a multicultural and multiethnic society. One of the primary reasons why these migrants love being Canadians is the freedom they have in educating their children about their heritage.

Educational Experiences in Greece Compared to Canadian Schools

The migrants had various levels of formal education in Greece prior to moving to Canada. However there are similarities in their recollections of their educational experiences. All three participants have good memories of school, but at the same time remember that school was very strict and each child had to obey the rules or suffer the consequences.

The participants received their educations in different parts of Greece. Kaliopi attended school in a big town named Kiato, Maria went to school in a big city, Sparti, and Angie went to school in a small village called Matesi. Even though they experienced different educational environments, their perspectives on their educations are very similar.

All participants recall having to wear a uniform to school. This uniform may have varied in colors and style, depending on the particular school. Wearing the uniform was mandatory, and a child would be sent home or punished as a consequence for not wearing it. The public schools in Calgary do not have a formal uniform in which children must wear. The participants indicated that they feel schools in Canada should make it mandatory for students to wear uniforms. This would eliminate many problems they have experienced with their children. The migrants articulated that they disapproved of the attire that many children wear to school. For example, Maria indicated that girls in grade school wore short skirts to school. She forbid her daughter to do this and this caused some tension within her home. Kaliopi also experienced problems with her children. Her children wanted to wear certain name brand clothes which she felt were overpriced and not necessary. On the one hand, her children felt that these clothes were a necessity in order for them to fit in with friends at school. However, Kaliopi felt that these clothes were not affordable. This too caused problems in the parent-child relationship.

The migrants recall that when they went to school, there were many rules for students to follow, and if these rules were broken the student would receive some form of punishment. The participants described similar punishments which were given to a child. For example, if a student were to talk in class, raise his or her voice to the teacher, or forget his or her homework, the child's punishment would be to write out 200-300 lines. If the student forgot his or her homework

twice, then he or she would be sent home or receive a slap on the hand with a ruler. In addition to having authority within the classroom, each participant indicated, teachers had the power to punish a child for disobedience that occurred outside school time.

The forms of punishment within Canadian schools are very different than those the participants experienced. In Canada, teachers have the authority to discipline a child within the classroom only. This may include a detention after school, sending a student to the office, asking the student to leave the classroom if they are disruptive during a lesson, or having a student do extra work. However, it is prohibited for a teacher to physically punish a student.

The parents articulated that they believe Canadian schools have discipline problems within the classroom. They feel that teachers should have more authority over students, but they agree that physical punishment should not be allowed. In addition, the parents feel that children are given too much freedom. The freedom that children have within the school system does not correspond with the values and norms they parents hold at home, and as a result, the participants indicated that they experienced problems within their homes.

The migrants articulated that more civic participation should be included in the curriculum. They indicated that the knowledge their children gain through their education is exceptional, however, more hands-on experiences are needed

to put this knowledge into practice. Civic participation should be incorporated in grade one and carried through until the child graduates. This would strengthen leadership skills, which students need to survive in this dynamic society. The parents indicated that attitude is an important factor in civic participation. It is not good enough to force children to volunteer within their communities. Children have to want to participate and be active in society. The participants stated that their children have learned leadership skills through Greek youth organizations. They believe that these youth groups encouraged their children to be active members of society in a positive way, making them want to participate without making them feel that they had to. However, in the school environment, the attitudes of their children change and the desire to be active decreases. Peers in the school setting may have an influence on students' attitudes toward participation.

The parents recall that when they went to school, they gave their elders respect. However, they believe that children in modern Canadian society do not have the same respect, particularly for teachers. The migrants indicated that the lack of respect that children have not only causes problems within the home, but in society as well. Respect for others and the school environment influences how an individual will behave. If students don't have respect for their teachers, there is a higher tendency towards delinquency within the classroom, which affects students' learning potential.

Problems, Issues and Concerns

The migrants indicated they feel their children have received an excellent education in Canada. The curriculum taught in schools gives their children the knowledge necessary to be successful in their futures. However, the migrants indicated five elements of concern with regard to their children and their children's education. First, there is a lack of discipline within schools. These parents believe that Canadian schools should have more discipline, to prevent children from deviant behavior. Second, teachers should have more authority within the classroom. Teachers should not feel threatened if they wish to punish a child for misbehaving, although this does not include physical punishment. Third, it is important for students to have respect for their teachers, parents and elders. This respect, the participants believe, should be innate. This will only be accomplished if students are taught to respect others and the school environment by their parents as well as their teachers, throughout their educational experiences. Fourth, these parents believe that a positive attitude is vital for students if they are to reach their highest learning potential, and achieve success in their future. These participants do not understand why students have a negative attitude toward school, and toward actively participating within their communities. Finally, a major concern that these parents had with regards to their children was in retaining and maintaining the Greek language and cultural heritage. They indicated that living in Canada, this was not difficult to do,

because Canada advocates multiculturalism. This is one of the main reasons that they appreciate being Canadian.

Prospectus for Future Research

Further research could be conducted on Greek immigrants who were raised in an urban setting, for example, Athens, prior to migrating to Canada. This would allow for a comparison with the immigrants who were raised in rural areas of Greece. Focus should be on the retention of Greek traditional values. In addition, the study of immigrants who migrated to Canada within the last five to ten years, would be an asset in determining how strong traditional Greek values are maintained in Greece.

A study of how active participation within the Greek community influences the attitudes of youths would indicate whether Greek children have positive or negative attitudes towards civic participation within the Greek community compared to the school setting.

Additional research is needed in the religious education of Greek children. This would include comparing the education received in the home and in the church. This research would indicate how important the church is in maintaining the Greek Orthodox religion and culture. Another important study could be

conducted on the relationship of the Greek language to the parents' desire to carry on Greek cultural heritage and traditions.

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